

# Inconvenient History



A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry

---

VOLUME 6 · 2014

---

# INCONVENIENT HISTORY

VOLUME SIX · 2014



# Inconvenient History

A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry

---

VOLUME 6 · 2014

---



**ARMREG**

Academic Research Media Review Education Group Ltd

May 2024



***Inconvenient History: A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry***  
Volume 6, 2014, Numbers 1 through 4

Volumes 1 through 6, 2009 to 2014, were originally published by *History Behind Bars Press*. Since Volume 7 (2015), the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) has been responsible for the journal's online publication at [www.codoh.com](http://www.codoh.com), [www.inconvenienthistory.com](http://www.inconvenienthistory.com) (until 2023), and [www.inconvenienthistory.org](http://www.inconvenienthistory.org) (since 2024).

Lead editor for Volumes 1 through 9: Richard A. Widmann.

Lead editor since Volume 10: Germar Rudolf

Editorial Contact:

CODOH, PO Box 2355, Healdsburg, CA 95448, USA

[www.codoh.com](http://www.codoh.com)

Current print editions are distributed by:

Academic Research Media Review Education Group Ltd

86-90 Paul Street, London, EC2A 4NE, UK

<https://armreg.co.uk>

This present print edition was issued in May 2024

ISBN: 978-1-83640-006-6

ISSN: 2324-7231

© of each contribution is with the respective author(s)

Set in Times New Roman

## Table of Contents

### VOLUME 6 · Number 1 · 2014

#### EDITORIAL

- No Smoking Gun, No Silver Bullets: The Real News of Rosenberg's  
Diary ..... 11  
*Richard A. Widmann*

#### PAPERS

- Gypsy Holocaust?..... 18  
*Carlo Mattogno*
- Stalin's German-Nationalist Party ..... 52  
*Kerry R. Bolton*
- Revisionism and the Power of Truth ..... 72  
*Nigel Jackson*
- The Road to World War II..... 82  
*Ralph Raico*
- A Real World-War-II Death Camp ..... 92  
*Jett Rucker*

#### REVIEWS

- Savage Continent..... 99  
*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*
- Comparative Review of Two Works on the Aktion Reinhardt Camps . 105  
*Review by Friedrich Jansson*

**VOLUME 6 · Number 2 · 2014****EDITORIAL**

- Holocaust History: The Sound of One Hand Clapping ..... 115  
*Jett Rucker*

**PAPERS**

- The Jewish Hand in the World Wars, Part 2 ..... 120  
*Thomas Dalton*
- Criminalizing Conscience..... 164  
*Joseph P. Bellinger*
- The Denial of “Holocaust Denial” ..... 177  
*Nigel Jackson*
- Woodrow Wilson’s “Second Personality” ..... 185  
*Ralph Raico*
- The “Ministry of Truth” at Britain’s National Archives..... 191  
*Nicholas Kollerstrom*

**REVIEW**

- The Holocaust in American Life ..... 210  
*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*

**PROFILE IN HISTORY**

- H. Keith Thompson Jr. .... 215  
*Kerry R. Bolton*

**VOLUME 6 · Number 3 · 2014****EDITORIAL**

- Revisionism as Creative Destruction..... 255  
*Jett Rucker*

**PAPERS**

- Roots of Present World Conflict ..... 258  
*Kerry R. Bolton*
- The Rise and Fall of Historical Revisionism Following World War I.. 270  
*Richard A. Widmann*
- The Great Holocaust Mystery: Reconsidering the Evidence..... 277  
*Thomas Dalton*
- The Recovery of Human Fat in the Cremation Pits..... 349  
*Carlo Mattogno*
- The “Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen” (Prisoners’  
Report) of 12 June 1945 ..... 375  
*Klaus Schwensen*

**REVIEWS**

- The Sleepwalkers..... 404  
*Ralph Raico*
- Republican Party Animal ..... 412  
*reviewed by Chip Smith*

**VOLUME 6 • Number 4 • 2014****EDITORIAL**

- The Karski Report: The Holocaust in Miniature ..... 433  
*Jett Rucker*

**PAPERS**

- Jan Karski's Visit to Belzec: A Reassessment ..... 438  
*Friedrich Jansson*

- Setback to the Struggle for Free Speech on Race in Australia, Part 1 ... 473  
*Nigel Jackson*

- The Origins of the Soviet Report on the "Next-Generation" Homicidal  
 Gas Chamber at Sachsenhausen ..... 512  
*Friedrich Jansson*

- Quo Vadis, Revisionism? ..... 520  
*Joseph P. Bellinger*

- Tinseltown Goes to War ..... 540  
*Ralph Raico*

**REVIEWS**

- Lab 257: The Disturbing Story of the Government's Secret Germ  
 Laboratory ..... 544  
*reviewed by Richard A. Widmann*

- Inside the Gas Chambers ..... 549  
*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*

# Inconvenient History



A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry · Published by CODOH

---

VOLUME 6 · NUMBER 1 · 2014

---



## EDITORIAL

---

## No Smoking Gun, No Silver Bullets: The Real News of Rosenberg's Diary

*Richard A. Widmann*

In June of 2013, the media was buzzing with the announcement of the discovery of the diary of Alfred Rosenberg by the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Homeland Security Investigations (HSI). Initial reports announced that the diary “could offer new insights into the Holocaust.”<sup>1</sup> News conferences were held with officials from the Department of Homeland Security, the Justice Department and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). In a Web posting, the USHMM declared:

*“Its discovery will undoubtedly give scholars new insight into the politics of Nazi leaders and fulfills a museum commitment to uncover evidence from perpetrators of the Holocaust.”*

The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* spewed considerable venom at Rosenberg calling him “a pretentious fool” and “grotesque.” But *Ha'aretz* too anticipated major revelations regarding the Holocaust in the diary. They conjectured:<sup>2</sup>

*“Indeed, it was Rosenberg who may have planted some of the seeds that ultimately grew into Hitler's seemingly irrational decisions to divert much-needed German war resources to murdering Jews, even as the German army was sustaining losses at the front.”*

By December, the media was once again flooded with news regarding Rosenberg and his diary. The diary had now been turned over to the USHMM. The UK-based *Mail On-line* featured the headline: “400 pages written by Alfred Rosenberg, a senior Nazi who played a central role in the extermination of millions of Jews, given to DC museum.”<sup>3</sup> News coverage from around the world was basically the same. Interestingly, coverage by *The Washington Post* included several comments that *should* have been the headlines and real news story:<sup>4</sup>

*“[...] details of the Nazis' grand plans for genocide and brutal domination are absent from the pages.”*





*Alfred Rosenberg's private diaries provide no evidence that there was a program for mass extermination. Photo taken June 1942.*

*Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-1969-067-01 / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons.*

The *Post* goes on to report that Jürgen Matthäus, director of applied research at the USHMM's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies commented, "[Rosenberg] saw no reason to elaborate on fundamental Nazi goals, as he regarded them as self-evident."<sup>5</sup> Matthäus continued:

*"If you are looking for shattering revelations about the Nazi era, you're not going to find them. His diary often seems muted, if not silent, on crucial topics and important events, including the persecution of Jews."*

Finally, Matthäus concluded, "this is not the smoking gun. This is not the silver bullet."

But what "smoking gun?" Why was the Museum in need of a "silver bullet?" What or who was the werewolf they were looking to slay? To the uninformed, the questions remained unanswered. But to the attentive reader, the questions reveal a bit of the disappointment and ongoing frustration of the keepers of the 'official' story.

Wikipedia defines the term "smoking gun" as "primarily, a reference to an object or fact that serves as conclusive evidence of a crime or similar act."<sup>6</sup> Is this an acknowledgement that *conclusive evidence* of the Holo-

caust is lacking? The public perception, brought on by years of assertions from various outlets that the Holocaust is the most thoroughly documented crime in the history of the world is demonstrably false. Professor Arno Mayer of Princeton acknowledged that, “sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable.”<sup>7</sup>

But how could an orchestrated program for the murder of millions be carried out without orders, without plans, without documents, without even private comments? Was there not only a grand conspiracy to exterminate the Jews of Europe, but also an even grander conspiracy to cover up the crime? Or, like all grand conspiracies, is the myth of the Holocaust built on delusions, revenge, propaganda, and even lies?

It appears that the “smoking gun” would have been conclusive evidence, a comment, or at least an acknowledgement of an order for the extermination of the Jews by Hitler or any member of the National-Socialist leadership.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the general public, historians and officials at the USHMM understand that not only is such an order missing, the private papers, diaries, and other documents left by those present nowhere confirm a coordinated program for mass extermination.<sup>9</sup>

And what of the “silver bullet” that the Museum hoped to find? In folklore, a silver bullet is often the only weapon that is effective against a werewolf or other monsters.<sup>10</sup> There can be little doubt that even a shred of evidence would have been used as a “silver bullet” targeted directly at the heart of Holocaust revisionists and those who question the gas chamber story, the foundation upon which the USHMM is built.

One should accept the basic logic of the USHMM and others who expected to find a “smoking gun.” Had there actually been a program to exterminate the Jews of Europe, Alfred Rosenberg should have commented on this in his diary. Had Rosenberg commented on a program of mass extermination, the Holocaust revisionist werewolf could finally be eradicated, removing the greatest challenge to the orthodoxy upon which the Holocaust faith and the USHMM is built.<sup>11</sup>

News stories referred to Rosenberg as “an elite Nazi leader who had the ear of Adolf Hitler,”<sup>12</sup> a “Hitler Aide,”<sup>13</sup> an “influential Nazi,”<sup>14</sup> and a “Hitler Confidant.”<sup>15</sup> But who was Alfred Rosenberg and why should he have known of the Holocaust?

Rosenberg, who was born on 12 January 1893 at Reval in Estonia, is best remembered as the author of *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*), a work that provided National Socialism with a definitive theory of history as a function of race.<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg became an early member of the NSDAP, having joined the party in 1919. By

1921, he assumed the role of editor of the party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*.<sup>17</sup>

Rosenberg oversaw many party activities while Hitler and Hess were in prison at Landsberg in 1924. Over time, he became the head of the foreign policy office of the party. He was also responsible for defining party policy with regard to secondary and higher education.<sup>18</sup>

Rosenberg led a special staff with the responsibility for collecting and safeguarding the art treasures of the occupied Eastern territories. By 1941, Rosenberg had taken on responsibility for setting up the civil administration of the occupied Russian and Baltic territories and served as *Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete* (Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories).<sup>19</sup>

After the war's end, Rosenberg would find himself dragged before the Nuremberg tribunal to stand trial. When the Allied judgment came down, Rosenberg was found guilty of all four counts of the indictment, namely: 1) Conspiracy to commit crimes alleged in other counts; 2) Crimes against peace; 3) War Crimes; 4) Crimes against humanity.<sup>20</sup>

Part of the judgment against Rosenberg reads:<sup>21</sup>

*“Rosenberg bears a major responsibility for the formulation and execution of occupation policies in the Occupied Eastern Territories. He was informed by Hitler on April 2, 1941, of the coming attack against the Soviet Union, and he agreed to help in the capacity of ‘Political Advisor.’ [...] On July 17, 1941, Hitler appointed Rosenberg Reich Minister for the Eastern Occupied Territories, and publicly charged him with responsibility for civil administration. [...] He helped to formulate the policies of Germanization, exploitation, forced labor, extermination of Jews and opponents of Nazi rule, and he set up administration which carried them out. [...] His directives provided for the segregation of Jews, ultimately in Ghettos. His subordinates engaged in mass killings of Jews, and his civil administrators considered that cleansing the Eastern Occupied Territories of Jews was necessary.”*

Rosenberg was sentenced to hang.

It is little surprise that the discovery of the diary of Rosenberg, which had been missing since the Nuremberg trials, excited staunch believers in the official Holocaust narrative. In fact, had the Holocaust occurred as generally understood and as relayed through many books, films, and museums, the Rosenberg Diary should have contained a wealth of horrifying discoveries. One might have even expected a philosophical defense of the policies that led to mass extermination.

But the diary contains no such evidence. There is no justification of brutal policies; in fact, there is no mention of an order for extermination. There is no mention of gas chambers. There is no suggestion that Rosenberg was even aware of such policies. Grand conspiracists would suggest that Rosenberg was so clever that he purposefully refrained from making incriminating remarks in his personal diary – even at a time when he would have expected nothing less than a complete National-Socialist victory. Several writers and psychologists like to write of the “banality” of evil, assuming that the matters appeared so trivial that there was no need to mention them. Of course, the third option is that the events never actually occurred as recorded in our history books.

G.M. Gilbert, who served as the prison psychologist at the Nuremberg Trials, captured many of the thoughts and private comments of the defendants. Gilbert commented that the defendants “were more than eager to express themselves to a psychologist and the only American officer on the prison staff who could speak German.” Gilbert was careful to never take notes in front of the men but would rather record them secretly following his private interviews.<sup>22</sup> He would later collect his notes and publish them in his book *Nuremberg Diary* in 1961.

From Gilbert’s book we learn of Rosenberg’s first thoughts and comments after being shown atrocity films during the Nuremberg proceedings. Gilbert recorded the reaction of Rosenberg to “recent revelations” as follows:<sup>23</sup>

*“Of course, it’s terrible – incomprehensible, the whole business. – I would never have dreamed it would take such a turn – I don’t know. – Terrible!”*

And later during one of Gilbert’s private interviews:<sup>24</sup>

*“I don’t know. I guess it just ran away with him [Hitler]. – We didn’t contemplate killing anybody in the beginning; I can assure you of that. I always advocated a peaceful solution. I held a speech before 10,000 people which was later printed and distributed widely, advocating a peaceful solution. – Just taking the Jews out of their influential positions, that’s all. Like instead of having 90 per cent of the doctors in Berlin Jewish, reducing them to 30 per cent, or something like that – which would have been a liberal quota even then. – I had no idea that it would lead to such horrible things as mass murder. We only wanted to solve the Jewish problem peacefully. We even let 50,000 Jewish intellectuals get across the border.”*

Rosenberg continued on the idea of Jewish deportation:<sup>25</sup>

*“Well, I knew they were being transported to the East, and understood that they were being set up in camps with their own administration, and eventually would settle somewhere in the East. – I don’t know. – I had no idea that it would lead to extermination in any literal sense. We just wanted to take them out of German political life.”*

While the USHMM was unable to find a “smoking gun” that supports the orthodox narrative, researchers should examine the documents for evidence of the truth of the events of these years. What does the diary reveal, if anything, about programs of mass deportation? What does it say about the epidemics that ran through the camps? Is there evidence that the National-Socialist leadership sought to fight such epidemics? What evidence in the diary actually upholds the revisionist position?

I for one expect that honest inquiry would lead to the rightful revision of this dark time in our recent history. And only by correcting the mythology of this time can we move forward to understand the events of our modern history of the past 70 years. Perhaps a “silver bullet” may still be found in the diary’s pages – a bullet that can be aimed at the hateful conspiracy theory that today goes by the name “Holocaust.”

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Nichelle Polston and Associated Press, “Nazi criminal’s diaries could offer new insight into Holocaust.” *Newsworks*. Online: <http://www.newsworks.org/index.php/local/item/56047>
- <sup>2</sup> Chemi Shalev, “World awaits diary of ‘grotesque fool’ and Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg,” *Ha’aretz*, Jun. 12, 2013. Online: <http://www.haaretz.com/blogs/west-of-edem/.premium-1.529424>
- <sup>3</sup> Online: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2525890/Missing-diary-Hitler-confidant-Alfred-Rosenberg-sheds-new-light-Third-Reich-discovered-New-York.html>
- <sup>4</sup> Online: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/long-lost-diary-of-nazi-alfred-rosenberg-turned-over-to-holocaust-museum/2013/12/17/b422b260-6738-11e3-8b5b-a77187b716a3\\_story.html?hpid=z4](http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/long-lost-diary-of-nazi-alfred-rosenberg-turned-over-to-holocaust-museum/2013/12/17/b422b260-6738-11e3-8b5b-a77187b716a3_story.html?hpid=z4)
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> Online: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smoking\\_gun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smoking_gun)
- <sup>7</sup> Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The Final Solution in History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), p.362.
- <sup>8</sup> Professor Arno Mayer admitted in his *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* that “no written orders for gassing have turned up thus far.” (p. 362). See also my essay, “Der unbefohlene Völkermord” in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1997.
- <sup>9</sup> The famous Himmler speech has often been cited to show a plan for extermination, but the words are not precise. He could easily be talking about a program

- of forced deportation. See Carlos Porter's translation of "Heinrich Himmler's Posen Speech from 04.10.1943" online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/heinrich-himmlers-posed-speech-from-04101943/>. Likewise, there are a few suspicious comments in the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, but their meaning is ambiguous. See: Thomas Dalton, "Goebbels on the Jews, Part 1," *Inconvenient History* Vol. 2, No. 1 Spring 2010. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/heinrich-himmlers-posed-speech-from-04101943/>.
- <sup>10</sup> Online: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silver\\_bullet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silver_bullet)
- <sup>11</sup> One could go even further and assert that the Western World Order since 1946 has been founded upon the myth of the Holocaust. See my, "The Holocaust: The New Founding Myth of American Society," *Smith's Report* No. 145, December 2007. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-holocaust-the-new-founding-myth-of-american/>
- <sup>12</sup> Online: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/12/18/rosenberg-diary-holocaust-museum\\_n\\_4466543.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/12/18/rosenberg-diary-holocaust-museum_n_4466543.html)
- <sup>13</sup> Online: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/09/alfred-rosenberg-diary-top-nazi-leader-hitler-aide\\_n\\_3412671.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/09/alfred-rosenberg-diary-top-nazi-leader-hitler-aide_n_3412671.html)
- <sup>14</sup> Online: <http://www.npr.org/2013/12/17/252006906/diary-of-influential-nazi-transferred-to-holocaust-museum>
- <sup>15</sup> Online: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/history-of-nazi-germany-to-be-revised-as-diaries-of-hitler-confidante-alfred-rosenberg-are-tracked-down-in-us-8652696.html>
- <sup>16</sup> Alfred Rosenberg, (trans. Vivian Bird) *The Myth of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of Our Age*, (Newport Beach, Calif.: The Noontide Press, 1993), p. xiii.
- <sup>17</sup> Rosenberg, p. xxi.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> G.M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary* (New York: Signet Books, 1961), p. 398.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

## PAPERS

## Gypsy Holocaust?

## The Gypsies under the National-Socialist Regime

*Carlo Mattogno*

## 1. The Holocaust Conference on the Persecution of the Gypsies

Starting on 3 October 1991, at the Auschwitz State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau, an international conference was held on the topic of the persecution of the Gypsies during the Second World War. The related papers were published in 1998 in a book entitled *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau 1943-44. Vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Verfolgung unter der Nazi-herrschaft* [*Sinti and Roma in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp 1943-44. Against the Background of Their Persecution under Nazi Domination*].<sup>1</sup>

The volume, a compilation of 26 reports and a specific bibliography of 436 works, is an indispensable instrument for studying the matter.

The initial “specific” estimate of the number of Gypsies allegedly exterminated under the National-Socialist regime – 219,700 persons – was adopted in 1972 by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon in the book *The Destiny of Europe’s Gypsies*.<sup>2</sup> The “official” figure of 500,000 victims<sup>3</sup> was subsequently imposed. This figure, in fact, appears in the above-mentioned work<sup>4</sup>, perhaps with a very wide range of variation – 200,000-500,000<sup>5</sup> and even 240,000-500,000-1,000,000.<sup>6</sup>

But the problem is not just a statistical one. The question is whether the National-Socialist regime ever displayed a deliberate determination to exterminate the Gypsies and then put such a determination into action.

The position of Holocaust historiography with regard to the matter was summarized by Vlasta Kladvivová:<sup>7</sup>

*“The National-Socialist administration of Germany assigned the same fate to the Sinti and Roma as they did to the Jews. In all countries occupied by Germany, but particularly in Poland, in the western territories of the Soviet Union, in Croatia and Serbia, the majority of Sinti and Roma were killed en masse. In 1939, some of the Sinti in Germany and Austria were partly sent to Dachau concentration camp or the women’s*



*Sinti and Roma people (Gypsies) about to be deported. Photograph taken in the German town of Asperg 22 May 1940.*

Bundesarchiv, R 165 Bild-244-52 / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons

*camp at Ravensbrück. From March 1943 onwards, Sinti and Roma from Germany, in Central Europe, as well as from Poland to some extent, along with a small number from Western and southern Europe, were concentrated in the “Zigeunerlager” [Gypsy camp] in the mass-extermiation camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, where 1,700 non-registered Gypsies are said to have been gassed in March 1943, and 2,991 of them, after being registered, are said to have been gassed on 2 August 1944.*

The fulcrum of the entire story is, therefore, the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, which, according to Romani Rose, precisely “symbolizes the genocide of the Sinti and Roma in Europe.”<sup>8</sup> It is, in fact, precisely from the Gypsies at Birkenau that Holocaust historiography has – with a remarkably circular chain of reasoning – deduced the *racially motivated* “determination to exterminate” on the part of the National-Socialist regime with regard to the Gypsies.

We therefore need to examine, first, the genesis and purpose of the deportation of the Gypsies to Birkenau, to ascertain whether the Gypsies were really sent there for purposes of extermination.



## 2. Origin and Purpose of the Deportation of the Gypsies to Birkenau

The deportation of the Gypsies to Birkenau was effected in consequence of a Himmler order dated 16 December 1942. This is the so-called “*Auschwitz-Erlass*” (Auschwitz Decree), preceded, on 13 October 1942, by another decree from the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) on the subject of the “*Zigeunerhauptlinge*” (Gypsy tribal heads), which “distinguished between Sinti and Lalleri “of pure race” and “good crossbreeds in a Gypsy sense” on the one hand, and the “remaining Gypsy crossbreeds and Roma on the other hand,” as noted by Michael Zimmermann.<sup>9</sup> The first group was to be treated favorably:<sup>10</sup>

*“Bormann, head of the Party Chancery, then sent a letter to Himmler dated 3 December 1942 in which he declared himself opposed to any ‘special treatment [Sonderbehandlung] of the so-called Gypsies of pure race’ and, in particular, to granting them permission to ‘roam freely throughout the country.’”*

Zimmermann then stated that the sense of the above-mentioned decree was that it was only desired to guarantee Gypsies “a certain freedom of movement for the future [...] within a given territory.”<sup>11</sup> In this context, he also mentioned a Himmler order dated 16 September 1942, which entrusted the *Ahnenerbe* (National-Socialist Institute of Genetic Legacies) with conducting a study of the culture of the Roma and Sinti.<sup>12</sup> And Franciszek Piper once again called attention to Rudolf Hoss’s statement that Gypsies of pure race, “as descendants of the primordial Indo-Germanic peoples in Hungary, in the region of odenburg (Sopron), should be transferred to the region of Lake Neusiedl. In the future, after the victory, it would be necessary to search for a new territory of settlement for them.”<sup>13</sup>

The “*Auschwitz-Erlass*” required the following, among other things:<sup>14</sup>

*“By order of the Reichsfuhrer SS of 16 Dec. 1942 – Journal no. I 2652/42 Ad/RF/V – Gypsy crossbreeds, Gypsies who are Roma and belong to Gypsy stock of Balkan origin, having no German blood, should be selected according to certain directives and assigned to a concentration camp in an action lasting a very few weeks. This circle of persons, in that which follows, shall be referred to, in abbreviated form, as “Gypsy persons.” The internment shall occur by family, without consideration for the degree of crossbreeding, in the Gypsy concentration camp (Gypsy Camp) of Auschwitz. [...]*

*The following persons shall be excluded from internment:*

1. *Sinti and Lalleri Gypsies of pure race;*
2. *Gypsy crossbreeds who are good crossbreeds in the Gypsy sense and according to the decree of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt of 13 Oct. 1942 – V A 2 no. 2260/42 – and 11 Jan. 43 – V A 2 Nr. 40/43 – shall be integrated with selected Sinti Gypsy families of pure race and Lalleri families considered of pure race;*
3. *Socially adapted persons who had fixed employment and a fixed primary habitation prior to registration of the Gypsies; [...]*
6. *Gypsy persons who are still engaged in their military service or who, in the current war, have been discharged from military service as invalids or with decorations.”*

Sub-paragraphs 1 and 2 of Paragraph 4 moreover order the following:

*“The families must be interned in the camp together, insofar as possible, including all economically dependent children. If children are lodged in [institutions for the] education of abandoned children or elsewhere, their reunion with the family, insofar as possible, prior to arrest. In the same way, Gypsy children whose parents are dead [or] interned in a concentration camp or elsewhere must be proceeded with in the same way. To avoid overly lengthy preventive detention, the arrest of Gypsy persons must occur only when rapid transport to the concentration camp is assured.”*

These orders categorically disprove the allegation that the Gypsies were the object of *racial* persecution. Thus, “racial purity” was, for them, even a guarantee of favorable treatment. The measures taken in their regard were not inhumane, and are not consistent with a presumed intention to commit genocide.

### 3. The Gypsy Camp at Birkenau

This presumed intention is in conflict with the conditions of internment of the Gypsies at Birkenau. In this regard, Franciszek Piper declared:<sup>15</sup>

*“The conditions of the Sinti and Roma differ from those of the other camp inmates, particularly in the fact that they may be lodged together with their families and are not all compelled to work physically. Nor were they even subject to selection at the ramp, as occurred with the Jewish transports. Another one of [their] privileges was the possibility of keeping the personal belongings which they brought with them to the camp. They could even use the valuables and sums of money which they smuggled into the camp for clandestine purchases in the camp and to*

*procure foodstuffs for themselves and could also wear their own clothing.”*

Helena Kubica stresses that the Gypsies at Auschwitz, at least in theory, were not treated as inmates, but as “internees who were to remain there only until the end of the war, and their conditions were initially better than those of the other inmates.” This was particularly true with regard to food for children.

The correspondence between the *SS-WVHA (Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt)*, *SS-Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl*, and *Obersturmbannführer Dr. Brandt* of the personal staff of the *Reichsführer-SS*, has been preserved. On 9 April 1943, Pohl, in this correspondence, among other things, wrote as follows:

*“The administration of Auschwitz Concentration Camp has requested an improvement in food for pregnant Gypsy women and Gypsy infants and newborn children, with reference to the fact that the Reichsführer-SS wants it this way, because, with regard to the Gypsies, he has rather particular intentions. The requests are such that the rations correspond to those of German citizens. I now ask you to verify what the wishes of the Reichsführer-SS [actually] are. We cannot give inmates’ food to the Gypsies, but, supplied with supplements, we can assimilate them with the eastern workers and even give them supplements, even if pregnant eastern workers don’t receive them, and we can even give them our rations for future mothers. Should we assist the children in accordance with the rations for Germans or, even here, follow a middle path in the manner of the regulations for the eastern workers? I request that you inform me of the wish of the Reichsführer-SS so that I may draw up a definitive directive.”*

The response to this letter came from Himmler’s chancery on 15 April 1943 and was signed by Dr. Brandt:<sup>16</sup>

*“With regard to your request of 9.4.1943, I inform you that the Reichsführer-SS has decided that both pregnant Gypsies lodged [at Auschwitz] and their children must receive the food due to the eastern workers. For the children, there is a need to find a suitable middle way according to the regulations on eastern workers.”*

Himmler’s directive did not just remain on paper:<sup>17</sup>

*“In addition to better food and apart from the possibility of remaining together with their mothers, in the autumn of 1943, at the request of the Gypsy camp physician, Dr. Josef Mengele, a nursery school was creat-*

*ed in Barracks 29 and 31 along with a day nursery for children up to the age of 6 at the same time. Barracks 29 was intended for unweaned babies, while Barracks 31 was reserved for babies who already knew how to walk. In the interval from [ages] 8 to 14, several hundred children were attended to by staff consisting of inmates.”*

This is confirmed by a letter from Dr. Mengele, *Lagerarzt* of the Gypsy camp, to the *Zentralbauleitung* of Auschwitz dated 23 March 1944, which reads:<sup>18</sup>

*“For the deteriorated roofs of nursery Blocks 29 and 31 in the Gypsy camp, request is hereby made for 100 rolls of tarpaper (very urgent)”* [“Für die schadhaften Dächer der Kindergarten-Blöcke 29 und 31 im Zigeunerlager wird um 100 Rollen Dachpappe gebeten (sehr dringend).”]

Helena Kubica then adds:<sup>19</sup>

*“[...] based on a Himmler order, the children in the nursery were to receive a special diet: milk, butter, white bread, broth or even marmalade and chocolate.”*

Notwithstanding the above, mortality in the Gypsy camp was very high, but from this indubitable fact the Holocaust historiography draws the improper conclusion that the privileges described above – as asserted by Franciszek Piper – were simply a “measure of camouflage”.<sup>20</sup>

*“That such privileges were illusory, and intended only to create the impression of provisional internment, is attested to by the fact that, of the nearly 23,000 Sinti and Roma registered in the camp between February 1943 and July 1944, approximately 21,000 died; 7,000 were killed in the gas chambers; the remaining 14,000 died of various diseases and of hunger, or were declared sick and killed by SS doctors.”*

According to the documents, of the 20,943 registered Gypsies, 18,249 died.<sup>21</sup> I shall address the alleged gassing victims a bit later on.

As stressed by Helena Kubica, the mortality resulted mainly from the primitive conditions prevailing in the Gypsy camp:

*“At the end of March 1943, there were already more than 10,000 Sinti and Roma in the ‘Gypsy camp’. The overcrowding of the barracks and the miserable hygienic-sanitary situation caused by the lack of water and the absence of sewerage facilities engendered a high mortality rate, particularly among children, and caused the spread of epidemics: typhus, pulmonary tuberculosis, malaria, scabies and other typical childhood diseases such as scarlet fever, whooping cough and German mea-*

*sles. Initially, the sick remained in their barracks together with the healthy, thus contributing to the spread of the epidemic."*

The German authorities sought to confront the situation somehow. On 24 April 1943, *SS-Brigadeführer* Hans Kammler, head of Office Group C (Construction) of the *WVHA*, sent the *Auschwitz Zentralbauleitung* a letter bearing as its subject "*KL-Auschwitz-Zigeunerlager*" ("Gypsy camp, Auschwitz Concentration Camp"), in which he wrote<sup>22</sup>

*"With the above-mentioned letter, the head of the D group of offices informs you that, due to the excessive pollution of the water in the existing water troughs intended for personal washing, the mortality rate for children under 10 is disproportionately high. To prevent epidemics, instead of the existing washing troughs, it is necessary to install pipes with holes drilled in them from which the necessary water may drip, rather like a shower, without the possibility of pollution from the exterior. You must report to me on the above matters by 5 May 1943."*

Particularly at risk were the children born in the camp, who were numerous; on 21 May 1943, Rudolf Höss, the commandant at Auschwitz, spoke of "approximately 50 births per day of children in the Gypsy camp."<sup>23</sup>

The camp administration attempted to improve the hygienic-sanitary situation by creating a hospital for the inmates (*Häftlingskrankenbau*) in Barracks 24, 26, 28 and 30<sup>24</sup>, three wash barracks (*Waschbaracken*)<sup>25</sup> and two latrine barracks (*Abortbaracken*).<sup>26</sup> A disinfection barracks was also constructed, with regard to which a report from *SS-Sturmbannführer* Karl Bischoff, head of the *Auschwitz Zentralbauleitung*, states:<sup>27</sup>

*"The transformation of a stable (initially latrine barracks) into a disinfection barracks [Entlausungsbaracke] has begun. To this end, two hot-air-disinfection installations [Heißluft-Entwesungsanlagen] have already arrived. The partitions of the individual areas have been walled up. We have already begun coating the wooden walls and roof with Heraklith [a building material]. Excavation for the heating area has been completed and the entire system of pipes inside the barracks has been covered with plastered lath."*

In another report dated 11 September 1943, Bischoff informed the camp administration:<sup>28</sup>

*"The disinfection installation [Entwesungsanlage] in the Gypsy camp was turned over to SS-Unterscharführer Böhm on 8 Sept. 1943, and has been in operation since then."*

A list of the sanitary installations at Auschwitz and Birkenau drawn up by the civilian employee of the *Zentralbauleitung* Rudolf Jährling on 30 July 1943 describes the sanitary installation in the Gypsy camp as follows:<sup>29</sup>

*“1 disinfection barracks with 4 electrically operated hot-air installations. Producer: Umluftapparatebau G.m.b.H., Berlin-Charlottenburg; with shower installation (completion of the plant: 15 Aug. 1943).”*

Jean-Claude Pressac, in his first study on Auschwitz, published a photograph which shows these devices and a diagram of their layout.<sup>30</sup>

Having ascertained that the Gypsies were not deported to Birkenau for purposes of extermination, the probative value and historical justification of the exterminationist hypothesis of their killing in gas chambers remains to be established.

#### 4. The Alleged Gassing of Gypsies at Birkenau on 23 March 1943

Under the date of 23 March 1943, Danuta Czech wrote as follows in her *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz:<sup>31</sup>

*“Afterwards, in the evening, in the Gypsy camp of Birkenau, the closure of the camp was ordered, the approximately 1,700 men, women and children housed in Barracks 20 and 22, who had not been registered upon reception at the Gypsy camp, were made to exit the barracks, taken to the gas chambers and killed there. These Gypsies were deported from the region of Białystok and were isolated in Barracks 20 and 22 on suspicion of having typhus. They were not registered at the camp, received no numbers, and only spent a few days in the camp.”*

This alleged occurrence is based exclusively upon a single testimony. Since no document exists to support the presumed gassing of these 1,700 Gypsies, or even their arrival at Auschwitz, Danuta Czech's report has no historical basis.

#### 5. The Alleged Gassing of Gypsies at Birkenau on 25 May 1943

Under the date of 25 May 1943, Danuta Czech writes:<sup>32</sup>

*“The SS-Lagerarzt [camp physician], orders a quarantine for the Gypsy camp in Birkenau, during which time 507 Gypsies with numbers Z-7666–Z-8178, and 528 female Gypsies with numbers Z-8331–Z-8864,*

were taken to the gas chambers. Among them were a few typhus patients, and several hundred persons suspected of typhus [...]. The inmate employed in the Schreibstube [record-keeping office] of the hospital in the Gypsy camp was ordered to record the death certificates of the gassed Gypsies as 'death from natural causes,' indicating a dozen deaths per day for consistency's sake."

In a footnote, Danuta Czech explains:<sup>33</sup>

"The Gypsy Hauptbuch [Register], right next to the names of the gassed men from these transports, bears a cross and dates between 25 May and 2 June. The [same] Gypsy Hauptbuch, right next to the names of the women from the above-mentioned transports, bears the notation 'SB', for Sonderbehandlung ["special treatment," presumed code language for homicidal gassing] or a cross and dates between 26 May and 11 June 1943."

First, I will say that the alleged selection is based upon mere testimonies. The "*Hauptbuch der Zigeunerinnen*" [main Gypsy women's register], from 25 May to 11 June 1943 records 528 deaths, broken down as follows:<sup>34</sup>

Date	Deaths	Symbol
26 May 1943	50	Died SB
27 May 1943	50	Died SB
3 June 1943	50	†
4 June 1943	139	†
7 June 1943	50	†
8 June 1943	50	†
9 June 1943	60	†
10 June 1943	50	†
11 June 1943	29	†
<b>Total</b>	<b>528</b>	

I will first of all point out that the initials "SB," of 528 deaths, are only attributed to 100 women and to *none* of the 349 male Gypsy deaths,<sup>35</sup> *i.e.*, to 100 deaths out of 877. If all these inmates were subjected to *Sonderbehandlung* – alleged "homicidal gassing" – why were only 100 recorded as such with the initials "SB"?

Another oddity of these registrations is the breakdown of the deaths. For six days, 50 Gypsy women were recorded in a round number, while one day shows 60; but for 4 June, the registrations show 139. Not only [that], but for a good eight days (from 28 May to 2 June, in addition to 5 and 6 June) no deaths were registered at all. If it was necessary to "dis-

guise” these deaths, why were they not distributed in an irregular manner every day, from 26 May to 11 June?

On the other hand, if the practice of the alleged *Sonderbehandlung* – “homicidal gassing” – was legal, since it was ordered by the *SS-WVHA*, what need was there to “disguise” these deaths at all? The logic of “disguising” them is only justified in a context of illegality.

There is another oddity: why are all the numbers of the dead inmates consecutive? Before answering this question, it is necessary to know what happened in the *Zigeunerlager* during that period. Henryk Świebocki, in an article based on information received from the clandestine resistance movement with regard to the *Zigeunerlager*, notes:<sup>36</sup>

*“Other clandestine messages from 1943 make repeated mention of the typhus epidemic in the Zigeunerlager and the [related] high mortality rate: ‘Petechial fever raging in the Zigeunerlager. Mortality up to 30 Gypsies per day. Gypsies often flee as a result [?]’ [May 1943]. ‘Very serious epidemic of petechial fever among the Gypsies – high mortality –, but the camp is closed to prevent all contact’ [June 1943]. ‘The Zigeunerlager, which contains 13,000 persons, is distinguished by the high mortality rate – particularly from abdominal and petechial typhus’ [14 June 1943]. ‘Petechial fever raging in the Zigeunerlager’ [20 June 1943].”*

Starting in mid-May, the entire camp was disinfested in the disinfestation facility of Camp BIb (the disinfestation gas chamber of BW 5a), as *SS-Untersturmführer* Johann Schwarzhuber wrote to the camp command on 22 July.<sup>37</sup> But the sanitary situation was not yet under control, because, at the beginning of July, two SS men doing service in the Gypsy camp and in Camp BIb also contracted petechial fever.<sup>38</sup>

The majority of the deceased Gypsies belonged to a transport which had reached the camp from Białystok on 12 May 1943: 468 Gypsy men had been registered under numbers Z-7666–Z-8133 and 503 Gypsy women under numbers Z-8331–Z-8833.<sup>39</sup> The epidemic was confined to precisely these inmates, according to Tadeusz Szymański, Danuta Szymańska and Tadeusz Śniecko:<sup>40</sup>

*“The first cases of petechial fever occurred among the Gypsies who had been interned in May 1943 from the voivodeship of Białystok and from Austria. Verified and suspected cases of petechial fever, approximately 900 persons, were treated at the hospital.”*

Therefore, both the men and the women who had been in close contact had mutually infected each other, with fatal results.



During this period, particularly because of the epidemic of petechial fever, the mortality rate in the *Zigeunerlager* was very high: but in such case, what need was there for a “therapeutic” extermination of the typhus victims or suspected victims? What need was there to murder inmates who were dying *en masse* because of the epidemic?

From the end of February until December 1943, the mortality of the inmates registered in the *Hauptbuch* was 7,359 inmates, to whom must be added at least half of the 1,329 deaths for whom the dates are illegible,<sup>41</sup> a total of at least 8,000, thus the average mortality was approximately 27 deaths per day. The mortality of [528 + 507 =] 1,035 inmates in 14 days (recordings) represents an average of approximately 74 deaths per day, a rate perfectly compatible with an epidemic of petechial fever. In the men’s camp at Birkenau, in the midst of the petechial fever epidemic, 2,824 inmates died in ten days, from 10 to 19 August 1942, an average of 282 per day, out of an average labor force of approximately 23,000 inmates [= 1.23% per day].<sup>42</sup> Since, as we have already seen above, the average labor force of the *Zigeunerlager* was 13,000 inmates, a mortality of [ $13,000 \times 1.23/100 =$ ] approximately 160 inmates per day, in the midst of the epidemic is consistent with the tragic reality of Birkenau.

In conclusion, there is nothing to show that the dead Gypsies were gassed, and there is nothing to indicate that their deaths were not the result of natural causes, although it is improbable that a round number of 50 inmates should have died per day. The recordings of the deaths were performed in this way [more] for reasons of official policy – that is, for purposes of a practical scheduling of the work of drawing up the death certificates – than for purposes of “concealment.”

As for the initials “S.B.,” I have already noted the peculiarity of the use of these initials; see above. I would like to add that the words “*Gest.[orben] S.B.*” is also rather strange: if “S.B.” was synonymous with homicidal gassing, what was the purpose of specifying that the respective inmates were “*gestorben*” [had died]? This rather accords with the explanation of someone interested in establishing a correlation between “S.B.” and *death*, that is, of creating “proof” of this alleged equivalence. The “*Hauptbuch des Zigeunerlager*” was produced at Birkenau on 13 January 1949,<sup>43</sup> during the Stalin era. Could it be that some overzealous employee of the Auschwitz Museum wished to add a datum (the initials “S.B.”) which would – from his point of view – have “completed” the register? If we examine page 542 of the women’s register carefully<sup>44</sup> – the only one containing the initials “S.B.” that has been published – it is obvious that

these initials were written in darker, higher-contrast, ink than the annotations “*Gest.*,” followed by the date, and, in contrast to these annotations, there are no smears: the strokes of the nib are clear and sharp. Furthermore, the initials “*S.B.*” are written in a clearly different hand from that in which the annotations are written, as made obvious by the initials by the name of the Gypsy woman Sofia Brzesziński (no. 8377 of the register) on the same page. This more than justifies the suspicion that the initials “*S.B.*” were added later, after the rediscovery of the registers. Since the registers, consisting of three volumes (one containing the men’s register, and the other two containing the women’s registers), were somewhat dilapidated, a comprehensive manipulation was not possible, because, on other pages, the new ink right next to the faded ink would have been too obvious to fool anyone.

Such a suspicion has nothing improbable about it. It is well known that the authorities of the Auschwitz Museum indulged in even bolder manipulations, in particular, through the “reconstruction” of the alleged gas chamber in Crematorium I of the *Stammlager*, which was fobbed off as *original* and authentic until 1992.<sup>45</sup>

## 6. The Alleged Gassing of Gypsies at Birkenau on 2 August 1944

In dealing with this matter, I shall refer to an article of mine already published a few years ago, appending my response to the only critique offered by exterminationists.<sup>46</sup>

### 6.1. Danuta Czech’s Historical Reconstruction

According to the official historiography, 2,897 Gypsies in the so-called “*Zigeuner-Familienlager*” (Gypsy family camp) in Camp BIIE were gassed at Birkenau on 2 August 1944.

The most specific reconstruction of the alleged event was supplied by Danuta Czech in her Auschwitz “*Kalendarium*.”<sup>47</sup>

Her argumentative structure is as follows: On 30 July 1944, the population of Camp BIIE amounted to 1,518 inmates.<sup>48</sup> On 1 August, the population of the camp increased to 2,815 inmates. Danuta Czech comments:<sup>49</sup>

“*This is probably the total number of all men and all women.*”

On 2 August, the population of the camp increased again to 2,885 inmates, but the total number of Gypsies (including those in Camps BIIa, BII d e

BIIf) was 2,898 persons, “probably men and women,” comments Danuta Czech.<sup>50</sup>

Her historical reconstruction continues as follows:<sup>51</sup>

*“In the afternoon, an empty train was prepared at the Birkenau railway ramp. 1,408 Gypsy men and women selected from Camp BIIf and from Blocks 10 and 11 of the Main Camp were removed from Auschwitz Concentration Camp [Birkenau]. These were to remain alive, and were therefore transferred to other concentration camps. The departing inmates said goodbye through the fence to those remaining in Camp BIIf. The train departed the ramp at Birkenau towards 7 P.M. In the train were 918 men, including 105 young people aged 9 to 14, and 490 women. The destination of the train was Buchenwald Concentration Camp. On 3 – 4 August, 1,408 Gypsy men and women were still registered on the labor deployment list of Auschwitz II [Birkenau], with the notation that they were being transferred to another camp. These were deleted from the camp labor force only after receipt of confirmation of their arrival at Buchenwald. [...]*

*After the serial-number roll call at KL Auschwitz II, the camp was ordered isolated, and the Blöcke in the Gypsy family camp were ordered closed. Camp BIIf and other housing barracks still containing Gypsies were surrounded by armed SS soldiers. Trucks entered the camps, which then transported 2,897 defenseless men, women and children to the gas chambers in the crematorium.”*

## 6.2. The Documents

Danuta Czech’s reconstruction, as regards its numerical aspects, is documentarily based on unimpeachable facts, taken from the series of daily reports referred to as “*Arbeitseinsatz*” (labor deployment) in the men’s camp of Auschwitz II (Birkenau).

On 30 July 1944, The “*Zigeunerlagerstärke*” (population of the Gypsy camp) was 1,518 persons.<sup>52</sup> On 1 August (the report for 31 July is missing), the population amounted to 2,815 persons;<sup>53</sup> on 2 August, it amounted to 2,885 persons.<sup>54</sup> On 3 August, the heading “*Zigeunerlagerstärke*” no longer appears, and 1,408 Gypsies were listed under the heading “*Überstellung Zig.*” (Gypsy transfer) with reference to Camp BIIf.<sup>55</sup>

Apparently, then, (2,885 – 1,408 =) 1,477 Gypsies disappeared from the camp population on 3 August: where did they go?

Before answering this question, we need to ask another, even more important question: is Danuta Czech’s interpretation of these documents cor-

rect?

### 6.3. The Interpretation of the Documents

Between the end of July and the beginning of August 1944, the men's camp at Auschwitz II was composed of the following sectors: BIa, BIIa, BIIId, BIIIf, BIIg, listed as such in the *Arbeitseinsatz* (labor deployment) reports.

Camp BIIe housed both Gypsy men and women, and for this reason was also referred to as the *Zigeuner-Familienlager*. Nevertheless, as is logical, the men formed part of the men's camp labor force, while the women formed part of the women's camp labor force, so that they never appear in the series of *Arbeitseinsatz* reports for Camp BIIe, before 3 August. The male inmates of this camp appear under a separate heading entitled *Zigeunerlagerstärke* (Gypsy camp labor force).

As we have seen, on 1 August 1944, the Gypsy camp labor force increased from 1,518 to 2,815 inmates. Who were these (2,815 – 1,518 =) 1,297 inmates, and where did they come from? Danuta Czech supposes that they were Gypsy women: but why were women included in the labor force of the men's camp? This hypothesis is not very sensible, and is, in fact, quite unjustified.

As already noted by Gerald Reitlinger, the Gypsy women from the women's sector of Camp BIIe were transported to Ravensbrück on 1 August 1944.<sup>56</sup> The source cited by him in fact confirms that the transport in question left Auschwitz on 1 August and reached Ravensbrück on 3 August. Reitlinger explains:<sup>57</sup>

*“The transport from Auschwitz Concentration Camp, having arrived on 3.8.44, consisted exclusively of Gypsy women from Birkenau, women who were still alive.”*

Danuta Czech's assertion that 918 Gypsy men and 490 Gypsy women were transferred to Buchenwald is incorrect, since 918 Gypsies reached their destination, *i.e.*, Buchenwald, but not a single Gypsy woman did. In fact, the only documentary source cited by Czech in this context is a letter from the garrison physician of the *Waffen-SS* at Weimar (*SS-Standortarzt der Waffen-SS Weimar*) dated 5 August 1944 indicating the subject of “*Zigeunertransport v. 3.8.44 von K.L. Auschwitz*” (Gypsy transport of 3.8.1944 from KL Auschwitz). It mentions 918 Gypsies; of these, 105 belonged to the 1930-35 age group (9-14 years old), and 2 were over 65 years of age.<sup>58</sup> *En passant*, it is impossible to understand how these children and old people escaped being “gassed”! Even the *Verzeichnis der Neuzugänge ab 1.*

*Juli 1944* (List of new arrivals of 1 July 1944) of Buchenwald Concentration Camp, dated 3 August, mentions only one transport of 918 “*Zigeuner vom K.L. Auschwitz*” (Gypsies from Auschwitz Concentration Camp).<sup>59</sup> Finally, the report of the Dutch Red Cross confirms the arrival at Buchenwald of one single Gypsy transport on 3 August 1944, assigned registration numbers 74084-74998, corresponding to 915 inmates; once again, this proves that these inmates were Gypsies from the *Zigeunerlager* or Gypsy camp at Birkenau, and that the Gypsy women were transferred to Ravensbrück.<sup>60</sup> And since only this one transport of 918 Gypsies arrived at Buchenwald, it is obvious that another transport of 490 Gypsies was directed to another camp.

There nevertheless remains the question that the manpower of the Gypsy camp, from 30 July to 1 August, increased from 1,518 to 2,815 inmates. Having established that the additional 1,297 inmates could not be Gypsies, who were they?

The documents permit us to provide an answer to this question. On 30 July 1944, a transport of 1,298 Jews reached Birkenau from Radom, who were registered under numbers A-18647-A-19944.<sup>61</sup> These however, in the *Arbeitseinsatz* report of 1 August, do not appear, neither under the heading “*Zugang*” (arrivals), which is not even listed, nor under the heading “*Zugangsquarantäne*” (new arrivals quarantined), which shows only 968 registered inmates in Camp BIIa, who constitute part of the 1,318 inmates listed in the report for 30 July. These 1,298 inmates do not appear either in the report for 2 August, which lists 965 registered inmates in *Zugangsquarantäne* for Camp BIIa, the same as the day before, and 2 inmates – 2 newborns / “*Zugang (Neugebor.)*” – as new arrivals.

Camp BIIe also appears in the report for 3 August for the first time, showing 1,415 registered inmates under the heading “*Zugangsquarantäne Häftl.*” (inmate new arrivals quarantined) and 547 under the heading “*Zugang.*” This heading also includes 16 inmates in Camp BIa and 1,797 in Camp BIIa.

The “*Quarantäne-Liste*” (quarantine list)<sup>62</sup> compiled by the inmate Otto Wolken allows us to reconstruct the composition of the inmates admitted into the *Zugangsquarantäne* in Camp BIIa.

The 1,797 inmates registered on 3 August were made up as follows:

- 1 1,614 from Blyżyn (31 July), registration numbers: B-110-B-2902;
- 2 129 from Kowno (1 August), registration numbers: B-2774-B-2902;
- 3 54 from a mixed transport (31 July), registration numbers: 190656-190707<sup>63</sup> and A-19945-A-19946.

The 547 inmates listed under “*Zugang*” in Camp BIIE were Jews from Radom, registered on 2 August under numbers B-2903-B-3449.<sup>64</sup>

The *Quarantäne-Liste* therefore confirms that the above-mentioned 1,298 Jews did not enter the BIIa quarantine camp: therefore, if it is certain that they were registered at Birkenau, but do not appear under the heading “*Zugang*,” nor under “*Zugangsquarantäne*,” where did they go?

The conclusion is inescapable: they were received by Camp BIIE, the manpower of which thereby increased to (1,518 + 1,298 =) 2,816 inmates. The one-unit discrepancy results from the fact that, for 1 July, the number of Gypsies is unknown, and certainly dropped from 1,518 to 1,517.

Therefore, the 2,815 inmates of the Gypsy camp on 1 August 1944 consisted of 1,517 Gypsies and 1,298 Jews from Radom.

On 2 August, the manpower of Camp BIIE was 2,885 inmates. In the other camps, there were a total of 13 Gypsies: 1 in BIIa, 5 in BIId and 7 in BIIf. On 3 August, there was only one remaining Gypsy in Camp BIIf.

On 3 August, the heading “*Zigeunerlagerstärke*” disappears from the series of *Arbeitseinsatz* reports, while Camp BIIE appears for the first time, listing 547 inmates under “*Zugang*,” whom we have already identified, and 1,415 inmates under “*Zugangsquarantäne*,” who came neither from outside nor from the BIIa quarantine camp. It is therefore clear that they were in Camp BIIE already, and formed part of the 2,885 inmates mentioned above. On 3 August, there were also 1,408 Gypsies under “*Überstellung*” (transfer) and [that] these also formed part of these inmates. Finally, another 72 inmates in Camp BIIE are listed under the heading “*Beschäftigte*” (employed).

Adding the figures up, on 3 August, there must have been (1,415 + 1,408 + 72 =) 2,895 inmates in in Camp BIIE, only 1,408 of them on paper.<sup>65</sup> On 2 August, there were 2,885 inmates in that camp, but 12 of the 13 Gypsies in the other camps were recalled to Camp BIIE, therefore, the manpower of this camp must have been 2,897 inmates on 3 August. Two inmates in Camp BIIE were probably transferred or died; therefore, there were actually 2,895 inmates in Camp BIIE on 3 August 1944.

The variations in Gypsy manpower between 30 July and 3 August 1944 can therefore be explained in a perfectly straightforward manner.

The story of the gassing of the Gypsy camp is therefore without any historical basis.

#### 6.4. Objections and Responses

Sergey Romanov has published an article on the “*Holocaust Controversies*” Internet site<sup>66</sup> about the fate of the Gypsies interned at Birkenau, in

which he contests both Danuta Czech's interpretation, as summarized above, and mine. As for mine, in particular, he accuses me of failing to pay sufficient attention to the fact that, according to Danuta Czech, as we have seen above, "the 1,408 Gypsies and Gypsy women" transferred from Birkenau were "selected from Camp BIIe and from Blocks 10 and 11 of the Main Camp." He criticizes both [of us] for allegedly ignoring a series of "Stärkemeldung" (manpower reports) from Camp "B.II/e (Frauen)," that is, from the women's section of the Gypsy camp, prepared between 16 and 31 July 1944. These documents were previously unknown to everyone, including Danuta Czech. The report of 31 July 1944<sup>67</sup> indicates the manpower as 3,422 Gypsy women, therefore, the increase in Gypsy camp manpower from 1,518 to 2,815 persons between 30 July and 1 August 1944 cannot be explained by the registration of Gypsy women and men together, as claimed by Danuta Czech.

Romanov accepts my explanation in this regard, commenting that, "the argument seems reasonable in this regard, and it's a shame that traditional researchers didn't offer it earlier" – that is, that the explanation was proposed by a revisionist researcher rather than an exterminationist. Subtracting the 1,298 Jews from Radom from the presumed number of gassing victims – 2,897 Gypsies, "who, according to Danuta Czech's methodology, could have been gassed" and assuming that the 1,408 Gypsies transferred from Birkenau came from Auschwitz, he concludes that "the gassed Gypsies could have been  $(1,599 + 3,422) = 5,021$ ."

Therefore – claims Romanov – "both Mattogno and Czech commit a fatal error. They were only interested in the *male* labor employment lists. How was Czech, based on the population of the *male* camp, able to conclude that '2,897 defenseless men, women and children were gassed,' and how was Mattogno, based on the *male* population, able to conclude that no Gypsies were gassed at all?"

I shall begin by answering the last question first.

Danuta Czech claimed to have *documentarily proven* the gassing of 2,897 Gypsy men and women based on the *Arbeitseinsatz* reports (labor deployment reports) from the male camp at Birkenau; for my part, I have limited myself to showing that her interpretation is *documentarily* unjustified. The discovery of the *Stärkemeldung* reports from the female sector of the camp only confirms my refutation.

On the other hand, while it is true that I perforce based my findings on the manpower of the male Gypsy camp, I did not neglect the women's camp at all. In fact, I mentioned the Gypsy women's transport which de-

parted Birkenau on 1 August 1944 and reached Ravensbrück concentration camp on 3 August. The number of camp inmates is unknown, and it is not even known whether there were other Gypsy transports to other camps. But there is nothing to indicate that all 3,422 of the Gypsy women in the female section of BIIe Camp were not transported to other camps on 31 July 1944. Upon what *documentary* basis can one assert that all or any of them were gassed?

Finally, let us examine the question of the transfer of 1,408 Gypsies from Camp BIIe and Blocks 10 and 11 of Auschwitz Camp. Romanov draws attention to the entry dated 23 May 1944 of the *Kalendarium*, which states:<sup>68</sup>

*“Another 1,500 Gypsies – men, women and children – were housed in Blocks 10 and 11 of the Main Camp. These people, after the failed SS attempt to liquidate the Gypsies, were selected from the BIIe Gypsy family camp at Birkenau. The ones selected were to be transferred to other concentration camps within the Reich.”*

Since, therefore, Danuta Czech considers the 1,408 transferred Gypsies as forming part of these 1,500 sent to Auschwitz, according to her logic, they should not be subtracted from the 2,898 Gypsies presumed gassed, as I had done in the first draft of this article.<sup>69</sup> Apart from this rather unimportant point, this alleged fact in no way influences the structure of my argument.

I use the words “alleged fact” quite deliberately, because the transfer of these 1,500 Gypsies from Birkenau to Auschwitz is not attested to by any document; it is based on a single testimony. Here, by contrast, it would be appropriate to refer to the *Hauptbuch des Zigeunerlagers* (Gypsy camp main register), containing notations of variations (deaths, transfers, etc.) of all Gypsies, both men and women, registered at Birkenau. While the registers related to men and women are damaged in part, an analysis of this content permits one to form a precise idea of the presumed transfer to Auschwitz in question. The following table reproduces the data related to Gypsy transfers to the Auschwitz Main Camp:



<b>Date</b>	<b>Gypsy men</b>	<b>Gypsy women</b>
31 March 1943	2	/
4 April 1943	300	/
5 April 1943	6	/
7 April 1943	1	/
11 April 1943	2	/
12 April 1943	406	/
13 April 1943	1	/
14 April 1943	2	/
19 April 1943	1	/
22 April 1943	3	/
29 April 1943	6	/
11 May 1943	1	/
1 June 1943	1	/
19 June 1943	5	/
4 Aug. 1943	1	/
8 Sept. 1943	/	2
30 Oct. 1943	1	/
1 Nov. 1943	1	/
9 Nov. 1943	1	/
11 Nov. 1943	2	3
13 Nov. 1943	1	/
<b>Total</b>	<b>744</b>	<b>5</b>

The presumed transfer of approximately 1,500 Gypsies to Auschwitz on 23 May 1944 is not mentioned in the *Hauptbuch des Zigeunerlagers*. As for the presumed gassing on 2 August 1944, this register contains no indication of it, since the notations contained in it cease, strangely, with the month of July.

## 7. The Presumed Extermination of the Gypsies in the German-Occupied Territories and in German-Allied Territories

### 7.1. The Generalgouvernement

Let us turn to the Auschwitz conference on the persecution of the Gypsies. Piotr Kaszyca provides a long list of 167 “execution locations” in the *Generalgouvernement*<sup>70</sup> in which 3,600 Gypsies are said to have been killed,<sup>71</sup> a list subsequently updated to 188 locations and 4,200 victims,<sup>72</sup> which

would nevertheless only represent a small percentage of the 30,000 Gypsies deported to the *Generalgouvernement* from Reich territory in 1940.<sup>73</sup> Prior to 1 September 1939, there were 30,000, 50,000 or 70,000 Gypsies living in Poland.<sup>74</sup> The presumed executions mentioned above are not, in reality, supported by documents or material reports. It is all based on testimonies.

## 7.2. Hungary

András T. Hegedüs declared:<sup>75</sup>

*“The war in Hungary ended on 4 April 1945, and with it, the terror of the swastika. The losses of the Roma people amounted, according to various estimations, to 5-10% of their population. But since the Roma, because of their particular lifestyle, particularly their indefatigable wanderings, could not be taken into consideration in the pre-war census, there are, as a result, no reliable data as to their numbers; these percentages may mean either a few thousand or a few tens of thousands of victims.”*

But he supplies no figure as to the Gypsy population, so that his statement, in addition to being based on quite an arbitrary percentage of victims, is logically nonsensical as well. Susanne Heim asserts that there were 275,000 Gypsies in Hungary in 1942,<sup>76</sup> so that, if we adopt the above-mentioned arbitrary percentages, the victims would have amounted to 13,750-27,500.

## 7.3. Slovakia

Ctibor Nečas reports that 176 mass graves containing 3,723 bodies, among them 720 women and 211 children, were found in Slovakian territory after the surrender. But he states: “There is no way of determining the number of Roma among these victims.”<sup>77</sup> More than 100,000 Sinti and Roma lived in Czechoslovakia.<sup>78</sup>

## 7.4. Serbia

Serbia is one of the very few countries for which there is any documentary evidence of killings of Gypsies. A small proportion of these – together a larger number of Jews – were in fact shot in reprisal for the activities of Tito partisans. The hostages were theoretically all women, since “it was contrary to the attitude (*Auffassung*) of German soldiers and officials to take female hostages,” unless they were the wives or relatives of partisans fighting in the mountains.<sup>79</sup> In a note dated 25 October 1941, Franz

Rademacher, head of the *Jewish* section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote:<sup>81</sup>

*“What remains of approximately 20,000 Jews (women, children and old people),<sup>[80]</sup> as well as approximately 1,500 Gypsy women, whose husbands were also shot, must be concentrated in the so-called Gypsy quarter of Belgrade as a ghetto. Provisions for the winter could be provided in some manner.”*

The three mass shootings in October 1941<sup>82</sup> killed approximately 5,200 Jews, 450 Gypsies and 805 Jews and Gypsies<sup>83</sup> – a maximum total of 1,000-1,200 Gypsies at most.<sup>84</sup> But the same Germans estimated the Gypsy population of Serbia in 1943 at 115,000,<sup>85</sup> which means that the killing victims amounted to approximately 1% of the total [Gypsy] population. The degree to which the National-Socialist authorities intended to carry out a Holocaust of the Gypsies is shown by the fact that 282 Gypsies (women and children) were released from internment in the presumed extermination camp of Semlin, where 5,000-6,000,<sup>86</sup> or 7,500, Jewish women and children, are said to have been killed in gas vans; yet the Gypsies had been interned in this same camp.<sup>87</sup>

## 7.5. Soviet Union

The killing of Gypsies is documented for the Soviet Union as well. The indictment in the *Einsatzgruppen* trial mentions the documents in which executions of Gypsies are recorded. Let us briefly summarize the related data in the following table:<sup>88</sup>

Date	Locality	Number	Unit
1 Feb. 1942	Loknya	38	<i>Einsatzgruppe A</i>
10-24 April 1942	Lettonia	71	<i>Einsatzgruppe A</i>
6-30 March 1942	Klintsy	45	<i>Sonderkommando 7a</i>
6-30 March	Mogilev	33	<i>Einsatzkommando 8</i>
Sept.-Oct. 1941	Vyrna, Dederev	32	<i>Sonderkommando 4a</i>
16-28 Feb. 1942	zone of operations	421	<i>Einsatzgruppe D</i>
1-15 March 1942	zone of operations	810	<i>Einsatzgruppe D</i>
15-30 March 1942	zone of operations	261	<i>Einsatzgruppe D</i>
<b>Total</b>		<b>1,711</b>	

*Report on Events in the Soviet Union* no. 150 dated 2 January 1942 (Document NO-2834) also ascribes the killing of 824 Gypsies in the Crimea in the period 16 November-15 December 1941 to *Einsatzgruppe D*.<sup>89</sup>

Nor were these shootings carried out for racial motives. A report on

partisan activities in the rear of Army Group North for the period from 1-16 June 1942 states: "In the zone north of Novorzhev on 7 June 1942, after investigations, 128 Gypsies were shot for assisting the partisans."<sup>90</sup> And a directive from the 281st Security Division at *Feldkommandantur* 822 dated 24 March 1943 recalled: "According to the order of the General Command dated 2 November 1941-VII 1045/43, resident Gypsies who have already lived two years at their place of residence and are not politically and criminally suspect must be left where they are, while migratory Gypsies must be entrusted to the nearest *Einsatzkommando* of the Security Service."<sup>91</sup>

The total number of Gypsies shot therefore amounts to (1,711 + 824 + 128 =) 2,663.

## 7.6. Other Countries and Recap

Leo Lucassen published a table of Gypsy victims<sup>92</sup> which I have supplemented with the data set forth above:

Country	Number of victims
Croatia	28,000
Romania	36,000
Hungary	28,000
France	17,000
Holland	245
Belgium	351
Italy	1,000
Generalgouvernement	4,200
Slovakia	less than 3,723
Serbia	less than 1,200
Soviet Union	2,663
<b>Total</b>	<b>less than 122,382</b>

These figures, for the most part, have no historical-documentary basis in fact, and are often treated acritically in the book by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon.

## 8. Mortality and Presumed Murder of Gypsies in the Concentration and Alleged Extermination Camps

### 8.1. Concentration Camps

The following table summarizes the data supplied by Gudrun Schwarz in her report entitled "*Sinti und Roma in den Nationalsozialistischen Konzen-*

*trationslagern. Ein allgemeiner Überblick*” (“Sinti and Roma in the National-Socialist concentration camps. General overview”).<sup>93</sup>

<b>Camp</b>	<b>Deported Gypsies</b>	<b>Deportation Date</b>
Auschwitz	20,943	1943-1944
Bergen-Belsen	One transport from Mauthausen	Spring 1943
Buchenwald	1,000	1938
"	1,500 from Dachau	Autumn 1939
"	884 from Auschwitz	15 April 1944
"	918	3 August 1944
Dachau	1,500, transferred to Buchenwald	July 1936
Mittelbau-Dora	4,000-5,100	
Flossenbürg	72 from Auschwitz	24 May 1944
"	A few hundred in the auxiliary camps	
Gross-Rosen	Figure unknown	
Herzogenbusch-Vught	246 from Auschwitz	21 May 1944
Lublin-Majdanek	One transport from Ravensbrück	
Mauthausen	250	1939-1941
"	549	Present in the spring of 1945
"	450 from Ravensbrück	Spring of 1945
Natzweiler	A few hundred from Auschwitz	9 November 1943
Neuengamme	100-200	January-June 1940
"	A few hundred in the auxiliary camps	
Ravensbrück	440	29 June 1939
"	101	January-June 1940
"	473 from Auschwitz	15 April 1944
"	144 from Auschwitz	25 May 1944
"	A few hundred in the auxiliary camps	
Sachsenhausen	300	27 December 1944
"	A few hundred in the auxiliary camps	
Stutthof	Figure unknown	

The Gypsies deported to the concentration camps, considering the transfers from one camp to another, do not exceed more than 35,000 in number. We do not know how many of these died, apart from the (18,249 – 5,632 =) 12,617 from Auschwitz, minus the purported gassing victims.

## 8.2 Extermination Camps

Let us now go on to the alleged extermination camps:

<b>Camp</b>	<b>Number of victims</b>
Chel̩mno	~ 5,000 <i>gassing victims</i>
Sobibór	figure unknown <sup>94</sup>
Treblinka	figure unknown <sup>95</sup>
Auschwitz-Birkenau	~ 7,000 <i>gassing victims</i>

The presumed gassing of 5,000 Gypsies at Chel̩mno is not only documentarily unfounded, but also erroneous and numerically contradictory. It rests exclusively on the – totally unreliable <sup>96</sup> – testimony of a self-proclaimed escapee from the camp known only by his nickname: “Szłamek.”

In this regard, Anton Galiński writes:<sup>97</sup>

*“In the absence of documents, it is impossible to establish certain data on the definitive liquidation of the Gypsies in the Łódź camp [that is, the Łódź Gypsy camp]. The climax of their deportation to the extermination camp at Chel̩mno on the Ner fell in the period between 5 and 12 January 1942. This can be deduced from the invoices issued by the administration of the ghetto for the rental of trucks for the needs of the Gypsy camp. This is also confirmed by the Jew ‘Szłamek,’ an escapee from the Chel̩mno extermination center.”*

Even more explicitly, Janusz Gulczyński admits:<sup>99</sup>

*“This information on the subject of the Gypsies is found in the reports from escapees from the camp, for example: AŻIH [Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw], Ring [Ringelblum Archive] I, no. 412 (Szłamek Report). This report was published in: R. Sakowska [...<sup>98</sup>].”*

The figure of 5,000 Gypsies is moreover erroneous since, of the 5,007 Gypsies deported to the Lodz ghetto, 213 died in the month of November 1941, 400 in the month of December and 29 in the days between 1 and 2 January 1942, so that no more than 4,365 Gypsies could have been deported to Chel̩mno. Finally, the figure in question is also contradictory, since “Szłamek” only mentions the killing of Gypsies, in the days between 8 and 9 January 1942, in which there are said to have been a total of 15 or 16 *Gaswagen* transports of 60 persons each, a total of 960 persons,<sup>100</sup> so that he did not account for the fates of the remaining 3,405 Gypsies.

In conclusion, the “verified” victims of the presumed extermination camps are said to have amounted to approximately 12,000 people. Even if we add the 3,863 Gypsies who were shot, the approximate total of 118,500 presumed murder victims and the approximately 11,250 deaths at Auschwitz, the total number of victims would amount to approximately 145,600, well off the propagandistic official figure of 500,000 and still further from

reality, since in this group the number of murder victims – 130,500 Gypsies – is documentarily unfounded and purely conjectural. The number of documentarily verified dead and murdered Gypsies is in fact (12,617 + 1,200 + 2,663 =) 16,480, excluding the deaths among the approximately (35,000 – 20,943 =) 14,047 internees in the concentration camps other than Auschwitz, which may amount to a few thousand more at most. In practical terms, 4% of the mythical figure of 500,000.

The presumed Holocaust of the Gypsies is, therefore, without historical foundation.

Documents

Beschäftigte:		B II/a	B II/a	B III/a	B III/a	
a) Facharbeiter:	Haftl.:	15	1089	50	61	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Haftl.:	49	4505	177	331	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Zig.:	1				
		<u>65</u>	<u>5994</u>	<u>227</u>	<u>392</u>	
Nicht arbeits u. einsetzbar Haftlinge u. Missetäter:						
		B I/a	B II/a	B III/a	B III/a	
1. stationäre u. eh. Kr. I.	H.	-	679	138	1907	
	Kr. Z.	-	-	-	6	
2. Invaliden	H.	-	-	135	-	
3. Knaben bis 14. Jahre	H.	79	-	38	-	
" Zwillinge f. Versuchswecke:		-	-	-	49	
Haftlinge f. Versuchswecke:		-	-	-	99	
4. Verbor. u. Transport:		-	238	16	-	
		<u>79</u>	<u>917</u>	<u>297</u>	<u>2461</u>	3076
Unbeschäftigte:						
1. Arbeiter	H.	-	-	130	-	
2. Vernehmung	H.	-	-	13	-	
3. Herstellung v. II/d.n. B I/a.	3	-	-	-	-	
Herstellung v. III/a.u. III.		-	-	-	8	
4. Inangquarantäne	H.	-	1518	-	-	
Quarantäne wegen Fleckfieber-Verdacht:		-	-	384	-	
5. Unbeschäftigte	H.	-	-	2450	-	
	Zig.:	-	-	6	-	
		<u>3</u>	<u>1518</u>	<u>285</u>	<u>8</u>	3312
						<u>1513</u>

Document 1

15284

Beschäftigte:		B II/a	B II/a	B II/c	B II/c	
a) Facharbeiter:	Haftl.:	15	1622	49	61	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Haftl.:	47	7285	137	459	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Zig.:	1	6	-	-	
		<u>63</u>	<u>8813</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>520</u>	1583
Nicht arbeits u. einsatzfähige Häftlinge u. Zwangs:						
		B I/a	B II/a	B II/c	B II/c	
1. Stationäre u. beh. Kr.	Haftl.:	-	499	132	1804	
"	Kr. Zig.:	-	-	-	6	
2. Invaliden	Haftl.:	-	-	135	-	
4. Neben bis 14. Jahre	Haftl.:	82	-	106	-	
" Zwillinge f. Versuchszwecke:		-	-	-	49	
Häftlinge f. Versuchszwecke:		-	-	-	59	
6. Vorber. u. Transport:		-	236	10	-	
		<u>82</u>	<u>735</u>	<u>245</u>	<u>1918</u>	2083
Unbeschäftigte:						
2. Arztwache	Haftl.:	-	-	77	-	
3. Vernehmung	Haftl.:	-	-	42	10	
4. " Darstellung V. II. AM. I. "		-	-	2	-	
" " " " " " " " " " " "		-	-	-	7	
5. Zugang Quarantäne	Haftl.:	-	368	-	-	
Quarantäne wegen Fleckfieber-Verdacht:		-	-	381	-	
		-	<u>368</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>17</u>	1437
Eigene Lagerstärke:						2815 1513
insgesamt:						16832

16082

Document 2

Beschäftigte:		B II/a	B II/a	B II/c	B II/c	
a) Facharbeiter:	Haftl.:	15	1622	48	61	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Haftl.:	47	7280	135	459	
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Zig.:	1	5	-	-	
		<u>63</u>	<u>8807</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>520</u>	3533
Nicht arbeits u. einsatzfähige Häftlinge u. Zwangs:						
		B I/a	B II/a	B II/c	B II/c	
1. Stationäre u. beh. Kr.	Haftl.:	-	478	156	1768	
"	Kr. Zig.:	-	-	-	7	
2. Invaliden	Haftl.:	-	-	135	-	
4. Neben bis 14. Jahre	Haftl.:	82	-	106	-	
" Zwillinge f. Versuchszwecke:		-	-	-	49	
Häftlinge f. Versuchszwecke:		-	-	-	59	
6. Vorber. u. Transport:		-	236	10	-	
		<u>82</u>	<u>714</u>	<u>267</u>	<u>1885</u>	3086
Unbeschäftigte:						
2. Arztwache	Haftl.:	-	-	55	-	
3. Vernehmung	Haftl.:	-	1	48	1	
5. Zugang Quarantäne	Haftl.:	-	365	-	-	
Quarantäne wegen Fleckfieber-Verdacht:		-	-	381	-	
7. Zugang (Beweg.)		1	2	-	-	
		<u>1</u>	<u>366</u>	<u>434</u>	<u>1</u>	1455
Eigene Lagerstärke:						2885
insgesamt:						17057

Abteilung IIIa

Document 3



Beschäftigte		B I/a	B II/a	B II/a	B II/a	B II/a
a) Facharbeiter:	Mäftl.:	15	1627	24	48	61
b) Hilfsarbeiter:	Mäftl.:	48	7277	48	131	439
		63	8904	72	183	500
9742						
<b>Nicht arbeits u. einstellungsfähige Mäftlinge:</b>						
1. Statistische u. Sch. Kranke			B I/a	B II/a	B II/a	B II/a
Mäftlinge u. Ztg.		-	499	138	-	1941
2. Invaliden	Mäftl.:	-	-	135	-	1
Einberufen 10. Jahre	" :	84	-	108	-	-
Mäftlinge f. Versuchswerte:		-	-	-	-	49
Vorber. u. Transport:		-	-	-	-	99
		84	499	243	-	1950
5055						
<b>Unbeschäftigte</b>						
2. Arbeiter	Mäftl.:	-	-	99	-	-
3. Vermehrung	Mäftl.:	-	25	48	1	-
4. Überstellung v. Kl. An. I.		-	-	1	-	-
" v. Kl. An. III.		-	-	-	-	2
Überstellung	Mäftl.:	-	-	3	-	-
Überstellung	Ztg.	-	-	108	-	-
6. Zugangsquartäne	Mäftl.:	-	805	106	1015	-
Quartäne wegen Fleckf. Verd.		-	-	38	-	-
7. Zugang	Mäftl.:	18	1777	-	547	-
		18	2025	1899	1963	2
6505						
<b>Insgesamt:</b>						19302
Abteilung III a:						

Document 4

30.7. 18647	-	19944	Radom
- 19945	-	19946	Ung.
- 19947	-	19951	Rad.
3.8. 19952	-	19961	Hd.
6.8. 19962	-	19992	Son.

Document 5

	Name, Nr.		1900-1900			
65	36.0	P. J. Jammekranz	130656 - 130706 (P. 04)	53	28.00	5
66	4.0	P. J. Aliya	A-11315 - A-13510 B-2115 - B-2415 4.11. 1908.01	1615	27.00	6,4,8
67	"	J. J. J. J. J. J. J.	B-2771 - B-2302	129	27.00	7

Document 6

B.III/e (Frauen) Auschwitz II, den 31. Jul.

28

Stärkemeldung.

Stärke am 30.7.1944 3 423

Abgang: Tote 1

3421

Zugang: Neuzugang 1

Sa. 3422

-----

-----

H-Obersturmführer

Document 7

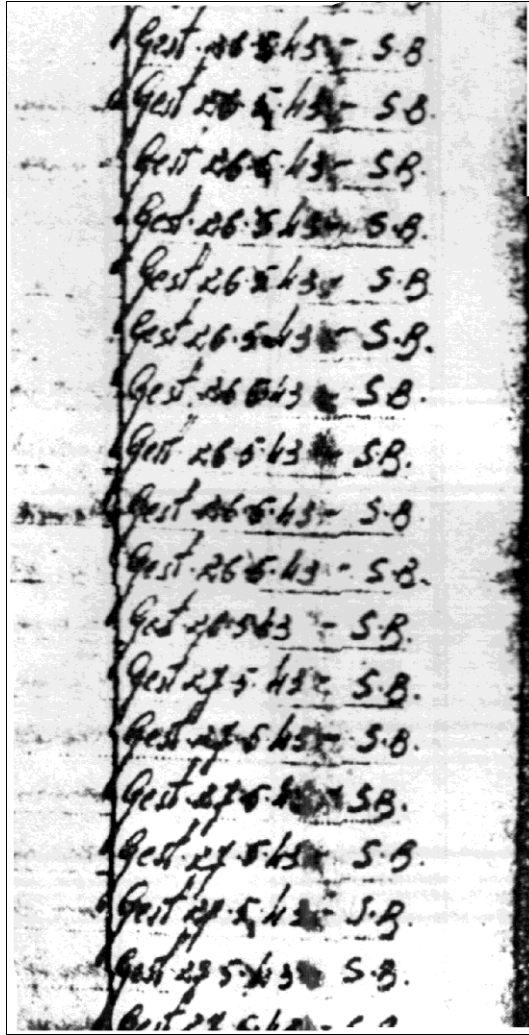
Seite Nr.		Name			Geburtsdatum		Geburtsort	
Häftlings Nr.	Häftlings Art	Name	Vorname	Tage	Monat	Jahr		
1376	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1377	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1378	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1379	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1380	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1381	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1382	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1383	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1384	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1385	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1386	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1387	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1388	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1389	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1390	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1391	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1392	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1393	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1394	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1395	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1396	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1397	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1398	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1399	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1400	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1401	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1402	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1403	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1404	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1405	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1406	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1407	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1408	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1409	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1410	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1411	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1412	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1413	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1414	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1415	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1416	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1417	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1418	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1419	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1420	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1421	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1422	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1423	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1424	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1425	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1426	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1427	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1428	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1429	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1430	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1431	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1432	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1433	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1434	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1435	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1436	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1437	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1438	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1439	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1440	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1441	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1442	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1443	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1444	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1445	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1446	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1447	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1448	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1449	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1450	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		

Document 8

1376	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		
1377	W	Braunfeld	Karl	07/01	August	1906		

Document 8a





A photograph of a handwritten document, likely a ledger or list. It contains 16 entries, each starting with "Gest." followed by a date and "S.B.". The dates are: 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43, 26.5.43. The handwriting is in black ink on a light-colored paper.

Document 9a

## Notes

Translated by Carlos W. Porter

- <sup>1</sup> Waclaw Długoborski, *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau 1943-44. Vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Verfolgung unter der Nazi Herrschaft* (Oświęcim: Verlag Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1998).
- <sup>2</sup> Chatto-Heinemann-Sussex, University Press, London.
- <sup>3</sup> Otward Müller, "Sinti e Rom: storie, leggende e realtà," in: *Del presunto sterminio di gypsies e omosessuali*, by F. Pitzus. Effepi, Genoa, 2006, p. 27; English: "[Sinti and Roma – Yarns, Legends, and Facts](#)," *The Revisionist*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2004, pp. 254-259.
- <sup>4</sup> Długoborski, *op. cit.*, p. 9, 23.

- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 262.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-280.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.
- <sup>18</sup> RGVA, 502-1-332, p. 175.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.
- <sup>21</sup> *Memorial Book. The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Munich, London, New York, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1993), vol. II, pp. 1475-1476.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1599.
- <sup>23</sup> Aktenvermerk 22 May 1943. RGVA, 502-1-26, p. 87.
- <sup>24</sup> *Memorial Book. The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau, op. cit.*, pp. 1576-1577. Diagram of the Gypsy camp and captions according to the report by Tadeusz Joachimowski.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1574. *Bestandplan der Waschbaracke 1. B.A.II.e.*
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1575. *Bestandplan der Abortbaracke.*
- <sup>27</sup> *Bericht über den Fortgang der Arbeiten für die Sondermaßnahmen im KGL und im Stammlager*, 13 July 1943. RGVA, 502-1-83, p. 118.
- <sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p. 85.
- <sup>29</sup> *Aufstellung über die im KL und KGL. Auschwitz eingebauten Entwesungsanlagen, Bäder und Desinfektionsapparate.* RGVA, 502-1-332, p. 10.
- <sup>30</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 63.
- <sup>31</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1989), p. 448.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 503-504.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 504.
- <sup>34</sup> *Memorial Book. The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau, op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 563-574.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1181-1213. The range of registration numbers mentioned by D. Czech contains 158 illegible dispositions, which the editor of the *Kalendarium* also treats as deaths.
- <sup>36</sup> H. Świebocki, "Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz in der Berichterstattung der polnischen Widerstandsbewegung," in: *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, op. cit.*, p. 332.
- <sup>37</sup> RGVA, 502-1-336, pp. 101-101a.
- <sup>38</sup> *Sonderbefehl* no. 15/43 of 7 July 1943. AGK, NTN, 94, p. 216.
- <sup>39</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium, op. cit.*, p. 492.

- <sup>40</sup> T. Szymański, D. Szymańska, T. Śniecko, "Das 'Spital' im Zigeuner-Familienlager in Auschwitz-Birkenau," in: *Die Auschwitz-Hefte* (Weinheim and Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1987), vol. 1, p. 202.
- <sup>41</sup> *Memorial Book. The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *op. cit.*, vol.2, p. 1476. There were 3,155 deaths in 1944, that is, at least half the 1,329 deaths without indication of date undoubtedly relate to 1943.
- <sup>42</sup> AGK, NTN, 92, p. 97. *Stärkebuch*. Statistical study by Jan Sehn.
- <sup>43</sup> *Memorial Book. The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. XXXI.
- <sup>44</sup> D.Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu, 8, 1964, pp. 118-119. See Appendix: Documents 8 and 9.
- <sup>45</sup> C. Mattogno, *Negare la storia? Holocaust: la falsa "convergenza delle prove"* (Milan: Effedieffe Edizioni, 2006), pp. 36-38.
- <sup>46</sup> "La gasazione degli zingari ad Auschwitz il 2 August 1944," in: *Auschwitz: trasferimenti e finte gasazioni. I quaderni di Auschwitz*, Vol. 3. Effepi, Genoa, 2004.
- <sup>47</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium*, *op. cit.*, pp. 837-838.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 833.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 837.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 838.
- <sup>52</sup> APMO, sygn. AuII-3a/17, p. 33a, Arbeitseinsatz für 30. Juli 1944. See Appendix: Document 1.
- <sup>53</sup> APMO, sygn. AuII-3a/17, p. 35, Arbeitseinsatz für 1. August 1944. See Appendix: Document 2.
- <sup>54</sup> APMO, sygn. AuII-3a/17, p. 37, Arbeitseinsatz für 2. August 1944. See Appendix: Document 3.
- <sup>55</sup> APMO, sygn. AuII-3a/17, p. 39, Arbeitseinsatz für 3. August 1944. See Appendix: Document 4.
- <sup>56</sup> G. Reitlinger, *La solution finale. Il tentativo di sterminio degli Ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945*. (Milan: Casa Editrice il Saggiatore, 1965), pp. 547-548.
- <sup>57</sup> Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, *Auschwitz*, Vol. VI, s-Gravenhage, March 1952, p. 107.
- <sup>58</sup> The document was published by D. Czech in the first German edition of *Auschwitz: Kalendarium* ("Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau"), in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*. Wydawnictwo Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu, Heft 8, 1964, p. 113).
- <sup>59</sup> NO-1300.
- <sup>60</sup> Het Nederlandsche Roode Kruis, *Auschwitz*, Vol. VI, pp. 39-40.
- <sup>61</sup> APMO, Ruch oporu, t. XXc. Sygn. D-RO/123, Liste der Judentransporte, p. 17. See Appendix: Document 5.
- <sup>62</sup> Quarantäne-Liste. APMO, D-AuII-3/1, p. 6. See Appendix: Document 6.
- <sup>63</sup> The *Quarantäne-Liste* mentions 53 inmates (numbers 190656-190706), but one inmate, from Majdanek, was issued number 190707 the same day.
- <sup>64</sup> APMO, Ruch oporu, t. XXc. Sygn. D-RO/123, *Liste der Judentransporte*, p. 18



- <sup>65</sup> The inmates transferred to other concentration camps continued to be included in the manpower totals of the camp of departure until the destination camp served notice of their arrival.
- <sup>66</sup> Online: <http://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2007/08/correction-corner-4-auschwitz-museum.html>
- <sup>67</sup> See Appendix: Document 7.
- <sup>68</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium, op. cit.*, p. 781.
- <sup>69</sup> “La gasazione degli zingari ad Auschwitz il 2 August 1944,” *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- <sup>70</sup> *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, op. cit.*, pp. 123-140.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143, note 8.
- <sup>73</sup> *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*. Vol. IV, “The Einsatzgruppen Case,” “The RuSHA Case.” Nuremberg, October 1946-April 1949, p. 858.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.
- <sup>79</sup> Raul Hilberg, *La distruzione degli Ebrei d’Europa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), pp. 685, 688-689.
- <sup>80</sup> The adult males were to be killed.
- <sup>81</sup> Robert M.W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen* (Zurich, Stuttgart, Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1961), p. 293.
- <sup>82</sup> With regard to the first, the report on events in the Soviet Union (“*Ereignismeldungen UdSSR*”) no. 108 dated 9 October 1941 states that 2,100 Jews and Gypsies were to be executed in reprisal for the killing of 21 German soldiers near Topola, in a ratio of 1 to 100. NO-3156.
- <sup>83</sup> Michael Zimmermann, “The Wehrmacht and the National-Socialist persecution of the Gypsies,” in: *Romani Studies*, 5, vol. 11, no. 2 (2001), pp. 122-124.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>86</sup> R. Hilberg, *La distruzione degli Ebrei d’Europa, op. cit.*, pp. 688-690. See, in this regard, my study Raul Hilberg e i “centri di sterminio” nazionalsocialisti. Fonti e metodologia. 2008, in: <https://codoh.com/media/files/downloads/livres8/CMhilberg.pdf>; English: *Bungled: “The Destruction of the European Jews.” Raul Hilberg’s Failure to Prove National-Socialist “Killing Centers.” His Misrepresented Sources and Flawed Methods*, Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, 2021.
- <sup>87</sup> M. Zimmermann, “The Wehrmacht,” *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- <sup>88</sup> *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals, op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 16-21.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- <sup>90</sup> NOKW-2111.
- <sup>91</sup> NOKW-2022.
- <sup>92</sup> *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-, op. cit.*, p. 144.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 229-258.

- <sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251: “[...] an unknown number of Sinti and Roma were also killed in this camp.”
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252: “We do not know when the Sinti and Roma started being imprisoned and killed in this camp, or how many were killed.”
- <sup>96</sup> I concerned myself in depth with the matter in the forthcoming study *Il camp di Chelmno tra storia e propaganda*; English: *Chelmno: A German Camp in History and Propaganda*, 2nd ed., Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, 2017.
- <sup>97</sup> Galiński, “Likwidacja Cyganów-więźniów łódzkiego obozu, w Chełmnie nad Nerem” (“The Liquidation of the Gypsies – Inmates of the Łódź camp, at Chelmno on the Ner”), in: *Ośrodek zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem i jego rola w hitlerowskiej polityce exsternacyjnej. Materiały z sesji naukowej*. Muzeum okręgowe Koniń. Łódź-Koniń, 1995, p. 78.
- <sup>98</sup> The reference to the Polish edition of R. Sakowska’s book, cited in Note 100.
- <sup>99</sup> J. Gulczyński, “Ośrodek zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem (przegląd i metodologia badań, aspekty muzealne)” [“The Extermination Center of Chelmno on the Ner (review and research methodology, museum aspects)],” in: *Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi, Ośrodek zagłady w Chełmnie*, p. 39, Note 30.
- <sup>100</sup> R. Sakowska *Die zweite Etappe ist der Tod. NS-Ausrottungspolitik gegen die polnischen Juden gesehen mit den Augen der Opfer* (Berlin: Edition Entrich, 1993), pp. 159-182.



## Stalin's German-Nationalist Party

*Kerry R. Bolton*

**A**t a meeting between Joseph Stalin and leaders of the Socialist Unity Party (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*: SED) in the Soviet zone of occupied Germany, held on January 31, 1947, Stalin asked what percentage of Germans (in all the occupation zones) were “fascist elements,” and “what influence did they retain in the Western zones”? Otto Grotewohl replied that it was a difficult question to answer, but that he could give Stalin lists of former National-Socialist party members “in leadership positions in the Western zones.” Stalin had not asked the question with the view to purging Germany of “fascists,” but with the possibility of re-forming former National-Socialist party members into another party, which would promote nationalism and socialism within the context of a Soviet Germany. He was also interested in the possible voting patterns of “fascist elements” should there be a plebiscite on German unification. Grotewohl’s view was that they were “all reactionaries.” Stalin’s view was different. Would it be possible to organize the “fascists” in the Soviet zone under a different name? He pointed out to the SED leaders that their policy of “exterminating fascists” was no different from that of the USA, stating: “Maybe I should add this course [of organizing a nationalist party] so as not to push all of the former Nazis into the enemy camp?”<sup>1</sup>

While the Western zones sought to ban any political re-manifestation of National Socialism, Stalin was exploring the possibilities of integrating such elements into a new Soviet Germany. The reticence he received from the Socialist Unity leaders was based on a typically Marxist reaction. However, one uses Marxism to tear down a nation and a state, not to construct one. Stalin, as Trotsky correctly lamented, had “betrayed” the Bolshevik revolution<sup>2</sup> by reversing possibly every Marxian program that had been erected by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Sverdlov, et al, who had for the most part been purged or liquidated by Stalin.<sup>3</sup>

Grotewohl objected that if the “fascists” were reorganized into their own party, such a move would be “incomprehensible to the working masses” in the Western zones. Presumably he was so naïve as to believe that the proletariat in the Western zones were so eager to forsake twelve years of almost miraculous social and economic achievements under National Socialism, and embrace doctrinaire Marxism, that they would feel betrayed unless all the leaders of the former regime were routed and lynched. Stalin

had other thoughts. Stalin replied that showing the “Nazis” in the Western zones that their comrades under the Soviets were not being purged would provide a positive impression that “not all of them will be destroyed.” Pieck regarded the idea as “impossible,” while Stalin saw no reason why it should not be achieved. He wanted to recruit “patriotic elements” to a “fascist party” especially among “secondary figures of the former Nazi Party.” There would be nothing reactionary about establishing such a party, as many “Nazis” had “come from out of the people.”<sup>4</sup>

Ulbricht thought Stalin’s idea entirely plausible by focusing on the socialist aspect of National Socialism, especially among idealistic youth, who had regarded the NSDAP as Socialist. Stalin explained that he did not aim to integrate “fascist” elements into the SED, but to encourage them to form their own party, in alliance with the SED.<sup>5</sup> Former “Nazis” were voting for the bourgeois conservative parties in the Soviet-occupied zone, fearful that the establishment of a Soviet state would mean their liquidation. Stalin wanted to demonstrate that their situation under a Soviet Germany would be otherwise. He also did not share the preposterous view of the German Communist leaders present that the “fascist elements” were all bourgeois. He stated that “there should be relief for those who had not sold out” to the Western occupation; and that “we must not forget that the elements of Nazism are alive not only in the bourgeois layers, but also among the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.”<sup>6</sup>

Ulbricht’s particularly positive attitude among the SED leaders towards Stalin’s plans for a nationalist party as part of an SED-led “national front” had a personal precedent. While the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 had caused a crisis of conscience among Communists throughout the world, Ulbricht had been particularly enthusiastic towards the alliance between two “socialist” states, writing in the Comintern newspaper, *Die Welt*, published in Stockholm:<sup>8</sup>

*“Many workers, who desire socialism, welcome the pact particularly, because it reinforces the friendship with the great country of socialism. Both the German people and those peoples who are admitted to the German multinational state<sup>[7]</sup> must make the choice: not together with English high finance in favor of the extension of the war and a new Versailles, but together with the Soviet Union for peace, for the national independence and the friendship of all peoples. The working-class, the farmers and the working intellectuals of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland will be the strongest guarantee for the Soviet-German alliance and the defeat of the English plan.”*



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-09039-0001  
Foto: Rudolph 1.21. Dezember 1950

*Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, delivers keynote speech during the celebration of the 71st Birthday of Josef Stalin held in the Berlin State Opera on the evening of 21 December 1950. The inscription reads "Long live J.W. Stalin, the best friend of the German people!"*

*Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-09039-0001 / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

It should be noted that Ulbricht saw the Hitler-Stalin pact as an alliance against plutocracy headed by England. Ulbricht also played a prominent role in Stalin's purge of the German Communist party leadership that had fled to the USSR after Hitler's assumption of office. Some of these were extradited from the USSR back to Germany, such as Margarete Buber-Neumann, who was sent to Ravensbrück.<sup>9</sup> While Hitler executed five members of the Politburo of the German Communist party, in the USSR seven were liquidated, and 41 out of 68 party leaders.<sup>10</sup>

Pieck, presumably assuming that the projected party would be called "National Socialist" or "Fascist," objected that that the Allies would not allow the reconstitution of such a party. Stalin laughed in response, and explained that the party would be called a name that was less obvious, such as "National Democrats."<sup>11</sup>

Another major objection from the party leaders, again naïve, was that the "fascists" are an "aggressive party" and want "living space." Stalin

pointed out that Germany was defeated, its army was no more and that the “fascist elements” were not concerned with such matters.

Indeed, a significant faction of diehard post-war German National Socialists were committed to a neutralist position, if not being overtly pro-Soviet. They had just fought a war against the USSR, and many were not eager to do so again in the interests of American hegemony over Europe, which they regarded as culturally and spiritually lethal, and therefore a more pervasive threat than Russian military occupation. Furthermore, the plutocracies had fallen out with Stalin when he declined to become a junior partner in a post-war new world order based around the United Nations General Assembly, where the USA could readily buy votes and outmaneuver the Soviet bloc with ease; and the Baruch Plan for the “internationalization of atomic energy,” which the USSR considered to be a euphemism for American control.<sup>12</sup> In fact, it was the USSR that pursued a national course, including a campaign against “rootless cosmopolitanism” in the arts, which the Stalinist leadership condemned as “internationalism,” while promoting a revived Russian folk culture; while the USA was committed to internationalism, and a cultural offensive in which abstract expressionism and jazz took leading roles in trying to subvert nations.<sup>13</sup>

Given this post-war realignment, it should not be too difficult to see why Stalin would regard ex-Nazis as potential allies, and vice versa.

The largest post-war National-Socialist formation in the Western zone, the Socialist Reich Party, under the leadership of Major General Otto Remer, was quickly suppressed by the Allies when it made considerable electoral progress. Most worrying of all was the Socialist Reich Party’s “neutralist position,” at a time when the USA had reversed the Morgenthau Plan for the obliteration of German nationhood and nationality,<sup>14</sup> and sought to rebuild Germany as an ally against the new foe, Stalin. Sir Oswald Mosley, commenting on the arrest of Dr. Werner Naumann, designated by Hitler as Goebbels’s successor, and a few others, for allegedly plotting to infiltrate the Free Democratic Party, remarked on the West’s post-war policies towards Germany:<sup>15</sup>

*“Years after the Russians were offering German scientists every material prize that life can hold, the allies were making such men sweep rubble in the streets on account of their past political affiliations.”*

## *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NDPD)*

In February 1948 the Soviet Military Administration (*Sowjetische Militäradministration in Deutschland: SMAD*) announced the end of denazification. In March 1948 the prosecution of Germans for alleged “war crimes” was formally ended. The same month the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NDPD)* was formed. The German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik: DDR*) was announced in 1949, from elections in the Soviet occupied zone, after the failure of the USSR and the Western occupiers to agree on terms for elections on the reunification of Germany.

With the *NDPD*’s creation, Stalin stated that the party would “erase the line between non-Nazis and former Nazis.”<sup>16</sup> On March 22, a newspaper was launched to pave the way, *National-Zeitung*, announcing:

*“While in other areas there remains the atmosphere of denazification of Germany, in the eastern part the people’s eyes light up again. Simple party comrades no longer have to be timid, and fearfully look around as if they were pariahs.”*

The party was founded three days later, under the chairmanship of Lothar Bolz, who held the post until 1972. Bolz had been a member of the pre-war German Communist party and was one of the few German Communist leaders to have survived Stalin’s hazardous hospitality towards Communist refugees.<sup>17</sup> During much of the time Bolz served in the government of the *DDR*, including the position of Foreign Minister (1968-1978), the vice chairman of the *NDPD* was Heinrich Hohmann, who had joined the National-Socialist party in 1933, and was a co-founder of the League of German Officers, which formed the initial nucleus of the *NDPD*.

The *NDPD* program was stridently nationalistic; as much as the Socialist Reich Party which was being outlawed in the Federal Republic:<sup>18</sup>

*“America violated the Treaty of Potsdam and plunged us Germans with malice into the biggest national distress of our history. [...] But the American war may and shall not take place! Germany must live! That’s why we National Democrats demand: the Americans to America. Germany for the Germans! The Federal Republic of Germany is a child of national treason. [...] That’s why we National Democrats demand: German unity over the head of the government of national treason in Bonn, as a basis for peace, independence and prosperity for our entire German fatherland.”*

The party reached a peak of 230,000 members in 1953, and during the 1980s still had a significant membership of 110,000. In 1948 the party sent 52 members to the *DDR* parliament, the *Volkskammer*. One of its primary aims was German unification, and the party drew on ex-*NSDAP* members and army veterans to support its campaigns. One such appeal from the party issued in 1952 included 119 names of officers from the Wehrmacht, SS, *Hitler Jugend*, League of German Maidens (*BDM*) and German Labor Front.<sup>19</sup>

### Hess's Meeting with *DDR* Leaders

Interestingly, also in 1952, Lothar Bolz, then deputy minister-president of the *DDR*; the minister of trade and supplies, Karl Hamann, and Otto Grotewohl met with former deputy *Führer* Rudolf Hess, to discuss whether Hess would be willing to play a leading role in a reunified and neutral Germany. German historian Werner Maser states that Otto Grotewohl told him of the meeting on the understanding that it would not be mentioned until after Grotewohl's death.<sup>20</sup> Wolf Rüdiger Hess (Rudolf Hess's son) states that in March 1952, "Stalin proposed a peace treaty and free elections for a neutral and unified Germany to prevent the Federal Republic of Germany from joining the West's defense organization, which he considered a threat to Soviet security."<sup>21</sup> A neutral, reunited Germany was precisely the policy of the Socialist Reich Party.

Hess had been taken from Spandau to meet the *DDR* leaders when the USSR assumed its monthly jurisdiction over the prison fortress.<sup>22</sup> Professor Maser records that Stalin wished "to temper justice with mercy in the Germany matter and to grant Hess a prominent position within the framework of reconstruction and the efforts towards the reunification of Germany."<sup>23</sup> Maser stated that he had the impression from Grotewohl that the *NDPD*, the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Farmers' Party, all part of a "National Front" bloc in the *DDR*, had moved their party programs "suspiciously close to the 25-point program of the *NSDAP* of 1920." It was proposed that Hess would serve as "a vehicle for the introduction of the New Policy," according to Maser. In the longer term, Hess would play a part in the leadership of a reunited Germany. If Hess would state that the *DDR* policy was the same as the "socialism" to which he had always adhered, he would be immediately released from Spandau. Hess rejected the offer, although he "welcomed [...] the efforts of the *DDR* and the Soviet Union to preserve German patriotism, and had listened attentively to what his interlocutors had to say on the programs of the political parties referred

to [...]” But he regarded the acceptance of such an offer as a betrayal of Hitler’s memory. Grotewohl found it hard to understand why Hess rejected the offer to help rebuild Germany as a free man.<sup>24</sup>

Wolf Rüdiger Hess remained skeptical as to the reality of the meeting and the offer. He has not explained why. The alleged meeting took place precisely when the USSR called for a plebiscite on the unification and neutrality of Germany, which reflected a policy that was likewise taken up by war veterans and former *NSDAP* members led by Major General Otto Remer in the Federal Republic.

The Socialist Reich Party (SRP) was founded in 1949, and promptly had two members in the Bundestag, who defected from other parties when the SRP was formed. Remer was not only deputy leader, but also the most energetic campaigner, receiving enthusiastic responses to his condemnation of the American democratic imposition and praise for the achievements of National Socialism.<sup>25</sup> Remer was soon banned from Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine-Westphalia, where the SRP was most popular. The US occupation authorities not only noted the “Nazi” style of the SRP but also its opposition to a Western alliance, and advocacy of united Europe as a third force, led by a reunified Germany. The SRP attracted 10,000 members, and organized auxiliaries for women, youth and trade unionists. Its paramilitary *Reichsfront* was formed mainly among the British-run German Service Organization barracked at British military bases, which were reportedly covered with SRP propaganda. In 1950 SRP members were banned from state service, the US State Department fearing that the party could democratically assume power.<sup>26</sup> SRP meetings were violently broken up by police, and a pro-SRP newspaper, *Reichszeitung*, was banned. Remer increased his denunciation of the US occupation and the Western alliance, while refraining from condemning the USSR and the DDR. The US State Department noted this, with the comment:<sup>27</sup>

*“The party is suspected of willingness to effect a large compromise with Russia in order to unify Germany.”*

When the USA decided on a policy of integrating Germany into the western defense system, Remer launched a campaign with the slogan “*Ohne mich!*” (“Count me out!”), which drew a ready response from war veterans resentful of their post-war predicament under the Western zone. Remer went further and stated that in the event of war, Germans should not cover an American retreat if the Russians drove them back. He stated that he would “show the Russians the way to the Rhine,” and that the SRP members would “post themselves as traffic policemen, spreading their arms so



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-15845-0010  
Foto: o.Ang. | 14. August 1952

*The leadership of the SRP (Socialist Reich Party); Chairman of the SRP Dr. Fritz Dorls, the former Major General Otto Ernst Remer, 2nd Chairman of the SRP, and the former SS and Hitler-Youth leader Count von Westarp. Photo: 14 August 1952.*

*Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-15845-0010 / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

that the Russians can find their way through Germany as quickly as possible.”<sup>28</sup>

In 1952, the year of the meeting between the *SED* leaders and Hess, and Stalin’s call for free elections for a neutral and united Germany, Remer, who had the previous year been sentenced to four months’ jail for slandering Bonn officials, invoking the Treaty of Rapallo as a symbol of Russo-German co-operation, endorsed Stalin’s proposals. The US felt obliged to offer the Adenauer government the pretense of sovereignty over German affairs under the “Contractual Agreement” of May 1952. SS veterans were now permitted to join the army. The US remained suspicious of how reliable West Germany would be in a conflict with the Eastern bloc, but preferred the risk of rebuilding the Western zone to the possibility that Germans would respond to Stalin’s call for a united, neutral state. It was also tacitly accepted that the purpose of NATO was to contain Germany as much as the USSR.<sup>29</sup> The pressure from the SRP and from Stalin’s call for



a neutral, united Germany, had forced the end of denazification in the Federal Republic.

At this time, the American philosopher and activist Francis Parker Yockey, in calling for the liberation and unity of Europe was, like Remer et al, prepared to collaborate with the USSR to purge the “holy soil” of Europe of US occupation, which he regarded as the enforcer of Jewish “culture distortion.” Yockey, who until apprehended in the USA in 1960, had kept ahead of military intelligence, Interpol and the FBI, and travelled the world organizing a “fascist” revival, was an adviser to the SRP. Working with a few colleagues within Mosley’s Union Movement in 1947, Yockey, contrary to Mosley, took the position that a Russian occupation of Europe was the lesser evil. This was noted by the FBI, which in summarizing Yockey’s activities in a 1954 report stated that Yockey and his colleagues left Mosley and founded the European Liberation Front in 1949 having published his magnum opus, *Imperium*, the previous year. During a planning meeting for the ELF in London, Yockey stated that an aim would be to create a partisan organization which would collaborate with the USSR against the Western occupation powers in Germany. The FBI report states that Yockey went to Germany, where he spread anti-US material of a pro-Soviet nature, and contacted the SRP.<sup>30</sup> Yockey wrote a sequel to *Imperium*, *Der Feind Europas*, as an instruction manual to for the SRP, although the document was suppressed by the occupation authorities.<sup>31</sup> During 1955 to 1957, the “missing years,” Yockey is thought to have travelled through the Soviet bloc. In a letter to this writer, by Yockey’s primary US contact, Keith Thompson, registered US agent for the SRP, it was stated that Yockey served as a courier for the Czech secret service. His “fascism” was obviously regarded as no impediment to the Soviets, and it might be conjectured that he earned a living writing anti-Zionist propaganda in the Soviet bloc, having undertaken this for the Nasser regime in Egypt in 1953.

## *DDR Rebuffs Zionists*

In 1952, the Bonn regime announced that it would begin paying reparations to Jews. Meanwhile, the trial began of Rudolf Slansky and other mostly Jewish leaders of the Czechoslovakia Communist party, who were charged with a wide-ranging “Zionist conspiracy” in collusion with the USA and Israel;<sup>32</sup> an event that was seminal in the thinking of Yockey and other rightists vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc.<sup>33</sup> The trial was noted by the *SED* Central Committee:<sup>34</sup>

*“Sailing under the Jewish nationalistic flag, and disguised as a Zionist organization and as diplomats of the American-vassal government of Israel, these American agents practiced their trade. From the Morgenthau-Acheson Plan that was revealed during the trial in Prague it appears unmistakably that American imperialism organizes and supports its espionage and sabotage activities in the people’s republics via the State of Israel with the assistance of Zionist organizations.”*

The “Morgenthau-Acheson Plan” referred to in the *SED* statement was an allegation that an agreement had been reached “according to which American support for Israel was promised in exchange for the use of Zionist organizations for espionage and subversion,” of the Soviet bloc states.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, in the same statement, the *SED* Central Committee condemned the German communist Paul Merker as a Zionist agent who had who acted “in the same way as the criminals in Czechoslovakia.” Merker, who had spent the war years in exile in Mexico, advocated reparations for German Jews. The *SED* leaders stated:<sup>36</sup>

*“It can no longer be doubted that Merker is an agent of the US financial oligarchy, whose demand for compensation for Jewish properties is only designed to infiltrate US financial capital into Germany. That is the real reason for his Zionism. He demands the displacement of German national wealth with the words: ‘The compensation for the harm that has been done to Jewish citizens will be given both to those who return and to those who want to stay abroad.’ Merker illicitly transformed the maximum profits squeezed out of German and foreign workers by monopoly capitalists into alleged property of the Jewish people. In reality ‘Aryanization’ of this capital merely transferred the profits of ‘Jewish’ monopoly capitalists to ‘Aryan’ monopoly capitalists.”*

As with the Soviet purging of Zionists and Jews in Czechoslovakia, Merker was condemned as being part of a world apparatus in which Zionists served as agents for subversion by foreign capital.

The *DDR* did not at any stage establish diplomatic relations with Israel. The *DDR* also adamantly refused to pay any reparations to Israel or “Holocaust survivors.”

On September 18, 1973, Yosef Tekoah, Israeli ambassador to the U.N. General Assembly, stated that:

*“Israel notes with regret and repugnance that the other German state (DDR) has ignored and continues to ignore Germany’s historical responsibility for the Holocaust and the moral obligations arising from it. It has compounded the gravity of that attitude by giving support and*

*practical assistance to the campaign of violence and murder waged against Israel and the Jewish people by Arab terror organizations."*

The East German regime never accepted the war guilt that was the foundation of the Bonn regime, and hence it was not morally hindered in pursuing an anti-Zionist policy. Interestingly, the first comments on Bonn's intention to pay reparations to Jews and Israel were published three days after the publication of the indictments against Slansky, et al for "Zionist treason." An article in *Neues Deutschland* described the reparations agreement as a deal brokered between "West German and Israeli capitalists."<sup>37</sup> With the death of Stalin in 1953, Israel hoped for a change in direction, including on the matter of reparations, but the *DDR* refused.

In 1968 Simon Wiesenthal claimed that the *DDR* news service was far more anti-Zionist than that of any other Soviet-bloc state, and that this was because of the number of ex-"Nazis" employed there.<sup>38</sup> The *NDPD* was the focus of Wiesenthal's allegations. Dr. Richard Arnold, who had been an official in the Ministry for Science and Public Education (1939-1945), and had written of eliminating every trace of the "Jewish spirit" from the cultural life of Germany, was in 1968 general editor of *Der Nationale Demokrat*, the newspaper of the *NDPD*, and recipient of the Order of Merit for the Fatherland. Kurt Herwart Ball, who had been editor of the SS journal *Hammer*, in the *DDR* was a journalist for the *NDPD* and an official in the propaganda bureau of the regime.

In a 1951 report the Anglo-Jewish Association urged the Bonn regime and the Allied occupiers to start a vigorous campaign against the revival of National Socialism and any admittance of war veterans into the political realm, alluding to the threat of an accord between "Nazis" and the Eastern bloc:

*"In Germany as elsewhere the political pendulum has swung far since 1945. The increasing sharpening of the cold war has, among other things, resulted in a certain tendency among parties, not always entirely disinterested, to label those who draw attention to the neo-Nazi revival as Communists and fellow-travelers. The facts revealed about new Nazi groups in this booklet, and the strong suspicion held in many German quarters that some of their leaders, at any rate, are not above coming to a working arrangement with the totalitarians of the Eastern Zone, should help to expose such views. Too frequently they are expressed by people whose professed dislike of Stalinist dictatorship is merely a cloak for their own totalitarian aims."*

It should be clearly realized that the neo-Nazis are in no sense allies against Communism. Even before the leading neo-Nazi group – the Socialist Reich Party – was founded, Drew Middleton, senior correspondent of *The New York Times* in Germany, wrote:

*“It is high time that the United States, Britain and France awoke to the danger, the very real danger, that the rise of the right-wing in Germany represents the best chance of a Soviet-German rapprochement. [...] anti-Communism is not enough. (The Struggle for Germany, Allan Win-gate, 1949)”*

The new Nazis draw their inspiration direct from Hitler’s Germany, and those who learn from the lessons of history will keep firmly before them the memory of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. They will remember that it was this pact that signaled the unleashing of the German armies against Poland and later against the West. Similarly, it should not be forgotten that the history of the ill-fated Weimar Republic is dotted with examples of co-operation between the Nazis and Communists against the democratic parties. What happened before can well happen again.<sup>39</sup>

The *DDR* integration of “Nazis” and Rightists had its precedents, as mentioned by the Anglo-Jewish report. Karl Radek, the anti-Semite’s stereotype of a “Bolshevik Jew,” attempted to appeal to the nationalism of German workers to win them over to the Communist party and away from the *NSDAP*, by agitating for opposition to the French occupation of the Ruhr, in the name of the martyred *Freikorps* fighter Albert Leo *Schlageter*, who had been shot in 1923 by the French for his resistance activities. Radek’s speech urged the Communists to tap into, rather than oppose, the nationalist sentiments of the German workers. Radek stated in words that were thirty years later reflected in Stalin’s aim of reintegrating the *NSDAP* and military veterans into the *DDR*, that “those who have turned to fascism in their despair over the social ills and enslavement of their nation” should no longer be regarded with anathema by the Communist party.<sup>40</sup> Towards this end leaflets advertising Communist Party meetings honoring *Schlageter* were adorned with the red star and the swastika.<sup>41</sup> A pamphlet on *Schlageter* included Radek’s speech, and articles by conservative-revolutionary Moeller van den Bruck, Count Ernst zu Reventlow of the *NSDAP*, and Fröhlich of the Communist Party.<sup>42</sup>

The “National Bolshevik” current within the German Right during the Weimar era regarded the USSR as a natural ally of Germany vis-à-vis the plutocracies. They advocated an eastward direction for German diplomacy, which had been reflected in the Treaty of Rapallo. The primary “National

Bolsheviks” were Ernst Niekisch and Karl O. Paetel, around whom gravitated not only radical nationalists and revolutionary-conservatives such as Otto Strasser and Ernst Junger but also the Communists Bertolt Brecht and Ernst Toller.<sup>43</sup> Even Oswald Spengler, the conservative-revolutionary philosopher-historian, who warned of the possibility of Russia’s leadership of a “colored world revolution” behind the banner of Bolshevism,<sup>44</sup> had also seen the possibility of another Russo-German alliance.<sup>45</sup>

The USSR sought out Rightists via several organizations: The Association for the Study of the Planned Economy of Soviet Russia (*Arplan*), included Reventlow, Junger, and several National Bolsheviks.<sup>46</sup> The League of Professional Intellectuals (*BGB*) included Junger and Niekisch and, according to Soviet documents, was a means of attracting “into our orbit of influence a range of highly placed intellectuals of rightist orientation.”<sup>47</sup>

Hence, the line taken by both Remer and the *DDR* was by no means a historical aberration or paradox. On October 23, 1952, the SRP was banned<sup>48</sup> after winning 16 seats in the state parliament of Lower Saxony and 8 seats in Bremen. The SRP was succeeded by the German Reich Party of Colonel Hans-Ulrich Rudel, and the National Democratic Party (*NPD*), not to be confused with its Soviet-sponsored namesake, the *NDPD*.

Remer, like Rudel, and the commando leader Major Otto Skorzeny, undertook their own versions of German diplomacy, Rudel and Skorzeny both advising Juan Peron in Argentina, while Remer was said to have maintained close links with the Nasser regime, and lived in Egypt and Syria. Martin Lee writes that a Russo-German accord remained the basis of Remer’s policy as the only means of liberating Europe from the USA. Remer believed that a united Europe should include Russia,<sup>49</sup> which would welcome such a union as a bulwark against an encroaching Asia.<sup>50</sup>

In 1983, back in Bavaria, Remer launched the German Freedom Movement (*Die deutschen Freiheitsbewegung, DDF*), dedicated to Russo-German accord, under the chairmanship of Georg Bosse. Their manifesto, *The Bismarck-German Manifesto*, is subheaded “German-Russian Alliance Rappallo 1983.” The movement published a periodical, *Recht und Wahrheit (Justice and Truth)*. The *DDF* manifesto *Der Bismarck-Deutsche* continued the neutralist line from Remer’s SRP days three decades earlier. The manifesto, echoing Yockey’s ideas on the “culture-distorting regime” of Washington and New York, states “The American way of life is for us synonymous with the destruction of European culture,” and that Germany “would not be used as the tip of the NATO spear. [...] We will not participate in a NATO war against Russia.” Remer explained to Martin Lee:<sup>51</sup>

*“We have to realize and act accordingly, like Bismarck did, that Russia is the superpower in this gigantic Eurasian continent, to which we belong geographically, geopolitically and economically, and even culturally. [...] We are, like Bismarck, for a close collaboration with Russia in politics, economy, culture, science, technology, and research.”*

US Army intelligence, still monitoring Remer, feared that his neutralist, and even “pro-Soviet” line was making headway among the German Right, and noted a “trend towards neutralism” and “a rise in anti-Americanism.” In 1985 a West German secret service officer opined to a Reuters newsman that, “the Soviet Union is seen as a potential friend and, in some cases, even an ally.”<sup>52</sup>

It is an interesting aside that in 1962, during the “Cuban Missile Crisis,” Castro purchased 4,000 pistols through Remer and Ernst Wilhelm Springer.<sup>53</sup> The latter had been a member of the SRP who, like Remer, settled in Egypt in 1953, supplying guns to Arab clients.<sup>54</sup> It is perhaps indicative that Remer was serious when he had ventured that the SRP would assist the Russians in Germany in the event of a conflict with the USA.

Why pro-Russian, anti-NATO or neutralist positions should be regarded by US and German intelligence agencies as sudden new trends among the Right is difficult to explain. Even the comparatively conservative *NPD* of the 1960s, during which time it reached its electoral high point under Adolf von Thadden, rejected NATO.

While Yockey’s plans were cut short with his death in a San Francisco jail in 1960 while awaiting trial for passport fraud, his militant stance was assumed by a new generation led by Michael Kühnen, who founded the Action Front of National Socialists during the late 1970s and the 1980s. Under the name of the Werewolf Northern Cell,<sup>55</sup> in association with *Wiking Jugend*, a raid on a NATO base in the Netherlands was organized along with others against NATO and US bases in West Germany.<sup>56</sup>

This is not to say that Remer and others had become Stalinists. As articles in *Recht und Wahrheit* show,<sup>57</sup> Remer and the *DDF* remained critical of Stalinism, the USSR and the *DDR*, and welcomed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany. It is unclear to this writer what Remer *et al.* expected Europe to gain by the supplanting of Soviet control over Eastern and Central Europe and the obliteration of the Warsaw Pact, by a power that was “synonymous with the destruction of European culture,” as Remer had put it. His views at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall seem at odds with the avidly anti-US, pro-Soviet statements during the early 1950s. Perhaps he had considered the USSR to have progressively decayed after Stalin, which it indeed had. The “color revolutions” orga-

nized and funded by George Soros's network and the National Endowment for Democracy, in association with the US State Department, have been rampant across Europe since the days of "Solidarity" in Poland and show no signs of abating. Nonetheless, when the USSR remained a factor in world power politics, Remer was still insisting in 1983 that "I want to make an agreement with the Russian people, we have to move out of NATO, and out of the European Community. We want to be a neutral country, then we can reunify. The Americans, not the Russians, are the aggressors!" Remer stated that the Russians were "very interested."<sup>58</sup>

## Origins of the *NDPD* in Wartime USSR

As is well known, some such as General Reinhard Gehlen, head of the Bonn regime's espionage apparatus, became avid Cold Warriors on behalf of the USA. The relationship between the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, the USSR and the leaders of the *DDR* and Socialist Unity Party reflected a willingness of other war veterans and ex-*NSDAP* members to embrace Soviet hegemony while remaining German patriots.

Those who formed the *NDPD* had been prisoners of war held by the USSR. While many Russian soldiers who had surrendered to the Germans sought to join an anti-Soviet army under German auspices, there were Germans in Russian captivity who were persuaded that they could play a role in postwar Germany.

*NDPD* co-founder and first chairman (1948-1972), Lothar Bolz was one of the few Communist party members who had survived liquidation by Stalin when party members had fled to the USSR. There he taught at an ideological school for captured Germans.

A primary co-founder of the *NDPD* was Colonel Wilhelm Adam, a veteran of both world wars, whose nationalist politics went back to membership in the Young German Order in 1920, and the *NSDAP* in 1923, and his participation in the Munich Putsch. He was a member of the conservative German People's Party (*DVP*) during 1926-1929. In 1933 he joined the *Stahlhelm* and the SA. Captured in 1943 at Stalingrad, Adam joined the National Committee for a Free Germany. Returning to the Soviet Zone of Germany in 1948, he was an adviser to the state government of Saxony. In 1952 he became a colonel in the *Kasernierte Volkspolizei (KVP)*, which became the *DDR* People's Army. He was honored in 1968 with the Banner of Labor, and with the title of Major General in 1977.

Vincenz Müller, a veteran of both world wars, with the rank of lieuten-

ant general, was captured at Minsk in 1944. He joined the National Committee for a Free Germany, in which he was particularly active. In 1948 he returned to Germany and joined the *NDPD*, serving as deputy chairman during 1949-1952, and as a member of the *Volkskammer*. In 1952 he was given responsibility for reorganizing the *DDR* armed forces, headed the Ministry of the Interior, organized the *KVP*, and was appointed first chief of staff of the National People's Army. However, his loyalties were often suspect, perhaps because he maintained contacts in the West in regard to promoting relations between the Federal Republic and the *DDR*. He retired in 1958.

Heinz Neukirchen, a naval commander stationed in Norway, was held in the USSR during 1945-1949. In 1949 he joined the *NDPD* and served as a party political department manager until 1950, and then as deputy chairman of the party Board for the Berlin District. During 1954-1956 he served as chief of staff for the Sea Police, and was appointed rear admiral in 1952, and later as chief of staff of the People's Navy.

Rudolf Bamler was a section head of the *Abwehr*, German military intelligence. Achieving the rank of lieutenant general, Bamler was captured on the eastern front in 1944. He served as an officer in the *DDR*'s *Stasi* secret police during 1946-1962, and held the rank of Major General in the *KVP*.

Arno von Lenski served in both world wars. Promoted to lieutenant general in 1943, he was captured at Stalingrad, and joined the National Committee for a Free Germany in 1944. Returning to Germany in 1949, he became a council member of the *NDPD* in 1950. He worked with the Berlin municipal administration, joined the *KVP*, and became a major general of the National People's Army. In 1952 he served as a member of the *Volkskammer*, for the *NDPD*.

Major General Kurt Haehling, returning from Russian captivity in 1951, served with the *NDPD* as district chairman for Dresden (1953-1960).

The final electoral performance of the *NDPD*, by then apparently keen to rid itself of "right-wing" tendencies and appear "liberal," rebuffing efforts at entryism by the National Democratic Party (*NPD*),<sup>59</sup> was in the local elections for Helbra, Mansfeld in 1990, where the party obtained 2%, then disappeared into the Free Democratic Party.

## Conclusion

The *NDPD* seems to have mostly disappeared down the "memory hole." Yet right up to the final days of the *DDR* the party was an important con-



stituent of the governing National Front bloc. According to one of its last office holders, Dr. Ludwig, the party had accrued a considerable amount of assets.<sup>60</sup> *NDPD* officials, and particularly high-ranking military officers from the Third Reich, many with the most distinguished military awards of that regime, were propelled to the top of the *DDR* in politics, police and military. While the *NDPD* is distinct from the *NPD* that was founded in West Germany, when Germany was reunited, the German radical Right, such as the *NPD* and others, received an influx of especially young recruits from the East. It might be asked whether this was because the youth in particular, having lived under a nominally “communist regime,” would naturally turn into the most avid anti-communists? However, an alternative explanation might be offered: these youth had lived under the Spartan discipline of the *DDR*, its militarism, duty, unencumbered by “war guilt,” schooled in anti-Zionism and anti-liberalism, even if with Marxian rhetoric, where the state youth organizations for boys and girls seem strikingly similar in form to the *Hitler Jugend* and the *BDM*. If these youth had rejected their past under the *DDR* their tendency would surely have been, once freed from the discipline of the old regime, to embrace the liberalism, commercialism, and American pop culture that was the basis of the Bonn regime and, now, reunited Germany. Instead, many have chosen another “authoritarian ideology” and have still eschewed democratic-liberalism. With the eclipse of a liberalized *NDPD* in 1990, the *NPD*, heir to the Socialist Reich Party, garners its highest votes from former *DDR* states: Saxony, Thuringia, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Brandenburg.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Historical and Documentary Department, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The USSR and the German Question. 1941-1949. Documents from the Archives of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation*, M. “International Relations,” 2003, pp. 244-253.
- <sup>2</sup> Lev Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936). See especially chapter 7, where Trotsky laments the restoration of family life as particularly un-Bolshevik.
- <sup>3</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Stalin: The Enduring Legacy* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012).
- <sup>4</sup> Historical and Documentary Department, *op. cit.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> That is, the states that had been incorporated into the Reich.
- <sup>8</sup> W. Ulbricht, *Die Welt*, February 9, 1940.
- <sup>9</sup> Margarete Buber-Neumann, from what can be discerned from a brief biography, had some typical psychological traits of Communist leaders, growing up in a dysfunctional family, and displaying a more nebulous love for “humanity’

than for her own family. She became a leading agent for the Comintern. She and her husband Heinz Neumann fled to Moscow in 1933, and he “disappeared” in 1937. Shortly after, she was sent to a labor camp in Siberia, and with the Hitler-Stalin Pact, she was deported back to Germany in 1940 where she resumed her work at “hard Labor.” See: “Margarete Buber-Neumann,” Fembio, <http://www.fembio.org/english/biography.php/woman/biography/margarete-buber-neumann/>

- <sup>10</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Stalin: The Enduring Legacy*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- <sup>11</sup> Historical and Documentary Department, *op. cit.*
- <sup>12</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Stalin: The Enduring Legacy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-136.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-54.
- <sup>14</sup> James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (London: Little Brown & Co., 1997).
- <sup>15</sup> Oswald Mosley, “Dr. Naumann,” *The European*, March 1953; in *Mosley: Policy and Debate* (Euphorion, 1954), p. 126.
- <sup>16</sup> Historical and Documentary Department, *op. cit.*
- <sup>17</sup> The entirety of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist party in Soviet exile was liquidated. See K. R. Bolton, *Stalin*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- <sup>18</sup> *NDPD* program, June 1951.
- <sup>19</sup> *NDPD* appeal for German unity, 4th Party Congress, 1952.
- <sup>20</sup> The event is described by Wolf Rüdiger Hess in *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: W. H. Allen, 1986). Note 6 for the chapter “Special Treatment,” states that Maser left a typewritten note on his meeting with Grotewohl when Maser was working at the Institute for Research into Imperialism, East Berlin Humboldt University, which was directed by the pre-war “National Bolshevik” Ernst Niekisch, who was present at the meeting between Maser and Grotewohl.
- <sup>21</sup> Wolf Rüdiger Hess, *ibid.*, p. 251.
- <sup>22</sup> Spandau was administered by the Four Powers (Britain, France, USA and USSR) on an alternating monthly basis.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.
- <sup>25</sup> Martin Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1997), p. 49.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.58.
- <sup>28</sup> US State Department report, June 22, 1951; cited by Lee, *ibid.*, p. 65.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
- <sup>30</sup> L. O. Bogstad, “Francis Parker Yockey,” FBI Summary Report, July 8, 1954, pp. 11-12. See K. R. Bolton, “Foreword” to F. P. Yockey, *Imperium* (Abergele, UK: The Palingenesis Project, 2013), p. xlviii.
- <sup>31</sup> Alex Kurtagic, “Yockey Chronology,” *Imperium*, *ibid.*, p. lxxviii.
- <sup>32</sup> Paul Lendvai, *Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe* (London: Macdonald, 1971), pp. 243-259. Others mentioned together with Slansky et al included French colonial minister Georges Mandel, “a Jewish nationalist;” “Jewish nationalist Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter,” and “Titoist Jewish ideologue” Mosha Pijade, as well as US President Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, former Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr., [who gave his name to the infa-

- mous plan to exterminate the German nation]; and Israelis Ben Gurion and Moshe Sharrett. Lendvai, *ibid.*, p. 245.
- <sup>33</sup> Yockey wrote an analysis of the trial, “What Is behind the Hanging of Eleven Jews in Prague?” (1952), which was republished in *Yockey: Four Essays* (New Jersey: Nordland Press, 1971).
- <sup>34</sup> *Lehren aus dem Prozeß gegen das Verschwörerzentrum Slansky*, Beschluß des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, December 20, 1952, p. 13.
- <sup>35</sup> Czechoslovak indictment cited by Lendvai, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
- <sup>36</sup> *Lehren aus dem Prozeß*, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56.
- <sup>37</sup> “Reparations for Whom?, *Neues Deutschland*, November 25, 1952.
- <sup>38</sup> Simon Wiesenthal, *The Same Language: First for Hitler – Now for Ulbricht*, (Vienna: Eine Dokumentation der Deutschland-Berichte. Jüdisches Dokumentationszentrum, Simon Wiesenthal Centre, September 6, 1968).
- <sup>39</sup> *Germany’s New Nazis*, The Anglo-Jewish Association, London (Jewish Chronicle Publications, 1951), “Conclusion,” p. 72.
- <sup>40</sup> K. Radek, “Leo Schlageter: The Wanderer into the Void,” speech at a plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, June 1923, online: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/radek/1923/06/schlageter.htm>.
- <sup>41</sup> Michael David-Fox *Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia between the Wars* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 136.
- <sup>42</sup> Bernice G. Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World: From Nietzsche to Stalinism* (Penn State University Press, 2004), p. 378.
- <sup>43</sup> Thomas R. Nevin, *Ernst Junger and Germany: into the Abyss, 1914-1945* (Duke University Press, 1996), p. 106.
- <sup>44</sup> O. Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934, 1963), pp. 204-230.
- <sup>45</sup> O. Spengler, “Two Faces of Russia and Germany’s Eastern Problems,” speech to Rhenish-Westphalian Business Convention, Essen, February 14, 1919.
- <sup>46</sup> K. R. Bolton, “Junger and National Bolshevism,” in Troy Southgate, ed., *Junger: Thoughts and Perspectives, Volume 11*, (London: Black Front Press, 2012), p. 18.
- <sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> Martin Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- <sup>49</sup> Lee’s interview with Remer, April 16, 1992, cited by Lee, *ibid.*, p. 193.
- <sup>50</sup> For the view that China will eventually conflict with Russia, regardless of historically inorganic alliances such as BRIC and the Shanghai co-operation agreement, see: K. R. Bolton, *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013).
- <sup>51</sup> Martin Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.
- <sup>53</sup> “Fidel Castro Recruited ex-Nazis to Train Troops during Cold War,” *The Economic Times*, October 16, 2012, online: [http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-10-16/news/34499057\\_1\\_bundesnachrichtendienst-bnd-german-secret-service](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-10-16/news/34499057_1_bundesnachrichtendienst-bnd-german-secret-service)
- <sup>54</sup> Martin Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

- <sup>55</sup> An obvious allusion to the “Werewolf” guerrilla movement established during the closing days of the Third Reich, which harassed the Western occupation authorities and their German collaborators for several years thereafter. See *SS Werewolf, Combat Instruction Manual*, Translation Michael C. Fangan (Colorado: Paladin Press, 1982).
- <sup>56</sup> Martin Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
- <sup>57</sup> *Recht und Wahrheit* archives, online: <http://www.vho.org/D/ruw/Archiv/index.html>
- <sup>58</sup> Thierry Lalevee, “The Revival of the Nazi-Communist Pact: Soviets Foster Worldwide Terrorism,” *Executive Intelligence Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, January 3, 1984. This article, from a LaRouche source, contends that 1983 was the year for a Soviet-based international Nazi terrorist offensive that would allow the USSR to assume world control.
- <sup>59</sup> According to Dr. Christian Dirk Ludwig, who had been *NDPD* Berlin District Board member, September 4, 2007, Online: <http://www.wahlrecht.de/forum/messages/42/804.html?1191478580>
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

## Revisionism and the Power of Truth

*Nigel Jackson*

**R**ichard Widmann has followed Robert Faurisson in warning that the immediate future for historical revisionists, especially those addressing the currently accepted and widely promoted view of “the Holocaust,” looks very bleak.<sup>1</sup>

He has correctly observed that the world has already seen a wide range of modes of persecution inflicted on revisionists: censorship, imprisonment, intimidation, deportation, loss of employment, threats against one’s life or family, ritual defamation, excommunication from polite society (or marginalization), book burning, accusations about “group libel,” and legislation against “hate speech” or “racial vilification.”

Moreover he notes that “even more draconian laws” and other weapons may soon be deployed: state-organized monitoring of dissenters, disconnection of them from the Internet and their deprivation of access to credit card use.

Just at the end of his essay Widmann qualifies his pessimistic vision by stating that “the seeds of the destruction of the forthcoming system have already been planted.” He appears to mean by this that there is an ultimately self-defeating absurdity in the behavior, including the propositional claims, of the new oppressors. George Orwell dramatized this all-too-human political tendency in his novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, whereby, for example, the Ministry of Peace planned war and the Ministry of Plenty organized rationing. He also showed that absurdity, when backed by tyranny and terror, is not easily overthrown. Indeed, the novel’s thesis is defeatist – reflecting, perhaps, the author’s own unbelief and consequent psychological weakness.

Perhaps, by contrast, we should invoke General Franco’s famous slogan for the Nationalist campaign between 1936 and 1939 against the would-be communizers and bolshevizers of Catholic Christian Spain: “Blind faith in victory!” Franco had that faith; he was able to infuse it into his troops and many other Spaniards; and he won the titanic struggle.

Those who would suppress historical revisionism, and Holocaust revisionism in particular, have a deadly enemy which they cannot defeat and which, in their heart of hearts, they know to be invulnerable: truth.

Truth is something much more than propositional correctness. It is something which exists above and beyond and within all forms and all

words, though it can inform these and, as it were, shine through them. Not only is truth a living power, as the Biblical gospels, among other sacred documents, attest, but it is a heavenly power, not merely an earthly power. That is to say, it comes from a part of the universe that, mysteriously, is superior to that part of it which (in gospel terms) is “earth,” the arena of our daily human activities and level of, or kind of, consciousness and understanding.



*In response to Jesus's statement that the reason He was born and came into the world is to testify to the truth, Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor of Judaea retorts, "What is truth?" (Jn 18:38)*

*Nikolai Ge [Public domain, GFDL*

*(<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>), via Wikimedia Commons*

Ultimately truth is, for mankind, a source of well-being that is greater in importance even than oxygen, water, food, impressions. Life without truth is, quite simply, hell.

For this reason, within individual persons, in very varying degrees (of course) the inmost heart or soul rebels against untruth or attempts to stifle truth, no matter what the particular context of the attack may be. And some persons, in every age, as history testifies, have found the inner fortitude to prefer pain and death to the desecration at their own hands of truth.

In this reality lives the truth and the power of the Russian proverb that Alexandr Solzhenitsyn quoted in his 1970 Nobel Prize lecture: "One word of truth outweighs the world."<sup>2</sup> At the time he wrote those words Russia was in the grip of communist totalitarianism. Within two decades that tyranny had been broken.

Persons who are confident that their view of a matter is in accord with, and thus informed by, truth do not need to persecute those who disagree with them. By contrast, those who seek to stifle a particular thesis or viewpoint about religion, philosophy, art, science or politics, at once show that, deep within, they lack that confidence. Indeed, some of them may know very well indeed that they are agitating to protect the lie. Human corruption, alas, often goes as far as that.

Truth, in its essence, is a manifestation of the divine. That this is so is told by sacred texts in all the world's traditions. One simple testimony to it in the Christian Bible is Christ's statement: "I have overcome the world."<sup>3</sup> By contrast, Pontius Pilate represents all doubters and skeptics when he asks: "What is truth?" and does not, as Francis Bacon noted, wait for an answer.<sup>4</sup>

The famous story of 'The Emperor with No Clothes' implicitly suggests that sooner or later a child (that is, a person uncorrupted and innocent, or a person able to see things in a new way) will bring to an end any context of deceit and suppression by exposing its manifest absurdity. At the present time the French comedian Dieudonne M'Bala M'Bala appears to be doing just this in Paris, leading to the heightening of absurdity with French President Francois Hollande and interior Minister, Manuel Valls, publicly declaring that the government must close this trickster down. The French have a long history of comic resistance to tyranny and bureaucracy. The novelist Charles Morgan (1894-1958) utilized this tradition in his masterpiece, *The Voyage*<sup>5</sup>, in which his hero, the 'holy fool' Barbet Hazard, takes Paris by storm with his theatrical parodies and satirical songs addressing the vices of the times. A government close down a popular comedian?

How better can one expose the fact that one ‘has no clothes’? The French are unlikely to take the government move against their comedian lightly.

One writer whose life experiences and the insights gained from these afford valuable encouragement for revisionists in a dark time is the German theologian, hero and martyr, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945). This German Lutheran wrote a remarkable essay at the turn of the years 1942-43 entitled “After Ten Years.”<sup>6</sup> The title derives from the ten years of Nazi rule his nation had endured. The essay, composed out of the crucible of personal suffering under a formidable tyranny, contains a succinct analysis of why such structures of oppression will always sooner or later be brought down.

Bonhoeffer noted that there was “so little ground under our feet” and immediately affirmed that “we are able to wait for the success of our cause in quietness and confidence.” How did he derive his assurance? After all, his own future was to be executed by the regime a few days before its final collapse.

Bonhoeffer was a man of faith. That does not mean a man of wishful thinking. In the pregnant section “Who stands his ground?” he observed that “the Disposer of history is always bringing good out of evil over the heads of the history-makers.” Men of responsibility, he added, can rely on “the rising generation,” which “will always instinctively discern” whether its elders are acting out of concrete responsibility or evasive reliance on “abstract principle.” Moreover, he stated that “malice always contains the seeds of its own destruction, for it always makes men uncomfortable, if nothing worse.”

He recognized that human folly, something more common in “individuals or groups who are inclined or condemned to sociability,” is a very difficult obstacle to overcome. One thinks here of those who routinely dismiss Holocaust revisionism as crankery or neo-Nazism without examining it. Folly, Bonhoeffer declared, cannot be dealt with successfully by reason or protests or threats, but is self-complacent and can become dangerously aggressive when pressed.

However, he saw reasons for hope:

*“There is no reason for us to think that the majority of men are fools under all circumstances. What matters [...] is whether our rulers hope to gain more [...] from men’s independence of judgement and their shrewdness of mind.”*

Also, writing at the turning point of a war which, up till then, the Nazis appeared to be winning, he wrote:



*“It is one of the most astounding discoveries, but one of the most incontrovertible, that evil – often in a surprisingly short time – proves its own folly and defeats its own object.”*

He quoted the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah: “Houses and fields and vineyards shall yet again be bought in this land!” – an utterance made just as the holy city of Jerusalem was about to be destroyed.<sup>7</sup>

Bonhoeffer was confident that human nobility never disappears from the human race. “Nobility,” he explained, “springs from and thrives on self-sacrifice and courage and an unflinching sense of duty to oneself and society. [...] It demands a recovery of the lost sense of quality.” He believed that the world is so structured that “a profound respect for the absolute human laws and human rights is also the best means of self-preservation.” Wiser heads among the Jewish people are already seeing this in our context. In Australia recently the Jewish activist and former editor of Melbourne’s *The Age* newspaper, Michael Gawenda, was reported as saying that, while he hated Holocaust revisionism, he was no longer convinced that repressing it was the right way to go.

Bonhoeffer warned that the struggle cannot be expected to be easy or pleasant:

*“I believe that God both can and will bring good out of evil. [...] I believe God will give us all the power we need to resist in all time of distress. But he never gives it in advance.”*

George Orwell’s essay, “The Prevention of Literature”<sup>8</sup> also casts light on the present situation of revisionists and offers hope for the future. Here Orwell uttered a powerful defense of genuine free speech and associated its existence with the production of quality literature, as opposed to writing that is mediocre, trite and stereotyped. At the time he wrote (1945), Orwell was preoccupied with threats to liberty from communist totalitarianism, from Catholic authoritarianism, from financial monopoly and from rampant bureaucracy; but his thesis can be relevantly updated to apply to the current persecution of revisionists.

Truth was all-important for him:

*“What is really at issue is the right to report contemporary events truthfully.”*

We can add: past events as well. “The enemies of intellectual liberty,” he continued, “always try to present their case as a plea for discipline versus individualism. The issue truth-versus-untruth is as far as possible kept in the background.” Promoters of the Holocaust do not pin their cases on

“discipline,” but on chimeras such as “respect for the memory of the dead” and “respect for the feelings of Holocaust survivors.” The upshot is the same.

Referring to the Catholic and the communist, Orwell noted that “each of them tacitly claims that “the truth” has already been revealed, and that the heretic, if he is not simply a fool, is secretly aware of “the truth” and merely resists it out of selfish motives.” Just so, at the present times, defenders of “Holocaust orthodoxy” insist that their position is “beyond debate” and resort to *ad hominem* arguments of various kinds, such as accusations that revisionists are anti-Semites or neo-Nazis.

Orwell was fearful that “the poisonous effect of the Russian *mythos*” made it “doubtful whether a true history of our times can ever be written.” He would have had to admit that he was too pessimistic if he had lived to see the comprehensive exposure of communist totalitarianism during the next sixty years by Alexandr Solzhenitsyn and many others. No doubt some details have been permanently lost, just as some evidence for Holocaust revisionism may be, but enough remains and is on the public record for future defenders of revisionists to celebrate and build upon their achievements.

Orwell was also worried that “the weakening of the desire for liberty among the intellectuals themselves” did not augur well for human liberty; but again he was too pessimistic. Just to cite one contemporary example, there is a strong movement in Australia as I write (January 2014) for the repeal of “racial vilification” legislation that is seen as an unjust limitation of free speech. Many commentators include the repeal of “racial hatred” sanctions as being also necessary. A few years ago, a petition defending a French historical revisionist<sup>9</sup> was circulated worldwide and signed by a huge number of persons from many different countries. There is good reason to feel that the human hunger for liberty will be more than a match, ultimately, for those seeking to close down open commentary on the Nazi period and other topics.

Another powerful element in human nature is the desire of creative writers in all literary genres to produce original and strikingly beautiful language. The best of the world’s literature has set the benchmark. Orwell noted that in his time “political writing consists almost entirely of prefabricated phrases bolted together like the pieces of a child’s Meccano set.” He added that “to write in plain, vigorous language one has to think fearlessly, and if one thinks fearlessly, one cannot be politically orthodox” (by which he means “politically correct”). At the present time the later works of Solzhenitsyn<sup>10</sup> appear to have been prevented by *force majeure* from appear-

ing in English translation, though a cooperative venture is in play on the Internet to get around this censorship. The widespread and innate love of quality literature and quality writing is also in the middle and long term likely to prove more than a match for those seeking to suppress the findings of revisionism.

Solzhenitsyn also believed that literature can and will protect human liberty and the right of free discussion in public forums of contentious topics. He saw literature as a profound vehicle of truth:<sup>11</sup>

*“But a work of art bears within itself its own verification; conceptions which are devised or stretched do not stand being portrayed in images, they all come crashing down, appear sickly and pale, convince no one. But those works of art which have scooped up the truth and presented it to us as a living force – they take hold of us, and nobody ever, not even in ages to come, will appear to refute them.”*

The great Russian novelist saw literature as protecting the souls of nations:

*“But woe to that nation whose literature is disturbed by the intervention of power. [...] it is the closing down of the heart of the nation, a slashing to pieces of its memory. The nation ceases to be mindful of itself, it is deprived of its spiritual unity.”*

The suppression of literature and of historical debate are crimes against humanity:

*“In some cases, moreover – when as a result of such a silence the whole of history ceases to be understood in its entirety – it is a danger to the whole of mankind.”*

Solzhenitsyn warned of “a rampant danger: the suppression of information between the parts of the planet.” He also warned against reliance on the United Nations Organization, which, of course, has, since his time, sided with the oppressors of Holocaust revisionism. He saw the UNO as “a United Governments Organization” which has betrayed many peoples subject to governments which they have not chosen.

Rather in the spirit of Faurisson and Widmann, the Nobel laureate asked: “Is it not natural for us to step back, to lose faith in the steadfastness of goodness, in the indivisibility of truth?” His answer was that world literature, which he saw as “a certain common body and a common spirit, a living heartfelt unity reflecting the growing unity of mankind,” has the power “to help mankind, in these its troubled hours, to see itself as it really is, notwithstanding the indoctrinations of prejudiced people and parties.”

Solzhenitsyn was alert to the skepticism that his idealistic affirmation

might bring in some quarters:

*“We shall be asked, what can literature possibly do against the ruthless onslaught of open violence? But let us not forget that violence does not live alone and is not capable of living alone; it is necessarily interwoven with falsehood.”*

He celebrated the courage of those who refuse to partake in false statements and actions (the exact position, of course, of Faurisson and many other revisionists):

*“In the struggle with falsehood art always did win and it always does win. [...] Falsehood can hold out against much in this world, but not against art. And no sooner will falsehood be dispersed than the nakedness of violence will be revealed in all its ugliness – and violence, decrepit, will fall.”*

It is only a matter of time before a creative writer of the first rank, in world terms, comes forth to deal with the extraordinary scandal of the persecution of revisionists that has deformed and degraded Western European culture since the end of World War Two. And sooner or later the whole apparatus of suppression will go on the nose and then collapse.

Charles Morgan expressed a similar confidence in his magnificent defense of freedom, *Liberties of the Mind*.<sup>12</sup> Partly as a result of considering the Soviet show trials under Stalin, Morgan had become worried that the liberty of thought itself (as distinct from the liberty of expression) was in danger. He regarded the enemy as materialistic-minded totalitarians holding a view of man as a mechanical organism rather than a spiritual creature of divine will. He noted that such folk had not yet in the West “the power to make it criminal to demonstrate the falsity of their premises.”<sup>13</sup> He thought that any attempt to obliterate conscience would fail, so long as “the Gospels and Milton and Bunyan remain accessible, and men are free to pray and love.”<sup>14</sup>

Morgan believed that a restoration of liberty was likely to occur in the future.<sup>15</sup>

*“Nevertheless the time may come – the time may already have come – when the Western nations must vindicate their own principle of freedom and, together and severally, set their house in order. [...] they may have, by [...] repeal and codification at home, to undo harm already done. [...] It is time that liberty rebuilt her barricades.”*

He affirmed:<sup>16</sup>

*“the people themselves [...] must impose constitutional checks upon their own absolutism. [...] they must disengage the liberty of thought as a distinct and inalienable liberty [...] and do so] by positive laws to prevent not only the intimidation of minorities, but subversive intimidation by minorities.”*

He was not thinking of the struggle against the suppression of revisionism, but his words are highly relevant to that, even prophetic. And it was art that Morgan saw as the force that would frustrate the mind-controllers:<sup>17</sup>

*“It is the radical principle and the invariable practice of all totalitarian systems to freeze imagination. It is the radical principle of art to enable men and women to think and imagine for themselves.”*

Art is on the side of revisionists in 2014!

*“If art has anything to teach, it is [...] that to mistake one supposed aspect of truth for Truth itself and so to imprison men’s curiosity and aspiration in the dungeon of an ideology, is the unforgivable sin against the spirit of man. An artist is bound by his vocation to recognize as sin the authoritarian’s claim to be a monopolist of truth.”<sup>18</sup>*

In summary, Solzhenitsyn, Orwell and Morgan make the same point: art (including literature) is an amazingly strong ally of those who fight for intellectual freedom. For this reason, I believe that Holocaust revisionism will eventually win the day, no matter what vicissitudes occur on the way. Today, as I finish this article (11 January), the news has reached us of the French government-led banning of the comedy show in Nantes of the comedian M’Bala M’Bala Dieudonne. I predict that this will prove a pyrrhic victory for the suppressors. When a national government has to utilize the highest administrative court to close down a comedian’s show, then “something is very rotten in the state” indeed – and the odor will awaken more and more people.

In the meantime, some of us may have to suffer. We should recall the spirit of Job (“The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord!”<sup>19</sup>) and the words of Sister Beatrix to Rowena Darcy in the great Australian novel *The Harp in the South*.<sup>20</sup>

*“God has his own ways of giving us experience, Rowena. Don’t regret all the pain you have suffered. You will learn in the long run that it gave you wisdom of strength. Lift up your heart, as Father says in the Mass, and be glad that God thought you worthy to go through this trial for his sake and your own.”*

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Richard Widmann, "History Behind Bars: A Future of Revisionism," *Inconvenient History* Vol. 5, No. 4, Winter 2013. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/history-behind-bars-a-future-of-revisionism/>.
- <sup>2</sup> Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, "One Word of Truth," (UK: The Bodley Head, 1971).
- <sup>3</sup> The Gospel of John, 16:33.
- <sup>4</sup> The Gospel of John, 18:38. See "On Truth" in *Francis Bacon's Essays* (UK, Everyman, 1906, repr. 1958).
- <sup>5</sup> Charles Morgan, *The Voyage* (London: Macmillan, 1940, repr. London: Capuchin Classics, 2009).
- <sup>6</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (UK: SCM Press, 1953, repr. Fontana Books, 1959).
- <sup>7</sup> Jeremiah, 32:15.
- <sup>8</sup> George Orwell, "The Prevention of Literature," in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (London: Penguin Books, 1957, repr. 1964), pp. 159-174.
- <sup>9</sup> This was the "Petition for the Abrogation of the Gayssot law and the liberation of Vincent Reynouard" organized by Paul-Eric Blanrue in October 2010.
- <sup>10</sup> Alexandr Solzhenitsyn. Volumes 3 and 4 of *The Red Wheel and Two Hundred Years of Living Together* (A detailed study of the relations of Russians and Jews over the past two centuries).
- <sup>11</sup> These and the immediately following quotations come from "One Word of Truth."
- <sup>12</sup> Charles Morgan, *Liberties of the Mind* (London: Macmillan, 1951).
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 77.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- <sup>19</sup> The Book of Job, 1:21.
- <sup>20</sup> Ruth Park, *The Harp in the South* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1948, repr. Australia: Penguin Books, 1951), Chapter XI, p. 146.

## The Road to World War II

*Ralph Raico*

World War One's direct costs to the United States were: 130,000 combat deaths; 35,000 men permanently disabled; \$33.5 billion (plus another \$13 billion in veterans' benefits and interest on the war debt, as of 1931, all in the dollars of those years); perhaps also some portion of the 500,000 influenza deaths among American civilians from the virus the men brought home from France.<sup>1</sup>

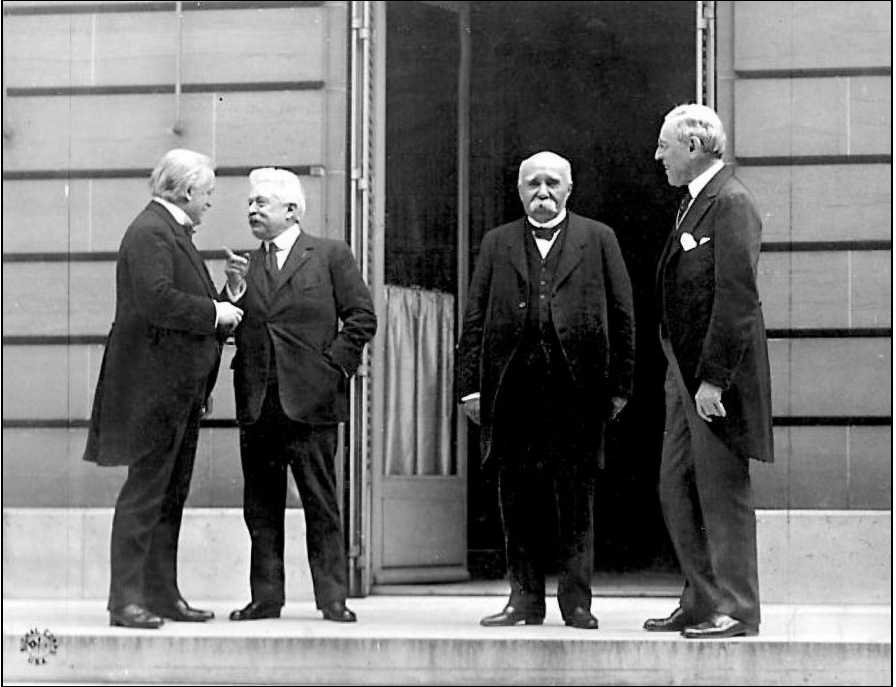
The indirect costs, in the battering of American freedoms and the erosion of attachment to libertarian values, were probably much greater. But as Colonel House had assured Wilson, no matter what sacrifices the war exacted, "the end will justify them" – the end of creating a world order of freedom, justice, and everlasting peace.

The process of meeting that rather formidable challenge began in Paris, in January 1919, where the leaders of "the Allied and Associated Powers" gathered to decide on the terms of peace and write the Covenant of the League of Nations.<sup>2</sup>

A major complication was the fact that Germany had not surrendered unconditionally, but under certain definite conditions respecting the nature of the final settlement. The State Department note of November 5, 1918 informed Germany that the United States and the Allied governments consented to the German proposal. The basis of the final treaties would be "the terms of peace laid down in the president's address to Congress of January 1918 [the Fourteen Points speech], and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses."<sup>3</sup>

The essence of these pronouncements was that the peace treaties must be animated by a sense of justice and fairness to all nations. Vengeance and national greed would have no place in the new scheme of things. In his "Four Principles" speech one month after the Fourteen Points address, Wilson stated:<sup>4</sup>

*"There shall be no contributions, no punitive damages. People are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference. [...] National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. [...] All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it [...] every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and*



*Council of Four at the WWI Paris peace conference, May 27, 1919. (L – R) Prime Minister David Lloyd George (Great Britain) Premier Vittorio Orlando, Italy, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, President Woodrow Wilson.*

*By Edward N. Jackson (US Army Signal Corps) (U.S. Signal Corps photo) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

*for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states.”*

During the pre-armistice negotiations, Wilson insisted that the conditions of any armistice had to be such “as to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible.” Accordingly, the Germans surrendered their battle fleet and submarines, some 1,700 airplanes, 5,000 artillery, 30,000 machine guns and other materiel, while the Allies occupied the Rhineland and the Rhine bridgeheads.<sup>5</sup> Germany was now defenseless, dependent on Wilson and the Allies keeping their word.

Yet the hunger blockade continued, and was even expanded, as the Allies gained control of the German Baltic coast and banned even fishing boats. The point was reached where the commander of the British army of occupation demanded of London that food be sent to the famished Germans. His troops could no longer stand the sight of hungry German chil-



dren rummaging in the rubbish bins of the British camps for food. <sup>6</sup> Still, food was only allowed to enter Germany in March 1919, and the blockade of raw materials continued until the Germans signed the Treaty.

Early on in Paris, there were disquieting signs that the Allies were violating the terms of surrender. The German delegation was permitted to take no part in the deliberations. The Treaty, negotiated among the bickering victors – Wilson was so angry at one point that he temporarily withdrew – was drawn up and handed to the German delegates. Despite their outraged protests, they were finally forced to sign it, in a humiliating ceremony at the Palace of Versailles, under threat of the invasion of a now helpless Germany.

This wobbly start to the era of international reconciliation and eternal peace was made far worse by the provisions of the Treaty itself.

Germany was allowed an army of no more than 100,000 men, no planes, tanks, or submarines, while the whole left bank of the Rhine was permanently demilitarized. But this was a unilateral disarmament. No provision was made for the general disarmament (point 4 of the Fourteen Points) of which this was supposed to be the first step and which, in fact, never occurred. There was no “free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims” (point 5). Instead, Germany was stripped of its colonies in Africa and the Pacific, which were parceled out among the winners of the war. In that age of high imperialism, colonies were greatly, if mistakenly, valued, as indicated by the brutality with which Britain and France as well as Germany repressed revolts by the native peoples. Thus, the transfer of the German colonies was another source of grievance. In place of a peace with “no contributions or punitive damages,” the Treaty called for an unspecified amount in reparations. These were to cover the costs not only of damage to civilians but also of pensions and other military expenses. The sum eventually proposed was said to amount to more than the entire wealth of Germany, and the Germans were expected to keep on paying for many decades to come.<sup>7</sup>

Most bitterly resented, however, were the territorial changes in Europe.

Wilson had promised, and the Allies had agreed, that “self-determination” would serve as the cornerstone of the new world order of justice and peace. It was this prospect that had produced a surge of hope throughout the Western world as the Peace Conference began. Yet there was no agreement among the victors on the desirability of self-determination, or even its meaning. Georges Clemenceau, the French Premier, rejected it as applied to the Germans, and aimed to set up the Rhineland as a separate

state. The British were embarrassed by the principle, since they had no intention of applying it to Cyprus, India, Egypt – or Ireland. Even Wilson's Secretary of State could not abide it; Lansing pointed out that both the United States and Canada had flagrantly violated the sanctity of self-determination, in regard to the Confederacy and Quebec, respectively.<sup>8</sup>

Wilson himself had little understanding of what his doctrine implied. As the conference progressed, the president, buffeted by the grimly determined Clemenceau and the clever British prime minister David Lloyd George, acquiesced in a series of contraventions of self-determination that in the end made a farce of his own lofty if ambiguous principle.

Wilson had declared that national groups must be given "the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new, or perpetuating old, elements of discord and antagonism." At Paris, Italy was given the Brenner Pass as its northern frontier, placing nearly a quarter of a million Austrian Germans in the South Tyrol under Italian control. The German city of Memel was given to Lithuania, and the creation of the Polish Corridor to the Baltic and of the "Free City" of Danzig (under Polish control) affected another 1.5 million Germans. The Saar region was handed over to France for at least 15 years. Altogether some 13.5 million Germans were separated from the Reich.<sup>9</sup> The worst cases of all were Austria and the Sudetenland.

In Austria, when the war ended, the Constituent Assembly that replaced the Habsburg monarchy voted unanimously for Anschluss, or union with Germany; in plebiscites, the provinces of Salzburg and the Tyrol voted the same way, by 98 percent and 95 percent, respectively. But Anschluss was forbidden by the terms of the Treaty (as was the use of "German-Austria" as the name of the new country).<sup>10</sup> The only grounds for this shameless violation of self-determination was that it would strengthen Germany – hardly what the victors had in mind.<sup>11</sup>

The Peace Conference established an entity called "Czechoslovakia," a state that in the interwar period enjoyed the reputation of a gallant little democracy in the dark heart of Europe. In reality, it was another "prison-house of nations."<sup>12</sup> The Slovaks had been deceived into joining by promises of complete autonomy; even so, Czechs and Slovaks together represented only 65 percent of the population. In fact, the second largest national group was the Germans.<sup>13</sup>

Germans had inhabited the Sudetenland, a compact territory adjacent to Germany and Austria, since the Middle Ages. With the disintegration of Austria-Hungary they wished to join what remained of Austria, or even Germany itself. This was vehemently opposed by Thomas Masaryk and

Eduard Beneš, leaders of the well-organized Czech contingent at the conference and liberal darlings of the Allies. Evidently, though the Czechs had the right to secede from Austria-Hungary, the Germans had no right to secede from Czechoslovakia. Instead, the incorporation of the Sudetenland was dictated by economic and strategic considerations – and historical ones, as well. It seems that the integrity of the lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus – Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia – had to be preserved. No such concern, however, was shown at Paris for the integrity of the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, the ancient Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Masaryk and Beneš assured their patrons that the Sudeten Germans yearned to join the new west Slavic state. As Alfred Cobban commented wryly, “To avoid doubt, however, their views were not ascertained.”<sup>15</sup>

This is in no way surprising. The instrument of the plebiscite was employed when it could harm Germany. Thus, plebiscites were held to divide up areas that, if taken as a whole, might vote for union with Germany, *e.g.*, Silesia. But the German request for a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine, which many French had left and many Germans entered after 1871, was turned down.<sup>16</sup>

In the new Czechoslovakia, Germans suffered government-sponsored discrimination in the ways typical of the statist order of Central Europe. They were disadvantaged in “land reform,” economic policy, the civil service, and education. The civil liberties of minority groups, including the Slovaks, were violated by laws criminalizing peaceful propaganda against the tightly centralized structure of the new state. Charges by the Germans that their rights under the minority-treaty were being infringed brought no relief.<sup>17</sup>

The protests of Germans within the boundaries of the new Poland resembled those in Czechoslovakia, except that the former were subjected to frequent mob violence.<sup>18</sup> The Polish authorities, who looked on the German minority as potentially treasonous, proposed to eliminate it either through assimilation (unlikely) or coerced emigration. As one scholar has concluded:<sup>19</sup>

*“Germans in Poland had ample justification for their complaints; their prospects for even medium-term survival were bleak.”*

At the end of the Twentieth century, we are accustomed to viewing certain groups as eternally oppressed victims and other groups as eternal oppressors. But this ideological stratagem did not begin with the now pervasive demonization of the white race. There was an earlier mythology, which

held that the Germans were always in the wrong vis-à-vis their Slavic neighbors. Heavily reinforced by Nazi atrocities, this legend is now deeply entrenched. The idea that at certain times Poles and Czechs victimized Germans cannot be mapped on our conceptual grid. Yet it was often the case in the interwar period.<sup>20</sup>

The German leaders, of course, had been anything but angels preceding and during the war. But, if a lasting peace was the purpose of the Versailles Treaty, it was a bad idea to plant time bombs in Europe's future. Of Germany's border with Poland, Lloyd George himself predicted that it "must in my judgment lead sooner or later to a new war in the east of Europe."<sup>21</sup> Wilson's pretense that all injustices would be rectified in time – "It will be the business of the League to set such matters right" – was another of his complacent delusions. The League's Covenant stipulated unanimity in such questions and thus "rendered the League an instrument of the status quo."<sup>22</sup>

Vengeance continued to be the order of the day, as France invaded the Ruhr in 1923, supposedly because reparations payments were in arrears (Britain and Italy, equal partners in supervision of reparations, disagreed). The French also stepped up their futile efforts to establish a separatist state in the Rhineland. There, as in the Ruhr, they ostentatiously deployed native colonial troops, who delighted in the novelty of their superior status to Europeans. This was felt to be a further indignity by many Germans.<sup>23</sup>

The problems dragged on through the 1920s and early '30s. The territorial settlement was bitterly opposed by every political party in Germany, from the Far Left to the Far Right, through to the end of the Weimar Republic. In the past, treaties had often been gradually and peacefully revised through changes enacted by one party which the other parties declined to challenge.<sup>24</sup> Yet even with the Nazi threat looming over Weimar Germany, France refused to give an inch. In 1931, Chancellor Heinrich Brüning arranged for a customs union with Austria, which would have amounted to a great patriotic triumph for the fledgling democracy. It was vetoed by France. Vansittart, at the British Foreign Office, no lover of Germany, warned:<sup>25</sup>

*"Brüning's Government is the best we can hope for; its disappearance would be followed by a Nazi avalanche."*

In the east, France's allies, Poland and Czechoslovakia, similarly refused any concessions. They had been obliged to sign agreements guaranteeing certain rights to their ethnic minorities. Protests to the League from the German minorities got nowhere:

“[...League mediators] almost always recommended accepting the promises of member governments to mend their ways. [...] Even when the League found fault with a policy that had led to a minority complaint, it was almost never able to get a member state to act accordingly.”

In any case, the Polish position was that

“minority peoples needed no protection from their own government, and that it was ‘disloyal’ for minority organizations to seek redress before the League.”<sup>26</sup>

When Germany became a League member, evidence of terrorism against the German minority in Poland carried more weight. In 1931, the League Council unanimously accepted a report “essentially substantiating the charges against the Poles.” But again, no effective action was taken. The British delegates had “frankly adopted the view that where German minorities were concerned, it was for the German Government to look after their interests.”<sup>27</sup> After 1933, a German government chose to do exactly that, in its own savage way.<sup>28</sup> Back in January 1917, Wilson had addressed Congress on the nature of the settlement, once the terrible war was over: it must be a peace without victory. [...] Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor’s terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.<sup>29</sup>

A prescient warning indeed. Woodrow Wilson’s own foolish, blatant disregard of it helped bring about a tragedy for Europe and the world that surpassed even the First World War.

## Notes

This article is excerpted from Ralph Raico’s *Great Wars & Great Leaders: A Libertarian Rebuttal* (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2010).

© 2012 by the Ludwig von Mises Institute. Permission to reprint in whole or in part is hereby granted, provided full credit is given.

<sup>1</sup> Otis L. Graham, Jr., *The Great Campaigns: Reform and War in America, 1900–1928* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1987), p. 91. On the influenza epidemic, see T. Hunt Tooley, “Some Costs of the Great War: Nationalizing Private Life,” *The Independent Review* (Fall, 2009), p. 166 n. 1 and the sources cited there. Tooley’s essay is an original, thought-provoking treatment of some of the war’s “hidden costs.”

<sup>2</sup> The following discussion draws on John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920); Alcide

- Ebray, *La paix malpropre: Versailles* (Milan: Unitas, 1924); Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe, 1918–1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), pp. 1–25; Eugene Davidson, *The Making of Adolf Hitler: The Birth and Rise of Nazism* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1997 [1977]); Roy Denman, *Missed Chances: Britain and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), pp. 29–49; and Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), among other works.
- <sup>3</sup> James Brown Scott, ed., *Official Statements of War Aims and Peace Proposals, December 1916 to November 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1921), p. 457. The two modifications proposed by the Allied governments and accepted by the United States and Germany concerned freedom of the seas and the compensation owed by Germany for the damage done to the civilian populations of the Allied nations. For earlier notes exchanged between Germany and the United States regarding the terms of surrender, see pp. 415, 419, 420–21, 430–31, 434–35, 455.
  - <sup>4</sup> Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, January 16–March 12, 1918* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), vol. 46, pp. 321–23. For the Fourteen Points speech of January 8, 1918, see *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, November 11, 1917–January 15, 1918*, Arthur S. Link, ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), vol. 45, pp. 534–39.
  - <sup>5</sup> Scott, *Official Statements*, p. 435; Davidson, *The Making of Adolf Hitler*, p. 112; and Denman, *Missed Chances*, p. 33.
  - <sup>6</sup> Denman, *Missed Chances*, pp. 33–34; and C. Paul Vincent *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915–1919* (Ohio University Press, 1985), pp. 110 and 76–123. That the hunger blockade had a part in fueling later Nazi fanaticism seems undeniable. See Theodore Abel, *The Nazi Movement: Why Hitler Came to Power* (New York: Atherton, 1960 [1938]) and Peter Lowenberg, “The Psychohistorical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohorts,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 76, no. 3 (December 1971), discussed in “Starving a People into Submission,” a review of Vincent's book, in Ralph Raico, *Great Wars & Great Leaders: A Libertarian Rebuttal* (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2010), p. 197.
  - <sup>7</sup> Charles Callan Tansill, “The United States and the Road to War in Europe,” in Harry Elmer Barnes, ed., *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Caldwell, Id.: Caxton, 1953), pp. 83–88; Denman, *Missed Chances*, pp. 32, 57–59; Davidson, *The Making of Adolf Hitler*, p. 155.
  - <sup>8</sup> Alfred Cobban, *The Nation State and National Self-Determination* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), pp. 61–62. On the scorn with which the Anglophile Wilson treated the request of the Irish for independence, see p. 66.
  - <sup>9</sup> R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain and the Dictators: A Survey of Post-War British Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 324.
  - <sup>10</sup> Davidson, *The Making of Adolf Hitler*, pp. 115–16. Even Charles Homer Haskins, head of the western Europe division of the American delegation, considered the prohibition of the Austrian-German union an injustice; see Charles Homer Haskins and Robert Howard Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920), pp. 226–28.

- <sup>11</sup> The story of Reinhard Spitzzy, *So Haben Wir das Reich Verspielt: Bekenntnisse eines Illegalen* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1986) is instructive in this regard. As a young Austrian, Spitzzy was incensed at the treatment of his own country and of Germans in general at the Paris Conference and afterwards. The killing of 54 Sudeten German protestors by Czech police on March 4, 1919 particularly appalled Spitzzy. He joined the Austrian Nazi Party and the SS. Later, Spitzzy, who had never favored German expansionism, became a caustic critic of Ribbentrop and a member of the anti-Hitler resistance.
- <sup>12</sup> On the Czech question at the Peace Conference and the First Czechoslovak Republic, see Kurt Glaser, *Czechoslovakia: A Critical History* (Caldwell, Id.: Caxton, 1962), pp. 13–47.
- <sup>13</sup> This is the breakdown of the population, according to the census of 1926: Czechs 6.5 million; Germans 3.3 million; Slovaks 2.5 million; Hungarians 800 thousand; Ruthenians 400 thousand; Poles 100 thousand. John Scott Keltie, ed., *The Statesman's Yearbook, 1926* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p. 768; and Glaser, *Czechoslovakia*, p. 6.
- <sup>14</sup> The Germans were by no means the only people whose “right to self-determination” was manifestly infringed. Millions of Ukrainians and White Russians were included in the new Poland. As for the Hungarians, the attitude that prevailed towards them in Paris is epitomized by the statement of Harold Nicholson, one of the British negotiators: “I confess that I regarded, and still regard, that Turanian tribe with acute distaste. Like their cousins the Turks, they had destroyed much and created nothing.” The new borders of Hungary were drawn in such a way that one-third of the Magyars were assigned to neighboring states. See Stephen Borsody, “State- and Nation-Building in Central Europe: The Origins of the Hungarian Problem,” in idem, ed., *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1988), pp. 3–31 and especially in the same volume Zsuzsa L. Nagy, “Peacemaking after World War I: The Western Democracies and the Hungarian Question,” pp. 32–52. Among the states that inherited territories from Germany and Austria-Hungary, the minority components were as follows: Czechoslovakia: (not counting Slovaks) 34.7 percent; Poland 30.4 percent; Romania 25 percent; Yugoslavia (not counting Croats and Slovenes) 17.2 percent. Seton-Watson, *Britain and the Dictators*, pp. 322–23.
- <sup>15</sup> Cobban, *The Nation State*, p. 68. C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968 [1934]), pp. 413–15, noted that by official decree Czech was the language of state, to be used exclusively in all major departments of government and as a rule with the general public. This led to German complaints that the aim was “to get the whole administration of the country, as far as possible, into Czechoslovak hands.” Macartney maintained, nonetheless, that the Sudeten Germans were “not, fundamentally, irredentist.” Of course, as Cobban observed, they had not been asked.
- <sup>16</sup> Cobban, *The Nation State*, p. 72. Even Marks, *The Illusion of Peace*, p. 11, who was generally supportive of the Versailles Treaty, stated that Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France “to the considerable displeasure of many of its inhabitants.”
- <sup>17</sup> Glaser, *Czechoslovakia*, pp. 13–33.

- <sup>18</sup> Unlike the Sudeten Germans, however, who mainly lived in a great compact area adjacent to Germany and Austria, most of the Germans in Poland (but not Danzig) could only have been united with their mother country by bringing in many non-Germans as well. But even some areas with a clear German majority that were contiguous to Germany were awarded to Poland. In Upper Silesia, the industrial centers of Kattowitz and Königshütte, which voted in plebiscites for Germany by majorities of 65 percent and 75 percent respectively, were given to Poland. Richard Blanke, *Orphans of Versailles: The Germans in Western Poland 1918–1939* (Lexington, Ky.: 1993), pp. 21, 29.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236–37. See also Tansill, “The United States and the Road to War in Europe,” pp. 88–93.
- <sup>20</sup> In 1919, Ludwig von Mises wrote: “The unfortunate outcome of the war [*i.e.*, increased statism and injustice] brings hundreds of thousands, even millions, of Germans under foreign rule and imposes tribute payments of unheard-of size on the rest of Germany.” Mises, *Nation, State, and Economy*, (Indianapolis, Ind., Liberty Fund, 2006) p. 217. Still, Mises admonished the Germans to eschew the path of imperialism and follow economic liberalism instead. See also the comment of Hew Strachan, *The First World War, vol. 1, To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 2: “the injustices done to Germans residing in the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian empire came to be widely recognized.”
- <sup>21</sup> “By the early spring of 1922, Lloyd George came to the conclusion that the Treaty of Versailles had been an awful mistake and that it was in no small way responsible for the economic crisis in which both Great Britain and the Continental European nations now found themselves.” Richard M. Watt, *The Kings Depart: The Tragedy of Versailles and the German Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), p. 513.
- <sup>22</sup> Denman, *Missed Chances*, pp. 42, 45; Marks, *The Illusion of Peace*, p. 14.
- <sup>23</sup> Tansill, “The United States and the Road to War in Europe,” pp. 94–95; Denman, *Missed Chances*, pp. 51–52.
- <sup>24</sup> Ebray, *La paix malpropre*, pp. 341–43.
- <sup>25</sup> Denman, *Missed Chances*, p. 53.
- <sup>26</sup> Blanke, *Orphans of Versailles*, pp. 132, 136–37.
- <sup>27</sup> Davidson, *The Making of Adolf Hitler* (the best work on the role of the Versailles Treaty in assisting the rise of Nazism), p. 289; and Cobban, *The Nation State*, p. 89.
- <sup>28</sup> The idea that an Anglo-American guarantee to France against German “aggression” would have availed to freeze the constellation of forces as of 1919 *ad infinitum* was a fantasy. Already in 1922, Weimar Germany reached a rapprochement with Soviet Russia, at Rapallo.
- <sup>29</sup> Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson, November 20, 1916–January 23, 1917* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), vol. 40, p. 536.



## A Real World-War-II Death Camp Oak Ridge, USA

*Jett Rucker*

**T**he industrial complex erected by the German government on a Polish army base at Auschwitz (now Oświęcim, Poland) has long been labelled a “death camp” on the strength of the great numbers of people forcibly sent there as part of extensive ethnic-cleansing programs and as laborers, as World War II threatened the German homeland. Aside from death, it produced a wide range of chemical products, synthetic rubber chief among these. Its location was dictated by several factors, including good rail connections, access to the energy (coal) resources of Silesia, and its location outside Germany proper, making it a suitable destination for hundreds of thousands of deportees the German government wished to keep out of the “Reich.”

At about the same time, the US government created Oak Ridge in the mountains of Tennessee, strategically located near hydroelectric power stations fortuitously erected by the government there in the 1930s. Energy – electrical energy, in fact – was as crucial to Oak Ridge as thermal energy was to Auschwitz, since the only product of this huge installation, not known until World War II was over, was enriched uranium to provide the stupendous force used to devastate Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, and to threaten the world in all the time since with the limitless destructive power thereafter at the disposal of the US government.

Oak Ridge, nestled in the Appalachian Mountains of eastern Tennessee, was on the side that won – in a vast country, in fact, no inch of which was even attacked, much less invaded by its enemies during World War II. Accordingly, Oak Ridge, America’s “Secret City,” has continued to produce its deadly nuclear materials, today poised atop missiles or in bombs ready for loading into bombers to produce something that acquired its name only after the first Oak Ridge bomb exploded: megadeaths.

Auschwitz, on the other hand, was put out of business by the Red Army in January 1945, and was occupied by that force until 1989, only after which it became the center of a booming tourist trade for people eager to visit the site of so much suffering and (German) evil that caused it all. In fairness, the tourist appeal of Oak Ridge today should be augmented by the combined tourist appeals of Nagasaki and Hiroshima (so far) as the *loci* of



*A billboard encouraging secrecy amongst Oak Ridge workers*  
*By James E. Westcott [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

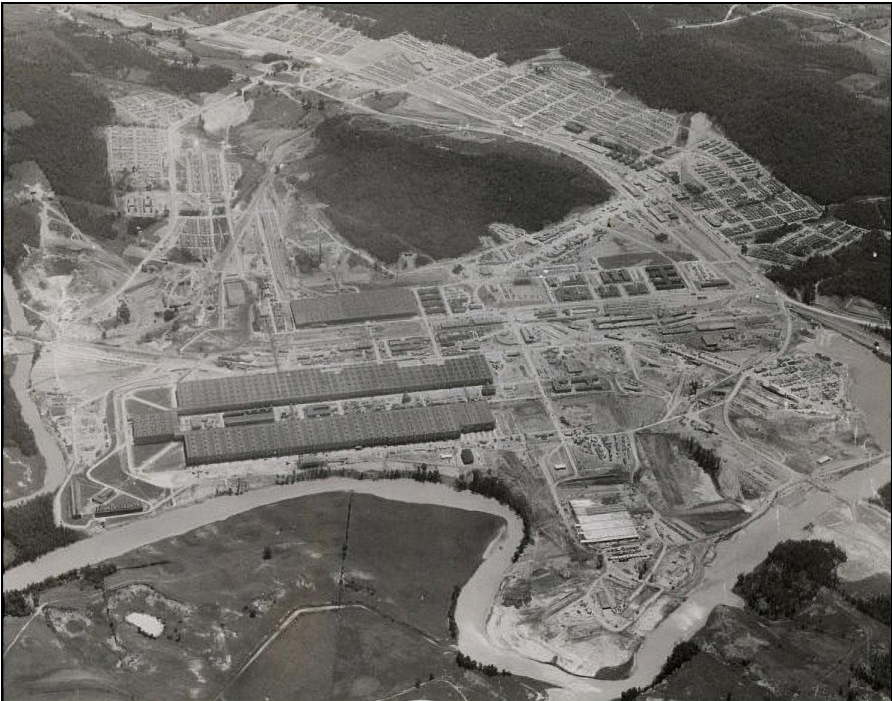
the suffering and deaths produced in the verdant mountains of eastern Tennessee.

At Auschwitz, some say, the place was at least partially designed and built to bring about death for millions of the hapless souls ingathered from the vast territories occupied by Germany during World War II and transported there. Thousands of “free” employees, including Germans, were assigned to work there (by no means just guards, but engineers, managers, clerks, etc.), including over 8,000 SS guards.<sup>1</sup> The loudest claims of the death toll there have declined from over four million to around 1.4 million,<sup>2</sup> meaning that most of those sent there must have “survived” the camp, having been released, transferred to other camps or just gone home when their tour was up. While the products of Auschwitz undoubtedly helped the Wehrmacht resist the onslaught of hostile armies invading Germany from three directions, it did produce many deaths on its premises, from disease, starvation, exposure, accidents and a miniscule number of executions, as Germany’s ability to defend and even feed its own people was eviscerated by the invaders.

Auschwitz had crematoria, and typhus epidemics that made them necessary, while Oak Ridge seems to have had neither of these, if only because its “sponsors” retained political power in the aftermath of the war. There

are, as usual, many reasons for this difference. Oak Ridge had its pick of a motivated, and mobilized, population of over 100 million, while Auschwitz was literally a dumping ground for millions of “undesirables” expelled from the places where they had been living – it had no choice as to the ages, education levels, ethnicities or even freedom from disease of its inductees. The famous “selections” that were performed at Auschwitz after inmates had arrived, were made *before* anyone even got on the trains going to Oak Ridge.

Fatalities at Oak Ridge, where the admittees were overwhelmingly young and fit, could easily be interred in the elevated, well-drained landscape surrounding the installation in the few cases where the bodies weren’t shipped back where they had come from. At Auschwitz, located in



*This aerial photograph depicts K-25 and the surrounding area. K-25 was one of the uranium enrichment facilities at Oak Ridge that produced uranium for the Manhattan Project. K-25 was horseshoe shaped and covered an area of 44-acres. In the upper part of the photograph can be seen “Happy Valley,” which was the residential area where construction workers and plant laborers lived.*

*By Manhattan Project (National Archives) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

low-lying terrain from which the water supply was drawn, the imperative to cremate the numerous victims of disease was absolute. Capacity to ship the thousands of diseased corpses was also obviously lacking, along with destinations where they might be received. The crematoria at Auschwitz were fully occupied disposing of corpses in a manner that protected the living.

Most of the deaths made at Oak Ridge remain as yet unrealized, though its products today no doubt embrace the potential of killing literally billions of people all over the globe, and they are elaborately packaged for mounting in vehicles that can reach any and every place where a human being of any age, sex, race or religion draws breath. But even if few deaths have been registered in Oak Ridge, and no allegation of extermination programs (of persons in the camps) has even been voiced, still the place abundantly practiced the interracial oppression that has come, since 1945, to be the heinous stain of the camp in Poland.

Germany in the 1930s had no blacks to speak of; even if it had had some, they might not have encompassed among them large numbers of recent, alien immigrants and at the same time, a small conspicuous plutocracy of highly successful merchants and professionals on whose example to evoke the green-eyed monster of envy among the downtrodden masses. To say that Jews were the blacks of wartime Germany, and blacks the Jews of wartime America is a simile subject to many exceptions and differences; yet, particulars of the ways the two groups were treated in their separate wartime environments display striking similarities, especially if differences between the wartime events in the environments themselves (Germany and America) are factored in.

Both installations were essentially industrial. Its peak population appears to have been about 75,000, while the peak population of Auschwitz seems to have been about 150,000 counting the companion installation at Birkenau but not counting the numerous "free" workers who also worked there.

Housing at both installations was hopelessly inadequate throughout the war. That the Germans may have met the "demand" for housing better than the Americans may be ascribed to the lower standards deemed adequate for slave laborers at Auschwitz vis-à-vis those for "free" Americans. On the other hand, the climate at Oak Ridge is a good deal milder than in Silesia, so any given level of housing would be better in Tennessee than at Auschwitz.

Housing, in any case, varied quite as much at Oak Ridge as it did at Auschwitz, with disfavored racial groups (Jews in Auschwitz, blacks in

Oak Ridge) occupying the lower strata of the available range. Most blacks at Oak Ridge, in fact, were kept in gender-separated barracks, much as Jews were at Auschwitz, no matter if they were married to each other, and absolutely no matter if they had children – blacks were not allowed to bring children to Oak Ridge, while whites, of course, were. Some fortunate blacks managed to gain the blessings of cohabitation by acquiring access to structures known as “hutments” on the grounds. This form of housing was provided only for blacks; whites enjoyed consistently superior alternatives. The remains of similar dwellings at Auschwitz today are limited to the brick fireplaces and chimneys arrayed across a field at Birkenau (nothing whatsoever remains of the hutments in Tennessee). The hutments had no brick components at all; then again, winters there were shorter and milder, so that such amenities were required only in the equivalent structures provided for whites.

Tales of heinous medical experiments conducted on the conscripts at Auschwitz by sadistic Nazi doctors are almost as numerous as are the multitudes still clamoring among us for the special considerations we reserve for the victims of Nazi cruelty. Dr. Mengele, it would seem, was everywhere any victim could be found, at countless places, and at the same times. Regardless of the liberties German researchers may have taken with people whose lives they considered at least as expendable as those of their sons then fighting on the fronts surrounding Germany, American doctors similarly took liberties with persons at Oak Ridge whose lives they (being white) might have deemed less valuable (their victims being black) than other choices they might have made. Or maybe they, like their German opposite numbers, merely chose people less able to draw attention to their objections, or even to object.

The case of Ebb Cade, a black 53-year-old construction worker at Oak Ridge, is illustrative. Cade was hospitalized after an auto accident in which he suffered some general trauma and a fractured leg; he was coherent when he was admitted to the hospital. His treatment there was delayed so that there would be time to observe the effects on him of the (covert) injection of some plutonium into his bloodstream. He was, like Jews at Auschwitz, very much a captive, if only under “medical” auspices. As a captive, he was subject to the detailed observation that such experiments require to yield usable results. After some months, during which his injuries, with or without medical assistance, healed, Cade “liberated” himself and returned, by one means or another, to his home in North Carolina. Experiments of this kind continued, though not necessarily at Oak Ridge, well into the Fif-

ties. Most, if not all, of the subjects were black. None is known to have been Jewish. Whatever experiments were conducted at Auschwitz ceased permanently in early 1945, and those alleged to have been in any way complicit in them have been hounded literally to the ends of the earth throughout all the decades since.

There is an irony to be found in the disposition of the lethal materials produced at Oak Ridge. Of course, those who labored so hard under such lamentable conditions there can take pride in the 200,000 to 400,000 deaths wreaked upon the Japanese, and many no doubt did, and do. But during the time in the early Sixties when Israel was cobbling its own nuclear-killing potential together, there occurred at a depot for warhead material, called NUMEC in Apollo, Pennsylvania, a “disappearance” of over 100 kilograms of the material. NUMEC, headed by one Zalman Shapiro, was known by the CIA to have suspiciously close connections with Israel and its agents in the US carrying out various kinds of industrial and military espionage.<sup>3</sup> The end result of this connection is that the lethal product of Oak Ridge graces – or graced, if some of it has since lost its potency – the warheads of Israeli nuclear bombs and missiles targeted on whatever cities, the devastation of which the Israeli government calculates might best serve its interests.

The hundreds of thousands of deaths undeniably produced at Oak Ridge enjoy not one shred of moral superiority over even the most egregious deaths attributed to Auschwitz. Obviously, Oak Ridge’s victims were civilians, whose innocence can be asserted quite as validly as can the innocence of Auschwitz’s victims. While the US Army Air Force did not choose its victims individually, nor by what ethnic group each appeared to be a member of, it *did* choose its targets, and in doing so made very much the same choices, *en masse* (Nagasaki, ironically, had long been by far Japan’s most “Catholic” city, even sporting a cathedral). But above all, killing these hundreds of thousands of people was utterly unnecessary to advancing America’s declared aim of overthrowing Japan’s government and occupying its territory. It is today well known that President Truman ordered this mass murder in order to demonstrate to the world that the US had the power to annihilate it.<sup>4</sup> Only after this crime did he deign to accept the Japanese surrender that by that time had lain on the table for months.

The thousands of real holocausts produced at Oak Ridge during and since the war remain at this time consigned to the future.

The last death at Auschwitz occurred in January 1945.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps it was a Jew’s.

But it *was* the last.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. Online: [http://en.auschwitz.org/h/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=17](http://en.auschwitz.org/h/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=17)
- <sup>2</sup> Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. Online: [http://en.auschwitz.org/h/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=13](http://en.auschwitz.org/h/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=13)
- <sup>3</sup> Victor Gilinsky. Letter, "Israel's Bomb," in *New York Review of Books*, May 13, 2004.
- <sup>4</sup> See Joseph Bishop. "Atomic War Crimes," in *Inconvenient History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 2010. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/atomic-war-crimes/>
- <sup>5</sup> Danuta Czech. *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1990), p. 804. Czech writes, "Of the 850 sick prisoners left behind during the deportations, more than 200 prisoners die by January 27."

## REVIEWS

---

## Savage Continent

### Europe in the Aftermath of World War II

*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*

*Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*, by Keith Lowe, St. Martin's Press, 2012, 460 pp

---

Keith Lowe is a professional historian in every sense, most of them good. He is not only diligent, energetic, insightful, and scrupulous, he is also imaginative in the best ways, and an engaging writer of prose. Being young, he has his career ahead of him and his first, and only other, book on the market is *Inferno: The Devastation of Hamburg, 1943*. That book, perhaps like David Irving's 1963 best-seller, *The Destruction of Dresden*, might be a bit too sympathetic to the people who instigated the Holocaust to support the rising career of a historian of Twentieth-Century Europe. And for understandable reasons, Lowe does not wish to suffer the fate of David Irving, whose contract to publish *Goebbels – Mastermind of the Third Reich* was cancelled under pressure from groups who branded Irving a "Holocaust denier." That contract, as it happens, was with St. Martin's Press, the publisher of this very book.

So, at least to a reader familiar with this history and with the vicissitudes of advancing a career in any field subject to public approbation, *Savage Continent* to some extent comes off as a performance of redemptive historiography. That is, in certain of the many theaters of conflict covered by Lowe's survey, acts of understandable vengeance by Jews against citizens of defeated Germany are presented as the revenge of conquered, and conquering, persons of indeterminate ethnicity or other motivation. Thus, for example, Salomon Morel, the infamous commandant of the post-war Zgoda/Świętochłowice concentration camp for Prussian Germans, is identifiable as Jewish only by the dispositive passage on Page 144:

*"After the fall of communism, he moved to Israel, where he has lived ever since. The Polish Ministry of Justice applied for his extradition, but Israel was obliged to turn the application down because, according to their statute of limitations, too much time had elapsed since the crimes were committed."* (emphasis mine)



Near the end of the book, further such expiation is to be found in a rather sanctimonious section on Page 373 devoted to the exploitation of distortions of history for political purposes in this passage concerning the rank opportunism displayed by purveyors of “nationalist” sentiments:

*“Words like ‘Holocaust’ and ‘genocide’ are bandied about without thought for their actual meaning, and Polish prison camps like*

*Łambinowice and Świątobłowice are labelled ‘extermination camps’ as if the hundreds of people who died in them are somehow equivalent to the millions shoveled into ovens [sic] at Sobibor, Belzec and Treblinka.”* (emphasis mine)

So much for the young historian/author and his calculated scribbling. He shows much promise, including the sense to render obeisance to the powers that be, as he heaves his career up off the ground. It is what he must do if he is ever to acquire impact. There is much more to this work than occasional omissions and groveling.

Much like the discoverers/inventors of “the Holocaust,” Lowe has revealed a war, or wars, without a name – a set of conflicts that, even if they did not entail declarations of war against one government by another government, nonetheless exerted a profound impact upon the constitution of Europe’s states over the decade following the surrender of the German government to the governments whose armies had conquered its territory. And Lowe’s account encompasses mass slaughters that exhibited all the cruelty and injustice that is to be found in the various carnages constituting World War II itself. Perhaps to his credit, Lowe has eschewed the opportunity to “brand” his subject with a label. He might have reprised the ingenious creators of “the Holocaust” and labelled it “the Conflagration.” Or he might have struck out on his own and called it “the Afterwar,” or even “the Aftershock,” hardly more metaphoric than the term that is forever branded on our consciences by countless movies, books and television specials.



*English historian Keith Lowe. By Ave Maria Mõistlik (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0*

*(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>), via Wikimedia Commons*

But his subject has every quality justifying such branding, except possibly for sponsorship by an aggressive, abundantly financed national sovereignty such as the one still feeding on the well-publicized horrors of National-Socialist policy concerning its Jewish minority. His subject, ultimately, is the bewildering welter of nationalistic, vengeful, personal, and especially communistic contenders for control of the governmental powers that had been put, as it were, “up for grabs” by the traumatic disruptions of World War II and its tumultuous conclusion. His treatment follows an orderly, roughly west-to-east sequence in which he describes in detail how each country occupied by the Germans recovered its identity, found and punished those deemed guilty of cooperating (too much) with the occupiers, and in the process settled many scores, political and personal, quite unrelated to the recovery of national existence.

In the course of this eminently worthy exercise, Lowe occasionally displays “insights” that go well beyond what the discerning reader might consider within the historian’s ambit. In this passage, he offers an explanation for the tendency of women in conquered territories to cohabit with German soldiers:

*“On the whole European women slept with Germans not because they were forced to, or because their own men were absent, or because they needed money or food – but simply because they found the strong, ‘knightly’ image of the German soldiers intensely attractive, especially compared to the weakened impression they had of their own menfolk.”*

This entire statement, apparently encompassing women from the Caucasus to France, is based, it turns out, on a survey of women in *Denmark*, a country bordering – and friendly with – Germany. This would seem to represent a deduction too far by at least half. The circumstances of women, and indeed of their German occupiers, in Ukraine and the Soviet Union would appear to the informed observer to differ substantially from those of their contemporaries in Denmark.

But Lowe employs the entire meme of national cuckolding for very meaningful conclusions regarding the postwar behaviors of men from overrun nations concerning each other’s wives, sisters, daughters, and even mothers. This behavior entailed a good deal of public shaming such as having the women’s hair cropped, and forcing them to parade naked down the streets of their towns and villages before their townsmen.

Such enactments, of course, are among the very least-violent or destructive of the many crimes committed by various partisans in the postwar environment, and indeed are among those having the slightest long-term ef-

facts.

The long-term effects of murders and executions, both of which numbered in the many thousands, are obviously eternal as concerns their victims. But the long-term effects of civil wars, revolutions, coups, and interventions by foreign superpowers including, in approximate order, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain, bore on much-greater numbers of people, and countries, than did local abuses of the temporary breakdown of civil order. Indeed, such government-level effects ultimately dictated the “map” of Europe and the location of the celebrated “Iron Curtain” that descended in Europe around 1946, when Winston Churchill famously named the phenomenon in a speech at Fulton, Missouri.

For the geopolitically oriented, Lowe’s well-conceived treatment may find its greatest value in the detailed, country-by-country report it renders on the triumph or defeat of (Soviet) communism in each polity. This explication of the alignment of governments over the latter half of the Twentieth Century is a reward to the reader little hinted at in the title of the book nor in the blurbs and descriptive material that adorns its exterior. But it is all there, meaningfully framed in the pre-war and wartime contexts pertaining to each locality and the factions contending in each for dominance. The interventions and threats of intervention exercised by the superpowers are illuminated in the ways that best exemplify Lowe’s mastery of all the manifold histories that bear on the outcomes, complete with reasoned assessments of the effects of potentialities never manifested in visible acts.

The innumerable postwar atrocities recounted in this somber *mélange* were, of course, adumbrated during the war by larger, state-initiated atrocities that, like their postwar progeny, cut in every conceivable direction through the ranks of victims and perpetrators at all times occupying the European stage. In these, as in those central to his subject, Lowe ever-so-lightly favors the victors whose desiderata continue to dominate the arena into which he must perforce fling this, the fruit of years of his very most assiduous professional efforts. For example, as part of his story’s background, he presents on Page 15 a map of Europe headed “The Dead of Europe, 1939-45.” Each country has two numbers in it: the total number of dead, and of these, the number of Jews. The “inside” number is not civilians, nor females, but Jews. The line is nicely toed here, as elsewhere.

Favoritism is not denied Lowe’s country’s wartime Soviet allies, either, as agency is soft-pedaled for the Soviets, but not for the Germans, as on Page 6:

“[...] mines set by the retreating Germans were defused by Red Army sappers just in time. Most of the public buildings in Kiev were mined when the Soviets retreated in 1941 [...]”

The *buildings were mined*? Differentials such as this are so subtle that the author could plausibly plead mere inattention to counter a charge of purposeful phrasing, but: (a) they have their effect, intended or otherwise, upon readers; and (b) absence of the writer’s conscious intent can reveal a bias so deep that its service does not even require the writer’s awareness.

Refreshingly, Lowe does a reasonable, if somewhat terse, job of reporting the postwar expulsions of Germans from portions of Germany made over to that unfortunate country’s conquering enemies. He does not appear to shrink from fulsome descriptions of the horror and injustice visited upon millions of victims, the vast majority of whom would be counted as innocent under any human standard of judgment. He also recounts the horrific after-Holocaust experienced by Jews returning to their homes in Eastern Europe, there to find themselves dispossessed and persecuted afresh for having the temerity to survive and attempt to take up their former lives and property, but he does this straightforwardly and without unseemly emphasis or embellishment.

The historian unfortunately devotes the last three pages of his opus to a pious disquisition on the uses of historical misrepresentation to serve the purposes of propaganda. On Page 376, for example, we read that “Distorted facts are far more dangerous than actual ones.” Our instructor proceeds to wag an accusing finger in the direction of the usual right-wing extremist/nationalist culprits, even going so far on Page 377 as to tar erstwhile victims such as “the German expellees try to present the history of their own suffering as equivalent to the suffering of the Jews.” Good one there, Dr. Lowe – the fate of David Irving, Norman Davies and many other historians and journalists should not befall you after this. Of course, while attacking the practitioners of historical exploitation, he nowhere hints at the elephant in the room he has erected: those exploiting that very Holocaust in whose defense he exerts himself so strenuously.

Fortunately, most of the preceding 375 pages of *Savage Continent* are a fascinating, informative compilation of a sector of history that has long justified just the sort of definition and interpretation he has provided for it – quite as much as “the Holocaust” ever did. His service to the jealous gods of publishing and academic history is in fact sparser than this hypersensitive review might make it appear, and most of it is dispensed with as easily as just skipping the last three pages.

He obviously has learned enough that he should share far more opinions

with the martyred David Irving than he could ever admit to under the present circumstances. If those circumstances relax to any extent over the coming decades of this young scholar's expectably long and successful career, we may hope to benefit from his future work even more than we have from the present work.

And if, God forbid, they don't, we may still find his impending oeuvre of great interest and value.

## Comparative Review of Two Works on the Aktion Reinhardt Camps

*Review by Friedrich Jansson*

*Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka. Holocaust Denial and Operation Reinhard: A Critique of the Falsehoods of Mattogno, Graf and Kues*, by Jonathan Harrison, Roberto Muehlenkamp, Jason Myers, Sergey Romanov, and Nicholas Terry, Holocaust Controversies; 2011, 570 pp.,

and

*The “Extermination Camps” of “Aktion Reinhardt”: An Analysis and Refutation of Factitious “Evidence,” Deceptions and Flawed Argumentation of the “Holocaust Controversies” Bloggers*, by Carlo Mattogno, Thomas Kues, and Juergen Graf, Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK; 2013, 1385 pp.

---

Like other intellectual movements, Holocaust revisionism has advanced in responding to challenges. Revisionist scholarship on Auschwitz, for example, advanced immensely in the course of responding to the challenges contained in the writings of Jean-Claude Presac.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the Holocaust debate, this kind of fruitful discussion has been very much the exception to the rule. More often than not, the Holocaust establishment has preferred to avoid confrontation, saying that debate would give “deniers” legitimacy.

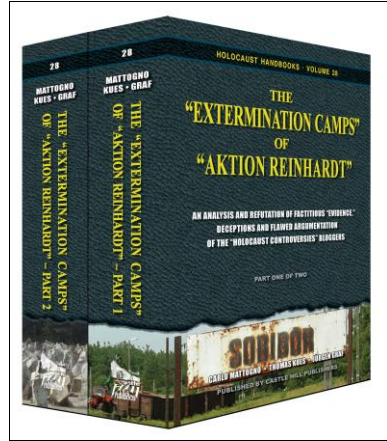
This avoidance of confrontation has become particularly pronounced in recent years. After the publication of a number of works in connection with the Irving/Lipstadt trial, scholarly anti-revisionism has maintained careful silence for a full decade, while over the same period revisionist scholars have produced a steady stream of detailed studies on core aspects of the Holocaust. The main exception to this silence has been a team of bloggers calling themselves “Holocaust Controversies.” The first of the two works reviewed here is their first publication in non-blog format. Published in December 2011, it is a lengthy attack on three revisionist books,<sup>2</sup> namely the monographs on Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor written by Carlo Mattogno, Jürgen Graf, and Thomas Kues, whose reply to this criticism forms the second work under review.

## The Bloggers' Critique

“Your manuscript is both good and original. But the part that is good is not original, and the part that is original is not good.” This remark, commonly attributed to Samuel Johnson, might well be applied to the bloggers’ work. Loosely speaking, one might call its earlier chapters “good,” while its latter chapters could qualify as “original.” Although the term “good” is much too generous, the early chapters are at least fairly extensively sourced, and grounded in a large literature. The bloggers’ work begins outside the Reinhardt camps with broad generalities, then moves inside the camps to address more specific concerns. In the early chapters, in particular those dealing with National-Socialist Jewish policy in general and shootings in the occupied eastern territories in particular, they are able to draw on an extensive secondary literature. While the extensive material derived from the secondary literature does give these chapters a certain weight, they have little to offer the reader already familiar with recent overviews such as Christopher Browning’s *The Origins of the Final Solution* or Peter Longerich’s *Holocaust* – little, that is, aside from a large trove of errors and misinterpretations.

While the bloggers’ early chapters are mainly devoted to regurgitating the contents of standard books and document collections, the subsequent chapters contain more original material. In particular, the final two chapters, which deal with mass graves and cremation, are without question the most-detailed treatment of these topics in the orthodox literature. The bloggers – or rather Roberto Muehlenkamp, who is the author of the chapters in question – deserve great credit for acknowledging these essential issues. In this, they stand head and shoulders above other traditionalist holocaust scholars who have written on the Reinhardt camps.

This *originality*, however, is coupled with a remarkable lack of *quality*. While Muehlenkamp fills his chapters with enough tables to intimidate the average innumerate historian, any reader who acquaints himself with the literature on mass burial and cremation will easily see through his compendium of wishful thinking, numerical legerdemain and willful ignorance.



*The “Extermination Camps” of  
“Aktion Reinhardt”  
Cover reproduced with  
permission from Castle Hill  
Publisher*

Muehlenkamp's obfuscations may fool some readers for a time, but he has embroiled himself in an argument which he will inevitably lose, and which is absolutely fatal for the standard Reinhardt story.

Putting issues of content aside, the bloggers' style deserves comment. As their introduction explains, their work originated in preparations for an (unrealized) online debate about *Aktion* Reinhardt. This heritage shows itself very clearly throughout their work. Although it is informed by recent scholarship, its style is a return to the methods of the Nuremberg trials. Rhetoric is given priority over rigor, the authors taking their stylistic cues more from lawyers than scholars. Although it does contain a number of detailed criticisms of revisionist arguments, the bloggers' work is really not structured as a critique of the three books it purports to attack. Like the politician who knows never to give a direct answer to a hostile question but to deflect it with a statement of his own, the bloggers prefer to minimize the time spent in direct confrontation with opposing arguments in favor of caricatures, misrepresentations and sneers. Such devices serve lawyers and debaters well, but will not impress serious readers. Yet despite all of its weaknesses, the bloggers' work is essential reading for revisionists with an interest in the Reinhardt camps: the criticism serves to focus the mind, and one's arguments are bound to be improved in the process of testing them against opposition.

## The Reply of Mattogno, Graf, and Kues

In the conclusion to their white paper, the bloggers posed a challenge, writing that "we would like to set some provisions required for us to take any 'riposta' into serious consideration [...] we dare MGK [Mattogno, Graf, and Kues] to follow the structure of the present critique, so as to put things in proper perspective." The second work under review was clearly influenced by a desire to answer this challenge. After two introductory chapters, it replies chapter by chapter: Chapters 3 and 4 reply to the bloggers' Chapter 1, while Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 reply to the bloggers' Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Chapters 9 and 10 reply to the bloggers' Chapter 6, while Chapters 11 and 12 respond to the bloggers' chapters 7 and 8.

The reply is extremely detailed, and parts of it mark a major advance for revisionism with respect to the Reinhardt camps. It examines new sources, polishes old arguments, and introduces new ones. Unfortunately, it does not do so in a manner likely to reach many readers. It suffers, in short, from a lack of attention to presentation. One senses that the bloggers approached the writing of their "critique" with eagerness, and polished it



carefully as a team, whereas their opponents appear, for the most part, to have seen their reply as a tedious chore. Large parts of it were clearly written irritably and in haste. This fact, coupled with the severe limitations of revisionist manpower and organization in translation and editing have caused this work to be published in a rather unpolished state. These defects amount to little more than growing pains for scholarly revisionism on the Reinhardt camps, but they nonetheless do detract from the work, and open the door to easy polemical replies.

The lack of attention to presentation is particularly apparent in the work's conclusion, which seems to have been written in an irritable mood early in the process of responding, and never rewritten in light of the response's eventual content. Unlike the bloggers, who use their conclusion in the manner of a lawyer's summation, Graf wastes his on name-calling and insults. Given that the introduction and conclusion will have far more readers than will the full work, this is a highly unfortunate lapse.

The separate contributions of the individual authors are written in quite different styles. Graf engages in an aggressive polemic, focusing more on attack than defense. Mattogno's style is the opposite: extensively sectioned, with each section beginning with a quotation from the work of his opponents, followed by his reply. While this style allows for highly specific point-for-point argument, it leads to a work lacking in synthesis because it does not impose its own organization on the material. As the number of points considered moves from the dozens into the hundreds, the point-by-point style becomes, as far as exposition and pedagogy are concerned, a disaster. Mattogno's extremely lengthy reply contains some highly interesting new material, and an engagement with a number of new sources, but its arrangement is such that only highly motivated readers already familiar with previous revisionist studies will be able to dig out the new and interesting parts. Because he chooses to reply even to many minor points made by his critics, his substantial new arguments and sources are diluted by much less compelling sections, and his major points obscured by his unwillingness to drop minor points. There are some significant advances here in content, but it will take considerable patience to find them in the extremely lengthy text.

The above-mentioned facts severely limit this work's audience. That said, the first four chapters are considerably more polished than the rest of the work, and should reach a wider readership. Thomas Kues's contributions also stand out as readable, substantial and well structured. Striking a stylistic middle ground between Graf and Mattogno, they can stand on

their own.

One aspect which deserves special comment is the question of plagiarism, which Mattogno in particular repeatedly charges to the bloggers. Many of these charges are clearly accurate. That said, the frequent appearance of charges of plagiarism throughout the work becomes highly repetitious, especially as some of these accusations are either doubtful or clearly mistaken. Mattogno seems to have gotten somewhat carried away after having seen so many clear cases of plagiarism, including many from his own work, and started to see plagiarism in every corner. These false charges detract both from the readability of the text and from the impact of those accusations of plagiarism which are in fact true. In this, as in other things, an editor with a firmer hand could have greatly improved the work.

## New Aspects

The greater part of both works under review is spent rediscussing old material and arguments. While in some cases the rehashing of these familiar topics has refined the arguments, these aspects are likely to be incomprehensible to readers who have not carefully studied earlier writings on these subjects. There are, however, some elements which stand out in their novelty. The most prominent of the points on which the bloggers present us with something new is their attempt to change the killing method at Belzec and Treblinka from the traditional diesel exhaust to gasoline-engine exhaust. Given that anti-revisionists have spent nearly three decades insisting that, contra revisionist claims, diesel exhaust is a perfectly practical killing method, this marks an important backing-down. Their case for gasoline engines at these camps is not particularly compelling nor honest in its treatment of the witnesses, but the bloggers at least show the possibility of attempting such a line of argument. It will be interesting to see whether more prominent orthodox Holocaust scholars follow suit.

In dealing with this and other issues, the bloggers have made use of Soviet interrogations that other authors have chosen not to use. Two cases in particular stand out: the use of Nikolai Shalayev and Ivan Shevchenko to support the idea of the use of a gasoline engine for gassing at Treblinka, and the use of Pavel Leleko to support the idea that the Treblinka cremation facilities were equipped with pits. But introducing these materials introduces problems which the bloggers do not discuss. According to the bloggers' given source,<sup>3</sup> Leleko claimed that the gassing engine was a diesel, contradicting their argument that it was a gasoline engine. In fact, in the same source, Leleko indicates that there were two engines used for gas-

sing, occupying two of the ten chambers in the new gas-chamber building – contrary to the usual depiction, which has ten chambers used for gassing and the engine in a separate room. Shevchenko gives yet another version of the layout, with nine chambers used for gassing and one for an engine.<sup>4</sup>

The testimony of Shalayev is no less problematic. He claimed that the new gas-chamber building at Treblinka was equipped with five gas chambers, rather than the ten which has been generally accepted. He also described a curious procedure by which gassing in the old gas-chamber building proceeded one chamber at a time – a feature that contradicts the accounts of other witnesses. Finally, Leleko,<sup>5</sup> Shalayev<sup>6</sup> and Shevchenko<sup>7</sup> all claimed that the new gas chambers were built in 1943 (Shevchenko specifying March 1943), while the standard literature claims that they came under construction in late August or early September of 1942, and went into action that October or November. The bloggers, always superficial in their handling of witness testimony, make no attempts to reconcile any of these contradictions.

The many incremental refinements of old arguments aside, the main new elements in Mattogno, Graf, and Kues's reply come from examining a number of new sources, and from the ongoing progress of archaeological work. Thomas Kues's lengthy examination of the new archeological findings at Sobibor is of particular interest. Another fascinating new element is Carlo Mattogno's discovery of Yankiel Wiernik's draft for *A Year in Treblinka* and its story of killing with chlorine, which was dropped in the published version. Unfortunately, these and many other interesting new elements tend to be obscured by the very length of the point-by-point replies.

## Looking Ahead

What's next in this debate? The bloggers have indicated that they will produce a new edition of their work, but not a direct reply. This evasion is unfortunate, and highlights their overarching focus on rhetoric: they would be unable to maintain their rhetorical momentum and polemical style in a direct reply, and therefore they avoid such an encounter. But just as the bloggers dictated a series of conditions necessary for them to take a revisionist response to their work into consideration, so too must they meet certain standards if they expect their updated work to be taken seriously. First, their work must actually be about the camps Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. For them to write another work that shirks discussing the camps themselves in favor of building a circumstantial case that they "must have been"

extermination centers equipped with homicidal gas chambers on the basis of events that took place far outside the camps will be, to borrow one of the bloggers' favorite phrases, an automatic fail.

Second, the bloggers must grapple in an upfront fashion with the fatal technical challenges to the Reinhardt story, in particular the problem of cremation, and with the results of archeology with respect to building remains and mass graves. A response that confines these vital topics to isolated chapters at the end of the book will be inadequate. Such an arrangement relies on the fact that most readers will not read as far as the final chapters, and most of those who do will be sufficiently ignorant of the topics under discussion as to be intimidated by a collection of extensive tables. Rather, the critical technical and archeological aspects of the story of burial, exhumation and cremation must be put front and center throughout the discussion of the camps and of eyewitness testimony. Nothing less will do.

Third, they must deal in an open and upfront fashion with their many serious errors, acknowledging them in public fashion. Moreover, they must deal openly with their dishonest use of sources. It will not suffice to refute certain erroneous accusations of plagiarism, or to quietly amend errors without acknowledging them. Rather, the bloggers must openly discuss the strongest and best substantiated accusations of plagiarism. Similarly, they must openly admit their numerous errors and discuss them in a transparent fashion, just as they asked their opponents to do.

Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that any of these desiderata will be satisfied. More likely, the bloggers will simply troll through books and document collections for more *Einsatzgruppen* and policy documents they can add to their early chapters (while claiming to have seen the documents in an archive, of course), stuff in as many secondary sources as they can to pad their bibliography, take some steps to cover the tracks of their extensive copying, and claim all the while that their massive citation fraud is simply the result of a few mistakes. They will retain their strategy of trying to prove gassings by talking about shootings. And their coverage of the critical issues of mass graves and cremation will remain confined to isolated chapters, and will remain totally inadequate.

All the same, the bloggers deserve real credit for their work, which has so graphically illustrated the bankruptcy of the traditional Reinhardt story in the face of archeology and the realities of mass cremation, and provided a stimulus for the continued improvement of revisionist scholarship.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Early responses: Mark Weber, *Journal of Historical Review (JHR)* Vol. 10, No. 2; Carlo Mattogno, *JHR* Vol. 10, No. 4; Robert Faurisson, *JHR* Vol. 11, No. 1 and *JHR* Vol. 11, No. 2; Arthur Butz, *JHR* Vol. 13, No. 3. An intermediate phase: Germar Rudolf (ed.), *Auschwitz: Plain Facts* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2005) [first published in 1995]. Most recent and comprehensive: Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The Case for Sanity: A Historical and Technical Study of Jean-Claude Pressac's "Criminal Traces" and Robert Jan van Pelt's "Convergence of Evidence,"* (Washington DC: The Barnes Review, 2010).
- <sup>2</sup> Jürgen Graf, Thomas Kues, Carlo Mattogno, *Sobibor. Holocaust Propaganda and Reality* (Washington DC: The Barnes Review, 2010); Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2004); Carlo Mattogno, Jürgen Graf, *Treblinka: Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2004).
- <sup>3</sup> Interrogation of 20 February 1945, in English translation at <http://www.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/camps/aktion.reinhard/treblinka/leleko.001>
- <sup>4</sup> Interrogation of 8 September 1944.
- <sup>5</sup> Interrogation of 20 February 1945, in English translation at <http://www.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/camps/aktion.reinhard/treblinka/leleko.001>
- <sup>6</sup> Interrogation of 18 December 1950.
- <sup>7</sup> Interrogation of 8 September 1944.

# Inconvenient History



A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry · Published by CODOH

---

VOLUME 6 · NUMBER 2 · 2014

---



## EDITORIAL

---

## Holocaust History: The Sound of One Hand Clapping

*Jett Rucker*

*“Claims by gay activists and their supporters for the number of homosexuals killed by the Third Reich reach as high as one million, and assertions that it was a quarter of a million or half a million are common. The actual number of gays who died or were killed in the camps appears to be around five thousand, conceivably as high as ten thousand.” — Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, p. 223*

**T**he passage above, from a 2000 book by an eminent Jewish historian, satisfies my definition of “Holocaust revisionism,” and perhaps that, of other people, for “Holocaust denial.” Except for one thing. It has nothing to do with Jews. It has to do with other victims of the Holocaust, specifically homosexuals, a group to which the author apparently did not belong. Nor has this group been instrumental in getting laws passed that criminalize “denying or minimizing National-Socialist crimes during World War II,” the touchstone of (criminal) “Holocaust denial.”

Accordingly, a German translation of this book, under the title *Nach dem Holocaust (After the Holocaust)* is available today on the German Amazon Website, unlike works by Wilhelm Stäglich such as *Der Auschwitz Mythos (The Auschwitz Myth)*, which remains banned under Germany’s Holocaust denial laws.<sup>1</sup> But Peter Novick (the author quoted above) is not – otherwise – any sort of “Holocaust denier.” His book, though incisive about the misuses to which Holocaust history has been put, and the dubious causes it is used today to promote, is replete with affirmations of the Six-Million meme, including gas chambers, exterminative intent and the rest of the program with which every reader of these words has undoubtedly been imbued since early childhood.

But Novick remains, however unintentionally, however unconsciously, a revisionist of one corner – dare I call it a small corner? – of the Holocaust. In that corner, and a very few others, it is permitted, even in Germany, to *debate* the Holocaust, and the debate, if Novick and his scrupulous





*At the Nuremberg trials, it was specifically and rigorously prohibited to contest what really happened when mounting a defense against charges made. Major General I.T. Nikitchenko (center) and Lieutenant Colonel A.*

*F. Volchkov (left), the Russian judges on the International Military Tribunal. British Justice Norman Birkett is on the right. Photo: October 1945. By Charles Alexander, Office of the United States Chief of Counsel [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

research are to be credited, has yielded, as it happens, some deflation, some *minimization*, of National-Socialist crimes against humanity, to all of which Novick evidently subscribes, not just openly, but even casually, as though it were, of course, every historian's duty to do such diligence.

In general, but particularly where it bears on matters pertaining to Jewish victims, such debate, such statements, such questions, even, are literally illegal, not only in Germany and Israel, but in Switzerland, Austria, France, Spain, Romania, Lithuania, Slovakia, Poland, Belgium, the Czech Republic and perhaps next Russia. It is similarly penalized by "hate-crime" legislation in Canada, Australia and many other countries.

This augurs ill indeed for the historical process as it has been known, at least in the West, since the dawn of the era of human rights. As early as, say, 1789 (the American Bill of Rights), freedom of conscience, and expression, have been enshrined in law, not only out of concern for the validity of the process of developing history, but even more importantly, for the purpose of containing tyranny. This bulwark against thought control remains intact, at least nominally, in the United States, but it has been breached, with respect to Holocaust history, in all the countries mentioned,

plus many more.

What has this pervasive censure yielded in the way of facts that the interested-but-not-casual observer might infer as to What Really Happened? The immediate, facile answer, reaching back well beyond the iconic Nuremberg “Trials,” might be, “tons and tons, all sworn to by the most eminent and respectable figures in public life.” But the true answer, relying on dispassionately – or even passionately as well – scrutinized, discussed, confirmed or refuted, *debated* findings, would be more like “nothing.” Or even far *less* than nothing, if deceptive, meretricious, self-aggrandizing distortion, exaggeration and outright fabrication be evaluated negatively and “deducted” from what relatively little truth is encompassed by the body of material that bears the imprimatur of the victors of World War II.

The “history,” so to call it, of the Holocaust must be discarded out of hand, not because much of it is the product of Jewish survivors bent on vengeance, nor of Soviet and other Allied governments eager to justify their savage depredations of one of the largest civilized nations in the world, nor of Zionists vigorously mining the tragic tales for every excuse they can find for their own country’s mimicry of Hitler’s institutionalized racism. It must be discarded *because it has always been a crime to voice any accounts or understandings that oppose any of it.*

At Nuremberg and the other war-crimes trials that followed it, for example, while quibbling about what really happened wasn’t held a crime in itself, it was specifically and rigorously *prohibited* to contest any such issue in mounting a defense against charges made by those tribunals, *corpus delicti* be damned. Defendants (they were called “accuseds,” never defendants), denied any way of ever suggesting that any alleged crime had not been committed, were limited to claiming personal noninvolvement – usually by accusing some other person(s) – or claiming extenuating circumstances to support an abject appeal for mercy from the tribunal, which ultimately passed dozens of death sentences, and even more sentences of life imprisonment. Thus did censorship of “Holocaust denial” have its beginnings.

As for people who had by any chance been spared accusation, anyone who claimed enough knowledge to question the accusations faced the immediate prospect of joining the ranks of the accused on the strength of whatever involvement the claims of knowledge would necessarily be based upon. The only way out of that trap was to be documentably, unambiguously a victim of the process, and the number of victims who in any concerted way contested the tribunals’ horrific charges can be counted on the fingers of one hand.<sup>2</sup> Victims who might in any way fail vigorously and

credibly to confirm the tribunals' charges were in any case scrupulously deselected by the hard-working teams of prosecutors who alone had the power to call witnesses from the eager pool of would-be "victims" who by right of their selection to testify, won precious food and heated (!) shelter for the durations of the proceedings.

As for any who at the present late time might wish to step forward and offer their own unvarnished, if faded, recollections of what really happened, the threat of becoming an accused (nonagenarian) is very much alive, as cases like that of John Demjanjuk demonstrate so tragically and incredibly. Thus does censorship of "Holocaust denial" live on forever in, among others, precisely the form it assumed upon the fall of the Third Reich.

There is, in consequence, nothing today meriting any such label as "Holocaust history." The only part of this ever-so-lamentable iceberg that is to be seen in the light of public – and legal – acceptability at this time seventy years after the time of the events is the looming edifice of very interested confabulations erected in the service of a number of very conspicuous agendas of powers-that-be. Beneath the occluding waves of censorship and moral disapprobation lurks the vastly greater part of the elusive truth, unexplored but for the pathetic, underfunded, relentlessly hampered and deafeningly condemned efforts of tiny, beleaguered bands of "Holocaust revisionists," perhaps, gentle reader, including your very self.

The contours and protuberances of the underwater part of the iceberg will, for the most part, never see the light of day. But as icebergs melt, it occasionally occurs that their balance, or "trim" in nautical terms, happens to shift in one way or another, and small areas previously submerged actually do slowly get exposed to the air, and the view of anyone happening to be present at such times.

Most of the little of this that will occur in the future will occur long after the last victims and the last perpetrators have gone on to their respective rewards. And the vast majorities of those alive in those future times will have neither time nor occasion to take any interest in the matter.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The English translation of Stäglich's book is very much available on Amazon – in your choice of paper or e-book. [Not anymore since 2017; Ed.]
- <sup>2</sup> The list might, in fact, just about begin and end with the late Frenchman Paul Rassinier, who was, be it noted, not Jewish, nor imprisoned on any suspicion that he might have been.



## PAPERS

---

## The Jewish Hand in the World Wars, Part 2

*Thomas Dalton*

In Part 1 of this article, I provided an account of the Jewish role in the events leading up to World War One, with an emphasis on their influence in the UK and United States. Woodrow Wilson was shown to be the first American president elected with the full backing of the Jewish lobby, and he responded by granting them leading roles in his administration. They were also seen as having decisive influence at the time of Wilson's declaration of war in April 1917. On the British side, Prime Minister David Lloyd George was a Christian Zionist and ideological compatriot of the Jews, and equally eager to support their aims. Britain leveraged Jewish support through the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, which promised the Zionists a homeland in Palestine; it was their reward for their having brought the US into the conflict some seven months earlier.

Such actions were shown to be part of a long-standing historical trend: one of Jewish activists and agitators inciting turmoil and war whenever they stood to benefit. This tendency, which reaches back to the days of the Roman Empire, suggests a callous disregard for the lives and well-being of non-Jewish populations.

Wars, of course, are not only events of great death and destruction; they provide tremendous opportunity for financial profit, and for dramatic shifts in global power structures. For those in the right position, warfare can yield extreme gains in wealth and influence. Specifically, the events surrounding the First World War brought substantial gains to Jews worldwide – in several ways. First, with highly-placed individuals in the Taft and Wilson administrations, the US was very amenable to Jewish immigration; in fact their numbers increased dramatically, from 1.5 million to over 3 million between 1905 and 1920 – on the way to 4 million by the mid-1920s. Second was the Balfour Declaration, which promised them Palestine. Granted, nothing was immediately delivered as to Palestine, but even so, it was a major concession by a world power. Third, the world order was changed in their favor: the hated and “anti-Semitic” Czarist rule in Russia was replaced by the Jewish-led Bolshevik movement, the hated and “anti-Semitic” Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany was replaced by the Jewish-

friendly Weimar regime, and the Jewish-influenced governments of the US and Great Britain reestablished their global dominance.

Finally, and as always, there was money to be made. Running the War Industries Board for Wilson, Jewish Financier Bernard Baruch had extraordinary power to direct military spending; we can be sure that his preferred clients benefitted.<sup>1</sup> But perhaps Nebraska Senator George Norris said it best. Speaking in opposition to Wilson's call for a war declaration, Norris exclaimed that Americans were being deceived "by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war." Furthermore, "a large number of great newspapers and news agencies of the country have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war." Summarizing his case, Norris said this: "We are going into war upon the command of gold."<sup>2</sup> Finance, media, 'gold' – Jewish interests prospered on many fronts.

But Wilson was evidently unaffected by such matters, or by his pledge to his fellow Americans to "keep us out of war." His team of Jewish backers and advisors – Baruch, but also Henry Morgenthau Sr., Jacob Schiff, Samuel Untermyer, Paul Warburg, Stephen Wise, and Louis Brandeis – wanted war, and war they got. The fact that it would cost America \$250 billion (current equivalent), and some 116,000 war dead, did not seem to figure into their calculations.

The main topic of the present essay is World War Two, but its roots lie in the outcome of the First World War. I therefore continue the story from that time.

## Some Context

Before proceeding, we must bear something in mind. The striving of Jews for greater influence and political power is to be found on both of the sides of World War I. Russian imperial leaders had long been suspicious of the Jews, and largely banished them to the so-called Pale of Settlement that was established in western Russia in the 1790s. Beginning in the 1880s, western media issued exaggerated reports of slaughters, pogroms, and assorted massacres among the Russian Jews there, whose numbers were nearly always recorded – astonishingly – as "6 million."<sup>3</sup>

This naturally generated deep hostility toward the House of Romanov, and the Jews sought its demise. Special animosity was reserved for Czar Nicholas II, who assumed power in 1894. In Part 1, I explained the stunningly successful effort of the American Jewish lobby to abrogate the long-

standing US-Russia treaty in 1911; this was a small punishment aimed at the Czar. The ultimate goal, though, was his overthrow, and thus we can imagine the joy of the global Jewish community at his fall in March 1917. As we recall, the Czar and his family were then murdered by Jewish Bolsheviks in July of the following year.

It was a somewhat similar story with the German ruler Wilhelm II, who rose to power in 1888. There, however, Jews were prosperous and enjoyed a relatively high degree of freedom – despite the Kaiser’s evident personal dislike of them.<sup>4</sup> Previously I cited some impressive statistics by Sarah Gordon regarding their numbers in law, media, business, and academia, all prior to World War I. In the banking sector, they utterly flourished; prominent German-Jewish banking families included the well-known Rothschilds and Warburgs, but also the Mendelssohns, Bleichroeders, Speyers, Oppenheims, Bambergers, Gutmanns, Goldschmidts, and Wassermanns. But despite their wealth and success, Jews had no access to political power, owing to the hereditary monarchy. This, for them, was unacceptable. Thus they had to introduce “democracy” – with all due high-minded values, of course. Only through a democratic system could they exert direct influence on political leadership.

Consequently, as soon as the Czar fell in Russia, calls came out to repeat the success in Germany. On 19 March 1917, four days after the Czar’s ouster, the *New York Times* reported on Louis Marshall lauding the event, and adding that “the revolt against autocracy might be expected to spread to Germany.” Two days later, Jewish speakers at Madison Square Garden “predict[ed] an uprising in Germany.” As the article explains, “[some] predicted that the revolution of the working classes of Russia was the forerunner of similar revolutions the world over. That the next revolution would be in Germany was predicted by a number of the speakers” (March 21). On March 24, Jacob Schiff took credit for helping to finance the Russian revolution. At the same time, Rabbi Stephen Wise put the blame for the pending American entry into WWI on “German militarism,” adding “I would to God it were possible for us to fight side by side with the German people for the overthrow of Hohenzollernism [*i.e.*, Kaiser Wilhelm].”

Strangely enough, Wise got his wish. Within two weeks, America was in the war. And about 18 months later, Wilhelm would suffer defeat and be compelled to abdicate.



*Photograph from the archives of the League of Nations showing a soldier killed in World War I. The war raged for more than four years, from August 1914 to November 1918, and resulted in the deaths of more than nine million combatants. As many as seven million civilians also were killed in the war or died as a consequence of it. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*



## The Paris Peace Conference

Having won the war, Wilson's Jewish team was anxious to dictate the peace. "As it turned out," remarks Robert Shogan (2010: 25), "the war would bring benefits to the Zionist cause, in part because of Brandeis' role as a trusted advisor [to Wilson]." The victorious nations convened in Paris in January 1919, and the American Jewish Congress was there as its own delegation. Shogan adds that "[Stephen] Wise was in Paris, on assignment from President Wilson to head the Zionist delegation to the peace talks." (One might reasonably ask: Why do Zionists get their own delegation at all?) Louis Marshall was also prominent there among the American Jews.

The Jewish aim was neither a just implementation of peace, nor fair treatment of Germany, but rather to maximize benefit to the various Jewish communities of Europe and the US. "At the beginning of 1919," says Ben-Sasson (1976: 940), "diplomatic activity in Paris became the main focus of the various attempts to fulfill Jewish aspirations." Fink (1998: 259) concurs: "In March 1919, pro-Zionist and nationalist Jewish delegations arrived in Paris." Nearly every victorious nation, it seems, had its own Jewish representatives. Some sought formal and explicit Jewish rights in their own nations, and others worked for recognition of a Jewish national state. Polish Jews were notable beneficiaries; they succeeded in achieving explicit mention in the Polish Treaty for Minority Rights.

Writing shortly after the event, Irish philosopher and journalist Emile Dillon saw it this way:

*"Of all the collectivities whose interests were furthered at the Conference, the Jews had perhaps the most resourceful and certainly the most influential exponents. There were Jews from Palestine, from Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Rumania, Greece, Britain, Holland, and Belgium; but the largest and most brilliant contingent was sent by the United States."* (1920: 12)

Describing the American side, Fink explains that "the fervent Zionist Julius Mack and the more moderate Louis Marshall quickly overshadowed the leading American anti-nationalists, Henry Morgenthau, Oscar Straus, and Cyrus Adler."

Though he was predisposed to be sympathetic to the Jewish plight, Dillon nonetheless noted that a "religious" or "racial" bias "lay at the root of Mr. Wilson's policy" (496). It is a fact, he said, "that a considerable number of delegates believed that the real influences behind the Anglo-Saxon peoples were Semitic." Summarizing prospects for the future, he remarked on the general conclusion by many at Paris:

*“Henceforth the world will be governed by the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who, in turn, are swayed by their Jewish elements.”*

Among non-Jewish Americans there was a young Herbert Hoover, then-Secretary of the US Food Administration, and of course, future president. He was accompanied by a Jewish assistant, the financier Lewis Strauss, who remarked on his boss’s notable inclination to “champion Jewish rights,” especially in Poland.<sup>5</sup> Strauss would later become instrumental in funding early development of the atomic bomb.

Treatment of the Germans at the conference, as is well known, was brutally harsh. They expected, and were promised, that the conference would be a fair settlement of the legitimate war claims of all belligerents – particularly given the complex and convoluted nature of the outbreak of hostilities. (We recall: the Archduke was assassinated by a Serb in June 1914; the Russian army mobilized and massed on the German border in July; a threatened Germany declared war on Russia in August; a Franco-Russian Pact required a simultaneous declaration against France; and Britain declared war on Germany as soon as its army crossed into Belgium.) By the time of the Peace Conference, Wilson and his team had decided that Germany alone was responsible for the war, and thus had to bear the full burden of reparations.<sup>6</sup> The impossible conditions forced upon them set the stage for the rise of National Socialism and the next great war.

All in all, what emerges from the first war and the subsequent peace conference is a picture of British and American supplication to Jewish interests. Indeed, the prime beneficiaries of the war were Jews, both in America and in Europe generally. For Germany, it was obviously a disastrous event; it suffered some 2 million military deaths along with thousands of indirect civilian losses, crushing financial debts, and witnessed the end of the 900-year reign of the House of Hohenzollern. This was a tragedy for a nation that, according to Fay (1928: 552), “did not plot a European war, did not want one, and made genuine [...] efforts to avert one.”

America, which had no legitimate interest in the battles in Europe, was drawn in by Wilson’s compliance with Jewish demands. For his part, Wilson comes across as something of an amoral political schemer. MacMillan (2010: 7) describes his close, “possibly romantic,” relationships with several other women during his first marriage. Theodore Roosevelt viewed him “as insincere and cold-blooded an opportunist as we have ever had in the presidency” (*ibid.*: 6). To Lloyd-George, he was “tactless, obstinate, and vain.” Granted, we all have our faults; but for most of us, they do not lead to national catastrophe.

## The Jewish Revolutions

With the fall of Czar Nicholas in March 1917, and upon the Bolshevik revolution of October that same year, Jewish revolutionaries became particularly active in East and Central Europe. Flush with success in Russia, they hoped to duplicate events in other countries. Ben-Sasson provides a typically understated account:

*“The new forces that emerged in many countries [...] opened up new horizons of activity for Jewish statesmen of liberal-democratic propensities, particularly those with radical-revolutionary views. [...] Jews were also extremely active in the socialist parties that came to power or attained political importance in many European countries. They were even more prominent in the communist parties that split from the socialists. [...] In short, never before in European history had so many Jews played such an active part in political life and filled such influential roles [...].”* (1976: 943)

In other words, Jewish anarchists and militant communists (“new forces”) conducted violent insurrection (“new horizons of activity”) aimed at overthrowing the ruling governments, and installing Jewish-led regimes. Ber-  
mant (1977: 160) confirms this point:

*“[...] most of the leading revolutionaries who convulsed Europe in the final decades of the last [19th] century and the first decades of [the 20th], stemmed from prosperous Jewish families.”*

This again is in keeping with the longstanding trend of Jewish rebellion.

Not that any of this was news; major politicians of the time knew it well. Lord Balfour, for example, once remarked to Wilson’s aide Edward House that “nearly all Bolshevism and disturbances of a like nature, are directly traceable to the Jews of the world. They seem determined either to have what they want or to upset present civilization”<sup>7</sup> – a concise and accurate summary.

Consider Hungary, for example. There, a Hungarian Jew named Bela Kun (Kohn) founded and led the local wing of the Russian Communist Party in early 1918 – which later became an independent entity. Along with Jewish colleagues Matyas Rakosi (Roth/Rosenfeld) and Otto Korvin (Klein), Kun’s party organized numerous strikes, and conducted violent and subversive attacks against President Karolyi and the ruling Social Democrats. In March 1919 Karolyi resigned, and the SD Party made an alliance of necessity with Kun’s communists, in the hope of leveraging his connections to the Russian Bolsheviks. Kun agreed, on the condition that



*Béla Kun, leader of the 1919 Hungarian Revolution. By Hungarian photographer [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

the government reestablish itself as the “Hungarian Soviet Republic” – which it did.

Kun dominated the new government, filling many top seats with Jews; as Muller (2010: 153) explains, “Of the government’s 49 commissars, 31 were of Jewish origin.”<sup>8</sup> He fended off a coup attempt in June, and then conducted what came to be known as the “Red Terror”; this was a paramilitary group, led by Jewish ideologues Georg Lukacs and Tibor Szamuely, that hunted down and killed members of the local opposition. Unfortunately for Kun, ongoing conflicts with neighboring Romania led to an invasion of Hungary, and the promised Russian aid never materialized. Kun and his fellow Jews were driven out in August, just 133 days after taking power.

It was not only Russia and Hungary that had problems. “Jews had a prominent role in Communist parties elsewhere,” explains Bermant (172). In Poland, for example, “about a quarter of party members and about a third of delegates to party congresses were Jews.” The Polish Communists were unable, however, to generate sufficient force to oust the newly-established government of Jozef Pilsudski.

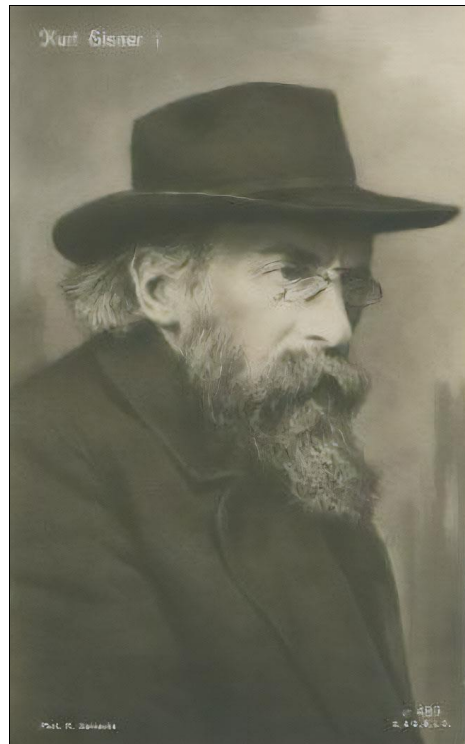
It was in Germany, though, that the most significant actions occurred, ones that would have a lasting effect. We need to recall events at the end of World War I. Long a stalemate, the war had essentially become a battle of attrition. American forces on the ground in mid to late 1917 threatened to

change things, but for the Germans, the western front generally held up – even to the very end. At no point in time did it ever retreat into German territory. But even though the Germans were able to hold out, their allies could not. Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire surrendered by the end of October 1918. Austria-Hungary yielded in early November. For the Germans, though, the last straw was their problems at home – with the Jews.

Trouble began with a minor naval mutiny in late October and early November 1918, at the ports of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. A number of sailors, workers, and Jews from the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) joined forces to conduct a nonviolent rebellion against the Kaiser. The German rebels simply wanted the war to end, whereas the Jewish rebels sought power; in this sense it was a natural alliance. The “rebellion” – primarily in the form of a general strike – quickly spread,

reaching Munich within a matter of days. In an attempt to cut short this action, the majority Social Democrats (SPD) called on the Kaiser to abdicate, at which time they would form a republican government. On November 9, they prevailed; Wilhelm stepped down and a new “German Republic” was proclaimed. It was this new leadership that signed the armistice agreement on November 11, ending the war.

The USPD rebels, however, had their own plans. On the very same day that the German Republic was created, they declared the formation of a “Free Socialist Republic.” This group had an almost entirely Jewish leadership: Rosa Luxemburg, Hugo Haase, Karl Liebknecht (half-Jewish), Leo



*Kurt Eisner demanded the abdication of King Ludwig III on November 7, 1918. The King fled on the following day, and Eisner declared himself “Minister-President” of a free Bavarian state. Robert Sennecke [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

Jogiches, Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), and Alexander Parvus (Gelfand/Help-hand) were the dominant figures. And these were just the activists centered in Berlin. In Munich, other Jewish rebels were conducting a separate, simultaneous revolution, aimed at creating a Bavarian communist state. The leading USPD revolutionary there was a Jewish journalist, Kurt Eisner. On November 7, he demanded the abdication of the local monarch, King Ludwig III. The king fled on the following day, and Eisner declared himself “Minister-President” of a free Bavarian state.

Soon enough, though, Eisner’s luck ran out. On 21 February 1919, he was assassinated by a fellow Jew, Anton Arco-Valley. Within a few weeks, other USPD Jews regained power and established a Bavarian Soviet Republic – the third in Europe, behind Russia and Hungary. Its leader was the Jewish playwright Ernst Toller. Among his group were the noted Jewish anarchists Gustav Landauer and Erich Muehsam. Through sheer incompetence, Toller’s government managed to get usurped by yet another Jewish faction, one led by Eugen Levine and the half-Jew Otto Neurath. Levine attempted to institute a true communist system, including its own “Red Army” modeled on the Russians’. But once again, his success was short-lived. Remnants of the old German army quickly intervened, deposing the communists in early May.

Things did not end well for the Jewish rebels. Levine was captured and executed, as was Landauer. Toller, Muehsam, Radek, Parvus, and Neurath managed to escape. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were shot by German soldiers in January, and Jogiches died under mysterious circumstances in March. Haase was killed by a deranged worker in November of that same year.

But that was far from the end of their influence in Germany. The USPD was reconstituted as the German Communist Party (KPD), under the leadership of Paul Levi. The ruling SPD had meanwhile joined forces with the moderate German Democratic Party (DDP), convening in January 1919 in the city of Weimar to create a constitutional form of government. Jews were front and center in both of these parties: Otto Landesberg, Eduard Bernstein, and Rudolf Hilferding in the SPD, and Walter Rathenau in the DDP; Rathenau was eventually named as German Foreign Minister.<sup>9</sup> His Jewish colleague, Hugo Preuss, wrote the Weimar constitution. This Jewish influence was well described by a philo-Semitic and Pulitzer Prize winning American journalist, Edgar Mowrer. Writing in 1933, he noted that

*“[...] a large number of Jews entered the Social Democratic Party [SPD] which inherited power as a result of the [November] Revolution. Other Jews flocked to the Democratic Party [DDP], a group which cer-*

*tainly overlooked no chance to favor the interests of trade, banking and the stock exchange [...].*" (1933: 227)

It is interesting that then, as now, they seem to have covered all the bases: liberal, left-wing Jews dominated the SPD, and capitalist, right-wing Jews dominated the DDP. Thus, no matter which party emerged with control, Jews retained influence. Confirming my earlier statements, Mowrer added that "a number of outspoken revolutionary leaders, Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin, Erich Muehsam and Ernst Toller in Munich, were Jews." He continued:

*"In post-war politics any number of Jews rose to leadership. Both in the Reich and in the Federal States, Jews, particularly Social Democrats, became Cabinet Ministers. In the bureaucracy, the Jews rose rapidly to leading positions, and until about 1930 their number seemed on the increase."*

Summing up the situation, he observed:

*"[...] in short, after the Revolution, the Jews came in Germany to play in politics and administration that same considerable part that they had previously won by open competition in business, trade, banking, the Press, the arts, the sciences, and the intellectual and cultural life of the country."* (228)

The new Weimar Republic was duly signed into law in August 1919. Unsurprisingly, it was notably friendly to German Jews, removing all remnants of legal obstructions, and granting them full access to business, academia, and government – the very process that Mowrer described. As Lavsky (1996: 41) says: "All remaining discrimination was abolished and there were no restrictions on participation in German public life." The vital role played by Weimar Jews is concisely explained by Walter Laqueur:

*"Without the Jews there would have been no 'Weimar culture' – to this extent the claims of the antisemites, who detested that culture, were justified. They were in the forefront of every new daring, revolutionary movement. They were prominent among Expressionist poets, among the novelists of the 1920s, among the theatrical producers and, for a while, among the leading figures of the cinema. They owned the leading liberal newspapers such as the Berliner Tageblatt, the Vossische Zeitung and the Frankfurter Zeitung, and many editors were Jews too. Many leading liberal and avant-garde publishing houses were in Jewish hands (S. Fischer, Kurt Wolff, the Cassirers, Georg Bondi, Erich Reiss,*

*the Malik Verlag). Many leading theatre critics were Jews, and they dominated light entertainment.*" (1974: 73)

Laqueur, however, does not explain that the celebrated "Weimar culture" was perhaps best known for its licentiousness, promiscuity, and general moral depravity.<sup>10</sup> "They established themselves in the universities, civil service, law, business, banking, and the free professions," adds Lavsky:

*"Certain spheres were virtually monopolized by the Jews, and their contribution to journalism, literature, theater, music, the plastic arts, and entertainment was considerable."*

It was this very centrality of Jews to social upheaval, the November Revolution, and the new Weimar Republic that led three German activists and intellectuals – Anton Drexler, Gottfried Feder, and Dietrich Eckart – to found the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (DAP) in January 1919. This would be the forerunner to the National-Socialist DAP (NSDAP), or Nazi Party. One of their first recruits was a distraught 30-year-old former soldier, Adolf Hitler.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler describes in painful, personal detail how the young German men went to fight and die on the front lines, even as the Jewish activists and rebels undermined the imperial government back home. Calling them "hoary criminals," he adds that, all the while, "these perjured criminals were making preparations for a revolution" (I.5).<sup>11</sup> Upon a medical leave from the front in October 1916, he describes the situation in Munich:

*"Anger, discontent, complaints met one's ears wherever one went. [...] The administrative offices were staffed by Jews. Almost every clerk was a Jew and every Jew was a clerk. [...] In the business world the situation was even worse. Here the Jews had actually become 'indispensable.' Like leeches, they were slowly sucking the blood from the pores of the national body. [...] Hence as early as 1916-1917 practically all production was under the control of Jewish finance."* (I.7)

Hitler returned to the front in March 1917, and was struck by a mustard gas attack in October of the following year. The gas severely burned his eyes, sending him to a military hospital for recovery. It was there that he first heard about the revolution. The Jewish-Marxist "gang of despicable and depraved criminals" had led the overthrow of the Emperor and were attempting to take direct power themselves. Their revolts would be transitory, but the Jewish-influenced Weimar regime would soon take control of the nation, and this was scarcely any better. It was these events that led Hitler to become politically active.



## The Interwar Period and Emergence of FDR

1920 was a year of some importance. The Hitler-led NSDAP was formally established in February. That same month, a 46-year-old Winston Churchill penned his infamous article “Zionism versus Bolshevism,” in which he decried the pernicious role of Jewish Marxists such as Trotsky, Kun, Luxemburg, and the American Emma Goldman.<sup>12</sup> And in the US, Henry Ford had just begun his two-year series on the “International Jew.”

The following year, in late 1921, Ford recalled his past efforts to bring a peaceful end to WWI.<sup>13</sup> During that earlier time, he says, “it was the Jews themselves that convinced me of the direct relation between the international Jew and war.”

“[They explained to me] *the means by which the Jew controlled the war, how they had the money, how they had cornered all the basic materials needed to fight the war. [...] They said [...] that the Jews had started the war; that they would continue it as long as they wished, and that until the Jew stopped the war, it could not be stopped.*” (*New York Times*, 5 December 1921, p. 33)

This was a recurrent theme in Ford’s “International Jew” series.

Meanwhile across the ocean, Lenin (a quarter-Jew) and his Jewish Bolshevik colleagues established the Soviet Union in December of 1922. The next year, Hitler and others within the NSDAP launched a failed coup attempt in Bavaria, leading to his 12-month imprisonment and consequent writing of *Mein Kampf*. In early 1924, both Lenin and Woodrow Wilson died within a month of each other.

Little of note occurred during the mid- to late-1920s. Jewish immigration into the US continued to expand, with their numbers surpassing 4.3 million by 1927. Jews made further inroads into Hollywood; Marcus Loew acquired MGM studios, the Cohn brothers took over at Columbia Broadcasting System, and David Sarnoff founded RKO Pictures. In the political sphere, the Republican and Christian Zionist Herbert Hoover won the presidential election of 1928, and a relatively unknown Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, won the governorship of New York.

From the start, FDR had close and persistent ties to American Jews – ties that would prove decisive to his actions in the Second World War. His running mate in New York was Herbert Lehman, the son of German Jews. (His Republican opponent, Jewish Attorney General Albert Ottinger, failed to draw the Jewish vote that FDR did; this says something about the strength of FDR’s connection to that group.) Upon assuming the governorship, Roosevelt “filled a number of key positions from the state’s large

Jewish population,” according to Shogan (2010: 5). One of his first major appointments was his longtime friend Henry Morgenthau Jr. to the New York State Agriculture Committee. He also named a former speechwriter, Samuel Rosenman, as “counsel to the governor.” Both would play important roles in his presidency.

Other Jews, though, also had an interest in FDR – notably, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis and his protégé, Harvard lawyer Felix Frank-



*Franklin D. Roosevelt arm in arm with Henry Morgenthau Jr.  
U.S. National Archives and Records Administration [Public  
domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

furter. Even prior to his gubernatorial win in New York, “Brandeis alerted Frankfurter to his eagerness to connect with the man he believed would someday be the nation’s president” (*ibid.*: 72). And indeed, “for the next four years Brandeis was content to rely on Frankfurter to be his conduit to the governor’s chambers in Albany.”

The same election that put Roosevelt in the governor’s seat placed Hoover in the presidency. As I noted earlier, he had long championed Jewish interests. As president, Hoover did his part for the Hebrews, naming Eugene Meyer Fed Chairman in 1930, and appointing the second Jewish justice, Benjamin Cardozo, to the Supreme Court in March 1932. But by then the Great Depression was well underway, dooming any chance for reelection.

### FDR’s Jewish Ancestry?

Before turning to FDR’s long and historic stint as president, I want to recall a question I raised in Part 1 of the present series: Was Roosevelt Jewish? Previously I noted that his fifth cousin Theodore claimed to be Jewish, according to former Michigan governor Chase Osborn. I have yet to find any independent confirmation of this assertion, though there seems to be no reason why Osborn would lie about such a thing. Both were good Republicans, after all. But more to the point, Osborn would have much to say about FDR, as I will explain momentarily.

Regarding Franklin, he left many clues to a possible Jewish heritage, beginning as far back as 1914. In a letter to a friend upon the birth of his son Franklin Jr., he wrote that he had considered naming him Isaac – a classic Jewish name, and one shared by both his grandfather and great-great-grandfather. But the family resisted: “this name is not met with enthusiasm, especially as the baby’s nose is slightly Hebraic and the family have visions of Ikey Rosenvelt, though I insist it is very good New Amsterdam Dutch.”<sup>14</sup> For Shogan this is a sign of latent anti-Semitism, but I find that an unlikely excuse. What true anti-Semite would admit that his newborn son looked Jewish? Or would contemplate a Jewish name? More likely it was an inside joke, of the kind that people might say to family or close friends about a particular ethnic heritage within one’s own background.

Twenty years later, another clue. In 1934, now-president FDR gave a photo of himself and Henry Morgenthau to Henry’s wife. It bore this inscription: “For Elinor from one of two of a kind.”<sup>15</sup> Yes, but two of *what*

kind? Democrats? Americans? Jews? An oddly suggestive remark.

That same year saw the publication of an enlightening interview with Osborn, one that would initiate a prolonged discussion on FDR's heritage. The 8 February 1934 edition of the *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times* carried an interview in which Osborn claimed that the Roosevelts were descended from the Rossacampos, a Jewish family expelled from Spain in 1620. That family spread out into Europe and altered their spelling according to the various places where they took root: Rosenberg, Rosenblum, Rosenthal, and in Holland, Rosenvelt. "The Rosenvelts in north Holland finally became Roosevelt," claimed Osborn – which in fact seems to be true: the family patriarch, Claes van Rosenvelt, immigrated to the US in 1649. His son Nicholas apparently dropped the 'van' and changed the spelling to the standard form.

A small Michigan publication, *Civic Echo*, picked up and repeated the story soon thereafter. A year later, Jewish journalist and publisher Philip Slomovitz came across the *Echo* story, and decided to write directly to FDR to get his opinion. On 7 March 1935 the president responded:

*"I am grateful to you for your interesting letter of March fourth. I have no idea as to the source of the story which you say came from my old friend, Chase Osborn. [...] In the dim distant past they [the Roosevelts] may have been Jews or Catholics or Protestants – what I am more interested in is whether they were good citizens and believers in God – I hope they were both."* (cited in Slomovitz 1981: 5)

Once again this is a suspiciously circumspect reply by FDR. For him to say that his relatives "may have been Jews" sounds very much as if he knows this truth, does not want to openly acknowledge it, but cannot quite bring himself to lie about it.

Slomovitz planned to publish the reply in his *Detroit Jewish Chronicle*. Before he could do so, the *New York Times* got wind of it and carried the text in their issue of March 15 – on page 1.

Slomovitz passed this reply on to Osborn, who repeated his original assertion in a return letter of March 21:

*"President Roosevelt knows well enough that his ancestors were Jewish. I heard Theodore Roosevelt state twice that his ancestors were Jewish. Once was to me when I asked him about it after he had made a pleasing euphemistic statement in a speech to a Jewish gathering."* (*Ibid.*: 6-7)

Osborn is adamant. And it is important to note that he does *not* take this Jewish heritage as a slur; in fact, quite the opposite. He is evidently a

Christian Zionist (and Republican), and thus views it as a redeeming quality. As such, he would likely not cast the Democrat Franklin in this positive light unless he actually believed it to be true. It seems that he was talking from a factual, if unconfirmed, basis.

If Slomovitz was inclined to doubt Osborn's claim, another letter would soon fortify his belief. On March 27 he received a note from none other than Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York City. Wise had evidently seen the *New York Times* story, and wrote to confirm it. In his letter he recounts an "almost literal transcript" given to him by his wife, who had previously attended a luncheon with Roosevelt's wife Eleanor – who said the following: "Often cousin Alice and I say that all the brains in the Roosevelt family comes [sic] from our Jewish great-grandmother" (*ibid.*: 9). She then allegedly added a name, 'Esther Levy.' The Alice in question was the oldest child of Theodore; Eleanor's father Elliot was his brother. Their common great-grandmother would have been either Margaret Barnhill or Martha Stewart – neither of whom appears to be Jewish, unfortunately. And we have no record of any Esther Levy in the Roosevelt lineage. A bit of a mystery.

The letter then takes a little twist. Eleanor continued:

*"Whenever mention is made of our Jewish great-grandmother by cousin Alice or myself, Franklin's mother [Sara Delano] gets very angry and says, 'You know that is not so. Why do you say it?'"*

Another puzzling remark, and one that Wise leaves unexplained.

Wise closes the letter with his own assessment: that Roosevelt "knows what I [Wise] have just written to be true, but deems it wiser and more expedient not to make any public mention of it at this time." The letter, after all, was marked "Strictly private and confidential." Wise adds that "you [Slomovitz] must not, however, make use of this. I think it is just as well to let the matter die down now." A strange series of comments, to be sure.

Many years later, a final small clue appeared. From the mid-1920s to mid-1930s, Franklin's daughter Anna was married to a stockbroker named Curtis Dall. After having two children, they divorced in 1934. Three decades later Dall published a book, *FDR: My Exploited Father-in-Law* (1968). In it we read this sentence: "As I gathered it, the background of the Franklin Roosevelt family was a composite of English, Dutch, Jewish, and French stock" (98). There is no further elaboration.

In the end, many questions remain, but it seems very likely that the Roosevelts were at least in part Jewish.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps the larger question is this: Does it matter? I believe it does, on two counts. First is the basic mat-

ter of historical accuracy; if we did in fact have a partially Jewish president, or rather two such presidents, the history books ought to reflect this reality. Likely other relevant evidence exists in the vast presidential archives, and an open admission might bring this to light.

Second and more important is the possible effect this may have had on FDR's actions prior to and during World War II. With even a partial Jewish heritage, he would likely have been more sympathetic to the Jewish cause, more amenable to Jews within his administration, and more likely to sacrifice on behalf of Jewish interests. The evidence shows that all these things actually happened – which is precisely why “Franklin Roosevelt was the first great hero of American Jews” (Shogan 2010: xi). The ‘family connection’ would certainly help to explain such things.

Alternatively, and as is often the case today, it could have been strictly a matter of money – of rewarding those who paved one's way to the top. But perhaps the strongest case is this: that it was a combination of both. If FDR was predisposed by his heritage to be sympathetic to the Jews, and they also stepped forward to fund his campaigns and support him in the media, these would then be powerful incentives to reward them within his administration, and to be swayed by their concerns when it came time to deploy American military power. I examine that case now.

### “All the President's Jews”

The case for a possible Jewish hand in World War II could be made, if we could show the following:

1. an extensive and influential Jewish presence in FDR's administration,
2. that the US public did not want war,
3. that influential American Jews did want war,
4. that FDR acted surreptitiously on behalf of war,
5. that Jewish-run US media supported war, and
6. that the US entered the war under false pretenses.

I will provide specific data on the first two points, and then address the remaining ones collectively.

Earlier I showed Roosevelt's dependence on Jewish supporters during his gubernatorial term. When it came time to mount a presidential campaign, his old buddies were there to help. As Scholnick (1990: 193) explains, “A number of wealthy Jewish friends contributed to Roosevelt's pre-nomination campaign fund: Henry Morgenthau Jr., Lt. Gov. Lehman, Jessie Straus, [and] Laurence Steinhardt.” Once the primaries were out of

the way, “Roosevelt’s campaign was heavily underwritten by Bernard Baruch.”

The first rule in politics is to reward those who finance your path to success. Thus, it is unsurprising that “[FDR’s] administration contained a higher proportion of Jews than any other” (Michael 2005: 178). In the words of Herzstein (1989: 40), “Jews were indeed more prominent than ever before in American history.” So who were these leading figures that were so dominant during the Roosevelt years? At the top of the list were the Big 5, the “President’s Jews” as Shogan says, who had the largest hand in swaying events within the presidency: Louis Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau Jr., Sam Rosenman, and Ben Cohen.

Brandeis was of course a sitting Supreme Court justice long before Roosevelt ran for office, having been placed there by his friend Woodrow Wilson in 1916. Even prior to his initial election in 1932, FDR arranged a meeting with Brandeis to discuss policy. According to Shogan (2010), the Justice soon sent Roosevelt “a broad blueprint for the New Deal” (72). Some years later, in 1938, “Brandeis made his first call on FDR on behalf of the Jews” (83). Such involvement in government administration by a Supreme Court justice is unusual, to say the least. Others would call it flagrantly unethical. Justices are supposed to rule on constitutional matters, not make policy. He obviously knew this, and thus generally worked through Jewish intermediaries, like Frankfurter and Cohen, to get his message to the president.

On a day-to-day basis, Frankfurter was particularly important. Even by 1933 he had become “probably FDR’s most influential advisor” (*ibid.*: 105). Incensed at the extent of his power, American general Hugh Johnson called him “the most influential single individual in the United States” (86).<sup>17</sup> Frankfurter, he said, “had insinuated his boys into obscure but key positions in every vital department” related to the New Deal. Later, when Europe was on the brink of war, Frankfurter was apparently instrumental in initiating a series of secret correspondences between FDR and Churchill at a very sensitive time – neutral presidents are not supposed to be conducting secret negotiations with leaders of belligerent nations.<sup>18</sup> Frankfurter, as we know, would be well rewarded by Roosevelt for his efforts, with the nomination to the Supreme Court in January 1939.

Moving down the list: Roosevelt “was as close to Henry Morgenthau [...] as to any man” (*ibid.*: 32). So close, in fact, that Franklin would make him the second Jew ever to join a presidential cabinet; he was named Secretary of the Treasury in early 1934, serving right through the end of the

war.<sup>19</sup> Henry would later author the notorious “Morgenthau Plan” – a policy for the virtual destruction of postwar Germany. This again was an outrageously out-of-line effort by a treasury secretary, who formally has no business conducting foreign policy. But this evidently did not stop him from trying.

The two youngest members of the Big 5 were Rosenman and Cohen. Though serving as a New York state judge, Rosenman also functioned as “FDR’s chief speechwriter and a leading general advisor” (*ibid.*: 9). Ward (1989: 254) notes that he was “a close aide from 1928 onwards” – that is, even before FDR’s governorship. The lawyer Benjamin Cohen became one of the key drafters of Roosevelt’s vital New Deal legislation, which was his lasting economic legacy. He clearly had the president’s ear; Nasaw (2012: 358) calls him the “unofficial emissary of Justice Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter.”

But more importantly, Cohen was the lead architect and executor of the infamous ‘bases for destroyers’ plan of mid- to late-1940. At that time Britain was well into the war and badly needed military assistance from the US. But as a neutral nation, and by law, it was unable to help. Cohen then concocted a plan by which America would “loan” 50 warships to the UK in exchange for the use of certain global bases that they held. “Employing hairsplitting technicalities and unprovable assertions about national defense, [Cohen’s] memorandum stretched the law, creating a loophole wide enough for fifty warships to steam through on their way to join the Royal Navy,” says Shogan (152). Seeking legal approval for this blatantly illegal action, Roosevelt turned to [...] Justice Frankfurter. And to no one’s surprise, the Justice conferred his blessing. The Brits, of course, were elated. For the Germans, this was a veritable act of war by the nominally neutral Americans. Most fatefully, it seems to have been decisive in causing Hitler to sign a mutual-defense pact with Japan in October 1940; it was this agreement that would trigger Germany’s declaration of war on the United States following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Beyond the Big 5, several other Jews played influential roles. Bernard Baruch, another Wilsonian holdover, was a part-time financial advisor and “prominent confidant” of both FDR and Churchill.<sup>20</sup> Jerome Frank was a close aide, as was David Niles. James Warburg, son of Paul, was an early financial advisor. In May of 1934, Eugene Black was named Fed Chairman, and Jesse Straus was appointed ambassador to France – even as his nephew, Nathan Straus Jr., came to head the US Housing Authority. William Bullitt, a quarter-Jew, was given two critical ambassadorships: first to the Soviet Union, and then, during the war, to France.<sup>21</sup> Laurence Stein-



hardt, who had helped so much with campaign funding, was awarded a string of ambassadorships throughout FDR's tenure. Franklin's old friend Herbert Lehman was appointed head of the new Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation in 1943. Herbert Feis was an influential economics advisor for the State Department. Abe Fortas served as Undersecretary of the Interior. Charles Wyzanski was solicitor general in the Labor Department. Mordecai Ezekiel was economics advisor to the Agriculture Secretary. David Lilienthal became chairman of the TVA. Other Jews, like Sidney Hillman and Rose Schneiderman, emerged as important advisors on labor matters.

Even some of FDR's non-Jewish team members had Semitic connections. Long-time Secretary of State Cordell Hull's wife, Frances Witz, was Jewish. So too was the spouse of New Deal architect and close confidant Harry Hopkins (Ethel Gross). We can be sure that they were sympathetic to the Jewish cause. All in all, one can well understand the motivation of Roosevelt's critics, who called his administration the "Jew Deal."<sup>22</sup>

On the second point, it is uncontroversial that Americans overwhelmingly wanted to avoid the war. In a radio address of 23 April 1941, the leading anti-war advocate, Charles Lindbergh, condemned the course of action "to which more than 80 percent of our citizens are opposed." In an address the month before, Congressman Hamilton Fish stated that "somewhere between 83 and 90 percent of the people, according to the various Gallop polls, are opposed to our entrance into war unless attacked."<sup>23</sup> The data supported such claims. According to surveys conducted in June and July 1940, between 81 and 86% of respondents preferred to "stay out" of a war, if it were to come up for a vote.<sup>24</sup> Another poll in July 1941 registered a 79% figure.<sup>25</sup> The highest recorded number came somewhat earlier, in a report published in mid-1938; when asked "If another war like the World War [I] develops in Europe, should America take part again?" fully 95% of the respondents replied "No."<sup>26</sup> Such figures generally held up right until the attack on Pearl Harbor.

## The Path to War

The remaining points become clear, I think, simply by stepping through some key events and observations as they happened chronologically.

As is well known, Jews worldwide confronted Hitler as soon as he assumed power in 1933 – witness the infamous "Judea Declares War on Germany" headline in the UK's *Daily Express* of 24 March 1933. In a



Today's Weather: Fair  
FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1933.  
ONE PENNY.



**Ivel CHEESE**  
Aids digestion  
2d., 6d. & 8d. each.

---

# JUDEA DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY

## Jews Of All The World Unite In Action

### BOYCOTT OF GERMAN GOODS

### MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IN MANY DISTRICTS

### DRAMATIC ACTION

**"Daily Express" Special Political Correspondent.**  
A.L. Dowell is writing in words against the Nazi onslaught on the Jews in Germany.  
 **Adolf Hitler, swept into power by an appeal to elemental passions, is making history of a kind he least expected. Thinking to unite only the German nation to raise antisemitism he has raised the whole Jewish people to a national warlike. The appearance of the swastika symbol of a new Germany has called forth the Lion of Judah, the old battle symbol of Jewish valiance.**  
Fourteen million Jews dispersed throughout the world have banded together as one man to declare war on the German persecutors of their co-religionists. Sectarian differences and antagonisms have been submerged in one common aim—the attack by 600,000 Jews of Germany who are being persecuted by Hitler's anti-semitism, and to compel Fascist Germany to end its campaign of violence and repression directed against the Jewish minority.  
World Jewry has made its Jewish and is not prepared to be at the mercy of nationalistic feelings.

### HIGHER WAGES FOR STEEL WORKERS

### AN INCREASE OF THREE SHILLINGS A WEEK

### BRIGHT SPOT IN A BLACK TOWN

**"Daily Express" Special Correspondent.**  
HIGHER WAGES FOR STEEL WORKERS  
AN INCREASE OF THREE SHILLINGS A WEEK  
BRIGHT SPOT IN A BLACK TOWN  
THE "Daily Express" has sent a special correspondent to an unusual mission. He is touring the north in search of brightness. In his tour he is going to tell the facts about all classes of wages, high and low. He is going to show how low wages reduce the morale of the community. He is going to show how high wages, especially those favourably distributed throughout the community, in his first dispatch it is revealed how high wages have been brought in the name of high wages. He has recently visited in search of a bright spot in a black town. He has found a bright spot in a black town. He has found a bright spot in a black town. He has found a bright spot in a black town.

### MR. MacDONALD EXPLAINS HIS TOUR

### "PEACE CAN BE KEPT IN EUROPE"

**MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD** faced a crowded House of Commons yesterday afternoon when he spoke about his visits to Paris, Geneva, and Rome, and his talks with Signor Mussolini.  
The Premier, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. MacDonald, and Mr. Baines, of the Foreign Office, were among the distinguished guests who were present at the dinner. Mr. MacDonald, who was present with Mr. Baldwin, said: "I have had the greatest opportunity to discuss the European situation which I have ever had since I became Foreign Secretary. I have had the greatest opportunity to discuss the European situation which I have ever had since I became Foreign Secretary. I have had the greatest opportunity to discuss the European situation which I have ever had since I became Foreign Secretary."

### THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA



**THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA**  
THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA  
THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA  
THE BIRTH OF AN IDEA

### OFFICERS' DAYS OF LOVE

**OFFICERS' DAYS OF LOVE**  
OFFICERS' DAYS OF LOVE  
OFFICERS' DAYS OF LOVE

### CUTS THAT KILL

**CUTS THAT KILL**  
CUTS THAT KILL  
CUTS THAT KILL

### LABOUR LEADER REVEALED

**LABOUR LEADER REVEALED**  
LABOUR LEADER REVEALED  
LABOUR LEADER REVEALED

The UK's Daily Express of 24 March 1933 runs the infamous headline, "Judea Declares War on Germany" announcing that Jews worldwide confronted Hitler as soon as he assumed power. Source: [http://sv.metapedia.org/w/Judea\\_declares\\_war\\_on\\_Germany](http://sv.metapedia.org/w/Judea_declares_war_on_Germany)

sense, this was understandable. Putting an end to a post-World War I Weimar Republic dominated by Jews, Hitler quickly banished them from positions of power, and placed immediate restrictions on their movement and business practices. In fact, one may speculate that this was not unrelated to Germany's amazing economic renaissance.

But the Western media did not see it this way. As early as April 1933, the *New York Times* was reporting on the "economic extermination of Jews in Germany" (April 6). Two months later we read, simply, that "Hitler's program is one of extermination" (June 29). In August, we are shocked to learn that "600,000 Jews are facing certain extinction" (August 16). Here we can graphically see how the 'extermination' myth rapidly evolved, from a simple plan of economic exclusion.<sup>27</sup>

For the Germans, Western – particularly American – media meant *Jewish* media. As early as 1934, they viewed it as a potential threat. A communiqué by the German ambassador to the US, Hans Luther, observed that America possessed "the strongest Jewish propaganda machine in the world."<sup>28</sup> This comment was made in light of Jewish dominance in Hollywood, and the fact that Jews owned two of the major American newspa-

pers, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.<sup>29</sup> Luther's impression was held by German leadership throughout the war. Goebbels, for example, wrote the following in his diary entry of 24 April 1942:<sup>30</sup>

*"Some statistics are given to me on the proportion of Jews in American radio, film, and press. The percentage is truly frightening. Jewry controls 100% of the film business, and between 90 and 95% of press and radio."*

By the mid-1930s, Germany was in the midst of their astounding economic recovery, one that was particularly striking given their ruination after World War I, and that it occurred during the Great Depression. Within just his first four years, Hitler had reduced unemployment from 6 million to 1 million; the jobless rate fell from 43.8% when he took office, to effectively *zero* by the end of 1938. In just four years, he increased GNP by 37%, and oversaw a 400% increase in auto production. In effect, he single-handedly ended the Depression in Germany. Two more years, and the nation would be a world power of the first rank.

Germany thus emerged as a viable competitor to the traditional global powers. Churchill felt particularly threatened. In a congressional testimony, US General Robert Wood recalled a statement by the British politician from 1936: "Germany is getting too strong. We must smash her."<sup>31</sup> This suggests a belligerence on Churchill's part long before any aggressions by Hitler. As we know: it was the UK that declared war on Germany, not vice versa.

In October 1937, Roosevelt gave his famous 'quarantine' speech. Here we find one of the first indications, albeit indirect, that he anticipates a time when the US would come into direct conflict with Germany, and he subtly propagandizes the public in favor of war. The danger of Hitler is exaggerated; neutrality and isolation are disparaged; baseless assertions and cautiously conditional statements are thrown out – and all in the language of peace. Should Hitler prevail, "let no one imagine that America will escape, [...] that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked." "There is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality," he said; "international anarchy destroys every foundation for peace." "We are determined to keep out of war," said FDR, "yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement." Sparing no hyperbole, he added that, if Germany initiates a war, "the storm will rage till every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos." This is difficult to read except as an indication that the path of violent confrontation had already been decided upon, and that the long process had

begun to persuade a reluctant public that they must support it.

By this time, Jewish lobbies around the world, but especially in the UK and US, began to press hard for military action, to intervene on behalf of their beleaguered coreligionists in Nazi Germany, and to once again overthrow a hated regime – never mind that the Germans may have had some right to self-determination. One of the first clear pieces of evidence of this came in early 1938, from the Polish ambassador to the US, Jerzy Potocki. He reported back to Warsaw on his observations of the American political scene:<sup>32</sup>

*“The pressure of the Jews on President Roosevelt and on the State Department is becoming ever more powerful. [...] The Jews are right now the leaders in creating a war psychosis which would plunge the entire world into war and bring about general catastrophe. This mood is becoming more and more apparent. In their definition of democratic states, the Jews have also created real chaos; they have mixed together the idea of democracy and communism, and have above all raised the banner of burning hatred against Nazism.*

*This hatred has become a frenzy. It is propagated everywhere and by every means: in theaters, in the cinema, and in the press. The Germans are portrayed as a nation living under the arrogance of Hitler which wants to conquer the whole world and drown all of humanity in an ocean of blood. In conversations with Jewish press representatives, I have repeatedly come up against the inexorable and convinced view that war is inevitable. This international Jewry exploits every means of propaganda to oppose any tendency towards any kind of consolidation and understanding between nations. In this way, the conviction is growing steadily but surely in public opinion here that the Germans and their satellites, in the form of fascism, are enemies who must be subdued by the ‘democratic world.’ (February 9)”*

Such a view is confirmed in a letter by Senator Hiram Johnson (R-Cal.), written to his son that same year. The pro- and anti-war camps were clear: “all the Jews [are] on one side, wildly enthusiastic for the President, and willing to fight to the last American.” Though sympathetic, Johnson had no interest in fighting a war on their behalf. He and other like-minded politicians wanted to speak out, “but everybody is afraid – I confess *I* shrink from it – of offending the Jews.”<sup>33</sup> The situation has hardly changed in 75 years.

For his part, Bernie Baruch was certainly itching for a fight. Speaking to General George Marshall, he said “We are going to lick that fellow Hit-

ler. He isn't going to get away with it."<sup>34</sup> One wonders how he would know this, in 1938. Actually, it's not much of a mystery: Churchill apparently told him so. As Sherwood (1948: 111) recounts, Churchill – then still First Lord of the Admiralty – said this to Baruch:

*“War is coming very soon. We will be in it and you [the United States] will be in it. You [Baruch] will be running the show over there, but I will be on the sidelines over here.”*

This is an astonishing claim; how would Churchill know such a thing, in 1938? The *Anschluss* with Austria had been completed in March that year, and Germany annexed the Sudetenland in October, but the Munich Accord was signed in September, nominally preserving a kind of tenuous peace. So what could have convinced Churchill that war was inevitable, and that the Americans would be running the show? *Kristallnacht*, perhaps? Was that the last straw, for the global Jewish lobby?<sup>35</sup>

Apparently, Lord Beaverbrook thought so. Writing to Frank Gannett in December 1938, he made this striking statement:

*“The Jews are after [Prime Minister] Chamberlain. He is being terribly harassed by them. [...] All the Jews are against him. [...] They have got a big position in the press here [in the UK...]. I am shaken. The Jews may drive us into war [and] their political influence is moving us in that direction.”* (cited in Nasaw 2012: 357-358)

Beaverbrook was a prominent and influential media executive and politician, rather like the Rupert Murdoch of his day. He was well positioned to make such a claim.

The year 1939 opened with FDR's State of the Union speech – and more veiled threats. “We have learned that God-fearing democracies of the world [...] cannot safely be indifferent to international lawlessness anywhere. They cannot forever let pass, without effective protest, acts of aggression against sister nations.” He consequently called for an unprecedented peacetime allocation of \$2 billion for national defense. A message to Hitler – and to all those Americans who might oppose intervention in European affairs.

Hitler, incidentally, was giving his own speeches, most infamously to the Reichstag on January 30. It included this memorable warning:

*“If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of*

*Jewry, but the annihilation [Vernichtung] of the Jewish race in Europe!"*

Two quick comments: The German word ‘*Vernichtung*’ has multiple meanings, and in no way requires the killing of the persons in question. The literal meaning is “to bring to nothing.” More broadly it means to completely remove or eliminate the presence, role, or influence of something. And there are many ways to do this short of murder. But more to the point, Hitler’s alleged program of physical extermination was supposedly a great secret. He cannot possibly have told the world, in the most public of venues, of his ‘secret’ plan to kill all the Jews – in early 1939. Clearly he was referring to their displacement from Europe, and to an elimination of their previously dominant role there. But this was no secret at all – he had been doing that in Germany for some six years already.

Back in Washington, Ambassador Potocki sent two more revealing reports to Warsaw. A short statement on January 9 included this:

*“The American public is subject to an ever more alarming propaganda, which is under Jewish influence and continuously conjures up the specter of the danger of war. Because of this, the Americans have strongly altered their views on foreign policy problems, in comparison with last year.”*

Three days later came the longest and perhaps most insightful report:<sup>36</sup>

*“The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews, who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press. Although this propaganda is extremely coarse and presents Germany as black as possible – above all religious persecution and concentration camps are exploited – this propaganda is nevertheless extremely effective, since the public here is completely ignorant and knows nothing of the situation in Europe. [...]*

*The prevalent hatred against everything which is in any way connected with German Nazism is further kindled by the brutal policy against the Jews in Germany and by the émigré problem. In this action, various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt. They want the President to become the champion of human rights, freedom of religion and speech, and the man who in the future will punish trouble-*

*makers. These groups of people, who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of 'true Americanism' and 'defenders of democracy,' are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry.*

*For this Jewish international, which above all is concerned with the interests of its race, to portray the President of the United States as the 'idealist' champion on human rights was a very clever move. In this manner, they have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere, and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in a masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously."*

If Potocki were correct, it would mean that war had effectively been decided upon by the Allied powers. And in fact, that's exactly what Bullitt said to American journalist Karl von Wiegand:<sup>37</sup>

*"War in Europe has been decided upon. Poland had an assurance of the support of Britain and France, and would yield to no demands from Germany. America would be in the war after Britain and France entered it."*

Bullitt obviously had inside access to a well-developed plan, one that was proceeding apace.

In July, Potocki was back in Warsaw, speaking with a foreign ministry undersecretary named Jan Szembek. In his diary, Szembek recorded Potocki as stating the following:<sup>38</sup>

*"In the West, there are all kinds of elements openly pushing for war: Jews, big capitalists, arms dealers. Now they are all ready for some excellent business. [...] They want to do business at our expense. They are indifferent to the destruction of our country."*

This is notable, if only as confirmation of the legitimacy of the earlier reports.

Around that same time, the American ambassador to Great Britain began to cause a stir. He was a member of the Boston-area Irish Catholic set, a successful businessman [...] and father of a future president. Joseph Kennedy contributed to Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign, and was rewarded with the chairmanship of the SEC. He left that office in 1935, and was appointed ambassador to the UK in January 1938.

By mid-1939, Kennedy evidently began to have concerns about the

Jewish role in the push toward war – and he began to speak openly to his colleagues in London. Somehow word of this got out to a local periodical, *The Week*, which found its way over the ocean to Washington D.C. and into the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes. Convening with the president in early July, Ickes raised his concern:<sup>39</sup>

*“This [story] was to the effect that Kennedy was privately telling his English friends in the Cliveden set that the Jews were running the United States and that the President would fall in 1940. It also charged that [Kennedy believes] that the democratic policy of the United States is a Jewish production’.”*

Amazingly, the president was unfazed. “It is true,” he said. Ickes provides no further information on the incident, and thus it is hard to know how to take this blunt response. Was FDR joking? A half-joke? An outright, straight-faced admission? We simply do not know. What was undoubtedly true, though, was that Kennedy had deep concerns about Jewish influence.

He was not the only diplomat with such worries. A month later, reports Taylor (1961: 267), British ambassador to Germany Nevile Henderson told Hitler that “the hostile attitude in Great Britain was the work of Jews and enemies of the Nazis.” Here again we see a parallel action on both sides of the Atlantic, and possibly coordinated. This would be consistent with Baruch’s role as a “prominent confidant” of both Roosevelt and Churchill.

A few weeks later, on September 2, the German army crossed into Poland. What began as part of a long-standing border conflict between two neighboring countries became, two days later, a European war, when England and France declared war on Germany.<sup>40</sup>

## England Stands Alone

On September 3, Roosevelt broadcast another of his many fireside chats to the American public. It contained the usual combination of exaggeration, propaganda, and misrepresentation. “When peace has been broken anywhere,” he said, “the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger.” Even one who strives for neutrality “cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience.” His ending was again cloaked in the hypocritical language of peace:

*“I hate war. I say that again and again. I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurance and reassurance that every effort of your government will be directed to-*



*ward that end. As long as it remains within my power to prevent, there will be no black-out of peace in the United States.”*

Here Roosevelt clearly reveals himself as a dissembler and a liar. Qualifications, conditionals, half-truths – all evidently designed to manipulate public opinion in favor of war. Jews inside and outside his administration had been pressing for intervention for years; now with actual combat underway, the pressure would rapidly escalate. Roosevelt knew this, but said nothing. After all, he was facing another election the following year, and had to publicly maintain an anti-war stance, or risk losing to the Republicans. But he also had to keep his Jewish financiers happy. The fact that the vast majority of the American people were still strongly against the war apparently had no effect upon him – so much for democracy.

Kennedy could see what was happening. He strongly opposed American entry into the war, both on principle and because he had three sons who would likely be drawn in – and indeed, his eldest son, Joe Jr., would be killed during a bombing run in 1944. Speaking to his colleague Jay Moffat, Kennedy said, “Churchill [...] wants us there as soon as he can get us there. He is ruthless and scheming”<sup>41</sup> – unsurprising, given that the Brits found themselves in a war that they were ill-prepared to fight. But Churchill knew whom to go to: “He is also in touch with groups in America which have the same idea, notably, certain strong Jewish leaders.”

Not that this was a secret. In a December 1939 memo to the British cabinet, Churchill recalled the vital role played by the Jews back in World War One – to draw in the Americans, against their wishes, against their desires, and against their national interests. “It was not for light or sentimental reasons,” wrote Churchill, that Balfour issued his famous promise of Palestine to the Zionists. “The influence of American Jewry was rated then as a factor of the highest importance [...]” “Now,” he added, “I should have thought it was more necessary, even than in November 1917, to conciliate American Jewry and enlist their aid in combating isolationist and indeed anti-British tendencies in the United States.”<sup>42</sup>

Here we have an amazingly bald-faced admission. Churchill has utter contempt for the “tendencies” (read: democratic principles) of the Americans. His sole concern is to leverage Jewish power to draw a neutral nation into yet another major war, to save his skin and to aid his Zionist friends.<sup>43</sup> Kennedy was naturally appalled – both that Churchill would do such a thing, and that it seemed to be working. “I don’t trust him,” he wrote in his diary.<sup>44</sup>

*“He always impressed me that he was willing to blow up the American Embassy and say it was the Germans if it would get the United States in.”*

No doubt that was true – just as FDR would be willing to sacrifice some 2,400 American lives at Pearl Harbor, for precisely that end.

Into 1940, Hitler ran off an impressive string of victories, culminating in the capture of Paris in June. Chamberlain resigned as prime minister, to be replaced by Churchill, who immediately initiated the ‘bases for destroyers’ plan with the US (see above).

As the year wore on, Roosevelt continued to lie to the American public. His campaign address in Boston on October 30 contained the same deceptive falsehoods of his earlier speeches. “Your government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean” – but no mention of the extralegal 50 destroyers that he gave them in return. He boasted of doubling the size of the army within the past year, and of letting out \$8 billion in defense contracts. But not worry, fellow Americans – “I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.” An utter lie, and he knew it.

One is perhaps tempted to make excuses for FDR: that he was morally torn, that he could see a larger danger that the public could not see, that he had to lie to us ‘for our own good.’ None of these withstands scrutiny. The ethics of warfare are fairly well established, at least for nominal democracies. They would include, at a minimum: proportionality, mutuality, direct threat, and public support. That is, (a) any aggressions should be responded to only with equivalent force, (b) rules for one party hold for all, (c) force is justified only in the face of a direct and imminent threat, and (d) the public must be given an honest appraisal of the situation, and its wishes respected. Suffice it to say that none of these conditions would hold. One wonders: If the public had known of the ultimate cost – some 420,000



*Joseph Kennedy strongly opposed American entry into the war. Photo taken in 1940. Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons*

American deaths, and roughly \$4.2 trillion (present-day equivalent) – would they have embraced war, even after Pearl Harbor? Or would they perhaps have put FDR and his Jewish supporters on trial, for fraud, treason, and war crimes?

By October, Joe Kennedy had enough; he resigned his post. But he continued to comment on the role of the Jews, both to friends and in his private writings. On December 15, for example, he made this diary entry:

*“[Justice Frankfurter] is supposed directly and indirectly to influence Roosevelt on foreign policy over [Secretary of State] Hull’s and [Undersecretary of State] Welles’s heads, [and] whose cohort of young lawyers are in practically every government department, all aiding the cause of Jewish refugees getting into America. [...] It looks to me as if the English sympathizers were tying their cause in with the Jews because they figure they’ve got all the influence in US.”* (cited in Nasaw 2012: 507)

Jewish population in the US, incidentally, was soon to reach 5 million. Frankfurter’s boys were doing a good job.

As before, Kennedy was not alone in his concern. Another Supreme Court Justice, Frank Murphy, confided to him that “it was Frankfurter and Ben Cohen who wrote the Attorney General’s opinion on destroyers and bases.” Kennedy added: “Murphy regards the Jewish influence as most dangerous. He said that after all, [Harry] Hopkins’s wife was a Jew; Hull’s wife is a Jew; and Frankfurter and Cohen and that group are all Jews.”<sup>45</sup> For his part, Welles privately referred to Frankfurter as “dangerous” and “a Jew chiseler.”

One of the most revealing remarks by Kennedy comes from the diary of James Forrestal, who at the time was Secretary of the Navy. In the entry from 27 December 1945, we read this:

*“Played golf today with Joe Kennedy. [...] He said Chamberlain’s position in 1938 was that England had nothing with which to fight, and that she could not risk going to war with Hitler. Kennedy’s view: That Hitler would have fought Russia without any later conflict with England, if it had not been for Bullitt’s urging on Roosevelt in the summer of 1939 that the Germans must be faced down about Poland; neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war, if it had not been for the constant needling from Washington. [...] Chamberlain, he says, stated that America and the world Jews had forced England into the war.”* (Forrestal 1951: 121-122)

So, we must ask: Why was the partly Jewish Bullitt – a mere diplomat – “urging” the president of the United States to face down Hitler? And why

were Bullitt and Roosevelt “constantly needling” England and France to fight a war that *they themselves* did not see as necessary or winnable? And why did these nations succumb to American pressure? And why did Chamberlain ultimately link together America and “the world Jews” as the driving force for war? We need not look very hard to see a Jewish hand at work.

## Media Blitz

Jewish-run media was becoming very active by this time. The newspapers, for example, had found much disagreement with Washington on domestic issues, but “Roosevelt’s standing with the press on foreign policy matters was much stronger,” according to Cole (1983: 478). Apart from the *Chicago Tribune* and the Hearst papers, most dailies backed intervention. Unsurprisingly, “the more prestigious and influential news publications strongly supported the president.” These included the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and *Time Magazine*.

The motion picture industry certainly did its part to get America into war. Given that it took at least a year to get a motion picture from conception to theater, and that efforts to produce pro-war films did not start in earnest until 1937, it was well into 1939 before they began to appear. Early efforts like *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* and *Beasts of Berlin* came out that year, and set the stage for a flood of films over the next three years. In 1940, Hollywood released graphic and high-impact films like *Escape* and *Mortal Storm*; Hitchcock’s *Foreign Correspondent* came out that year, as did Chaplin’s *The Great Dictator*. In May, two major studio heads, Jack and Harry Warner – more accurately known as Itzhak and Hirsz Wonskolaser – wrote to Roosevelt, assuring him that they would “do all in our power within the motion picture industry [...] to show the American people the worthiness of the cause for which the free peoples of Europe are making such tremendous sacrifices.”<sup>46</sup> It’s nice to see such unselfish, high-minded public service amongst corporate executives.

By early 1941, Jewish filmmakers and producers were working subtle, pro-war themes into many of their films. The anti-war group America First argued that belligerent propaganda was becoming widespread; “films that have nothing to do with the European war are now loaded with lies and ideas which bring about an interventionist reaction” (in Cole: 474). In August of that year, Senator Gerald Nye (R-N. Dak.) delivered a stinging radio address, arguing that the Hollywood studios “had become the most gigantic engines of propaganda in existence, to rouse the war fever in Ameri-

ca and plunge this nation to her destruction” (in *ibid.*: 475). By that time, nearly three dozen major pro-war films had been released.<sup>47</sup>

In the end, more than 60 explicitly ‘patriotic,’ pro-war films were produced, along with dozens of ordinary films that incorporated subtle pro-war messages. There were a few classics – *Casablanca*, *Sergeant York*, *To Be or Not to Be* – and many duds. *Hitler’s Children* and *Nazi Agent*, for example, won’t be making any Top 10 lists.

In March of 1941, under pressure from the Jewish lobby, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act; this allowed shipment of armaments and military supplies to Britain and the other Allied nations. The vote was 260-165 in the House, and 59-30 in the Senate. Public opinion was narrowly in favor of the Act, but only as a defensive measure; a strong majority still wished to stay out of the war. FDR could arm the Allies but not join the fighting.

Roosevelt made a major radio address in May, declaring an “unlimited national emergency.” It was filled with more war hyperbole, most notably regarding the Germans’ alleged striving toward “world domination.” Over and over came the words: “Nazi book of world conquest”; “Hitler’s plan of world domination”; “a Hitler-dominated world.” Suffice to say that no evidence of such a plan has ever come forth.<sup>48</sup> Deploying the most facile, us-or-them language, FDR struggled to persuade reluctant Americans that they should fight and die:

*“Today the whole world is divided between human slavery and human freedom – between pagan brutality and Christian ideal.”*

He even hinted at the essentials of his strategy, namely, to provoke an ‘incident’ that would allow him to declare war:

*“We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position. We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.”*

In June, convinced of the Bolshevik threat posed by Stalin, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. In August, the US placed military forces in Iceland, effectively occupying that country. And on 11 September 1941 – 60 years to the day before that other 9/11 – Charles Lindbergh gave his most famous speech, at Des Moines, Iowa. There he called out, for the first time, the three main groups that were driving the US toward war: the British, the Roosevelt administration, and the Jews. Of this latter group, Lindbergh acknowledged their plight under the Nazis, and their hatred of Hitler. But instead of inciting America to war, they should be working to halt it; “for they will be among the first to feel its consequences” – presumably meaning both in Germany and in the US, where anti-Semitism would surely be

inflamed. In one of the more notable lines of the speech, he said that “[The Jews’] greatest danger in this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government.” Lindbergh thus ran afoul of the first rule of wartime: Thou shalt never speak the truth.

Indeed: If Jewish influence in “our government” was part of the danger, then naming the “Roosevelt administration” was redundant. The true danger was Jews in media, Jews in Hollywood, and Jews in the government – along with those non-Jews who worked on their behalf. And even to name the British – Churchill and his Zionist backers – was, in effect, to name yet more Jews. On all fronts, it was powerful and influential Jews driving peaceful people toward war, simply to destroy the hated Nazi regime.

There is no doubt that Lindbergh was right – that British Jews were pushing the US toward war, and that they were succeeding. In a strange coincidence, just one day before Lindbergh’s Des Moines speech, leading British Zionist Chaim Weizmann delivered this notorious letter to Churchill:

*“There is only one big ethnic group [in America] which is willing to stand, to a man, for Great Britain, and a policy of ‘all-out aid’ for her: the five million Jews. From Secretary Morgenthau, Governor Lehman, Justice Frankfurter, down to the simplest Jewish workman or trader, they are conscious of all that this struggle against Hitler implies. It has been repeatedly acknowledged by British Statesmen that it was the Jews who, in the last war, effectively helped to tip the scales in America in favour of Great Britain. They are keen to do it – and may do it – again.”* (cited in Irving 2001: 77)

A most explicit admission: American Jews, working in conjunction with British Jews, hold the key to war. They are “keen to do it.” Virtually upon command, they can “tip the scales” – again – and drive the Americans into another war that they desperately want to avoid.

## The Pearl Harbor “Incident”

With American opposition to war still hovering near 80%, FDR and his Jewish team were evidently becoming desperate. Dramatic action was increasingly necessary. At that point, only a direct attack on American soil could alter public opinion. For a good two years, Roosevelt had been harassing the Germans. But they refused to bite. What to do?

History is full of ‘false flag’ operations in which governments or other

actors conduct a fake attack, blame the enemy, and then use the event as a pretext for military action. By some accounts, the earliest was in 47 BC, when Julius Caesar arranged and paid for insurgent ‘rebel’ actions in Rome prior to his taking of the city. A more recent instance occurred in 1846, when President James Polk sent an army detachment into a disputed area along the Texas-Mexico border. When the Mexicans responded, he declared it an attack on “American soil,” and promptly began the US-Mexico War. For centuries, military commanders have understood the benefits of false flags; Roosevelt’s team was no different.

Though I cannot elaborate here, there is ample evidence that the Pearl Harbor attack was effectively a false flag event. While obviously not directly conducting the attack, Roosevelt did everything possible to encourage and allow the Japanese to strike – and then to feign shock when it actually happened. Below are the key elements of that story.<sup>49</sup>

The earliest explicit indication that some such plan was in the works comes from October 1940, in the so-called McCollum Memorandum. Lt. Commander Arthur McCollum was director of the Office of Naval Intelligence’s Far East Asia section, when he issued a five-page letter to two of his superiors. The memo describes a situation in which a neutral US is surrounded by hostile nations across two oceans, and notes that “Germany and Italy have lately concluded a military alliance with Japan directed against the United States.” This was a mutual-defense pact, such that an attack against Japan would be considered by Germany to be an act of war. This gave FDR two paths to war: attack by Germany, or attack by Japan. Germany was scrupulously eschewing conflict, but perhaps Japan could be engaged.

This was evidently well understood within the military establishment. As McCollum explained, “It is not believed that in the present state of political opinion, the US government is capable of declaring war against Japan without more ado; and it is barely possible that vigorous action on our part might lead the Japanese to modify their attitude” – clever language that essentially means: Japan does not really want war either, but perhaps we could provoke them enough (“more ado”) that they would launch a first strike (“modify their attitude”). McCollum then suggested an eight-point action plan, anticipating conflict with Japan. Item Six includes this: “Keep the main strength of the US fleet now in the Pacific in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands.” The memo concludes with this striking sentence: “If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better.” The plan could hardly be clearer.

On 19 August 1941, Churchill told his war cabinet that FDR was doing all he could to provoke an attack by the Axis powers – information which came to light only in 1972. Churchill said:<sup>50</sup>

*“[Roosevelt] was obviously determined that they [the US] should come in. [...] The president said to me that he would wage war but not declare it, and that he would become more and more provocative. If the Germans did not like it, they could attack American forces. [...] Everything was being done to force an ‘incident.’ The president has made it clear that he would look for an ‘incident’ which could justify him in opening hostilities.”*

Further comment is unnecessary.

Lindbergh essentially understood what was going on. In his September 1941 speech, he laid out FDR’s three-part plan: (1) prepare for war in the guise of defense, (2) incrementally involve the US in conflict situations, and (3) “create a series of incidents which would force us into actual conflict.” Near the end of his speech, he added that “The war groups have succeeded in the first two of their three major steps into war. [...] Only the creation of sufficient ‘incidents’ yet remains.” An amazing prognosis, given that the Pearl Harbor attack was just three months away.

On 25 November 1941, 12 days before the attack, Roosevelt held a War Cabinet meeting at the White House. Secretary of War Henry Stimson wrote the following in his diary of that day:<sup>51</sup>

*“[Roosevelt] brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked perhaps next Monday [December 1], for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning, and the question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition.”*

This is Stimson’s infamous “maneuver” remark; once again, it is clear and explicit.

The following day, November 26, Secretary of State Hull presented a letter to the Japanese ambassador, demanding that they withdraw from China and French Indochina (section II, point #3). Though couched in the language of peace, it was effectively an ultimatum, and it was thusly perceived by the Japanese prime minister.

On December 4, the anti-war paper *Chicago Daily Tribune* ran a huge headline: “FDR’s War Plans!” It detailed a plan for a 10-million-man military force, half of whom would be dedicated to fighting Germany. It even mentioned a specific date – 1 July 1943 – as the day for the “final supreme effort by American land forces to defeat the mighty German army in Eu-



rope.” This was incredibly accurate; the Allied invasion of Sicily, the first direct assault on European territory, occurred on 9 July 1943. Clearly FDR’s secrets were quickly unraveling.

At 4:00 pm on Saturday, December 6, a decoded Japanese communique was delivered to Roosevelt. It indicated that Japan was not going to accept any portion of America’s ultimatum, and that they were compelled to respond to its on-going belligerence. “This means war,” said the president. If war was inevitable, said Harry Hopkins, it was too bad that we couldn’t strike first. “No, we can’t do that,” said Roosevelt, hypocritically; “We are a democracy of a peaceful people. We have a good record. We must stand on it.”<sup>52</sup> Pearl Harbor was not explicitly mentioned, but the president took no action to forewarn any of his commanders in the Pacific theater, thus rendering them defenseless before the oncoming assault.

Eight years after the attack, the president’s administrative assistant, Jonathan Daniels, recalled events of that time. “There was a mass of warning before Pearl Harbor,” he wrote (1949: 490). “As a matter of fact, warning had been clear for many months before Pearl Harbor. The increasing menace had been understood and accepted. Of course, even Senators can now read to precise clarity – to the place and the hour – the warnings we possessed.” At the time, though, Roosevelt was surprised: “Of course, he was surprised. But he had deliberately taken the chance of surprise, as he had won the strategy of successful militant delay. The blow was heavier than he had hoped it would necessarily be.” Indeed – 2,400 Americans killed in one day.

Or perhaps it was no “surprise” at all. In 1989, a 90-year-old British naval intelligence officer named Eric Nave came forth with a stunning assertion: that the Brits had detailed foreknowledge of the attack, days before the event. As reported in the *Times of London* (June 1), Nave’s decoding of Japanese battle commands made “clear their intention to attack several days before the raid took place.” “His revelations challenge the view that the Americans were taken by surprise, and support evidence that Churchill, and probably Roosevelt, allowed the attack to go ahead unchallenged as means to bring America into the Second World War.” Nave added this: “We never had any doubt about Pearl Harbor itself. It should never have happened. We knew days, even a week before.” His account is detailed in his book *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* (1991). Nave died in 1993.

## Some Concluding Thoughts

This essay has been a study in history. But we must never forget: History is suffused with lessons for the present. What, then, can we conclude from this long and tragic story?

First: Wars are complex events, and all complex events have multiple causes. They are generally the result of an accumulation of tensions and conflicts over several years. It would be all but impossible for any one group, no matter how influential, to precipitate war if the conditions were not already favorable. But a small group can certainly heighten existing tensions, or serve as a trigger, or exacerbate an ongoing conflict.

It would be misleading to say that Jews ‘caused’ World War I, or the Russian Revolution, or World War II – though they certainly had a *significant* influence in all these events, and arguably a *decisive* influence. Clearly they are not the sole cause of the wars under review. It is not as if, were there no Jews at all, fighting in Europe would never have occurred. There were, for example, many non-Jewish belligerents on all sides during World War II, including Lord Halifax in England, and Stimson among the Americans. Military men always have an inclination to fight; after all, their very positions and prestige depend upon it. But we can say, with confidence, that the war was longer, more intense, and more deadly due to Jewish intervention.

Counterfactuals are notoriously difficult to apply to historical events: What if Jewish rebels and Weimar reconstructionists had not dominated post-World War I Germany? What if Roosevelt had not been partly Jewish? What if he had not relied upon Jewish money to finance his campaigns? What if Churchill had not been a Zionist? What if Ben Cohen’s ‘bases-for-destroyers’ plan had failed? We obviously can never know these things; but it is clear that Jews were active and instrumental at several critical junctures on the path to war. And indeed, this is one of the most striking facts: that Jews were so active, at so many points along the way, that we can scarcely avoid attributing to them a large portion of blame for the world wars and accompanying revolutions.

Second: FDR comes off, rather like Wilson, as an amoral, opportunistic, war-mongering dupe. His own Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, wrote that “his mind does not follow easily a consecutive chain of thought, but he is full of stories and incidents, and hops about in his discussions from suggestion to suggestion, and it is very much like chasing a vagrant beam of sunshine around a vacant room.”<sup>53</sup> Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes famously declared him “a second-class intellect” in 1933. His

close advisor Frankfurter once wrote, “I know his limitations. Most of them derive, I believe, from a lack of incisive intellect [...]”<sup>54</sup> British ambassador to the US Sir Ronald Lindsay considered FDR “an amiable and impressionable lightweight,” one who could not keep a secret from the American press.<sup>55</sup> Even his wife Eleanor did not know “whether FDR had a hidden center to his personality or only shifting peripheries.”<sup>56</sup>

His lies were persistent, malicious, and criminal. His more knowledgeable opponents could see through them, even if the public could not. Lindbergh certainly knew the truth, and was appalled at the ability of our executive-in-chief to baldly lie to the people. In late 1944, with hostilities nearing an end, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce (R-Con.) loudly and publicly declared that Roosevelt “lied us into war.”<sup>57</sup> “The shame of Pearl Harbor,” she added, “was Mr. Roosevelt’s shame.”

Thus we see something of a long-term trend: Unethical, unprincipled, deceptive American presidents, who are “swayed by their Jewish elements” (Dillon), to lead an unwilling nation into battle against sovereign countries that are deemed to be enemies of the Jews. The parallels to the past 25 years are striking.

## Sources

- Ben-Sasson, H. 1976. *A History of the Jewish People*. Harvard University Press.
- Bermant, C. 1977. *The Jews*. Times Books.
- Beschloss, M. 2002. *The Conquerors*. Simon and Schuster.
- Brecher, F. 1988. “Charles R. Crane’s crusade for the Arabs.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 24(1): 42-55.
- Breitman, R. and Lichtman, A. 2013. *FDR and the Jews*. Belknap.
- Bryant, A. 1940. *Unfinished Victory*. Macmillan.
- Buchanan, P. 2008. *Hitler, Churchill, and the Unnecessary War*. Crown.
- Cecil, L. 1996. *Wilhelm II* (vol. 2). University of North Carolina Press.
- Chalberg, J. (ed.) 1995. *Isolationism*. Greenhaven.
- Churchill, W. 1920/2002. “Zionism versus Bolshevism.” In L. Brenner (ed.), *51 Documents*, Barricade.
- Cohen, M. 1985/2003. *Churchill and the Jews*. F. Cass.
- Cole, W. 1983. *Roosevelt and the Isolationists*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Dall, C. 1968. *FDR: My Exploited Father-in-Law*. Action Associates.
- Dallek, R. 1979. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, T. 2009. *Debating the Holocaust*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Dalton, T. 2010. “Goebbels on the Jews” (part 2). *Inconvenient History*, 2(2).
- Daniels, J. 1949. “Pearl Harbor Sunday: The end of an era.” In Leighton (ed.), *The Aspirin Age*, Simon and Schuster.

- Darkmoon, L. 2013. “The sexual decadence of Weimar Germany.” [www.darkmoon.me](http://www.darkmoon.me)
- Dillon, E. 1920. *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*. Harper and Brothers.
- Dodd, W. 1941. *Ambassador Dodd’s Diary, 1933-1938*. Harcourt, Brace.
- Doenecke, J. 2000. *Storm on the Horizon*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Dunn, S. 2013. *1940: FDR, Willkie, Lindbergh, Hitler*. Yale University Press.
- Fay, S. 1928. *The Origins of the World War*. Macmillan.
- Fink, C. 1998. “The minorities question.” In Boemeke et al (eds), *The Treaty of Versailles*, Cambridge University Press.
- Forrestal, J. 1951. *The Forrestal Diaries*. Viking.
- Fuller, J. 1957. *The Decisive Battles of the Western World* (vol. 3). Eyre & Spottiswoode. Reprinted in the United States as *A Military History of the Western World* (vol. 3), Minerva.
- Gilbert, M. 2007. *Churchill and the Jews*. Holt.
- Grubach, P. 2011. “Churchill, international Jews, and the Holocaust: A revisionist analysis.” *Inconvenient History*, 3(1).
- Herzstein, R. 1989. *Roosevelt and Hitler*. J. Wiley.
- Ickes, H. 1954. *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes* (vol. 2). Simon and Schuster.
- Irving, D. 2001. *Churchill’s War* (vol. 2). Focal Point.
- Jackson, R. 2003. *That Man: An Insider’s Portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Oxford University Press.
- Katz, S. 1991. “1918 and after: The role of racial anti-Semitism in the Nazi analysis of the Weimar Republic.” In Gilman and Katz (eds), *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, NYU Press.
- Laqueur, W. 1974. *Weimar: A Cultural History*. Putnam.
- Lavsky, H. 1996. *Before Catastrophe*. Wayne State University Press.
- Leutze, J. 1975. “The secret of the Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 10(3).
- Loewenheim, F. et al (eds). 1975. *Roosevelt and Churchill*. Saturday Review Press.
- MacMillan, M. 2003. *Paris 1919*. Random House.
- Makovsky, M. 2007. *Churchill’s Promised Land*. Yale University Press.
- Michael, R. 2005. *A Concise History of American Anti-Semitism*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Morgenstern, G. 1947. *Pearl Harbor*. Devin-Adair.
- Morgenthau III, H. 1991. *Mostly Morgenthau*. Ticknor & Fields.
- Mowrer, E. 1933. *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. William Morrow.
- Muller, J. 2010. *Capitalism and the Jews*. Princeton University Press.
- Nasaw, D. 2012. *The Patriarch*. Penguin.
- Nave, E. 1991. *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor*. Summit.
- Rohl, J. 1987/1994. *The Kaiser and His Court*. Cambridge University Press.
- Scholnick, M. 1990. *The New Deal and Anti-Semitism in America*. Taylor and Francis.
- Sherwood, R. 1948. *White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins* (vol. 1). Eyre & Spottiswoode.

- Shogan, R. 2010. *Prelude to Catastrophe*. Ivan Dee.
- Slomovitz, P. 1981. *Purely Commentary*. Wayne State University Press.
- Stinnett, R. 2001. *Day of Deceit*. Touchstone.
- Szembek, C. 1952. *Journal 1933-1939*. Plon.
- Taylor, A. 1961. *Origins of the Second World War*. Atheneum.
- Townley, S. 1922. *Indiscretions of Lady Susan*. Appleton.
- Ward, G. 1989. *A First-Class Temperament*. Harper & Row.
- Weber, M. 1983. “President Roosevelt’s campaign to incite war in Europe.” *Journal of Historical Review*, 4(2).
- Wentling, S. 2012. *Herbert Hoover and the Jews*. Wyman Institute.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> As Baruch stated to Congress, “I probably had more power than perhaps any other man did in the war; doubtless that is true.” See Part 1 for his full testimony.
- <sup>2</sup> Cited in Chalberg (1995: 71-73).
- <sup>3</sup> The *New York Times* carried periodic such reports. See, for example: 26 January 1891 (“Rabbi Gottheil says a word on the persecution of the Jews [...] about six millions persecuted and miserable wretches”), 21 September 1891 (“An indictment of Russia [...] a total of 6,000,000 is more nearly correct.”), 11 June 1900 (“[In Russia and central Europe] there are 6,000,000 living, bleeding, suffering arguments in favor of Zionism.”), 23 March 1905 (“We Jews in America [sympathize with] our 6,000,000 cringing brothers in Russia”), 25 March 1906 (“Startling reports of the condition and future of Russia’s 6,000,000 Jews [...]”). The situation led a former president of B’nai B’rith to a prophetic exclamation: “Simon Wolf asks how long the Russian Holocaust is to continue” (10 November 1905). History does indeed repeat itself.
- <sup>4</sup> It seems that he had good reason for this enmity. According to Cecil (1996: 57), Wilhelm “believed that Jews were perversely responsible [...] for encouraging opposition to his rule.” In a letter to a friend, the Kaiser wrote: “The Hebrew race are my most inveterate enemies at home and abroad; they remain what they are and always were: the forgers of lies and the masterminds governing unrest, revolution, upheaval by spreading infamy with the help of their poisoned, caustic, satyric spirit” (in Rohl 1994: 210). Townley (1922: 45) relates this comment of his: “The Jews are the curse of my country. They keep my people poor and in their clutches. In every small village in Germany sits a dirty Jew, like a spider drawing the people into the web of usury. He lends money to the small farmers on the security of their land, and so gradually acquires control of everything. The Jews are the parasites of my Empire.” He adds that the Jewish question is one of his “great problems,” but one in which “nothing can be done to cope with it.” In 1940, with Hitler moving to clean up Europe, he said this: “The Jews are being thrust out of the nefarious positions in all countries, whom they have driven to hostility for centuries” (in Rohl: 211).
- <sup>5</sup> Wentling (2012: 6).
- <sup>6</sup> A good, brief account is given in MacMillan (2003: 463-466).
- <sup>7</sup> Cited in MacMillan (2003: 414-415).

- <sup>8</sup> Muller adds, “The prominence of Jews in the Hungarian Soviet Republic is all the more striking when one considers that the Jews of Hungary were richer than their coreligionists in Eastern Europe [...]. Though only 5% of the population, on the eve of WWI, Jews made up almost half the doctors, lawyers, and journalists in Hungary.” But this is precisely as I have said: no amount of wealth or social status is sufficient, if Jews lack political power.
- <sup>9</sup> Until his assassination in June 1922.
- <sup>10</sup> For one account, see Darkmoon (2013). Also see Bryant (1940: 142-145).
- <sup>11</sup> In my notation, (1.5) refers to Volume I, chapter 5. I use the Murphy translation.
- <sup>12</sup> See Part I for an elaboration.
- <sup>13</sup> Ford’s so-called “Peace Ship” sailed to Norway in December of 1915, in a failed attempt to negotiate an end to the war.
- <sup>14</sup> Cited in Shogan (2010: 51).
- <sup>15</sup> Cited in Ward (1989: 253). See also Morgenthau (1991: 169 facer).
- <sup>16</sup> Various other extremist writings have also claimed that the Delano family (Franklin’s mother’s side) were Jews. They construct a parallel account to the Rossacampo story, and of dispersion from Spain or Italy. But I find no evidence to verify this claim.
- <sup>17</sup> This recalls the similar characterization of Baruch during World War I.
- <sup>18</sup> See Leutze (1975: 469-470).
- <sup>19</sup> The first Jewish cabinet member, as we recall, was Oscar Straus, selected by Franklin’s cousin Theodore back in 1906.
- <sup>20</sup> See Makovsky (2007: 216).
- <sup>21</sup> Bullitt’s heritage is somewhat cryptic. His mother, Louisa Horowitz, was apparently at least half-Jewish. Her father, Orville Horowitz, descended from the Salomon family, who were distinctly Jewish. Her mother, Maria Gross, likely had a mixed Jewish heritage. But there is no doubt where his sympathies lay; “Bullitt [is] a friend of ours,” wrote Weizmann in 1938 (cited in Nasaw 2012: 358).
- <sup>22</sup> Though scandalous at the time, such level of Jewish influence is commonplace today – with three of nine Supreme Court Justices being Jewish (Kagan, Breyer, Ginsburg), numerous Cabinet-level appointments, and countless subordinate positions. Over just the past three presidential administrations, Jewish and part-Jewish Cabinet-level office holders include, at a minimum, the following: M. Albright, L. Aspin, C. Barshefsky, S. Bodman, J. Bolten, A. Card, M. Chertoff, W. Cohen, R. Emanuel, M. Froman, J. Furman, T. Geithner, D. Glickman, M. Kantor, J. Kerry, A. Krueger, J. Lew, M. Markowitz, M. Mukasey, P. Orszag, P. Pritzker, R. Portman, R. Reich, R. Rubin, S. Schwab, M. Spellings, J. Stiglitz, L. Summers, J. Yellen, and R. Zoellick. This list does not include others, such as Samantha Power, who have a Jewish spouse (Cass Sunstein). Nor does it include Chairmen of the Federal Reserve – a very powerful office, held by Ben Bernanke and Alan Greenspan during the past several years, and currently by Janet Yellen.
- <sup>23</sup> Both citations from Chalberg (1995: 192-193).
- <sup>24</sup> *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 4(4), December 1940: 714.
- <sup>25</sup> *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 5(4), Winter 1941: 680.
- <sup>26</sup> *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2(3), July 1938: 388.

- <sup>27</sup> By late 1936, the “600,000” had evolved into “6 million.” In the *New York Times* (Nov. 26) we read this: “Dr. Weizmann dwelt first on the tragedy of at least 6,000,000 ‘superfluous’ Jews in Poland, Germany, and Austria [...]” It was even more explicit by early 1938: “Persecuted Jews Seen on Increase [...] 6,000,000 Victims Noted” (Jan. 9) – this, a full four years before the alleged “death camps” even began operation.
- <sup>28</sup> Cited in Herzstein (1989: 33).
- <sup>29</sup> The *New York Times* had long been under Jewish control. The *Post* was purchased by Eugene Meyer in 1933.
- <sup>30</sup> See Dalton (2010) for an elaboration of Goebbels’s views.
- <sup>31</sup> Testimony of February 1941. Cited in Doenecke (2000: 440). See also Fuller (1957, vol. 3: 369).
- <sup>32</sup> Cited in Weber (1983). This and other reports by Potocki were acquired by the Germans upon capture of Warsaw, and thus there is some skepticism about their authenticity. Weber makes a good case that they are genuine. David Irving reports that he saw copies of the original in the Hoover Library (<http://www.fpp.co.uk/History/General/Potocki/papers.html>).
- <sup>33</sup> Cited in Cole (1983: 308).
- <sup>34</sup> Cited in Fuller (1957: 370).
- <sup>35</sup> Traditional references to *Kristallnacht* often overlook the fact that the event was triggered by a Jewish youth, Herschel Grynszpan, who murdered German Diplomat Ernst vom Rath in Paris on November 9. *Kristallnacht* followed the next day.
- <sup>36</sup> See Weber (1983) and Fuller (1957: 372-374).
- <sup>37</sup> Cited in Fuller (1957: 375).
- <sup>38</sup> See Szembek (1952: 476), published in French. The first sentence reads as follows: “*En Occident, il y a toutes sortes d’elements qui poussent nettement a la guerre: les Juifs, les grands capitalistes, les marchands de canons.*”
- <sup>39</sup> As recorded by Ickes in his personal diary, for July 2. See Ickes (1954: 676).
- <sup>40</sup> Obviously there is more detail to the outbreak of war than I can provide here. In brief, once Poland received a guarantee of military support from England in March of 1939, they became increasingly belligerent toward German minorities on Polish soil, particularly in Danzig. It seems bizarre in hindsight, but many of the Poles (Potocki excepted), with the Brits at their back, were virtually spoiling for a fight with Germany. They believed that a victory would solidify their national standing, and help to ward off the Soviet threat to the east. Instead, they succumbed to the German assault in just four weeks.
- <sup>41</sup> Cited in Nasaw (2012: 429).
- <sup>42</sup> Cited in Cohen (2003: 195).
- <sup>43</sup> Churchill himself was a Zionist – a fact that he openly admitted. In a letter of 1942 to Roosevelt, Churchill said, “I am strongly wedded to the Zionist policy [in the UK], of which I was one of the authors” (in Loewenheim 1975: 234). Speaking in 1950 on behalf of the creation of Israel, he said that it was “a great event in the history of mankind,” and that he was “proud of his own contribution towards it.” He added that “he had been a Zionist all his life” (in Cohen 2003: 322).
- <sup>44</sup> Cited in Doenecke (2000: 198).

<sup>45</sup> Cited in *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Cited in Dunn (2013: 48).

<sup>47</sup> Including *Beasts of Berlin*, *Espionage Agent*, *Arise My Love*, *British Intelligence*, *Escape to Glory*, *Murder in the Air*, *Waterloo Bridge*, *All Through the Night*, *Confirm or Deny*, *International Squadron*, *Joan of Paris*, *Man at Large*, *Man Hunt*, *One Night in Lisbon*, *Paris Calling*, *So Ends Our Night*, *Sundown*, *Underground*, and *World Premiere*.

<sup>48</sup> Buchanan (2008: 334-340) gives a succinct argument that Hitler had a hard enough time taking even Great Britain, let alone America or “the world.”

<sup>49</sup> For a full account, see Stinnett’s book *Day of Deceit* (2001).

<sup>50</sup> *Chicago Tribune* (2 January 1972; p. A22). See also *New York Times* (1 January 1972; p. 7).

<sup>51</sup> Cited in Jackson (2003: 247). See also Morgenstern (1947: 292).

<sup>52</sup> See *New York Times* (16 February 1946; p. 1).

<sup>53</sup> Cited in Shogan (2010: 33).

<sup>54</sup> In *ibid.*: 96.

<sup>55</sup> In the words of Dallek (1979: 31).

<sup>56</sup> According to Breitman and Lichtman (2013: 6).

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in the *New York Times* (14 October 1944, p. 9)



## Criminalizing Conscience

*Joseph P. Bellinger*

On 20 October 2013, Joseph Bellinger passed away. The current article was intended to be a chapter in a book that remained unpublished at the time of his death, *The Prohibition of "Holocaust Denial."* We are currently in the process of editing various chapters from this work to prepare them for publication in future issues of *INCONVENIENT HISTORY*. – Ed.

In Germany and Austria, Holocaust "denial"<sup>1</sup> and "hate" laws are basically an amplification and extension of Lyncurgan Allied occupation policies dating back to 1945, whereby published literature or public behavior deemed to be reminiscent of National-Socialist propaganda was prohibited by law, commencing with a ban on all National-Socialist symbols and gestures, or distribution of "Nazi propaganda." Article 86 of the German Criminal Code prohibits dissemination of the propaganda of unconstitutional organizations:

*"Whoever [...] distributes, produces for distribution rights within this area, keeps in supply or imports into this area, propaganda:*

- of a political party which has been held unconstitutional by the Federal Constitutional Court, or of a political party or association, concerning which an unappealable determination has been made that it is a proxy organization of such a political party, or*
- of an association which has been unappealably prohibited because its activities are directed against the constitutional system of government or the concept of international understanding, or concerning which an unappealable determination has been made that it is a proxy organization of such prohibited association [...]*
- of a government, organization or institution outside of the territorial area of application of this law which is active in pursuing the objectives of one of the parties indicated in Numbers 1 and 2; or propaganda, the contents of which is designed to further the aspirations of a former National-Socialist organization,*  
*shall be punished by up to three years imprisonment or by fine."*

Holocaust "denial" was later substantively incorporated into these laws and interpreted as a continuation of "Nazi propaganda."

In 1985, German legislators appended Article 130 to the German Penal

Code. The law ostensibly dealt with incitement to racial hatred, and contains no specific reference to “Holocaust denial” per se, yet “deniers” fell within the scope of this legislation, as it loosely interpreted “Holocaust denial” as an insult to the personal honor of Jewish people, and prescribed that any person who denied, trivialized or expressed approval of, in public or in an assembly, crimes attributed to the National-Socialist regime, was liable to prosecution. The law was indisputably political in nature, and stipulated that individuals who took umbrage at legally proscribed statements were entitled to register a complaint and file charges against persons or organizations that had given offense. For those convicted of violating it, the law decreed a prison term of up to one year in prison for any person unfortunate enough to run afoul of the new legislation.

In the run up to the enactment of Article 130, Jewish pressure groups had been actively campaigning to influence passage of this and similar legislation. In April 1982, just one year after Israel’s criminalization of Holocaust denial, Dr. Stephen Roth, the director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs (hereafter referred to as the IJA), an affiliated agency of the World Jewish Congress situated in London, England, resolutely pressed the British government to introduce legislation criminalizing Holocaust denial in Great Britain. These determined Jewish groups were highly motivated, organized and well financed, with connections reaching into the highest echelons of government.

Mr. Ivan Lawrence, MP, spoke out in favor of Holocaust-denial legislation, equating Holocaust revisionists with neo-Nazi propagandists. During the course of a public press conference which took place at IJA’s London headquarters, Lawrence, coincidentally a member of the latter’s policy planning panel, exclaimed:<sup>2</sup>

*“The radical right-wing elements realize that the strongest motive of the resistance to their movements and ideas is the memory of the Nazi horrors. They want these wiped off the slate of history, be it by distortion or falsification.”*

Lawrence concomitantly expressed his personal revulsion towards Professor Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, who had authored the controversial groundbreaking book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which questions the scope and extent of National-Socialist Germany’s persecution of the Jews, and disputes the claims of homicidal gas chambers in the concentration camps.

In conjunction with Mr. Lawrence’s public statements, the IJA had drafted a report underlining Jewish disquietude over the worldwide impact

of Holocaust revisionism, and set forth the Institute's proposals to the British government on how best to counter and stifle the expanding influence of revisionist historians. Conspicuously ignoring Israel's precedent in first outlawing Holocaust denial, Dr. Roth sagaciously redirected attention toward the West-German Ministry of Justice, which was proposing to amend the German Criminal Code to make it a punishable offense to "deny the facts of a committed or attempted genocide or to make it appear harmless."<sup>3</sup> Whereupon Dr. Roth blithely suggested, "This is a major initiative which we in this country should emulate."<sup>4</sup>

In March 1982, one month prior to the above-described press conference, the IJA officially released a "research report" dealing with the problem of Holocaust denial. The report predictably opens with a reference to "the political dangers inherent in the denial of the Holocaust, and the boost thus given to neo-Nazi propaganda [...]" and proffers detailed suggestions as to how "the law can deal with these problems."<sup>5</sup>

The report advances certain propositions that cannot, *prima facie*, be accepted as inerrantly accurate, and provides an interesting study in the methodology employed by pressure groups to influence legislators and orchestrate the flow of public opinion.

The document states "whenever the denial of the Holocaust is accompanied by the accusation that Jews or Zionists invented the story for their own ulterior motives, such statements could and should be dealt with by laws against incitement to racial hatred."<sup>6</sup> The report protests that current laws are wholly inadequate to punish offenders for thought crimes, and cites the Federal Republic of Germany, rather than Israel, as setting a proper precedent other governments should emulate. The striking irony of Jewish pressure groups based in England advocating punitive laws to prosecute German citizens for thought crimes was apparently lost on the compilers of the report.

The appendix to this publication lists "54 books" which the IJA claims "falsifies the horrible truth of Nazi crimes."<sup>7</sup> The titles and authors listed in the report are of unique interest to the continued development of this book's [*The Prohibition of "Holocaust Denial"* – Ed.] theme, in that a significant number of individuals cited were later prosecuted under hastily improvised Holocaust-denial laws in France and Germany. Thus, the recommendations contained in this early report, initially drafted in Great Britain, may be regarded as a blueprint designed to encourage the future prosecution of Holocaust revisionists. Among the numerous individuals and titles mentioned in the report may be found:

- Thies Christopherson, *Die Auschwitz-Lüge (The Auschwitz Lie)*
- Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire. La question des chambres à gaz (Memorandum in Defense against the Accusation That I Am Falsifying History: The Question of the Gas Chambers)*
- Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*
- Paul Rassinier, *Le mensonge d'Ulysse (The Lie of Odysseus)*
- Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit? Eine kritische Bestandsaufnahme (The Auschwitz Myth: Legend or Truth? A Critical Assessment)*
- Udo Walendy, *Bild 'Dokumente' für die Geschichtsschreibung (Picture 'Documents' for Historiography)*

Arguing the thesis that the Holocaust is unique in history, the redactors advance

the proposition that Holocaust denial must be regarded as a crime in a moral sense, “because it is offensive to survivors of the Holocaust and indeed to all Jews and other groups whose members were victims of the Nazis. It is also a crime politically, because it gives aid to the neo-Nazi movements.”<sup>8</sup>

Whether the statement of the IJA is well-founded or not is irrelevant to the fact that freedom of expression without fear of persecution is normally considered to be a fundamental right in modern civilized nations. This fact notwithstanding, critical commentators who have gone on record favoring Holocaust denial laws generally evince no compunction whatsoever when advocating limitations on freedom of speech whenever the latter disagrees with their own opinions or agenda. Moreover, the law as currently formulated and interpreted primarily focuses attention on only one tragic historical event to the exclusion of all others: National-Socialist Germany's persecution of the Jews. As such, the law trespasses over and into the realm of historical dogmatism and political correctness. It lends credence to the suggestion that Jews alone have suffered unique persecution and historical



*In 1982 a court in Stuttgart, Germany ordered the seizure of all copies of Der Auschwitz Mythos (The Auschwitz Myth) by Wilhelm Stäglich, a former German judge. Photo of the first German edition from 1979.*

tragedies over and above all other people of the earth, necessitating special laws for their continued protection. The law attempts to coerce recusant historians to conform to the mainstream version of history or else suffer dire legal consequences. As such, these laws seek to place a muzzle on the conscience of humanity. Holocaust denial laws, then, are fundamentally flawed as they are based upon a dangerous form of legal coercion curtailing responsible freedom of expression. This fact alone demonstrates the palpable weaknesses inherent in such laws, and this vulnerability has not gone unnoticed or unexploited by other offended or ignored ethnic groups, which have attempted to jump on the Holocaust bandwagon demanding equal status under the law, thereby creating a quandary for courts and legislative bodies alike.

Another school of thought believes that education in the form of indoctrination is a preferable response to Holocaust denial, yet in effect both groups seek to rely on the arbitrary power of the State to enforce compliance of belief in the mainstream version of the Holocaust. Both groups evidently support the notion that the end justifies the means. In contradistinction to these opinions, many civil libertarians favor the more civilized process of unrestricted investigative research and open debate over government sponsored programs of indoctrination.

Ten years would elapse before the recommendations suggested by the IJA gathered enough momentum to enlist the support of British legislators. In 1996, the British Labor Party responded with unconcealed enthusiasm to Dr. Roth's earlier recommendations and announced that if they were elected, they would make Holocaust denial a criminal offense in Great Britain. The *London Jewish Chronicle* candidly reported that the Labor Party's decision came about as a direct result of a "lengthy campaign" conducted by Jewish groups such as the Board of Deputies and the Holocaust Education Trust.<sup>9</sup> In spite of these solemn assurances by the British Labor Party, passage and enforcement of the proposed law would ultimately prove to be legally problematic.

Early efforts to criminalize Holocaust denial were to meet with greater success on the European mainland, where sympathetic German and French legislators, reluctant to offend Jewish sensibilities, enacted restrictive legislation intended to punish individuals for expressing doubts about the Holocaust. As early as 1979, the German courts perceived Holocaust denial as a prosecutable offense, declaring,

It is part of the personal consciousness (*Selbstverständnis*) of the persecuted to be considered as belonging to a group that stands out because of

the persecution suffered and to whom all other citizens bear a moral responsibility. This consciousness of being victims of persecution is a matter of their personal dignity. Respect for that consciousness is the guarantee against the repetition of similar discrimination in the future and an essential condition which makes their life in Germany possible. Whoever tries to deny the truth of the past events denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled.<sup>10</sup>

In prosecuting cases of Holocaust denial, German judges are bound to uphold the strict letter of the law, which often becomes problematical. According to Article 130, an individual may become liable if prosecutors determine that their statements constitute “agitation of the people” which German legislation defines as follows:<sup>11</sup>

*“(1) Whoever, in a manner that is capable of disturbing the public peace:*

*1. incites hatred against segments of the population or calls for violent or arbitrary measures against them; or*

*2. assaults the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning, or defaming segments of the population,*

*shall be punished with imprisonment from three months to five years.*

*(2) Whoever:*

*1. with respect to writings [...] which incite hatred against segments of the population or a national, racial or religious group, or one characterized by its folk customs, which call for violent or arbitrary measures against them, or which assault the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning or defaming segments of the population or a previously indicated group:*

*a. disseminates them;*

*b. publicly displays, posts, presents, or otherwise makes them accessible;*

*c. offers, gives or makes accessible to a person under eighteen years;*

*d. produces, obtains, supplies, stocks, offers, announces, commends, undertakes to import or export them, in order to use them or copies obtained from them within the meaning of numbers a through c or facilitate such use by another; or*

*2. disseminates a presentation of the content indicated in number 1 by radio,*

*shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than three years or a fine.”*

Although the Holocaust is not specifically mentioned, it seems self-evident that the law was drafted in respect to the latter. Although the law has been applied to various criminal offences in respect to “hate” crimes, it is elastic enough to encompass thought crimes. Yet practically speaking, interpretation of the law is largely left to the discretion of the courts.

One striking fact that presented a challenge to the integrity of the courts was the fact that Holocaust revisionism simply did not appear to fall under the strict provisions stipulated in the laws, in that scholarly revisionist writings do not constitute incitement to violence, nor do they prompt reasonable people to commit hate crimes. Neither do scholarly revisionist writings “assault the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning or defaming any segment of the population,” although determined critics endeavor by diverse means to apply this criterion to accused revisionists.

In fact, none of the criteria described in the law and its various subdivisions appears to apply to historical revisionists or homicidal-gas-chamber negationists. By and large, many people categorized for convenience’s sake as “Holocaust deniers” are in fact Holocaust agnostics. Their antagonists, the “Holocaust True Believers,” have elevated belief in the Holocaust to the level of a devout religious dogma. Within this murky world of skepticism versus faith, the Doubting Thomases of revisionism insistently demand, “Unless I see... I will not believe,” while the true believers rejoin, “Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.”<sup>12</sup>

Questioning or revising an historical event is not a matter for courts or legislative assemblies to decide. Indeed, in rendering verdicts against accused “deniers,” most courts simply take “judicial notice” of the judgment rendered by the legally questionable International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, conducted under the auspices of the victorious allies. In fact, it was neither international, nor military, nor a Tribunal in the strict sense, for it served as both judge and aggrieved party to the cases over which it pronounced judgment. Historical disputes involving the existence or non-existence of homicidal gas chambers in the concentration camps must be placed before the bar of history and forensic specialists, chemists, scientists and criminologists rather than before the courts. If arbitrary laws seek to prosecute historical revisionists, then certain criteria as described in the law must be proved. As they now stand, Holocaust denial laws appear to deliberately conflate the process of generating controversy with “disturbing the public peace.” Moreover, the laws are based upon a flagrant double standard, for they are arbitrarily applied only to one specific group of individuals: those deemed to be Holocaust deniers.

The interests of justice demand that the law should be limited to clearly defined acts of violence or acts of specific incitement to commit crimes of violence. Clearly, Holocaust revisionism does not fit the criteria and thus the prosecution of Holocaust revisionists enters into the realm of interdicted thought crimes. No individual should be prosecuted on the basis of his or her personal beliefs or expressions of opinion. The highest obligation of the law is in fact to uphold and defend the right of individuals to speak their opinion freely, without fear of persecution.

In their zeal to prosecute the heretics and agnostics who publicly questioned the use of homicidal gas chambers in the concentration camps, it was necessary for German courts and prosecutors to rely on old legislation dating back to the Third Reich.

For example, in 1982 a court in Stuttgart, Germany ordered the seizure of all copies of the book, *Der Auschwitz Mythos (The Auschwitz Myth)*<sup>13</sup> authored by Wilhelm Stäglich, a former German judge. The book had originally been published in 1979, but evidently acting on the basis of repeated complaints, the German prosecutor's office applied for the book to be banned on the ground that, by "denying the Nazi mass murder of Jews during the Second World War, it was inciting hatred against Jews."<sup>14</sup>

Stäglich interpreted matters differently. On the basis of his experience and expertise serving as a judge in the Superior Court, Stäglich thoroughly scrutinized the evidence relating to homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz concentration camp and arrived at the conclusion that mass murder on the scale claimed at Nuremberg was technically and logistically impossible. Exasperated and unable to charge Stäglich under laws enacted by the Federal Republic of Germany, prosecutors eventually discovered a legal precedent to charge him under provisions contained in an old law enacted during the Third Reich era. As a consequence, the former German judge was deprived of his doctorate, his book confiscated and banned, and all existing copies were consigned to the flames. The printing plates were ordered destroyed by the court.

Significantly, during the course of this trial, the prosecution was under no obligation to explain or demonstrate how the book was "inciting hatred against Jews." If anything, Stäglich's book incited hatred against himself.

Nevertheless, the court, in rendering its opinion, stated that Stäglich had deliberately ignored evidence proving the fact of genocide against the Jews. Neither did the court stipulate precisely what evidence was supposedly ignored, nor did they offer an explanation as to why Stäglich was legally obligated to accept such evidence. Obviously, Stäglich himself was contesting the past evidentiary record, but for the court, the reality of the



mainstream version of the Holocaust was beyond debate and indisputable. As will be seen, the latter is a charge frequently leveled against revisionists prosecuted for Holocaust denial. Accused of irresponsibly distorting the facts, Stäglich and his publisher were only able to escape personal punishment due to the fact that prosecutions for publishing offences could only be initiated within six months of the date of publication. Nevertheless, Stäglich's person and reputation were assailed and censured in the press.

Ironically, article 344 of German law, entitled "Prosecution of the Innocent," also seemingly provides for the prosecution of government officials who maliciously prosecute individuals, but this legal safeguard is denied to accused "heretics" such as Wilhelm Stäglich.

Within Germany one of the primary instigators clamoring for Holocaust denial laws as well as censorship and repression of right-wing political parties was the ubiquitous Central Council of Jews in Germany (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*). Founded on 19 July 1950, the Council served as an umbrella organization for dozens of other Jewish associations. Describing itself as a federation of German Jews organizing numerous Jewish organizations throughout Germany, the Central Council monitors public statements, right- and left-wing political parties and other activities deemed to be anti-Semitic or otherwise antagonistic or detrimental to Jewish interests.

From its inception, the Council astutely maintained its offices in the German capital, first in Bonn, and subsequently relocating to Berlin so as to keep its finger on the pulse of the nation and influence legislators. The Central Council of Jews was also magnanimously subsidized by the German government. In effect, Council members were encouraged to spy on suspect individuals and organizations and denounce them to the authorities. The German government's generous financial and unqualified moral support served as an incentive to council members to pursue their activities with unrestricted tenacity.

Interestingly, the Central Council of Jews in Germany was not even composed of German Jews, but Jews from Poland, who poured into Germany by the tens of thousands as illegal aliens during the post-war period.

From its inauspicious beginnings, the Central Council has been tainted by numerous allegations of fiscal corruption. During the administration of Werner Naumann, the first president of the Central Council, scandals involving "financial irregularities" were rife.

Under the subsequent leadership of Ignatz Bubis, the organization extended its influence by snooping and interfering in nearly every facet of

German public life. The highly controversial Bubis was among the first to advocate harsh penalties for Holocaust deniers and called upon the German nation to preserve the “memory of the Holocaust.” Over the years, Bubis himself was beset and dogged by numerous scandals involving financial irregularities, speculation, and swindling, and drew the ire of both the left and right wing in Germany. Due to his perceived lack of ethics, Bubis was satirized by German playwright and film director Werner Fassbinder in his play, *Trash, the City and Death*, which debuted in the city of Frankfurt in 1985. Having caught wind of the play’s theme, Bubis was irate over Fassbinder’s depiction of him as a modern Shylock and countered by hijacking the stage with a number of his cohorts, forcibly preventing the play from opening.<sup>15</sup>

Following the death of Bubis in 1999, the Council split into two factions, both clamoring for equal financial support from the German government. In an attempt to extend its influence, the Council established a close network with other Jewish organizations around the world. All of these organizations were to act together to pursue a common agenda that specifically targeted Holocaust denial and perceived manifestations of anti-Semitism.

The great nation of France, the land of “liberty, equality and brotherhood” was the second western European nation to enact laws designed to punish Holocaust denial. In May 1986 Jewish organizations, acting in concert with the nation’s chief rabbi, Rene-Samuel Sirat, called for enactment of a law to punish Holocaust deniers and assorted agnostics. Under the tutelage of Rabbi Sirat, a number of Jewish academics, among them the prominent anti-revisionist author, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Holocaust activists Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, and Georges Wellers, a former Auschwitz inmate and editor of *Le Monde Juif*, vociferously clamored for a bill in imitation of Israel’s anti-denial law.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the most intense lobbying efforts, the law failed to be ratified until four years later, when a Socialist-Communist coalition government under the regime of President Francois Mitterand approved a Holocaust denial bill in July, 1990.<sup>17</sup>

It is perhaps fitting that France, once a bastion of progressive social thought and intellectual enlightenment, from whose sons and daughters arose such inimitable geniuses as Voltaire, Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Rene Descartes, would also serve as the nation from whose womb arose the earliest outspoken proponents of Second World War historical revisionism in the persons of Paul Rassinier and Maurice Bardèche.

Conversely, as early as 1948 French citizens were also being targeted

for prosecution in respect to thought crimes, which the government sought to justify on grounds of “attempting to justify a crime, racial discrimination against Jews, incitement to racial hatred, publication of material deemed injurious to youth, or personal injury.” Maurice Bardèche, an early French revisionist, was charged with “justifying crimes” after publishing his second book *Nuremberg, or the Promised Land* in 1948.

Paul Rassinier was a former communist and concentration camp survivor, arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 for his resistance activities, which included smuggling Jews into Switzerland. Rassinier spent the last two years of the war first in Buchenwald and thereafter transferred to the underground labor camp at Dora.

In 1948, Rassinier published *Le Passage de la ligne (Crossing the Line)*, which was the first in a series of books that purported to show that the claims of many self-described concentration camp survivors were in fact grossly exaggerated. Rassinier denounced the brutal camp overseers, or *kapos*, rather than the SS staff, as being primarily responsible for the many cruelties inflicted on inmates in the camps.

Rassinier was also among the earliest proponents to claim that the Zionists purposefully latched onto the persecution of the Jews in order to provide a favorable political and moral climate for establishing the state of Israel at the expense of the indigenous population. In his *Le Drame des Juifs européens (The Drama of European Jewry)*,<sup>18</sup> which was published in 1964, Rassinier advanced the thesis that the widely circulated stories of homicidal gas chambers reputedly used by the National Socialists to murder millions of Jews were stories deliberately nurtured and embellished by opportunistic Zionist propagandists as a political bludgeon to legitimize the illegal seizure of Palestine.

Rassinier’s groundbreaking work was virtually ignored by mainstream historians in France and suppressed for decades, but On December 29, 1978 and on January 16, 1979, Robert Faurisson, a professor of classical literature and an expert in textual analysis, published two articles in *Le Monde* openly proclaiming his rejection of homicidal gas chambers at Nazi concentration camps.<sup>19</sup> French Jews branded Faurisson’s essay, which relied upon original wartime documents, as offensively provocative and responded angrily to his revisionist conclusions.

In the pandemonium following the publication of his article, eight organizations and two newspapers collectively brought civil and criminal lawsuits against Faurisson, provoking a storm of public controversy.

France had previously enacted a law against racial discrimination in

1972, and on the basis of this law Faurisson was accused of “falsification of history in the matter of the gas chambers.” The Paris Court of Appeals rendered a decision in April 1973, declaring him innocent of falsification of history, but found him guilty of “reducing his research to malevolent slogans,” and “personal injury.” As such, Faurisson was ordered to pay a small fine.

On the issue of whether Faurisson’s claims and methodology were valid or not, the first chamber of the Paris Court of Appeals paid tribute to the quality of his research, concluding that in his essay on the “problem of the gas chambers” there was no trace of rashness, or negligence, or of his having deliberately overlooked anything, nor any trace of a lie and that, as a consequence, he was entitled to claim that the gas chambers never existed.

The Court sagaciously focused on Faurisson’s inviolable right to freedom of speech as long as his opinions were expressed responsibly and without malevolence. In its final summation, the Court prudently proclaimed that “the value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson rests therefore solely with the appraisal of experts, historians and the public.”

Professor Faurisson was subsequently forced out of his position at the University of Lyons in central France.

The verdict and judgment did not sit well with Faurisson’s detractors, who responded with new strategies aimed at influencing French lawmakers. Subsequently, a parliamentary initiative designed to outlaw any public expression of criticism or questioning of the Holocaust was introduced before the French Assembly.

The two individuals most responsible for the passage of the July 1990 law were Communist Minister of Transport Jean Claude Gayssot and former Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, who announced his candidacy for the French Presidency in 2007. Fabius, of Jewish heritage, is a millionaire and a Socialist. In 1990 he served as president of France’s National Assembly. The Holocaust denial law was named after its two creators.

The ratification of such ominous legislation constituted an anachronistic throwback to the dark ages and a nadir in the history of the French Republic. Enlightened academics, jurists and concerned civil libertarians protested the ratification of this law in the same nation that proclaimed the “Rights of Man” in 1789. Interestingly, the French declaration on the rights of man preceded the emancipation of the Jews by Napoleon I in 1807-1811. It is perhaps an ironic twist of fate that the descendants of those people graciously granted full civil rights and liberties, including the right to free expression as equal citizens of France under Napoleon I, willfully served as the primary catalyst among those seeking to deprive their fellow

citizens of theirs.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The term “Holocaust denial” is a pejorative. The terms “deny” and “denial” are super-charged with the psychological meaning. “Denial” generally means the refusal to accept a past or present reality. For Deborah Lipstadt, author of *Denying the Holocaust*, the term has an even sinister meaning. Lipstadt charges that “denial” involves camouflaging true goals – essentially fascism and anti-Semitism with a specific ideological and or political agenda. –Ed. For more on this subject see Richard Widmann, “Denial?” online at: <https://codoh.com/library/document/denial/>
- <sup>2</sup> “IJA Wants Holocaust Denial Law,” *London Jewish Chronicle*, April 23, 1982.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>5</sup> “Research Report: Making the Denial of the Holocaust a Law,” *Institute of Jewish Affairs*, March 1982, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Jewish Forward*, October 11, 1996, p. 3.
- <sup>10</sup> Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe since 1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd, London, 1996), p. 129.
- <sup>11</sup> English Translation of Section 130: *Volksverhetzung*. Online: <http://www.iuscomp.org/gla/statutes/StGB.htm#130>
- <sup>12</sup> This is a reference to John 20:25-29 when Jesus’s disciple Thomas expresses doubt about the resurrection.
- <sup>13</sup> This book was later published with the title *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* by the Institute for Historical Review.
- <sup>14</sup> “German Book Seized,” *London Jewish Chronicle*, May 21, 1982, p. 5.
- <sup>15</sup> “Jewish Protestors Halt Fassbinder Play’s Debut,” *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1985. Online: <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/11/01/theater/jewish-protesters-halt-fassbinder-play-s-debut.html>
- <sup>16</sup> *Bulletin de l’Agence telegraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1, 3.
- <sup>17</sup> See Jesse Aitken, “The French anti-revisionist law.” Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-french-anti-revisionist-law/>
- <sup>18</sup> Many of the works of Rassinier including *Crossing the Line* and *The Drama of European Jewry* were translated into English and published in an anthology, *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* by the Institute for Historical Review in various editions beginning in 1978.
- <sup>19</sup> For more on this matter, see Robert Faurisson, “On the Publication of ‘The Problem of the Gas Chambers’ by *Le Monde*.” Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/on-the-publication-of-the-problem-of-the-gas/>

## The Denial of “Holocaust Denial”

### The Feast of Misnaming

*Nigel Jackson*

Response to the essay “Holocaust Denial and the Internet” by Michael Curtis (online at *The Commentator*, 21 February 2014)<sup>1</sup>

*“If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. When affairs cannot be carried on to success, properties and music do not flourish. When properties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot. Therefore, a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect.” —Confucius<sup>2</sup>*

---

**T**he purpose of this essay is to show that the call by Michael Curtis for the suppression of “Holocaust denial” on the Internet is thoroughly mischievous and ought to be shunned and rejected by all decent and well-disposed persons.

The first name that needs to be challenged is the first word of all: “Holocaust.” In his address to the Institute for Historical Review in 1992, David Irving commented about this term: “It’s a word I don’t like using. [...] I mistrust words with a capital letter. They look like a trademark. [...] You get the impression that it is a neatly packaged, highly promoted operation, and you don’t trust it.” Richard J. Evans also queried the term and explained why he preferred not to use it.<sup>3</sup> He noted that a holocaust is the bringing of a burnt offering and that the word is inapplicable to the treatment of Jews by Germany during World War Two. As it is currently used, the term seems to have been infused with a kind of magical significance, like an incantation or a positive taboo before which all must bow down. It seems that a correct name for what Curtis wishes to discuss might be “Germany’s treatment of Jews during the period of Nazi rule between 1933 and 1945.” Notice that such a term lacks glamour and is unwieldy, but that it also *does not beg any questions*. It leaves the topic open for intelligent

debate. To use the term “Holocaust,” as Curtis does in 2014, is to at once assert an interpretation of the topic without even stating it, let alone defining and defending a particular point of view on it. In short, the term functions as a debate-stopper.

The phrase “Holocaust denial” can now be examined, for it, too, involves misnaming. Everyone knows that the German government between 1933 and 1945 had an anti-Jewish policy to which may be traced much suffering and many deaths of Jews during that time. Very few people in 2014 would argue that that policy was either wise or just, let alone its implementation, which eventually involved injustice and suffering on a massive scale. It may be that the degree and nature of Jewish presence in Germany around 1933 posed some problems for the German people; but, if so, these could have been and should have been dealt with in a different manner altogether.

The trouble with the term “Holocaust denial” (a propaganda term if ever there was one) is that it tends to make ignorant persons (the great majority of those upon whom it impinges) imagine that it means a total denial that any such injustice to Jews under Nazi Germany, together with concomitant suffering, ever happened. Thus it becomes easy for propagandists to depict as lunatics or neo-Nazis (or both) those who argue that the currently accepted and officially promoted (and enforced) understanding of the Holocaust needs to be drastically revised, *but by no means completely overturned*. A more honest term to use of defenders of that present under-



*Confucius (551–479 BC), a Chinese teacher, politician, and philosopher wrote, “If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things...”*  
 [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

The trouble with the term “Holocaust denial” (a propaganda term if ever there was one) is that it tends to make ignorant persons (the great majority of those upon whom it impinges) imagine that it means a total denial that any such injustice to Jews under Nazi Germany, together with concomitant suffering, ever happened. Thus it becomes easy for propagandists to depict as lunatics or neo-Nazis (or both) those who argue that the currently accepted and officially promoted (and enforced) understanding of the Holocaust needs to be drastically revised, *but by no means completely overturned*. A more honest term to use of defenders of that present under-

standing is “Holocaust revisionism,” although a more accurate one still would be something like “reassessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945.” Such phraseology sounds boring but has the value of *lacking a potentially misleading emotional charge*.

The essay by Curtis carries a statement under its title as follows: “Everyone conscious of the importance of the free exchange of views is hesitant about banning people’s views.” That is a reasonable assertion, but the next sentence is not. It reads: “But Holocaust denial is different.” No it’s not; it’s “people’s views” just as much as anything else. We have here an old debating trick: the attempt to pretend that there is a difference or distinction when there isn’t one at all.

On the other hand, the writer of the sentence may have meant that “people are not so hesitant about banning the views of ‘Holocaust deniers.’” That is true of some people but not all. There are plenty of people around the world who genuinely believe in and defend intellectual freedom and who recognize clearly that *no topic at all should be protected from debate in public forums*. This includes many people who are not “Holocaust revisionists,” including plenty who are opposed to such views.

It soon becomes apparent that Curtis is an advocate of political censorship of the Internet. His essay involves an outlining of the difficulties involved as well as consideration of what might be achieved along that line.

He wants the “monitoring” of sites to detect “words and images for criminal messages.” He calls for greater “vigilance.” He wants the “exorcism” of “electronic hate, disinformation and global dissemination of malicious transmissions.” This last phraseology also calls for examination. By implication *a question has already been begged*. Putting the matter in our own terms, we can say that Curtis wants to suppress utterances that involve “reassessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945” and that he asserts, without offering proof, that such reassessment is motivated by hate, is malicious and involves the spreading of disinformation. Or, to put it another way, he is offering his opinion as though it is fact – another oft-used debating ploy. Moreover, his attack involves the use of *ad hominem* language rather than logical reasoning.

Curtis next genuflects before the ideal of free speech and the First Amendment of the United States Constitution that guarantees freedom of speech and expression. However, his following point amounts to a rejection of that ideal and the principle of that law. He applauds the removal by Google of some videos on one of its sites “that were expressions of denial



of the Holocaust.” These were produced by Vincent Reynouard, a French revisionist. Curtis justifies this removal as not “a denial of free speech” but as correct observation of the law by the removal of “criminal” material.

Confucius inveighs us to examine that word “criminal.” It may be that Reynouard’s videos did break a current law in one or more countries, but we are entitled to ask whether such a law was just. Not all laws are just. If, then, the law can be shown to be unjust, then the justification for the removal fails (ethically, if not legally). It is highly likely that investigation would show that the law *is* unjust, that it involves an unwarranted interference with free speech, and that it was put in place as a result of influence from those actively promoting the current view of “the Holocaust.”

Curtis spends some time describing the character of Reynouard himself. The man is said to have “fled” to Belgium (“left” would have been a less prejudicial word) to avoid jail in France for his “hate proclamations.” This brings up another name that may need to be rectified. It is likely that Reynouard’s videos were offering a “reassessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945,” but that they were not expressing hatred (a very strong negative emotion) at all. Why do we say this? It is because there is evidence that for a century or more now propagandists have termed as “hatred” theses they wish to suppress (rather than argue against logically in public forums). For example, David Duke quotes a passage from the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* to the effect that, when the Russian civil war ended (shortly after the Bolshevik revolution), “a law was passed against ‘incitement to hatred and hostility of a national or religious nature,’” which was really designed to protect the revolutionaries, the majority of whom were Jewish.<sup>4</sup>

Curtis writes that Reynouard is “notorious” (a prejudicial term) for having been “convicted on a number of occasions.” Again, we may suspect that the law or laws under which he was convicted are themselves unjust and an affront to intellectual freedom. “Over and over again he has disputed the fact that crimes against humanity were committed against Jews.” Here is another questionable statement. The term “crimes against humanity” was invented in 1945 to make possible the Nuremberg Trials, which Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court Harlan Stone<sup>5</sup> described as “a high-grade lynching party.” Reynouard may well have opposed such legal adventurism and some of the claims it was used to enforce, without, however, stating that no crimes at all were inflicted on the Jews under Nazi rule.

Apparently Reynouard has labelled the current understanding of “the Holocaust” as “a myth” and denied that the Nazis used gas chambers to

execute prisoners. In short, he has offered a different “assessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945;” but to say that does not automatically prove that he has done wrong.

Reynouard in some respects is a soft target. Curtis states that the man has called himself a National Socialist and taken Hitler as his “hero” and a man who “embodied the hope of Europe in the face of the ruinous ideals of 1789.” Well, one can be opposed to the French Revolution without necessarily being an admirer of Hitler and a National Socialist of any kind. Nevertheless, Curtis has effectively called into question Reynouard’s political judgement at this point. There are plenty of other eminent “Holocaust revisionists,” however, from Paul Rassinier to Carlo Mattogno and Germar Rudolf, who have no taint of admiration for Nazism whatever. Curtis has been selective to the point of bias in focusing on Reynouard.

Even so, Reynouard appears to have been made to sound a much worse person than he really is. Perhaps some of his utterances are truthful and he has been courageous in expressing them in an excessively and unjustly hostile climate.

Curtis mentions two Belgian laws which prompted Google to engage in censorship. One is “against racism and xenophobia” and one “against public denial of the Holocaust.” The latter “bans utterances that deny, grossly minimize, attempt to justify or approve the genocide committed by Nazi Germany during World War Two.” It is highly likely that both laws are fundamentally unjust and that they impinge excessively and wrongfully on intellectual freedom. “Racism” is a highly prejudicial term; and “xenophobia” may well have been employed to enable censorship of anti-immigration theses. The second law plainly intrudes on public debate by taking as fact (“the genocide committed by Nazi Germany”) an assertion that is strongly disputed by Holocaust revisionists. Again, it is highly likely that research would show that such laws were imposed as the result of pressure by those who promote the current view of the relevant period of history.

Curtis confirms that he is not a defender of free speech by happily noting that several European countries have passed laws “making denial of the Holocaust or expounding anti-Semitic beliefs a criminal offense.” The term “anti-Semitic” is another name that Confucius would want us to examine very closely; adverse criticism of Jewish individuals and groups in various contexts may prove to be perfectly reasonable – and such may be true of “reassessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945.”

Curtis relies on the London Charter or Agreement of 8th August 1945, which provided the “legal” basis for the Nuremberg Trials. A powerful

exposure of the injustice involved in both the Agreement and the Trials was published by British jurist (and former member of the British Union of Fascists) F. J. P. Veale in his 1948 book *Advance to Barbarism*.<sup>6</sup> Curtis also relies on the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 17th July 1998, which may also well be able to be shown to be unjust or, at least, poorly drafted, and which may also have been effectively brought into existence by the promoters of the present official version of “the Holocaust.” Curtis quotes the statute as pronouncing that the “crimes against humanity” it has established “are particularly odious offenses in that they constitute a serious attack on human dignity or grave humiliation, or a degradation of human beings,” *but he does not provide any evidence or argument to support this claim*. “Antisemitism,” he writes, “is incompatible with democracy and human rights,” a statement in which all three terms cry out for exact definition. (One recalls Shakespeare’s words given to Macbeth: “full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.”)

Curtis relies, too, on the 26th January 2007 Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly “condemning without reservation any denial of the Holocaust as an historical event,” but neglects to consider *whether this was not a political rather than an academic or intellectual utterance which merely testifies to the current political clout of the “Holocaust lobby*.” It is doubtful whether the UNO could find any ethical basis whatever for its apparently claimed right to decide what may or may not be said about a historical event or series of events. Stretching the art of the *non sequitur* to a remarkable degree, the US representative at the time, Curtis reports, wanted the assembly to “stress that to deny the events of the Holocaust was tantamount to approval of genocide in all its forms.” That is to say, reassessment of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945 equals 100% approval of genocide in every possible case. It can be seen that Confucian analysis exposes here a grotesque absurdity. How could anyone take it seriously? (The answer, of course, might be fear of, or inducement by, worldly power – or possession by fanaticism.)

“Holocaust denial,” Curtis insists, “is not protected by freedom of speech, nor can freedom of speech be used to dispute punishment for crimes against humanity.” Leaving aside the inadequacy of his language, which we have already established, we can affirm that *the exact opposite is true: critics of the current understanding of “the Holocaust” and critics of the London Agreement of 1945 and the Nuremberg Trials are perfectly entitled to rely on the principle of intellectual freedom to allow them to have their say*.

Any laws which assert otherwise are *morally worthless* and this includes the French Gayssot Law of 13th July 1990, which was formulated principally to enable attack on Professor Robert Faurisson, and which Curtis also invokes. It needs to be noted, too, that, as Confucius might have said, *even if a thousand unjust laws unjustly forbid and punish something, that does not make the forbidding and punishing just.*

Other legal decisions cited by, and approved by, Curtis include those against Yahoo in May 2000 forbidding the auction of Nazi memorabilia on its website, and the 12th February 2014 order against Dieudonne M'Bala M'Bala to remove part of a video from YouTube.

Curtis refers ungenerously to David Irving, Fred Leuchter, David Duke, Ernst Zündel, Robert Faurisson and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad as “notorious figures” and even adds (for the Iranian) the word “malevolent.” This again is the use of *ad hominem* insults, not intellectual argument.

More ominously, Curtis states that such men (and others, no doubt) “should be required to abide by the law of the countries in which they post messages and should be held accountable if they break them.” *He does not explain why they should not be answered by intellectual debate rather than power-based political suppression.* Curtis hopes that “electronic media corporations” will “establish mechanisms to monitor their websites for such illegal hate postings.” Our Confucian analysis enables us to decode this advocacy: *he wishes to extend an ethically dishonest reign of intellectual oppression of those who in good conscience and after much research wish to publish important reassessments of the nature and extent of German mistreatment of Jews between 1933 and 1945.*

“This is not censorship or limitation of free speech,” he asserts. Nonsense! It is exactly that. “This is a legal obligation as well as a moral principle,” he adds. Not so. *Nations and their statesmen have an ethical obligation to ensure that free speech on sensitive religious, political and historical topics is maintained and that the law and laws are not unjustly used to inhibit such freedom of discussion.*

We are told that Curtis, author of *Jews, Antisemitism and the Middle East*, is Distinguished Professor Emeritus in Political Science at Rutgers University, the author of thirty books and a widely respected authority on the Middle East. How can such a man bring himself to the promulgation of such illiberal sentiments?

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Online: [http://www.thecommentator.com/article/4745/holocaust\\_denial\\_and\\_the\\_internet](http://www.thecommentator.com/article/4745/holocaust_denial_and_the_internet)

- 
- <sup>2</sup> *Analects*, Book XIII Chapter 3, Verses 4-7, translated by James Legge.
  - <sup>3</sup> Richard J. Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), footnote on p. 141.
  - <sup>4</sup> David Duke, *The Secret behind Communism* (Mandeville La.: Free Speech Press, 2013), p. 96.
  - <sup>5</sup> Michael J. Kelly and Timothy L. H. McCormack, "The Nuremberg Trial and the Subsequent Development of International Law." In Blumenthal and McCormack, *The Legacy of Nuremberg: Civilising Influence or Institutionalised Vengeance?* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), p. 104.
  - <sup>6</sup> F. J. P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*, republished as Volume One of *The Veale File*, (Torrance Calif.: Institute for Historical Review, 1979).

## Woodrow Wilson's "Second Personality"

*Ralph Raico*

Wherever blame for the war might lie, for the immense majority of Americans in 1914 it was just another of the European horrors from which our policy of neutrality, set forth by the Founding Fathers of the Republic, had kept us free. Pašić, Sazonov, Conrad, Poincaré, Moltke, Edward Grey, and the rest – these were the men our Fathers had warned us against. No conceivable outcome of the war could threaten an invasion of our vast and solid continental base. We should thank a merciful Providence, which gave us this blessed land and impregnable fortress, that America, at least, would not be drawn into the senseless butchery of the Old World. That was unthinkable.

However, in 1914 the president of the United States was Thomas Woodrow Wilson.

The term most frequently applied to Woodrow Wilson nowadays is "idealist." In contrast, the expression "power-hungry" is rarely used. Yet a scholar not unfriendly to him has written of Wilson that "he loved, craved, and in a sense glorified power." Musing on the character of the US government while he was still an academic, Wilson wrote: "I cannot imagine power as a thing negative and not positive."<sup>1</sup> Even before he entered politics, he was fascinated by the power of the presidency and how it could be augmented by meddling in foreign affairs and dominating overseas territories. The war with Spain and the American acquisition of colonies in the Caribbean and across the Pacific were welcomed by Wilson as productive of salutary changes in our federal system. "The plunge into international politics and into the administration of distant dependencies" had already resulted in "the greatly increased power and opportunity for constructive statesmanship given the President."

*"When foreign affairs play a prominent part in the politics and policy of a nation, its Executive must of necessity be its guide: must utter every initial judgment, take every first step of action, supply the information upon which it is to act, suggest and in large measure control its conduct. The President of the United States is now [in 1900], as of course, at the front of affairs [...]. There is no trouble now about getting the President's speeches printed and read, every word [...]. The government of dependencies must be largely in his hands. Interesting things may come of this singular change."*

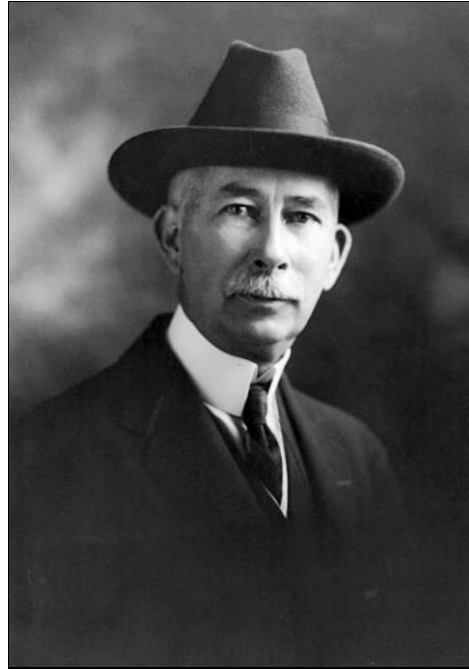
Wilson looked forward to an enduring “new leadership of the Executive,” with even the heads of Cabinet departments exercising “a new influence upon the action of Congress.”<sup>2</sup>

In large part Wilson’s reputation as an idealist is traceable to his incessantly professed love of peace. Yet as soon as he became president, prior to leading the country into the First World War, his actions in Latin America were anything but pacific. Even Arthur S. Link (whom Walter Karp referred to as the keeper of the Wilsonian flame) wrote, of Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean:

*“the years from 1913 to 1921 [Wilson’s years in office] witnessed intervention by the State Department and the navy on a scale that had never before been contemplated, even by such alleged imperialists as Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.”*

The protectorate extended over Nicaragua, the military occupation of the Dominican Republic, the invasion and subjugation of Haiti (which cost the lives of some 2,000 Haitians) were landmarks of Wilson’s policy.<sup>3</sup> All was enveloped in the haze of his patented rhetoric of freedom, democracy, and the rights of small nations. The Pan-American Pact which Wilson proposed to our southern neighbors guaranteed the “territorial integrity and political independence” of all the signatories. Considering Wilson’s persistent interference in the affairs of Mexico and other Latin states, this was hypocrisy in the grand style.<sup>4</sup>

The most egregious example of Wilson’s bellicose interventionism before the European war was in Mexico. Here his attempt to manipulate the



*Never elected to public office, Edward House nonetheless became the second most powerful man in the country in domestic and especially foreign affairs until virtually the end of Wilson’s administration. Photo taken in 1920.*

*[Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

course of a civil war led to the fiascoes of Tampico and Vera Cruz.

In April 1914, a group of American sailors landed their ship in Tampico without permission of the authorities and were arrested. As soon as the Mexican commander heard of the incident, he had the Americans released and sent a personal apology. That would have been the end of the affair “had not the Washington administration been looking for an excuse to provoke a fight,” in order to benefit the side Wilson favored in the civil war. The American admiral in charge demanded from the Mexicans a 21-gun salute to the American flag; Washington backed him up, issuing an ultimatum insisting on the salute, on pain of dire consequences. Naval units were ordered to seize Vera Cruz. The Mexicans resisted, 126 Mexicans were killed, close to 200 wounded (according to the US figures), and, on the American side, 19 were killed and 71 wounded. In Washington, plans were being made for a full-scale war against Mexico, where in the meantime *both* sides in the civil war denounced *Yanqui* aggression. Finally, mediation was accepted; in the end, Wilson lost his bid to control Mexican politics.<sup>5</sup>

Two weeks before the assassination of the archduke, Wilson delivered an address on Flag Day. His remarks did not bode well for American abstention in the coming war. Asking what the flag would stand for in the future, Wilson replied: “for the just use of undisputed national power [...] for self-possession, for dignity, for the assertion of the right of one nation to serve the other nations of the world.” As president, he would “assert the rights of mankind wherever this flag is unfurled.”<sup>6</sup>

Wilson’s alter ego, a major figure in bringing the United States into the European War, was Edward Mandell House. House, who bore the honorific title of “Colonel,” was regarded as something of a “Man of Mystery” by his contemporaries. Never elected to public office, he nonetheless became the second most powerful man in the country in domestic and especially foreign affairs until virtually the end of Wilson’s administration. House began as a businessman in Texas, rose to leadership in the Democratic politics of that state, and then on the national stage. In 1911, he attached himself to Wilson, then Governor of New Jersey and an aspiring candidate for president. The two became the closest of collaborators, Wilson going so far as to make the bizarre public statement that: “Mr. House is my second personality. He is my independent self. His thoughts and mine are one.”<sup>7</sup>

Light is cast on the mentality of this “man of mystery” by a futuristic political novel House published in 1912, *Philip Dru: Administrator*. It is a work that contains odd anticipations of the role the Colonel would help Wilson play.<sup>8</sup> In this peculiar production, the title hero leads a crusade to



overthrow the reactionary and oppressive money-power that rules the United States. Dru is a veritable messiah-figure:

*“He comes panoplied in justice and with the light of reason in his eyes. He comes as the advocate of equal opportunity, and he comes with the power to enforce his will.”*

Assembling a great army, Dru confronts the massed forces of evil in a titanic battle (close to Buffalo, New York): “human liberty has never more surely hung upon the outcome of any conflict than it does upon this.” Naturally, Dru triumphs, and becomes “the Administrator of the Republic,” assuming “the powers of a dictator.” So unquestionably pure is his cause that any attempt to “foster” the reactionary policies of the previous government “would be considered seditious and would be punished by death.” Besides fashioning a new Constitution for the United States and creating a welfare state, Dru joins with leaders of the other great powers to remake the world order, bringing freedom, peace, and justice to all mankind.<sup>9</sup> A peculiar production, suggestive of a very peculiar man, the second most important man in the country.

Wilson utilized House as his personal confidant, advisor, and emissary, bypassing his own appointed and congressionally scrutinized officials. It was somewhat similar to the position that Harry Hopkins would fill for Franklin Roosevelt some 20 years later.

When the war broke out, Wilson implored his fellow citizens to remain neutral even in word and thought. This was somewhat disingenuous, considering that his whole administration, except for the poor baffled secretary of state, William Jennings Bryan, was pro-Allied from the start. The president and most of his chief subordinates were dyed-in-the-wool Anglophiles. Love of England and all things English was an intrinsic part of their sense of identity. With England threatened, even the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, Edward D. White, voiced the impulse to leave for Canada to volunteer for the British armed forces. By September 1914, the British ambassador in Washington, Cecil Spring-Rice, was able to assure Edward Grey, that Wilson had an “understanding heart” for England’s problems and difficult position.<sup>10</sup>

This ingrained bias of the American political class and social elite was galvanized by British propaganda. On August 5, 1914, the Royal Navy cut the cables linking the United States and Germany. Now news for America had to be funneled through London, where the censors shaped and trimmed reports for the benefit of their government. Eventually, the British propaganda apparatus in the First World War became the greatest the world had

seen to that time; later it was a model for the Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. Philip Knightley noted:<sup>11</sup>

*“British efforts to bring the United States into the war on the Allied side penetrated every phase of American life [...]. It was one of the major propaganda efforts of history, and it was conducted so well and so secretly that little about it emerged until the eve of the Second World War, and the full story is yet to be told.*

*Already in the first weeks of the war, stories were spread of the ghastly ‘atrocities’ the Germans were committing in Belgium.”*

But the Hun, in the view of American supporters of England’s cause, was to show his most hideous face at sea.

## Notes

This article is excerpted from Ralph Raico’s *Great Wars & Great Leaders: A Libertarian Rebuttal* (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2010).

© 2012 by the Ludwig von Mises Institute. Permission to reprint in whole or in part is hereby granted, provided full credit is given.

- 1 Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 126, 128.
- 2 Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973 [1885]), pp. 22–23. These statements date from 1900. Wilson also assailed the Constitutional system of checks and balances as interfering with effective government, pp. 186–87.
- 3 Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–1917* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 92–106.
- 4 Even Link, *Woodrow Wilson*, p. 106, stated that Wilson and his colleagues were only paying “lip service” to the principle they put forward, and were not prepared to abide by it.
- 5 Link, *Woodrow Wilson*, pp. 122–28; and Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 531–34.
- 6 *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Arthur S. Link, ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), vol. 30, pp. 184–86. Wilson’s gift of self-deception was already evident. “I sometimes wonder why men even now take this flag and flaunt it. If I am respected, I do not have to demand respect,” he declared. Apparently, the Tampico incident of two months earlier had vanished from his mind.
- 7 Charles Seymour, ed. *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin 1926) vol. 1, pp. 6, 114.
- 8 Edward M. House, *Philip Dru: Administrator. A Story of Tomorrow, 1920–1935* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1920 [1912]).
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 130, 150, 152, and *passim*.

- <sup>10</sup> Charles Callan Tansill, *America Goes to War* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963 [1938]), pp. 26–28. Cf. the comment by H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War: The Campaign against American Neutrality 1914–1917*, (Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1939) p. 10: “The American aristocracy was distinctly Anglophile.”
- <sup>11</sup> Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 82, 120–21; Peterson, *Propaganda for War*; John Morgan Read, *Atrocity Propaganda, 1914–1919* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941); and the classic by Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1928). That unflagging apologist for global interventionism, Robert H. Ferrell, in *American Diplomacy: A History*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), pp. 470–71, could find nothing to object to in the secret propaganda effort to embroil the United States in a world war. It was simply part of “the arts of peaceful persuasion,” of “Public Relations,” he claimed to believe, since “there is nothing wrong with one country representing its cause to another country.” One wonders what Ferrell would have said to a similar campaign by Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union.

The “Ministry of Truth”  
at Britain’s National Archives  
The Attempt to Discredit Martin Allen

*Nicholas Kollerstrom*

*“It is hard to imagine actions more damaging to the cause of preserving the nation’s heritage, than willfully forging documents designed to alter our historical record.”*

—Historian Sir Max Hastings, *Financial Times*, 3 May 2008

### Praise for His Books

Martin Allen’s first book, *Hidden Agenda* of 2002 covering the Duke of Windsor’s wartime activities, was nominated as *Observer* Book of the Year and published in the USA, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. His second book, *The Hitler/Hess Deception*, blew open the official version of Rudolf Hess as an eccentric adventurer and was published in seven languages and widely serialized.

But in October 2004, the World War II historian Dr. E. Haiger from Berlin wrote to the UK’s National Archives at Kew in West London casting doubt on the authenticity of some of the letters in the Archive used in Allen’s second book, the *Hitler/Hess Deception*.<sup>1</sup> Within a fortnight an official at the archives replied to the effect that the documents were accurate representations and had been correctly cited. (*Telegraph*, 12 July 2005 Ben Fenton)

In May 2005, Martin Allen appeared on the *Today* program to launch his new book, *Himmler’s Secret War*. Himmler expert Peter Padfield, author of *Himmler, Reichsführer SS* was also present and *endorsed the book*. A brief quote from the interview transcript may give the flavor of it:

Averring that Himmler had been killed by British agents, Allen explained:

*“They don’t want him to be interrogated at Nuremberg or be interrogated by the Americans because he might reveal that he’s been negotiating with the British government ever since 1943.”*

Peter Padfield agrees:

*“Yes it’s absolutely, I think it’s absolutely unequivocal.”*

Allen adds:

*“Well basically the political Warfare Executive during the war years was ordered by Churchill to conduct a secret war of wits against the Nazis and they tried many fashions. They negotiated with Hitler and Hess in 1940, ‘41 and then the PWE [Political Warfare Executive] became a much darker organization in the later war years and they opened up a line of communication through Victor Mallet the British ambassador talking to Himmler. [...] Himmler the military man came*



*Was Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) killed by British agents to prevent him from being interrogated at Nuremberg? What would such an interrogation revealed? The body of Heinrich Himmler lying on the floor of British 2nd Army HQ after his death on 23 May 1945.*

*By Sutton L (Sgt): No 5 Army Film & Photographic Unit Post-Work:  
User:W.wolny [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

*to the complete and unique conclusion that Germany could not win militarily but needed a political solution. So he worked behind the scenes to try and further this aim."*

The July edition of *The Journal of Military History* likewise endorsed *Himmler's Secret War* as being "An excellent work":

"Following the German invasion of Russia, the British continued what they labelled political warfare behind the mask of covert negotiations with Himmler. However, the primary vehicle now would be the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), a top-secret organization headed by Churchill's trusted friend, Brendan Bracken. The major intermediary for the negotiations from 1941 onward would be Victor Mallet, British Ambassador at Stockholm. Allen describes in detail the talks between the PWE and Himmler's emissaries, including Walter Schellenberg, and also points out that the PWE was so secret that not even the SOE or the SIS was aware of the negotiations.

*"Allen writes that the goal of the PWE was 'to cause political instability in Germany, one strategy being to open a line of false negotiation with a leading Nazi in the hope of precipitating a leadership coup.' (p. 157) PWE emerged as Britain's most important secret intelligence agency and would win the 'battle for the control of political warfare against the remainder of British Intelligence.' (p. 123) Himmler is portrayed as a novice, sincerely believing he could make a deal with the British and preserve his own future in German politics.*

*Allen also dispels the long-held belief that Himmler committed suicide, citing documents found in the National Archives that reveal that British Intelligence (PWE) had Himmler silenced. (p. 283)"*

## A Sudden Judgment

On June 14th, 2005, *Telegraph* journalist Ben Fenton wrote to the National Archives suggesting that letters cited in Allen's *Himmler's Secret War* had been forged and requested that the forensic scientist Audrey Giles be allowed to inspect them. Given two of the files on the 23rd, she reported on 29th that six letters in them had been forged.

The story broke with three articles in the *Telegraph* by Ben Fenton on 2nd July. Its front-page headline was "Files on Himmler Murder Exposed as Fake." It was "certain," readers were informed, that bogus documents had been planted in the NA, in order "to pervert the course of historical study." A second article told "How Himmler's death was turned into a

British murder plot:" the allegedly forged documents were telling how the captive Heinrich Himmler had to be killed because otherwise "under interrogation he would tell the Americans that Britain had been taking part in peace negotiations without informing Washington." One more article, "Forgeries Exposed by a Hunch and by Science: The Inquiry" described allegedly suspicious features of the letters, *e.g.* signatures that didn't look right.

British historians did not like Allen's argument and so, were the letters he cited somehow anomalous? How did Britain's main Establishment newspaper *The Telegraph* have the authority to declare that manuscripts kept in the National Archives were forged – well *before* the NA's own forensic experts had had time to peruse them?

A comment here is recorded as having passed between two NA staff in a letter of 30 June, from Joan McPherson to "Penny":<sup>2</sup>

*"The forensic tests have been completed and seem to be somewhat equivocal."*

I suggest such multiple articles on the same topic in the same paper by the same person on the same day betray an intelligence operation. Fenton's "Files on Himmler Murder"<sup>3</sup> explained:

*"Documents from the National Archives used to substantiate claims that British intelligence agents murdered Heinrich Himmler in 1945 are forgeries, The Daily Telegraph can reveal today.<sup>[4]</sup> It seems certain that the bogus documents were somehow planted among genuine papers to pervert the course of historical study. The results of investigations by forensic document experts on behalf of this newspaper have shocked historians and caused tremors at the Archives, the home of millions of historical documents, which has previously been thought immune to distortion or contamination."*

Was that not a rather sudden conclusion? It was not until September 16th that the NA's own forensic science lab confirmed this "finding."<sup>5</sup>

A day after that *Telegraph* story, David Irving perceptively wrote that *if* forgery had taken place:<sup>6</sup>

*"[...] the documents' author(s) knew (or know) a great deal about 1945 events, and certainly more than I do: I for one did not know of the war-time role of Richard Ingrams's father, nor that of Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, whom I knew of only as the Royal biographer ('King George VI'). Most forgeries I have run across are clumsy and ignorant; these*

*documents, if again they are forgeries, seem to have been crafted by a singularly well-informed forger.*

*A search of the eventual suspect's home will have to yield evidence of the several typewriters used, and ribbons of the correct vintage, and perhaps a stock of wartime paper, too."*

I was advised by a NA expert that the paper of these letters was genuinely old<sup>7</sup> – *i.e.* if they were forgeries, someone had enough World War Two era letter-paper to fabricate 29 letters.

A mere couple of weeks later, the NA put this judgment up on its own Website! We know this because Martin Allen wrote a letter of inquiry to the NA on 12th July 2005– which the NA have lost, or it is not in their file containing all its debate over this issue. He was sent a reply on 22nd: “As you will have noted from the TNA website, these have been confirmed as forgeries following forensic examination.” (Translation: one woman shown four letters looked at them for five days, then agreed with the journalist who showed them to her, that they were probably forgeries.) That reply silenced Allen – as it was probably intended to – and we hear no more from him. But the NA’s putting so definite and formal a statement up on its own website is a rather pre-emptive act that greatly undermines the appearance of objectivity of a forensic analysis by its own experts, does it not? They would not report until September.

## Forged Documents in the National Archives?

In 2007 a startling new category appeared on the website of the National Archives called:

*“The National Archives: Investigation into Forged Documents discovered amongst Authentic Public Records: Documents purporting to have been created by members of the British Government and members of the British Armed Services relating to leading Nazis [sic] figures and Axis Power governments.”* (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C16525>)

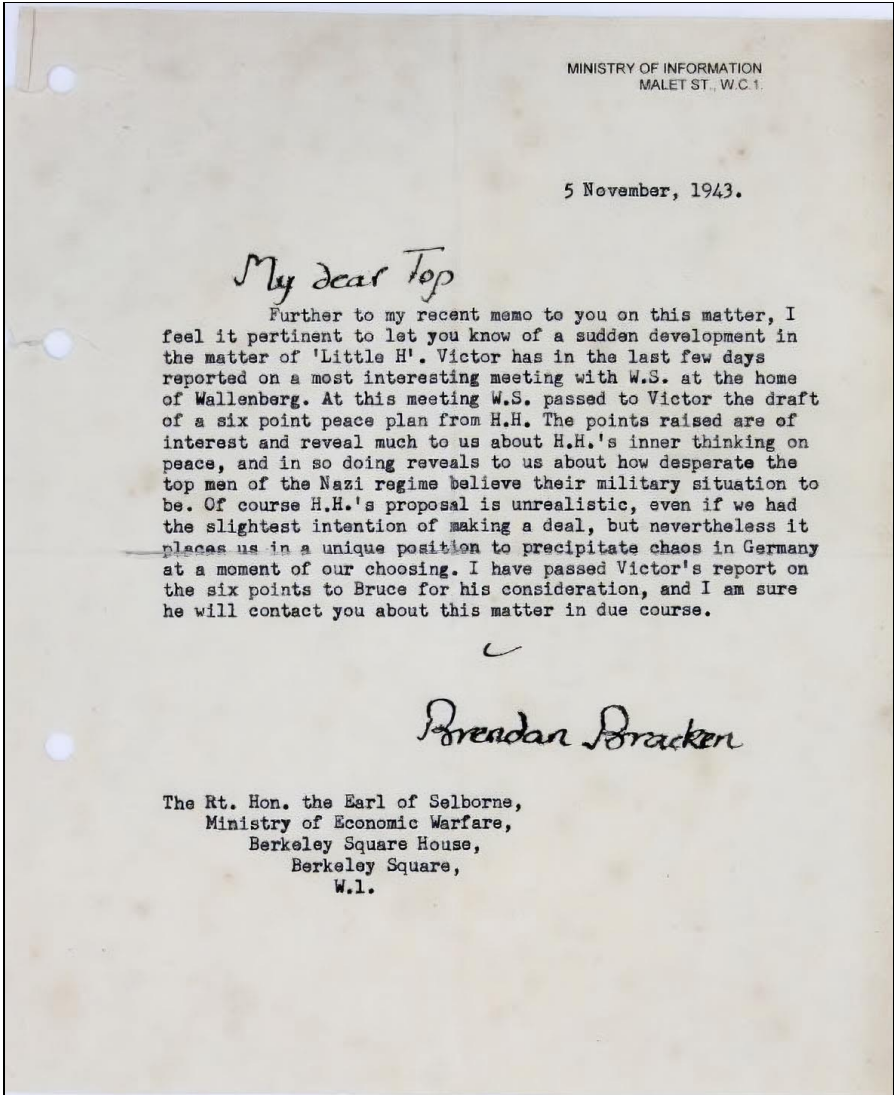
The new category contains 29 letters, which had been extracted from twelve of their folders. These were documents where “conclusive evidential grounds exist” to challenge their authenticity. They had been “illegally placed within existing original record series by unscrupulous and criminal elements.” This conclusion had been scientifically adduced by experts in the field of forensic sciences. Such forgeries had been “never encountered



before in the history of the National Archives.” This was strong language indeed.

Who could that wicked person be? And why was there no need to write up an account anywhere of how this shocking conclusion had been reached? Is disclosure through one journalist really sufficient? We might for example wonder concerning the four documents (mainly telegram transcripts) cited in Allen’s second book whose authenticity had been queried in 2004 by the German historian Haiger that had been scrutinized by NA staff and judged authentic.<sup>8</sup> By what process had this judgment been reversed whereby they were now deemed to be forgeries?

*The Guardian* took the view that “Officials believe this is the most serious case of fraud of its kind anywhere in the world.” (5 May 2008) In that case, why has no account been published explaining how such a conclusion had been reached? Quite a lot hinges on whether these letters are genuine as Allen believed or whether the National Archives has unaccountably acquired 29 forged letters mysteriously coinciding with those referenced by Allen. The NA has responded to this crisis by installing security cameras



MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
MALET ST., W.C.1.

5 November, 1943.

*My dear Top*

Further to my recent memo to you on this matter, I feel it pertinent to let you know of a sudden development in the matter of 'Little H'. Victor has in the last few days reported on a most interesting meeting with W.S. at the home of Wallenberg. At this meeting W.S. passed to Victor the draft of a six point peace plan from H.H. The points raised are of interest and reveal much to us about H.H.'s inner thinking on peace, and in so doing reveals to us about how desperate the top men of the Nazi regime believe their military situation to be. Of course H.H.'s proposal is unrealistic, even if we had the slightest intention of making a deal, but nevertheless it places us in a unique position to precipitate chaos in Germany at a moment of our choosing. I have passed Victor's report on the six points to Bruce for his consideration, and I am sure he will contact you about this matter in due course.

*Brendan Bracken*

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selborne,  
Ministry of Economic Warfare,  
Berkeley Square House,  
Berkeley Square,  
W.1.

*One of the controversial Bracken letters.*

*Source: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – licensed by N. Kollerstrom*

all over the place.

As a science historian who has spent time perusing old manuscripts and letters, I have not found it evident that these alleged forgeries are more modern-looking than other NA wartime letters. In the absence of any chemical tests that would resolve the matter, the new file created in 2007 by the NA might simply contain wartime letters consulted by Allen, of a politically inconvenient nature, moved into a different file. One would like hi-res images of these controversial letters put up onto the web to facilitate a debate.

David Irving pertinently remarked: “the PRO [Public Record Office, now called The National Archive] evidently did not allow invasive forensic tests on the paper and ink (which would have slightly damaged the suspect documents); they permitted only the most superficial external microscopic examinations, so they believed *prima facie* that they were genuine. It was the chemical tests which exposed the Hitler Diaries as fakes. Such tests are conclusive,” adding, “ink-oxidization analysis will give a good date for the signatures, if they are fake.” The (unpublished) account by Audrey Giles commented on how “destructive analysis could be carried out to determine if the inks used on the documents are consistent with inks used in the 1940s”<sup>9</sup> – so why did nobody ask her to do that? If the NA really believed the documents had been forged, why would they not have requested this, given the far-reaching implications of this matter?

A chemical analysis should have been able to show whether the letters are seven or seventy years old, and should preferably have been done in 2005, to tell whether the letters were one or two years old, or seventy.

In the absence of such, we may be inclined to accept Irving’s view:

*“How would a forger know that Martin Allen was going to look in those particular files, when writing his book, of all the tens of thousands of files in the PRO? (Assuming, as we must, that he is blameless) [...]. We are beginning to learn why the British press has been silent until now about the documents. Has Ben Fenton been led a final pas de deux by an MI6 cover-up team, sluicing away the evidence of wartime dirty tricks? Were gullible editors warned that the documents might be found to be forged, and [...] lo and behold! A piece of clever damage-control by MI6?”*

An article by NA manager David Thomas in *Archives* entitled “Forgery in the Archives”<sup>10</sup> commented on various forgeries made throughout history, but notably and despite its title avoided any evaluation of the evidence on the basis of which Allen’s three books were being dismissed. It merely af-

firmed that three letterheads on “Ministry of Information” paper “had been produced using black toner probably from a laser printer,” with no explanation how such a conclusion had been reached or how one would tell the difference. He merely echoed the claim made by a journalist and pointed the finger of accusation at Allen.

For its story on July 2nd the *Telegraph* had provided a microscopic image of the edge of the letterhead print allegedly made using “laser toner,” without specifying which letter this had come from or giving any comparable image of a more “genuine” historical letterhead.<sup>11</sup> Once again we may concur with Irving (3 July 2005) that:

*“Frankly, I thought Dr. Audrey Giles’s tests, as published, were rather primitive, and a disingenuous attempt to blind outsiders with science: for instance, the 500x magnification of the edge of a printed letterhead (the Bracken letter) which she claims was produced on a Xerox-type laser printer, would have been more impressive if she had shown a genuine Bracken letterhead of that period, and a text which she had produced on a laser printer for comparison.*

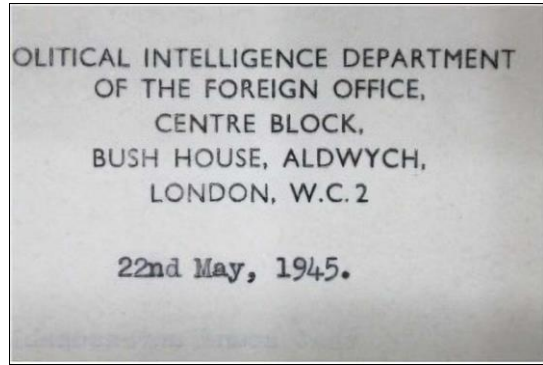
*We cannot just take her word for it that this is what the dry toner used in laser printing, when magnified, looks like. (A chemical analysis of the ‘toner’ would settle that once and for all). And to be honest I could not ‘see’ the pencil tracing she claims to have found beneath the signatures.”*

What staggers me is the fact that Audrey Giles, who made this judgment, was *not* given any “genuine” signatures by Brendan Bracken to compare: her report stated, “I have not examined any examples of undisputed signatures of Brendan Bracken in my laboratory.” Nor, I feel fairly confident in saying, was she given any authentic period notepaper with “MINISTRY OF INFORMATION” stamped in the top right-hand corner to make the comparison – before pronouncing strangely about laser toner cartridge.

For ten minutes I gazed at one of the Bracken letters from Brendan Bracken at the Ministry of Information to the Earl of Selborne, Ministry of Economic Warfare dated 5th November, 1943 (RW 4/25, formerly in the file HS 8/944). My training as a science historian has involved not reaching an opinion until one has the authentic, primary-source documents in front of one.

The white letter paper had mottled brownish-yellow colorations from age, more around its edge than the center, which results from handling; human sweat does this to old letters. It had been folded across twice, the yellowish discoloration being less at these fold-lines. The letter was nearly

falling in half from the horizontal fold: it had been thus folded for some decades, I reckoned. The typewriter print was put onto the letter before it had been folded, as shown by the horizontal fold going through the typed words and breaking up the print. There were small holes in the letter where the typewriter had punched the full



*Letterhead of the SIS from FO 371/30913  
Source: [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) –  
licensed by N. Kollerstrom*

stops, as old typewriters were liable to do. Three holes had been put into the left-hand margin, and tiny cracks had grown around them from its having been kept in a file for some time – not readily fakeable. I inferred that the letter had been kept in its original folded condition for some time and then some decades ago had holes punched to file it. Its signature “Brendan Bracken” seemed to me almost identical to other real signatures by him<sup>12</sup> with no pencil marks around it.

Scrutinizing the signatures of these three letters with a 60 x loupe (a hand-microscope which brightly illuminates the text), I discerned no trace of pencil tracing, not even where the ink became faint or thin;<sup>13</sup> nor likewise could I see anything in the “printed letterhead” (*i.e.* address on top RHS of letter) to suggest it differed from other wartime letterheads of the SIS. A laser-inscribed letterhead is made of dots<sup>14</sup> and “type produced on a laser printer is significantly denser than old letter-press ink.”<sup>15</sup>

That letter was authentic.

This doesn’t mean that all of the NA letters/telegrams deemed to be forgeries are genuine.<sup>16</sup> It does mean that the case against Allen here collapses.<sup>17</sup>

The NA is averring that three Brendon Bracken letters were made using the same typewriter as a letter from John Wheeler-Bennett to Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart of May 1945 (w 4/27), this being part of the evidence that they are forgeries. I and my colleague Jonathan Adams carefully compared the latter to the Bracken letter of May 1945 (W 4/19). It was clearly a different typewriter in our view. We concurred with Irving’s judgment: certain characters such as the “W” could be seen as different. We thus reject this argument for forgery.

FO 800/868 first seen on RIS (first file ordered date 27/03/1995).

RIS orders			
Ordered	Returned	Readers no	Readers name
25/03/1995	27/06/1995	3296299	[REDACTED]
29/09/1995	02/10/1995	3296299	[REDACTED]
05/01/1996	06/01/1996	3296299	[REDACTED]
15/01/1996	18/01/1996	3296299	[REDACTED]
20/05/1996	29/05/1996	3393985	[REDACTED]
03/06/1996	04/06/1996	3062722	[REDACTED]
09/07/1997	10/07/1997	4062422	[REDACTED]
07/11/1997	07/11/1997	4210030	[REDACTED]
14/11/1997	14/11/1997	4210030	[REDACTED]
17/11/1997	18/11/1997	3523821	[REDACTED]
27/01/1998	28/01/1998	4244398	[REDACTED]
28/02/1998	10/03/1998	4260444	[REDACTED]
28/02/1999	10/03/1998	2202844	[REDACTED]
11/07/1998	11/07/1998	4241893	[REDACTED]
30/01/1999	01/02/1999	4177317	[REDACTED]

Photo estimates transferred from Dr R. Landa)

Doris orders			
Ordered	Returned	Readers no	Readers name
09/10/1999	09/10/1999	4703028	[REDACTED]
13/01/2000	13/01/2000	4766985	[REDACTED]
28/03/2000	28/03/2000	4906097	[REDACTED]
10/07/2000	11/07/2000	4847290	[REDACTED]
26/07/2000	27/07/2000	4724083	[REDACTED]
11/10/2000	12/10/2000	4973267	[REDACTED]
28/02/2001	28/02/2001	5070011	[REDACTED]

*DORIS log for the 'Bruce Lockhart papers: PWE  
Miscellaneous papers,' file FO 800/868.  
Source: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk – licensed by N.  
Kollerstrom*

## The Finger of Accusation

In the House of Commons in 2007, the Solicitor General reported that a police investigation of forgeries at the National Archives had been concluded, and “There was a realistic prospect of conviction against Martin Allen for a number of criminal offenses” – however it would be “against the national interest” to do so! The 13-month (rather low-key and mysterious<sup>18</sup>) police investigation had concluded with no charges being made, and yet the author was being accused, but in such a way that he could not appeal or sue for libel and defamation – from the House of Commons!

The Solicitor-General told the Commons, in reply to a question by Norman Baker, that “There may be sufficient evidence to charge Mr. Allen with three offences: one alleging forgery, one alleging the use of forged documents and one alleging criminal damage. Counsel’s advice was based upon the prosecution being able to prove a number of facts.” We never hear a word of this “proof” and I doubt whether it exists. (Hansard, 12th December, [www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm071212/text/71212w0003.htm](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm071212/text/71212w0003.htm))

We’ve quoted Mr. Fenton as the main source<sup>19</sup> for the now-accepted

view (at least within the British media), that Allen had written fictional history by using forged documents. But Fenton strangely concluded his July 2nd article: "There is no suggestion that he was anything but a fall guy for the forgers." Allen's view on the matter was expressed in the US edition of his book:<sup>20</sup>

*"At some time after he saw the documents, they had been removed and replaced with exact replicas, clumsily forged to cast doubt on his discoveries. In the absence of any other public statement by him, this is the only explanation that Allen is known to have put forward."*

Do "clumsily forged" features exist in the collection of NA letters and telegrams now classified as RW 4/1-29?

Fenton's view implies that someone went in *before* Allen and planted the forged letters, mysteriously knowing which files he was going to consult. Whereas David Thomas at the NA and the Solicitor-General in the Commons have both accused Martin Allen, Allen himself surmised that *after* he had consulted them, someone replaced the letters he had used with forgeries to discredit him.

The view attributed to Allen is curious: making copies of archive documents is straightforward at the NA. Allen would have done this with the key wartime letters on which his book depended. Had anyone wished to replace the old letters with "clumsy forgeries," they would surely have been deterred by the prospect of Allen simply producing his copies of the originals.

At this point we turn to the NA's "DORIS" system of computer-archive recall (Document Retrieval Information System). No less than eight documents are alleged to have been inserted as forgeries into File FO 800/868, known as 'the Robert Bruce Lockhart papers: PWE Miscellaneous papers.'<sup>21</sup> Five of these are to or from Bruce Lockhart, and all concern the way Himmler was being led up the garden path by British intel pretending to be interested in his peace offers.

The names of persons accessing this file are blacked out in the released image of the log for this file (we do not gather by whom), but police would have seen them. Howard Davis tells us: "only one person had access to all twelve files since declassification" – that person being Martin Allen. If any person did go in and plant the forged letters, as Fenton suggested, before say 2002-4 when Allen was there, that person must have been within the NA *i.e.* they did not go through the normal form-requesting procedure which logs in one's card number.

Visitors to the NA reading-room have to submit each paper they bring

in to inspection, and a member of staff continually walks round the tables, so it's far from credible that an elderly gent could have brought in a large stash of forged documents and proceeded to insert them into files. That story is never going to make sense.

The police inquiry lasted thirteen months but reached no conclusion, though it had access to the complete lists of the persons who had consulted the suspect files between their becoming publicly available and Allen consulting them in 2004. We gather that only the names of Allen and his wife Jane showed up on these lists for all twelve files. The police were looking for a person or group having the required old typewriters and wartime letter-paper, plus skill in knowing what was going on in Stockholm around 1943: much of the Himmler peace-offer story revolves around the persons there involved, focusing on the British Ambassador to Sweden Victor Mallett. It wouldn't have taken the Detective Inspector long to conclude that only SIS could fit that bill, and he didn't want to get tangled up with them – so he dropped the case.

The police investigation of this forgery was very low-key<sup>22</sup>: no crime was committed, no one was charged, the action appearing as an endeavor to construct some impression of objectivity, of an outside source investigating the matter. The NA had been leaned on, and had obligingly reached the required conclusion – at the price of undermining the integrity of their data collection.

## Non-Itemized Files?

The story as we have been told it assumes that the NA has not itemized its files for contents, which strains credulity. Within each file there may be half a dozen folders, each with one or many pages. Sensitive letters which have been kept secret for fifty years (released or “declassified” in the mid-1990s) must surely have been microfilmed, and each folder within a file recorded somewhere. To establish the case against Allen – that he or some colleague had planted forged documents, into the NA files – it would only have been necessary to produce these itemized lists showing what was in the files: did these include the 29 letters/telegrams? It would have been dead easy. But clearly, they could not do that.

On July 1st, the day before the *Telegraph* story appeared, NA manager Howard Davies wrote cryptically:

*“---’s main concern was if SIS (Secret Intelligence Service) were being accused of having perpetrated the forgeries and I reassured him that, as*



*far as we knew, nobody was making that accusation, and that Ben Fenton's theory was that the forgeries, if such they be, were placed on the file after the records came to Kew."*

(Head of Inspection and Client Management at NA writing to his colleague David Thomas on how SIS had formerly held the relevant FO docs, before they were transferred to the NA) This tells us that the NA has had to accept, rather suddenly, that it owned forged documents – and this was not up for debate. On the question of who would get blamed, Ben Fenton's "theory" is having to be accepted by the NA.

The archives tell us that the file HS 8/944 (one of the allegedly forged letters) was transferred to the NA from the SIS in 2004. That is only just before Allen consulted it for his 2005 book! The most important file for our story is FO 800/868, from which 8 letters/telegrams were removed and reclassified in 2007 as RW 4/13-20. Howard Davis's note added: "FCO asked SIS about papers related to Himmler in FO 800/868 and the sensitivity reviewer who examined the file for them before transfer could not recall any." Someone in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office asked Special Intel Service about the letters, and a "sensitivity reviewer" (who decides when secret files can be declassified) failed to recall! The absurd implication here is that SIS had not itemized its top-secret files, whereby they could have checked what was in them.

A question would remain, why the present file FO 800/868 should have needed to be classified for fifty years, if it did *not* contain any of the letters alluded to by Allen? It has five main folders in it, some with letters by PWE, the Political Warfare Executive, and it is hard to see what would need to be top-secret about them.

## The Thesis of Martin Allen

Should anyone wish to itemize the sequence of peace offers made by Germany to Britain through the course of World War II, then I suggest the first question they need to ask is: are the books of Martin Allen correct? His trilogy has argued that Britain was interested in these peace offers only "by way of deception," in pretending an interest in order to undermine the German government – and induce it to attack Russia! [Note: Allen's second book was published in German as *Churchills Friedensfalle* (*Churchill's Peace Trap*) but in the English edition this became *The Hitler-Hess Deception* – slight difference of emphasis!]<sup>23</sup>

His third book's Chapter 3 entitled "British Intelligence Subverts Hitler's Peaceable Intent" explained how the German peace offers "all failed because the British authorities had no intention of negotiating peace with leading Nazis." (p.82) A problem arose in that "Numerous eminent international figures offered themselves as intermediaries, wishing to impart to the British authorities important peace offers from the pinnacle of the German leadership. These eminent persons ranged right across the political, religious and diplomatic spectrum, from the Pope to General Franco, the German ambassador in Washington, and the King of Sweden."

If that is too shocking, I suggest perusing the bulky file FO 371/30913, which concerns this topic. It starts with a PWE document of June 30, 1942 entitled "Germany: Possible peace Offensive." This delves into the tactics of deception: "There may be launched from Germany next autumn a serious peace offensive. Discuss measures for dealing with *and profiting from* it. [...] Considers the probable state of German morale, and the groups in Germany of which account needs to be taken." The authorities may not have liked Allen's book, but further debate is here surely needed.

A Dr. Fox who had previously worked at the NA wrote to *The Telegraph* on the 7th July 2005 explaining why Allen's history was flawed:

*"There is another point why the idea of a British plot to assassinate Himmler is preposterous. Of all the Third Reich leaders who fell into Allied hands, the one who possessed virtually all of the key information about the Third Reich was indeed Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler. Killing him was the equivalent to the crime of killing the goose that could have laid the golden egg of the century."*

Yes indeed, but *for that very reason*, did he not *have* to die? A false narrative was to be laid down at Nuremberg, and his testimony there might have seriously undermined it. Barely one year after Allen's book was published, wartime documents subsequently declassified endorsed his central and shocking thesis whereby Churchill approved of Himmler's murder:

*"According to British war cabinet minutes released in 2006, Winston Churchill advocated Himmler's assassination. In response to Himmler's attempts to open peace overtures with the Allies in 1945 through Count Bernadotte, Churchill enquired if they should negotiate with Himmler and bump him off later. 'Quite entitled to do so,' said Churchill. This suggestion met with some support from the British Home Office."*

A copy of this letter is in file RW 4/30 p.9 (Wiki, "Death of Himmler").<sup>24</sup> In that case, what is there unacceptable about Allen's thesis? Allen's last

book enjoys a list of glowing four- and five-star reviews on Amazon that will leave other authors green with envy. Here is one of them:

*“This is a stunningly revelatory book. Who would have believed that in the approximately 15 months following the outbreak of World War Two, Adolf Hitler made no fewer than 16 attempts at peace to the British, as confirmed by a Foreign Office report to Roosevelt entitled ‘The Peaceable Attempts 1939-41’, and marked ‘For the President’s Eyes Only’? When Hitler gave up trying, author Allen then reveals that Himmler (without Hitler’s knowledge) continued the process – unsuccessfully as we now know. By the war’s end however, Himmler, the icon of evil to many, knew too much and was dispatched with a poisoned sandwich supplied by SOE [...].*

*For the purveyors of the modern proscribed [sic. read, “prescribed”] version of history, the scores of revelations in this book – seemingly supported by documents in the National Archives at Kew and Kensington – must find this book extremely unsettling. Little wonder that when this book first appeared in 2005, drastic damage control measures were initiated. Fake documents were planted in the archives, the press tipped off, and a general campaign of discrediting Allen was launched in the media.*

*Allen, as the publisher’s blurb asserts, is extremely well informed. The book reads easily, and Allen competently navigates the reader through the labyrinthine world of under-cover diplomacy and the perpetual game of move and counter-move of the intelligence agencies.*

*Undoubtedly an important book – introducing new material so heretical it would have guaranteed the author a visit to the stake 500 years ago.”*  
(by “Frank D”)

Without wishing to contradict anything here, I do not find it self-evident that fake documents have been planted. I agree that Victor Mallett’s signature in these letters is different from his signature on other letters in the NA,<sup>25</sup> which is a start, but maybe not quite enough.

Another reviewer, “Semper Veritas,” put the anguished question:

*“This is a book which indicates something of the hidden intrigue and duplicity of Governments. It is small wonder that 60 years afterwards, when Martin Allen had found documentary evidence and published those in his book that there are howls of ‘forged documents’ – to try and play down the information that has come to light. Why cannot the British Government, 60 years after the end of World War II, declare what really happened all those years ago?”*

Why indeed?

## Post Scriptum

*By Germar Rudolf*

In August of 2009, I was contacted by a friend who wanted me to meet a special person for a luncheon. That person turned out to be German historian Dr. Olaf Rose. During that lunch, he told me, among other things, that he managed to get in touch with Martin Allen and, having gained his confidence, was told by Mr. Allen some very revealing facts regarding the matter described above by Dr. Kollerstrom.

First, when Mr. Allen was informed about criminal investigation being conducted on the forgery of the documents in question, he assured his full cooperation. Among other things, Mr. Allen made available photocopies which he had made of the relevant documents. A comparison between those photocopies and the presumed “originals” – or rather forgeries – in the archive revealed that the punch holes visible on Mr. Allen’s photocopies did not match those on the forgeries, which, however, showed faint traces of these original punch holes on the paper. It was concluded that Mr. Allen did indeed photocopy originals, but that those originals were later removed and replaced by photocopies of these originals, made on modern paper with a modern copier.

Hence, someone who strongly disliked Mr. Allen’s historical revelations and who had the means to mess with archival documents with impunity went to great length to discredit Mr. Allen by replacing the originals with photocopies, and presumably destroying the originals.

No criminal proceedings were ever initiated against Mr. Allen, because he could prove that the forged documents in the archives were placed there after he had copied the originals. The fact that the entire case was shelved without any further investigation against the perpetrator(s) proves that the investigating authorities were ordered by individuals higher up in the hierarchy not to pursue the case any further.

It is therefore safe to assume that the originals were destroyed and removed by government agencies in an attempt to ruin Mr. Allen’s reputation and to prevent any further revision of WWII historiography.

Mr. Allen, thoroughly intimidated by the unscrupulous conduct of Her Majesty’s government, decided to play it safe and not to speak out.

March 31, 2017

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> “Fiction, facts and forgeries, The Revelations of Peter and Martin Allen about the history of the Second World War,” E. Haiger, *Jnl. of Intelligence History*, Summer 2006.
- <sup>2</sup> Info here cited comes from the NA file RW 4/30, documents on the forgery issue.
- <sup>3</sup> *Telegraph*, 2 July 2005. Online: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1493193/How-Himmlers-death-was-turned-into-a-British-murder-plot.html> plus also <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1493192/Files-on-Himmler-murder-exposed-as-fake.html>
- <sup>4</sup> A British “history learning site” accepts Allen’s thesis: [http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/death\\_of\\_heinrich\\_himmler.htm](http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/death_of_heinrich_himmler.htm)
- <sup>5</sup> *The Telegraph*’s discrediting of Allen’s Himmler-death narrative oddly coincided with the publication of *Himmlers Tod* by Joseph Bellinger in Germany, in the same month, which likewise argued that British agents had killed him. Online: <http://codoh.com/library/document/the-forgery-of-a-forgery>
- <sup>6</sup> Irving [http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler\\_Times\\_030705.html](http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler_Times_030705.html)
- <sup>7</sup> Archivist Nancy Bell assured me, “I can confirm the papers [on which the letters had been written] were old and contemporary with the period covered by the letters.”
- <sup>8</sup> These allegedly fake documents are now at RW 4/3, 4/6, 4/7 and 4/11 having originally belonged to the files FO 371/ 26145, 26691 and 60508. (Two other documents were queried by Haiger, but his references erred so they could not be checked)
- <sup>9</sup> Her report is found in the NA file RW 4/30.
- <sup>10</sup> D. Thomas, *Archives*, (published by British Records Association) 34, April; 2009, p.21-25.
- <sup>11</sup> On Ben Fenton’s 2 July article, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1493192/Files-on-Himmler-murder-exposed-as-fake.html>. Also see: <http://greyfalcon.us/restored/Himmler%2Ofake.htm>
- <sup>12</sup> A dozen real signatures by Brendan Bracken are reproduced in color on the last page of the RW 4/30 file. If there is a slight shakiness to some of his signatures, that may indicate inebriation (Charles Lysaght, *Brendan Bracken*, 1979) rather than forgery.
- <sup>13</sup> “Fenton spotted what looked like pencil marks beneath the signature on one of them” (Wiki). That was his *reason for suspecting* they were forgeries: in 2008 he recalled, “on closer inspection of the Bracken letter, I saw what I was sure were pencil marks beneath the signature.” (FT 3.5.08) Dr. Giles in contrast merely detected pencil marks beneath the Bracken signatures under infra-red light.
- <sup>14</sup> Online: <http://the-print-guide.blogspot.co.uk/2010/08/how-was-it-printed-simple-ways-to.html>
- <sup>15</sup> Editorial comment of *Printer’s World*, 7 July 2005.
- <sup>16</sup> The file FO 371/26145 is sequentially paginated. Every one of its sixty-odd pages is numbered with pencil in the top-right corner. A letter of Feb ‘41 (now RW 4/3) supposedly came from it, *i.e.* Allen referred to it as within that file. If

- so, Allen upon consulting this file would have seen that there was no gap in the page numbers where this letter could have belonged. If I could get to speak to Mr. Allen or his wife (which I can't!) I'd put this to them.
- <sup>17</sup> I later noticed Irving's comment ([http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler\\_DTel\\_020705.html](http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler_DTel_020705.html)) that "the Bracken typewriter seems identical to that used by other Bracken letters I have seen, for instance in the papers of Bernard Baruch at Princeton. That coincidence, or craftsmanship, is really pushing the envelope of credibility." He did not accept that the typewriter here used was the same as that used for the typewritten letter by "Wheeler Bennett" ([http://www.fpp.co.uk/Himmler/death/PRO\\_doc1.html](http://www.fpp.co.uk/Himmler/death/PRO_doc1.html)) – as averred by those claiming forgery.
- <sup>18</sup> What, for example, was the crime? The NA replied to my enquiry: "1. We do not have any evidence as to which crime was being investigated by the Police. 2. We do not have a copy of the Police Report." So it was very low-key. A filed letter by Ben Fenton of Nov. 15, 2007 stated that each time he asked a crime correspondent at Scotland Yard how the investigation was progressing, "he has come back to me saying that the relevant part of Scotland Yard has no knowledge of any such investigation." He then tried to ascertain which division of the Met had been sent the NA files. (RW 4/30)
- <sup>19</sup> *The Sunday Times* did a follow-up on 3 July 2005 ([http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler\\_Times\\_030705.html](http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/05/06/Himmler_Times_030705.html)), likewise quoting Audrey Giles.
- <sup>20</sup> Ben Fenton, "Himmler forgeries in National Archives case will stay unsolved," *Financial Times*, 3 May 2008. Online (behind paywall): <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/371bb7fe-18aa-11dd-8c92-0000779fd2ac.html#axzz30BMhMxdm>
- <sup>21</sup> These allegedly forged Bruce Lockhart letters are now classified as RW 4/13-17, dated from 3 March 1943 to 24 January 1944.
- <sup>22</sup> On 9 Feb 2006 files were handed to DI of the Met. Ben Fenton recalls "I was interviewed by Det. Insp. Andy Perrott, a local CID man but with experience in the Fraud Squad. Suspects were interviewed – one even arrested – but no charges were ever made."
- <sup>23</sup> His book *Himmler's Secret War* was subtitled *The Covert Peace Negotiations of Heinrich Himmler*. I can't help feeling that the latter was Mr. Allen's intended title, rather than the meaningless one he was given.
- <sup>24</sup> Wikipedia, Himmler, from its section: "Historical Views."
- <sup>25</sup> For his more "genuine" signature, see letters in FO 371/37098.

---

## REVIEW

---

### The Holocaust in American Life

*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*

*The Holocaust in American Life*, by Peter Novick, Mariner Books, New York, 1999, 373 pp.

---

S ometime very late in the Twentieth Century, Jewish Historian Peter Novick chose to write a book whose title very aptly described its subject, *The Holocaust in American Life*. Clearly, based on a reading of the book, Novick had grave concerns about the subject. In a word, if I may provide one, Novick disapproved of the uses and interpretations the subject was receiving in America. In some cases, he was concerned about the accuracy of the historical revisionism deployed to serve the various purposes of interested actors; in others (with much overlap among the cases), he was concerned about the effects of these uses, aside from the purposes themselves of participants in the great game of exploiting what had by then quite firmly been emplaced in American consciousness as “The Holocaust.”

At the present remove, the context of this “New York Times Notable Book” might be clearer, and hence more interesting, than it was at the time of its publication and of most of the extant reviews of it. Most-notable, to me, is the appearance of Jewish political Scientist Norman Finkelstein’s bestseller *The Holocaust Industry* the following year. Both scholars, as it happens, lived in Chicago, and I have no doubt that they met, and perhaps exchanged an idea or two, most-likely after the publication of the book here reviewed. Novick’s book clearly inspired, and to some extent undergirded, Finkelstein’s more-successful work of the following year.

In his attack on Polemicist Finkelstein, Jewish legal Sensationalist Alan Dershowitz, in fact, sought to enlist Novick – who had criticized Finkelstein’s exposé – in Dershowitz’s (ultimately successful) campaign to have Finkelstein banished from the academic community. Our author would have none of it. When requested to specify “the dirt” to which he had non-specifically alluded in previous comments on Finkelstein’s book, he declined, ostensibly because he felt that fulfilling such a request violated ancient tenets of intramural professional respect, though the possibility of a

lack of specifics might haunt the imaginings of a skeptical observer of the exchanges.

So much for the publishing context. From the perspective of 2014, much more can be gained from a contemplation of what Peter Novick, who died in 2012 after publishing no further books, had to say on his subject these fourteen years ago. It is, indeed, telling, if only on the score of how Novick's fears have been borne out. This is because, despite

Novick's concerns, and Finkelstein's numerous (he has continued publishing, most vigorously) alarms, the prominence of The Holocaust appears to me to have grown, at least in terms of media, academic, and even legal "noise," including enactment and enforcement of laws punishing "Holocaust denial" and even "historical revisionism."

I think Novick would be dismayed to see what has occurred since the publication of his concerns, much as Finkelstein also seems to have been ignored, or successfully neutralized, in developments since the times of publication of their respective broadsides. Novick's contribution, however, deserves place of pride not only in terms of when it appeared, but further in terms of its "angle of approach," an angle that leaves unsullied the sentiments of those who are committed to the still-regnant (large) version of the events of that "Holocaust," a spirit, by the way, that Finkelstein's subsequent forays leave altogether undamaged. Novick, like Finkelstein, leaves the meme of the Six Million altogether sacrosanct. Both of these sentries may have the same ultimate goal in view: that of warning zealots that the matter might be taken too far – too far, that is, to serve the interests of those promoting it, and too far to withstand the inevitable scrutiny of subsequent historical inquiry – of credibility itself.

Novick is, in any case, a historian, in contrast to whom Finkelstein might be viewed as more of a journalist, this distinction perhaps explaining to some extent the failure of the two quite to "mesh" with each other's



*Memorial Plaque at Sachsenhausen for the homosexual victims of National Socialism  
By Txl gkhs (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0  
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons*



treatments of their shared subject. But Finkelstein, if only on the score of his younger age, is “downstream” of Novick, and Novick’s work is the subject of this review.

Novick was certainly eminently qualified to give this topic a thorough, insightful treatment. He was Jewish, but people who knew him described him as “non-observant,” a description possibly fitting a majority of American “Jews.” It does not appear that he “lost” any European relatives to (in, or during) the Holocaust. He was by 1999 a respected historian, author, among other things of a 1988 book titled *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession*, a book whose index lacks the keywords Holocaust, Revisionism, or Israel.

From the present time, Novick might be tested as to whether he was prescient. But he undertook no prescience, as such. He merely stated, in terms well-supported and trenchantly defended, reasons why he felt trends in the uses being made by various interests (most of them Jewish and/or Israeli) boded ill for the future, in which prediction he was resoundingly correct. But perhaps the greatest value of his work comes from: (a) cataloging and interpreting all the various uses the Holocaust was subject to in America since at least 1938; and (b) tracing and analyzing the changes in those manifold uses and identifying their impetuses in a manner quite befitting a professional historian.

His treatment of Holocaust revisionists is brief, and telling. First, he erected and attacked the straw man of “Holocaust deniers,” so smearing Arthur Butz, the only individual he named in his treatment of the subject. Having erected the straw man, he then correctly stated that the numbers of people fitting the description, as well as their collective influence, is pitifully small. He eschewed actual invective against the cadre he so roundly dismissed, but he even more-assiduously avoided admitting any possibility that the revisionists (to revert to the name of a real, and much larger, if embattled, group) had either sound motives, valid approaches, or accurate information on anything whatsoever. But his analysis of the phenomenon is conducted in the course of disparaging the counter-denial movement mounted so volubly and profitably by, among others, Deborah Lipstadt. His ultimate conclusion: it’s unnecessary and unseemly. The whole discussion is sure to arouse mixed feelings among revisionists.

Novick’s support for the mainstream body of Holocaust sensationalism appears frequently in the book. It is firm, unequivocal, and full-throated. Such a performance would not be notable in itself – in 2014 as in 1999 – but the attentive reader will be struck, if not outraged, to find the author

spiritedly engaging in his own Holocaust revisionism as concerns a group of victims who are not, at least *per se*, Jewish. That group is homosexuals, whom the National Socialists prosecuted only in aggravated cases involving rape, pedophilia, or other public disturbances promoting the offender's "alternative sexual orientation."

Here is Novick the Holocaust revisionist on page 223 of the paperback version:

*"Claims by gay activists and their supporters for the number of homosexuals killed by the Third Reich reach as high as one million, and assertions that it was a quarter of a million or half a million are common. The actual number of gays who died or were killed in the camps appears to be around five thousand, conceivably as high as ten thousand. But unlike other groups that wanted to be recognized as victims of the Holocaust, gays do have political and cultural resources [...]."*

The metaphorical "elephant in the living room" of argumentative omission seems usually at least to be silent, but this one in Novick's living room fairly *trumpets* the omission of Jews as a claimant group and their own extravagant claims of numbers of victims. But from Eminent Historian Peter Novick, not the faintest peep as to these. Gays', sure. Jews', never. Perhaps our author was a homophobe, but if he was, he demonstrated it by revealing truths such as he would not reveal concerning a larger, more influential group that he more-likely identified with. The double standard is blindingly apparent here.

Fortunately, gaffes of this magnitude are largely absent from Novick's treatment, and leaves it – the great majority of the book – relevant, informative, well supported, and even readable. His only other omission, reparation payments from Germany, he could have chosen to omit because it did not concern only – or particularly – recipients in America, though I'd confidently wager that the bulk of payments have gone to recipients in that country ever since they were instituted in 1952. But *they're* global, right? His omission of the ambiguous reception Holocaust victims received in Israel is, again, mercifully excludable because the subject – right there in the title – concerns the Holocaust in *American* life.<sup>1</sup>

The overarching insights conveyed by this account have to do with the historian's stock in trade: time. In 1945, much was known concerning the Holocaust by the people who cared most about it, at least as concerns the mythology and hyperbole that constitutes its popular incarnation to this day. Awareness of the falsity of these has dawned but slowly, if at all, among this initial cohort of curators of the story, but it matters little today,

as most of them are dead, or of very advanced age.

But the popularization, the discussion, the promotion (or whatever the opposite of censorship might be) of the tale underwent a succession of metamorphoses during the period 1945–1999 that Novick went to great lengths to chronicle and analyze. Anyone who was sapient in the 1950s, particularly if he lived among Jews or had Jewish friends (as I did) is well aware that the Holocaust had absolutely nothing of the prominence that it commands in today’s discourse. Why so? Our author devotes many pages and references to an explanation of that, and he identified the pivotal point, Israel’s 1967 attack on its Arab neighbors, that became the focal point of the subsequent analyses offered by Norman Finkelstein. Anyone who wonders just how this sea change came about will be well rewarded by Novick’s account. He was there, and unlike many of the rest of us, he was a historian, at least up to the point where he wrote this book.

Even though his analysis cut off fourteen years ago, the trends he adduced are starkly familiar in the world of 2014.

Only more so. If Peter Novick were with us in today’s world, the realizations of his fears of 1999 would, I suspect, be so extreme as to silence him utterly, at least on this subject.

Much as it silences the growing numbers of us alive today who might otherwise undertake realistic analyses of it. Today, we are well past the “end game” of the Holocaust enterprise. We are, instead, approaching the end itself. And, on the score of the ever-increasing ferocity of its defenders, it will not be a game.

## Note

<sup>1</sup> The book was released in the UK under the title *The Holocaust and Collective Memory*.

---

## PROFILE IN HISTORY

---

### H. Keith Thompson Jr.

*Kerry R. Bolton*

Charles Harold Keith Thompson Jr., more familiarly known as Keith Thompson, was long a seminal influence on political and historical revisionism. Thompson's historical revisionism was incidental to his political and ideological outlooks. Thompson sought a revival of Western civilization, and regarded German National Socialism and Italian Fascism as provisional forms of such a revival. In a previous article, I considered Thompson's work with Francis Parker Yockey in assisting the German war veteran and post-war political leader Major General Otto E. Remer, and in opposing the postwar vengeance regime against Germany.<sup>1</sup> In this article, I will consider Thompson's background and work further, in part based on the correspondence I had with him, and material he sent to me.<sup>2</sup>

---

**T**hompson was born in Orange, New Jersey, on September 17, 1922<sup>3</sup> of Anglo-Saxon, German and Scottish descent, son of Harold K. Thompson, a printer-publisher widely respected as local Post Commander of the American Legion and active in civic affairs; and grandson of scientist and inventor George K. Thompson.<sup>4</sup> The German branch of the family is called Thomsen. Dr. Hans Thomsen, Keith's cousin, was the last German *chargé d'affaires* in Washington prior to World War II. They worked closely together to keep the USA out of the war.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, it seems likely that at this time, Thompson would have been introduced to his life-long friend and mentor George Sylvester Viereck, a major figure in the American literati, who was, according to Coogan, closely involved with Hans Thomsen in campaigning to keep the USA out of the war against Germany.<sup>6</sup>

One of the enigmas that soon emerge about Thompson is that despite his involvement with the German-American Bund and the America First movement, as a college student in 1940 he headed a student committee supporting the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace to the presidency and vice presidency respectively.<sup>7</sup> Roosevelt was anathema to the American Right. Wallace was known for his pro-Soviet views, and would later run for the presidency for the Progressive Party, regarded as a front for the Communist Party USA.

Part of this anti-war campaign involved activities with the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund.<sup>8</sup> As a result, presumably helped by his connections with Viereck and with his cousin Dr. Hans Thomsen, Thompson was appointed special agent with the rank of SS *Sturmabführer*, in the SD/Overseas Intelligence Unit, on July 27, 1941.<sup>9</sup>

After the war Thompson explained his views as deriving in part from his descent “from a long line of Prussian field marshals,” the Keith family, of Scottish descent, who had emigrated to and served under Frederick the Great. From this he had the feeling of “pride of race,” of the “Prussian spirit,” and of Germany. At the age of 14 he became interested in politics and German history. With the rise of Hitler, he was enthused by the new regime’s “socialism” and the overthrow of the Versailles *diktat*. The German-American Bund was particularly active around New York and New Jersey, and Thompson joined.<sup>10</sup>

Having a mutual interest in philately, he had gifted a set of American stamps to King Carol II of Romania, received a reply and the two remained in communication until the exiled king’s death in 1953. Thompson toured Germany as a child and got to know Prince August Wilhelm,<sup>11</sup> Brigadier General in Hitler’s SA storm troopers. Thompson also maintained contact with Kaiser Wilhelm II, exiled in the Netherlands.<sup>12</sup> He remained in contact with Prince August until 1949, when August died prematurely as the result of imprisonment by the Allies.

At Drew College and Yale, Thompson expressed his opposition to the USA’s having fought in World War I and becoming involved in another war against Germany. His views were already “well known.”<sup>13</sup>

At Yale, where he was a midshipman commander with the Naval ROTC, Thompson was a member of the Political Union, a front for the American Labor Party, and headed a committee supporting the confirmation of Wallace as Secretary of Commerce. This was in 1944.

## Naval Career and Harassments

Having studied naval law at Yale, Thompson held posts in the Navy associated with legal matters. He served as an administration officer of the USS Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1946, then on the USS Mount Olympus as part of the Antarctic expedition of Admiral Richard E. Byrd in 1947, after which he lectured civilian groups on the Antarctic. That year he resigned from the Navy to accept a Marine Corps commission. In 1948 he attended the founding meeting of Wallace’s Progressive Party, and resigned from the

Marines to devote himself to working for Wallace.<sup>14</sup> From a dialectal viewpoint, which seems to be how Thompson often operated, he perhaps saw Roosevelt's controversial nomination of Wallace as Secretary of Commerce and later of Agriculture, as a means of dividing and wrecking the Democratic Party; and his later nomination for the presidency under the Progressive ticket, as a means of dividing the liberal-Democratic vote. Certainly, there does not seem to be any point of commonality between the views of Thompson and Wallace, although Wallace became increasingly conservative from the 1950s.

Thompson alludes to his joining groups of both the "extreme Right and the moderate Left" at this time, but his "dedication to the principles of practical National Socialism" was only strengthened.<sup>15</sup> Appalled by the "war crimes" trials of "honorable soldiers," "mock trials," "the first in history," "cold bloodedly vicious," instigated primarily by communist and Jewish agents, Thompson began to work on individual cases from 1945, when he was still on active service. These included those of Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen, Reich governor of Belgium; Dönitz, Manstein and Kesselring, and the 1945-1947 Dachau "Flyers Case."<sup>16</sup>

Thompson was regarded as a communist sympathizer during his days in the Navy and the Marine Corps, being identified by the FBI as a member of the pro-Soviet Progressive Party, and of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. An FBI investigation into Thompson in 1952 in regard to the correspondence he had been sending concerning imprisoned German war veteran and Socialist Reich Party leader Major General Otto E. Remer, states that Thompson was an officer in the Navy from 1942 to 1947 and a Marine Corps officer during 1948 to 1950. He was court-martialed in June 1950 on charges of misconduct that controversially alleged sexual misconduct of a "deviate" (sic).

Thompson had been noted also as having associations with Communist Party members.<sup>17</sup> Thompson, during his training at Marine Corps Base Quantico, was in contact with Katherine van Orden, leader of the Progressive Party for the District of Columbia, and a Communist Party function-



*The rarely photographed  
H. Keith Thompson in  
1954*

ary.<sup>18</sup> It was further stated that Thompson was a Progressive Party member, and a founding member of the Independent Progressive Party in New Jersey, in 1948, with van Orden.<sup>19</sup>

Thompson vigorously defended his court martial, receiving widespread publicity especially from the American Labor Party's newspaper *The National Guardian*, which the FBI described as "Stalinist,"<sup>20</sup> with support from the American Civil Liberties Union. *The Guardian* contended that there had been widespread wire tapping and pressuring of witnesses. Thompson insisted on, and was granted, a personal hearing before Secretary of the Navy Francis Matthews in October 1950. The guilty verdict of the court martial was upheld. Thompson wrote to Matthews that he had acted contrary to his oath of office, had conspired to oust Thompson from the Navy for political reasons, and that remedies would be sought through civil action.<sup>21</sup> In a two-hour interview with Thompson and his attorney, Secretary Matthews did acknowledge that there were "serious errors" in the court martial.<sup>22</sup> An FBI report outlining his naval career commented that a Navy doctor had examined him in 1948, and found him to be physically and mentally normal, and "never has he shown evidence of a psychopathic personality."<sup>23</sup> Among Thompson's associations in the Marines was John E. Rudder, Second Lieutenant and the "only Negro officer stationed at Quantico." "Both advocated the abolishment of segregation." Rudder was discharged from the Marine Corps in 1949.<sup>24</sup>

In taking up Thompson's case, the American Civil Liberties Union issued a press release referring to "uncontested testimony of wire-tapping and coercion of witnesses by the Office of Naval Intelligence," urging Secretary Matthews to carefully review these matters. The ACLU stated that at least two witnesses had been threatened with jail on spurious charges, if they did not testify against Thompson.<sup>25</sup> *The National Guardian*<sup>26</sup> took up Thompson's case as an officer who was being persecuted for his Leftist sympathies and support for Henry Wallace. *The National Guardian* referred to Thompson's "spotless six-year record" in the military, and as receiving an award from the Sons of the American Revolution for outstanding leadership qualities.

He had tendered his resignation from the Marines in order to work fulltime for the Progressive Party campaign, but his resignation had been rejected. It was after this that Thompson was accused of "spanking" three subordinates. It had at the time been regarded as a joke. One witness was taken to the camp psychiatric ward, and falsely told that Thompson had admitted having sexual relations with him. The witness was then taken to

Bethesda Naval Hospital for two weeks, although not treated for any condition. Rudder, questioned as to whether he shared Thompson's political views after appearing as a character witness for Thompson, was honorably discharged from the Marines. Another character witness, who exposed the falsity of the morality charges against Thompson, was told that he would be charged with "indecent exposure" before an officer's wife unless he retracted his testimony. He refused, and was honorably discharged from the Marines.

It seems that Thompson's real crime is that he had been active in exposing illegal punishment of enlisted men, including the use of leg irons, being forced to put garbage in their meal trays, and denied counsel in court martial proceedings. Among those who testified for Thompson were numerous enlisted men and officers, including Rear Admiral Byrd.<sup>27</sup> Prior to the proceedings against Thompson, he had been one of fifty officers recommended for promotion by President Truman and Matthews.<sup>28</sup>

Other associates of Thompson's at this time, of much interest to the FBI, were David Rein, an organizer of the National Lawyer's Guild, and his wife Selma, an organizer of the Progressive Party. Details about their Communist affiliations appear in Thompson's 1952 file.<sup>29</sup> More perplexing however is Thompson's membership of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

Something of Thompson's thinking is shown by his remark to *The New York Compass* that "everyone should be free to express political views, no matter what their variety." When asked by the reporter how he squared his civil libertarianism with his support for the "resurgence of authority," he replied:

*"When in Rome, do as the Romans do. [U.S. Secretary of State] Acheson and the rest claim they are for democracy. Let them then be democratic. Let them stop trying to impose themselves on the German people. If the so-called war criminals had been shot by the U.S. it might have been justifiable under the slogan, To the victor belong spoils, but to imprison them and deny them dignity is criminal."*

He continued:<sup>30</sup>

*"Understand, I am not fighting for any particular philosophy. I'm fighting for certain people, for justice. We contend that the interests of the U.S. vis-à-vis the international communist movement are best served by a strong Germany. We've alienated Germany with the war trials. Now we ask the Germans to build an army to fight for us at the same time that we have under confinement thousands of their soldiers,*



*including the legal Head of the German State, Grand Admiral Dönitz. It was a foul and unspeakable process."*

After the war Thompson had been shocked by the treatment of German former senior officials, and "dedicated himself to the salvation of their civil liberties." He mentioned the case of Mrs. Himmler, who had only been a loyal wife, yet had her property confiscated and was impoverished. "It is an outrage." He had studied the transcripts and records of the "war crimes trials" and the de-nazification trials and found that they "were uniformly trumped-up railroad jobs. I deny that any Germans were war criminals."<sup>31</sup>

While Thompson was engaged in these activities he was also helping ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio of the American Labor Party, and there was an expectation that Thompson would run for the Labor Party in Marcantonio's former New York constituency.<sup>32</sup> Thompson wrote "many" of Marcantonio's speeches.<sup>33</sup> He had remarked at the time to Karl Hess, press editor of *Newsweek*, that Germans felt they could negotiate better with the USSR than with the USA for their future.

He also maintained a friendship with left-wing Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siquieros. Thompson wrote an article on the case in Leftist publisher Lyle Stuart's magazine, *The Independent*, when Siquieros was jailed in Mexico.<sup>34</sup> Thompson also represented Left-wing artist Rockwell Kent, and broke the blacklisting of Kent among publishers, arranging for the publishing of Kent's *Greenland Journal* by Ivan Obolensky in New York.

How this dialectic worked is shown by what David McCalden states was the USSR's release of a "Nazi war criminal" of Thompson's choice.<sup>35</sup> Thompson told Coogan that his assistance for Siquieros was the return of a favor for the Mexican artist having recommended a safe-house to Yockey in the USA when he was sought by the FBI.<sup>36</sup> Thompson's assistance to Rockwell Kent opened the way for contacts with Soviet diplomat Valerian Zorin in 1961, and with the Soviet Ministry of Culture.<sup>37</sup>

## Major General Remer and the Socialist Reich Party

In 1952 Thompson registered under U.S. law as a foreign agent for the Socialist Reich Party and began a campaign to support the SRP, which was being suppressed because of its growing electoral popularity and its neutralist position vis-à-vis the Cold War.<sup>38</sup> For this purpose the Committee for International Justice and the Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer were formed. Remer, hated for his role in suppressing the July 1944 plot to overthrow Hitler, was a particular target of the Bonn authori-

ties and of organized Jewry, and remained so for the rest of his long life. Thompson wrote to *Time* magazine on June 23, 1952 protesting an article on those imprisoned at Spandau that also attacked Remer and other German veterans.<sup>39</sup> Counsel for the committees was Edward Fleckenstein, president of the Voters' Alliance for Americans of German Ancestry.<sup>40</sup> According to a report in the *Newark Star-Ledger* cited by the FBI, the purpose of the Committee for International Justice was to secure the release of all German military personnel jailed for "war crimes," who were convicted on "fraudulent evidence," and Thompson spent all of his spare time soliciting American support for the Socialist Reich Party. "Thompson is quoted as saying that he has appealed to the State Department, the United Nations, and, in fact, to about everybody." The committees also aimed to provide humanitarian relief "to the families of the 1,045 German soldiers held as war criminals, to work for the overturning of the indictment against Remer, and to pressure the Bonn regime into halting the persecution of minority political parties. Thompson was quoted as stating that he communicated with pre-war British Fascist leader and post-war pan-European leader Sir Oswald Mosley, and with Inga Dönitz, the wife of the interned Grand Admiral and last president of united Germany, and she was a recipient of committee aid. The FBI file states that the *Newark Star Ledger* article described Thompson as "a mild mannered friendly young man who will patiently explain the ideology of his cause and who does not let himself be provoked into heated discussions."<sup>41</sup>

The American Jewish Committee, reporting on the "neo-nazi revival" in Germany, stated in a special section on Thompson that he had also registered as American agent for the Munich based publication *Die andere Seite* (*The Other Side*), edited by Dr. Rudolf Aschenauer. The latter was instrumental in getting Senator Joseph McCarthy to investigate American use of torture on the defendants of the Malmedy trials of former SS personnel.<sup>43</sup> The American Jewish Committee commented on how gratified they were at the banning of the SRP, and alluded to the alleged association between the "neo-nazis" and Soviet agents in eastern and western Germany, urging the Bonn government to be vigilant to the likelihood of the SRP re-forming in another guise.<sup>44</sup>

On October 31, 1952 Thompson's brief registration as a foreign agent ended due to the dissolution of the SRP.<sup>45</sup> However, his committee for justice had made some significant contributions. While the regimen at Spandau Prison had been harsh for the first several years, it had relented and this was partly thanks to Thompson's efforts, according to Field Marshal Kesselring.<sup>46</sup>

According to the FBI, Fleckenstein stated that both the Committee for International Justice and the Remer committee were “sub-committees” of his voters’ alliance.<sup>47</sup> The committees had been formed in answer to the many requests to the voters’ alliance to offer material assistance to impoverished Germans, and Fleckenstein had turned the responsibility over to Thompson.<sup>48</sup> Fleckenstein and Thompson had been introduced in November 1952 by their mutual friend Viereck.<sup>49</sup> Fleckenstein’s voters’ alliance had been denied its application to incorporate in 1946 by New York State Supreme Court Justice Ernest E. L. Hammer, who considered an association referring to Americans of “German ancestry” to be “inadvisable” given that Germany was still an occupied country, with its leaders being tried as “war criminals” and a peace treaty yet to be negotiated.<sup>50</sup>

The American Jewish Committee sought to publicly expose Thompson as a registered agent for the SRP, which they claimed “constituted another threat to the free world.”<sup>51</sup> Thompson for his part believed that the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, Society for the Prevention of World War III<sup>52</sup> and other groups friendly to Israel and antagonistic towards Germany should be required to register as foreign agents.<sup>53</sup>

Fleckenstein had intended to sue the U.S. Government via the Committee for International Justice, on behalf of Americans who had sent several million dollars’ worth of humanitarian aid to Germans, his view being that a conquering nation has a duty towards the vanquished.<sup>54</sup> This was the era when the Morgenthau Plan for the genocidal starvation of Germans had been put into effect as a *de facto* policy.<sup>55</sup> It was Fleckenstein’s efforts that “paved the way” for the delivery of food parcels to Germany.<sup>56</sup>

Fleckenstein also stated that he intended forming a youth division of the voters’ alliance, with Thompson as leader.<sup>57</sup> In 1953 Fleckenstein visited Germany and spoke out against U.S. policy. He was arrested, jailed, his passport seized by U.S. authorities, and deported, without being charged.<sup>58</sup>

## Campaign for Robert Taft

Thompson praised Senators Joseph McCarthy and Robert Taft to *The New York Compass* as two statesmen who had opposed the post-war trials against the German leadership.<sup>59</sup> He had formed the American Voters Union in 1952 for the purpose of campaigning for the presidential nomination of Robert Taft by the Republican Party.

The Voters Union distributed provocative handbills praising General Douglas MacArthur and Senator Taft, headed “if you enjoy having part of

your weekly paycheck withheld to buy some Washington where a mink coat, don't bother reading this." The Union announced its fight for the "principles of Taft and MacArthur," against the creeping Marxism of "New Deal" type programs, which had infiltrated the Republican Party and was backing Dwight Eisenhower's candidacy. The handbill ended "Fight the Raw Deal and Fumigate the Ikeraches," in reference to 'Ike' (Eisenhower). Young Americans were urged to enroll in a support committee for Senator Joseph McCarthy for a planned speech at Yorkville, New York, a mainstay of the German community, and a stronghold for the pre-war Christian Front. Yorkville became the focus of the National Renaissance Party, a flagrantly National-Socialist group that endured from its formation in 1949 until the death of its leader, James H. Madole, in 1979. Madole, although gaining minimal support even among the radical Right, was to play a role in the activities of Thompson, Fred Weiss and Yockey, as will be seen.

Senator Joseph McCarthy had agreed to speak at a Voters Union public meeting, called a "German-American Friendship Rally," but cancelled because of an engagement with the Young Republicans in Wisconsin.<sup>60</sup> However, other notables spoke, including Henry C. Fuerstenwalde, formerly of the U.S. Embassy in Berlin; Professor Austin J. App, from LaSalle College, whose efforts as a writer against anti-German defamation endured for decades; Dr. Ludwig A. Fritsch, Lutheran Minister and author of the hard-hitting *Crime of Our Age*; and Father Emmanuel J. Reichenberger, expert on the East German expellee problem. Thompson served as moderator of the meeting.

Another handbill of the Voters Union, "Stop Eisenhower," stated that he had never supported a Republican candidate, and that the Eisenhower campaign for nomination was an "act of sabotage" of the Republican Party. It was claimed that Eisenhower was a close colleague of Alger Hiss, the U.S. State Department luminary accused of Soviet espionage.

Thompson, Fleckenstein, Arthur Koegel, head of the Steuben Society, and others attended the Republican convention in Chicago to lobby for Taft.<sup>61</sup> At the convention they endeavored to promote friendship with Germany among the delegates. They met Senators McCarthy and Dirksen, Congressman Hamilton Fish, (who had been an opponent of U.S. entry into the world war), and conservative columnist Westbrook Pegler. "All were very cordial and made a good impression on us," wrote Thompson.<sup>62</sup> The leaflets against the "fumigation of Ikeraches" were so effective that police searched for one of the distributors throughout the convention hall to eject him.

## Hiss and the Rosenbergs

Returning from Chicago, Thompson became the subject of a widespread smear campaign started by *Time*, and he was wire-tapped by a “Jewish defense group.” Thompson obliged by feeding misinformation. Part of Thompson’s reason for writing the “Fascist” series for *Expose*, and for feeding the FBI information, was to thwart the activities of Sanford Griffith, who supplied information to the Anti-Defamation League. Thompson often pointed out to the FBI their dealings with dubious individuals such as Griffith and showed in the *Expose* series that Griffith and other “anti-nazi” and ADL agents were funding and encouraging Weiss and Madole while these two were willing to play along. Indeed, Griffith even gave Thompson money for printing, claiming to be a “friendly journalist” intending to give Thompson some good publicity via the *Newark Star-Ledger*. Thompson stated that he gave Griffith a “completely inaccurate picture,” but apparently sufficiently convincing to warrant further funds from the ADL. Griffith would give Thompson ideas and money when publicity flagged. Thompson then discovered how the ADL operated as *agents provocateurs* among the Right, and why they are often “the most dependable source of funds.”<sup>63</sup> Griffith had been operating since before the war, and had infiltrated the America First movement. He had been a key state witness against Viereck when the eminent poet and author was accused of being a German agent. Viereck was jailed although his first conviction had been overturned by the Supreme Court.

The same year, Thompson was writing to President Truman asking for clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the archetypically Jewish communists, who would be executed for having delivered atomic secrets to the USSR. Thompson contended that the Rosenbergs were being “tried by the newspapers,” and that it would be impossible to secure a fair trial, because “they hold minority and unpopular views.” Here one sees Thompson’s dialectics at work in regard to the Left, as he comments that he opposed the confinement of the Rosenbergs “just as strongly as I oppose the continued confinement of the so-called German ‘war criminals’.”

*“Legal proceedings which are conducted in periods of stress and unbalanced hatreds seldom result in just verdicts and findings. If, in fact, it requires ‘communist propaganda’ to urge the American people to a just and humanitarian course, then it is the fault of the American people that there are such glaring faults in their civil processes as to render them open to attack from any quarter.”*<sup>64</sup>

Here is a sideswipe at the vengeance against Germany in the name of the Rosenbergs. Thompson remained a champion of civil liberties in the USA, and was also to write offering any assistance he could to Alger Hiss,<sup>65</sup> whom he had previously attacked as part of the Voters Union campaign against Eisenhower. Supporting such generally leftist and liberal causes was an indirect means of also supporting civil liberties for Rightists and German war veterans.

## American Committee for the Advancement of Western Culture

In 1953 Thompson began organizing the American Committee for the Advancement of Western Culture (ACAWC). Thompson stated that the aims were (1) to serve as an advisory group for those who oppose internationalism and alien cultures and influences, (2) to be a political action group on U.S. domestic and foreign policies, (3) to safeguard the liberties of Americans regardless of their politics. "Nationalists" would be recruited "from Left, Right, and Center," including a "high caliber European advisory staff."<sup>66</sup> It is notable, given Thompson's seemingly perplexing association with Leftist causes that he refers to working with the whole so-called political spectrum.

The committee that Thompson put together included Dr. A. O. Tittmann, ex-diplomat, author and opponent of the "war crimes trials," who had founded the Voters Alliance of Americans of German Ancestry in 1947, as honorary chairman; James H. Madole of the National Renaissance Party; Kurt Mertig, a German-American who had been the founder of the National Renaissance Party and a pre-war activist who led the Citizens' Protective League;<sup>67</sup> Eustace Mullins, regarded as an authority on the Federal Reserve Bank and Jews, but probably best remembered for his biography of his mentor Ezra Pound, and as founder of the Free Ezra Pound Committee;<sup>68</sup> and Thompson's close colleague Frederick C. F. Weiss, who had served with the German general staff during World War I, had immigrated to the USA during the 1930s, and had been briefly interned in the USA in 1942 as an enemy alien. Weiss is described in FBI files as "the guiding influence behind all of the pro-German, neo-Nazi organizations in the U.S."<sup>69</sup> The overseas advisory committee included former SRP general secretary Dr. Gerhardt Krueger; Alexander Raven Thompson, leading Mosleyite intellectual and editor of the Union movement's newspaper *Union*; Oswald Pirow, former South African minister of defense. Sundry oth-

ers were drawn from the Right, the most prominent of whom was Thompson's long-time friend King Carol II of Romania.

Thompson noted the rivalry that existed between individuals on the Right, and the committee was stillborn. Jewish pressure had been intense, Thompson stating that blackmail, economic pressure and false scare stories were used to sow discord among members. Because of its size and dispersion, Thompson states that the committee was "helpless" against infiltration from the ADL and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.<sup>70</sup>

The "committee" obviously had the potential to become something other than a think tank. When the German concert pianist Walter Gieseking was being picketed at Carnegie Hall because, although not a Hitlerite, he had never repudiated his people or the Reich, Thompson and some friends confronted the picketers and attempted to get police to ensure the orderly entrance of patrons. He was "promptly identified" by angry Zionists whispering his name. The Zionists surrounded Thompson's group, while a Jew threw a German naval ensign at Thompson's feet and "screamed": "is this your flag?"<sup>71</sup> With cameramen swarming in, Thompson "reacted explosively." The media, including television, made the most of the fracas to smear the committee and Thompson's colleagues, including Viereck, and others not involved with the committee. Thompson stated that he was "hemmed in" by the number of agencies from various organizations keeping him under surveillance. Merely being a social acquaintance of Thompson's would bring harassment.

One such target was a college student Donald A. Swan, who was to become an anthropologist and a co-founder of the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE),<sup>72</sup> an association of prominent social and physical scientists including C. D. Darlington and John R. Baker of Oxford University, Henry E. Garrett, et al. Swan was suspended from Queens College, supposedly for "neo-Nazi," "anti-Semitic," activities, but in particular for having associated with Thompson. The "authorities" had described Thompson as a "subversive" to Margaret V. Kiely, a Dean of Queens College, who stated she had heard Thompson's telephone conversations. That is, the FBI had played tapes to her. This controversy happened at a time when faculty at Queens College were themselves under investigation for Communist affiliations.

It seems that the "youth group that Fleckenstein aimed to create under Thompson's leadership is likely to have been the group formed by Donald Swan at Queens College, the German-American Youth Cultural Society, which he founded in October 1953.<sup>73</sup> The name suggests influence from

the Fleckenstein German-American organization. Thompson had advised Swan to stay clear of radical Rightist groups so that he could proceed with activities without being harassed by the FBI, ADL, American Jewish Committee, and the like. Swan seems to have followed Thompson's counsel, as the FBI informant stated that the youth group was non-political, although the *National Renaissance Bulletin* was available at its social gatherings.<sup>74</sup>

Another factor that caused consternation among the FBI was Thompson's allegations about collusion between the Justice Department and disreputable agents of the NANL and ADL, a matter that Thompson continued to raise with the FBI, which indignantly denied such associations. Thompson remarked that agents on the payroll of the State, ADL and NANL simultaneously, and "selling 'secrets'" "accounts for much of the baloney which ends up in various files, private and governmental."<sup>75</sup> Thompson was not above providing the FBI with such "baloney" himself.

In August 1954, Thompson issued a press release that he had dissolved the ACAWC and dissociated himself from those who had been implicated. He had done so primarily to divert attention from his "foreign friends" implicated in an organization that had soon become infiltrated and victimized. One of those who had targeted Thompson was the Armenian-born "John Roy Carlson," notorious author of *Under Cover*, which had smeared America First isolationists as German agents and "nazis."<sup>76</sup> In subsequent legal hearings Judge John P. Barnes described Carlson as "someone who would write anything for a dollar." He had posed as "George Pagnanelli," Italo-American, during the 1940s. Now he was posing as "Yusef Nadir," writing from Germany, wanting to know about Thompson's contact with the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Carlson and the ADL described Thompson as the leader of an international Nazi organization. Thompson stated that although there are "nationalist" organizations throughout the world, any type of internationalism is inherently impossible. He was particularly encouraged by developments in Germany, although individuals such as his contacts war veterans Colonel Hans Rudel and Wolfgang Sarg of "Natinform Germany," were being harassed. Thompson singled out the post-war Union Movement of Sir Oswald Mosley for particular praise. Thompson commented, "even behind the Iron Curtain [...] we see evidence of resurgent nationalism within a framework of practical socialism."<sup>77</sup>

In concluding his series for *Expose*, Thompson outlined his "world-outlook." It is classically Spenglerian, referring to Bolshevik Russia as the leader of a world race war, augmenting the Marxist class war.<sup>78</sup> However, this was a strategy by the Kremlin for world power, as "old Bolshevism"



had been replaced by “an ultra-nationalistic military junta, motivated by Pan-Slavism, and recognizing the Jew, with his ‘foreign’ loyalty, as an internal enemy,” what the *New York Times* was calling “Russian Imperialism.” The USSR had, according to Jewish media such as *Commentary* and *The New Leader*, become “a greater horror than Fascism.” “The Prague trial of the eleven Jewish leaders in 1953 and similar actions in other satellite countries confirmed to the world the fact, long apparent to my friends [...],” that the Jewish element had lost power. Public opinion, molded by the press, had gone from being anti-German and pro-Russian to anti-German and anti-Russian. However, it was the regime that runs Washington that had delivered half of Europe to the USSR and it was late for purging the Western World of the “power force” that was responsible. What is required is the renewal of the *spirit* of the West:<sup>79</sup>

*“This Spirit must be opposed to Finance-Liberalism, to any weakening of the State, and to the desecrating misuse of the State for private economic interest; this Spirit must grow out of any fundamental life-forces that still exist in the Western Peoples, that instinct for power and possessions, for possessions as power, for honor, for order, for tradition, for inheritance, fecundity and family.”*

The ACAWC had attempted to arouse that Western spirit to a “Common Destiny,” not a mere common set of interests, “in this Hour of Decision,” (citing the title of Spengler’s last book). The committee was “savagely attacked;” and “more savagely attacked” when pointing out that the great Western Culture, welded into a spiritual unit by a thousand years of struggle “only to die if Western Europe is overwhelmed by the hordes from the Asian Steppes [...].” However, given that Russia had become the main enemy of Jews, Thompson et al. were smeared as “Commu-Nazis” for pointing out that Western Europe would now prefer Russian occupation “because it could be more quickly thrown off,” than the pervasive regime of the U.S. Occupation. Despite the smears that had been sustained, the struggle continued to “sweep the slate clean and prepare to meet our Destiny – or perish in the struggle.”<sup>80</sup>

The theme reflected the ideology that had been developing from Weiss, articulated philosophically by Yockey, and continued into the 1970s by the newspaper *Common Sense* and the NRP. Indeed, Weiss had stated, according to FBI notes, that German Nationalists were all working for “a united Germany under Soviet domination.”<sup>81</sup> Yockey had gone to the Soviet bloc, probably East Germany, from the USA, where he lived for several years in circumstances that remain unknown. So similar is the terminology and

thinking of Weiss, Yockey and Thompson that it can be difficult to distinguish among these authors.<sup>82</sup>

## Russia

The theme regarding Russia was developed in detail in mid-1955 by Weiss and Thompson in a four-part series of articles entitled "Russia" published by Weiss's Le Blanc Publishers and distributed via the National Renaissance Party with Weiss's funding. The essay was also likely to have had major input from Yockey, as Thompson stated that he "believed" Yockey had been writing Weiss's articles since December 1952.<sup>83</sup> The series, intended as a book, was printed by Thompson at his father's company, Cooper Forms, of which he was a manager. The article was regarded by the FBI as pro-Soviet, despite its references to the Russian-Mongolian hordes threatening the West. Indeed, the aim of "Russia" seems to have been to use the prospect of the "Soviet menace" in this Cold War era, as a means of advocating the unity of the Western Culture vis-à-vis an "outer enemy" (to use a Yockey term). While the West was portrayed as weak and collapsing, the USSR was portrayed as one of invincible and united Will, where questions of "democracy" are irrelevant. The Russians had overthrown the Bolshevism that had been implanted by Jews and had restored the Russian soul that sees man's meaning as part of a collectivity and not as an individual whose government is only concerned with contractual legal rights. For the Russian soul that had been reasserted in the USSR, one would look for understanding to Dostoyevsky rather than to Lenin or Trotsky. The western analysts should look beyond superficial questions about repression and slave labor, and ask rather whether 250,000,000 Russians were working in "syntony" with the State in a common "rhythm," that was also attracting German genius. The purpose was to understand the "Russian soul," for in another 25 years of "co-existence" there would remain a soulless Western mass, subservient to a "tremendously powerful array of Eastern forces advanced in scientific, military and industrial development and imbued with unshakeable Unity of Purpose."<sup>84</sup>

The Russian soul is shaped by the vastness of the plains. This description is pure Spengler.<sup>85</sup> A strong will has been developed by "willingness to suffer" and a tendency to fatalism forged by centuries of conflict and iron rule. An inherent nomadism results in a restlessness and a wandering that has been transformed into "unceasing expansion." It was under Stalin that the Russian peasantry awoke from centuries of slumber, as rulers from Peter the Great to Lenin and Trotsky had tried to impose foreign thinking.

The Russian peasantry had become “the folk of the future” with a destiny “not unlike that dreamed of by Dostoyevsky.” Despite the atheistic propaganda of the early Soviet regime the Russian remained profoundly religious. *The New York Times* pointed out that twenty Orthodox Churches “were flourishing in Kiev alone.”<sup>86</sup> However, because of the Westernization begun under Peter (Petrinism)<sup>87</sup> there existed “two Russias” fighting for supremacy. A nihilistic tendency in Bolshevism sought to annihilate Petrinism (although the importation of Marxism is a symptom of the Petrine). This type of “Bolshevism” is the mortal enemy of Lenin and Trotsky, which would evolve into “an outspoken, revitalized nationalist movement,” even if it is still meaninglessly called “Communist.” “What’s in a name?” Under the mantle of Communism, the Russian people had resumed their messianic world mission to replace a decadent civilization, as foreseen by Dostoyevsky. The essayists of “Russia” saw a great technical and scientific state arising, and the creation of a Eurasian empire. They believed that India and China would become so dependent on Russia that they could not act on their own initiative, and in particular Russia would use the Chinese. The question was whether a leader of a united West would arise to confront these challenges.

Given that the USSR imploded, were Thompson and Weiss, and indeed Yockey, incorrect in their analysis? In the longer term they are now starting to be seen as correct in the salient points. With the rise of Putin, the Petrine and Jewish oligarchic interests enjoyed what now seems to have been a very short interregnum under Yeltsin. The Russian soul is remanifesting slowly, and the vision of a Eurasian destiny has become again a mainstay of Russian foreign policy.<sup>88</sup>

The primary point with which I disagree is to regard China as an essential and subordinate part of the Russian destiny. I think China will resume its role as an historical enemy of Russia, and as such will become a major impetus for the assertiveness of Russia as a White bulwark confronting China.<sup>89</sup> How Europe responds depends on whether her spirit can be reasserted, and the question of her liberation from the USA remains the primary question that preoccupied the thinking of Thompson, Weiss, Yockey and Remer.

In 1996, Thompson remarked to me on Russia, then under Yeltsin:<sup>90</sup>

*“Change must come in the form of a coup d’etat with the aid of the Communist faction. The U.S. regime would probably not dare to intervene [...]. U.S. capital is profiting there while it spreads its ‘democracy venom.’”*

Change came in the form of Putin, although perhaps not the final word on Russia, and the reconstituted Communist party under Zyuganov is of the nationalistic type that Thompson, Yockey and Weiss saw emerging.<sup>91</sup>

In 1954, Thompson was appointed U.S. correspondent for *Der Weg* (*The Way*), published by German émigrés in Peron's Argentina. This gave Thompson press accreditation to the United Nations.<sup>92</sup> He wrote to FBI director Hoover offering to make information about Communism and associated "jewish [sic] pressure groups" available personally to him, in the course of his work as a journalist.<sup>93</sup> Thompson, like Weiss, kept his enemies close to him, and offered the FBI a mixture of accurate and inaccurate information, often criticizing the FBI's willingness to associate with the Anti-Defamation League, and the disreputable actions of FBI agents. FBI agents were cautioned to be circumspect about Thompson and to seek advice when dealing with him.<sup>94</sup> Thompson's aim seems to have been to act through the FBI against ADL agent Sanford Griffith and others of the type, who operated against the Right, in exchange for information on communists, on whom Thompson had supplied the FBI with 200 documents. Thompson castigated the FBI for both discourtesy in not acknowledging his information, and for its association with Jewish groups.<sup>95</sup>

Of particular concern to the FBI was Thompson's series of articles in the monthly journal *Expose* detailing not only his life as an "American Fascist," but also what he knew of FBI, ADL and Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League activities and the role of the ADL in funding "anti-Semitic" and "neo-nazi" groups, such as the National Renaissance Party.<sup>96</sup> Thompson used the series of articles as an opportunity to show that "anti-Semitism in the United States is in no small measure directed and financed by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League (NANL). In particular a paid ADL and NANL agent, Mana Truhill, a petty criminal, had attained a leading position in the NRP. Truhill was a Communist who had been instructed at the Communist party's Jefferson School of Social Science. Thompson regarded the NRP as thoroughly compromised and used by the ADL and others.<sup>97</sup> He made it clear to the FBI that he had a collection of affidavits, obtained for legal purposes in connection with the *Expose* series, showing the reprehensible actions of certain FBI agents.<sup>98</sup>

## The National Renaissance Party

Despite Thompson's misgivings, the NRP *Bulletin* served as an a venue for the writings of Weiss and Yockey, and Weiss largely funded Madole.<sup>99</sup>

Thompson met Madole in 1952. He did so at the request of Colonel Rudel and Dr. Johannes von Leers, a former Goebbels ministry official working as an émigré in Peron's Argentina and later in Nasser's Egypt. Thompson stated that at the time he was not only "official U.S. representative of the SRP, [but] also represented the leadership cadre of the 'survivors' of the Third Reich, scattered throughout the world." Rudel and von Leers asked Thompson to "evaluate the NRP frankly to see if contact with it was 'safe' and to see if it could organizationally contribute to the higher authority,"<sup>100</sup> the higher authority being Remer, Rudel, Skorzeny, von Leers, et al.

Thompson stated that he met Madole at the latter's New York apartment, and about a dozen times thereafter. Thompson considered Madole as lacking charisma and leadership qualities, although a skillful orator, and a man of "courage." He had a tendency to speak in monologue rather than exchange ideas. Despite the shortcomings, Thompson considered it "vital to keep Madole afloat since he was certainly in one sense an irritant to the Jews and other non-whites, but, more important, he naturally 'drew fire,' taking some of the pressure off other persons and operations which were deemed by my associates as more important to their interests, which were my principal concern."

Thompson knew "little of Madole after the year 1955."<sup>101</sup> He wrote:<sup>102</sup>

*"Madole, in a sense, was an American nationalist, an 'America First-er.' I could understand that, of course, as a practical and useful approach to building an organization. However, I was an 'America Last-er,' as I regarded then – and more than ever in 1995 – the U.S. as the greatest malefactor in the world, proponent of a series of colonialist wars; allies of Soviet Communism, then, when it conflicted with its own interests, organized the 'Cold War' against Russia, which it unfortunately won; betrayer of the white race of its founders in favor of polyglot miscegenation, mixed marriages, and total anti-white-male behavior; causer of two World Wars, through policies of Wilson and F. D. Roosevelt; mis-educators of American youth with its 'equality' democracy babble; all the time being run exclusively by 'special interests' hostile to the policies of the founders of the country. This is over-simplified and just 'off the cuff' but it makes a point. The current aim of the swine who run the U.S. is to surrender authority to international organizations, like the U.N., then to tear up the U.S. Constitution and make Americans subject to the laws of the one-worlders. At the moment they*

*are trying to re-institute the concept of the Nuremberg 'Trials' – to hang those who resist the policy of the 'one-worlders.'*"

Thompson in 1995 maintained the "Cold War" era attitudes of Remer and the SRP, *Common Sense*, Yockey and Weiss, all of whom regarded the USA as a more pervasive and lethal enemy to European civilization than the USSR. However, what Thompson seems to have under-appreciated was that it was the same outlook maintained by Madole, whose geopolitical and *realpolitikal* articles in the *NRP Bulletin* show a depth of knowledge that had obviously not been well presented during his meetings with Thompson prior to 1955.

## Yockey

Thompson introduced Madole to some key individuals, some of whom helped him financially. One notable was Viereck, "one of the highest German agents in the U.S. up to World War II."<sup>103</sup> Thompson was a literary agent of note, and acted for some extraordinary characters. In this regard he acted for Viereck in having the latter's books published by the U.S. publisher Lyle Stuart. He also arranged for Viereck to go to Germany in 1955 to meet Dr. Werner Naumann, designated propaganda minister in Hitler's will, and Inga Dönitz.<sup>104</sup>

Viereck and Thompson were the focus of an intellectual circle that included Harvard alumnus Lawrence Dennis, former Wall Street employee, member of the U.S. Diplomatic Service, author of *The Coming American Fascism* and *The Dynamics of War and Revolution*, and a defendant, along with Viereck, at the infamous "Sedition" trials under the Roosevelt administration against critics of the president's war policy.<sup>105</sup> Others included Dr. Charles Callan Tansill of Georgetown University; Harry Elmer Barnes, and other historians, "when they were passing through town," and literati including Charles Jackson.<sup>106</sup> Thompson had a particular regard for Dennis, and dined frequently with him at the Harvard Club.<sup>107</sup>

Thompson met Francis Parker Yockey at an expensive, Jewish-owned luncheonette in New York in the company of Weiss, and he was delighted to find that Yockey was as "anti-American" as he was.<sup>108</sup> Given that Yockey was already working with the Socialist Reich Party in Germany in 1951,<sup>109</sup> it seems likely that Yockey and Thompson met via this association. Yockey became what Thompson called his "dearest political friend and companion in many great ventures."<sup>110</sup> From then on Thompson provided "a steady outflow of money" for Yockey's "various projects."<sup>111</sup> One

of the first and most significant of these projects would have been *Der Feind Europas*, published in German in 1953 as a manual of *realpolitik* for the Socialist Reich Party, but originally written in 1948, the year after Yockey wrote his magnum opus, *Imperium*. It was intended as the third volume of *Imperium*. Two hundred copies were printed, intended for the leadership of the SRP, but they were seized by K-16, the German secret service, and destroyed. The manuscript had been sent to the USA however, and was serialized in the Yockeyan magazine *Trud*, in 1969 from a copy supplied by Maria, Weiss's widow, and published in English as a book in 1981.

For Thompson, Yockey and their contacts in Germany, Soviet affiliations were part of Cold War intrigue between the super-powers. Thompson stated that the party he represented as a registered agent in the USA, the Socialist Reich Party, "had communist affiliations."

*"Almost any right-wing entity in Germany, to get any power and money, had to reach to the East Germans to some extent or other, and there existed funds available to finance right-wing activities in West Germany. The motive of the East Germans being to embarrass and cause difficulties for the west Germans exclusively; they were naturally not interested in promoting fascism in any form – although the East Germany secret police consisted in part measure of many former members of the SS and SD who'd gone to the East Zone and were living there, some of whom I knew. So the idea of taking support where you can find it is one which is very practical. Even today, if the Soviet Union would care to finance any activities of mine, I would rush to the bank with the check and the hope that it was good."*<sup>112</sup>

This association with the Soviet bloc went as far as Yockey serving as a paid courier for Czech intelligence, taking documents between Czechoslovakia and the USA, which Yockey mentioned to Thompson.<sup>113</sup> Thompson's ongoing interest in the USSR was a matter of concern to the FBI, noting in 1960 that according to a highly confidential source, Thompson had requested to be put on the mailing list of the Soviet Embassy to receive reports and other information about the USSR.<sup>114</sup> The FBI also cited the artist Rockwell Kent, whom Thompson represented when Kent was subjected to a boycott as chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.<sup>115</sup>

## Dönitz

In 1957 Thompson again became of particular interest to the FBI, which closely monitored his whereabouts and his correspondence. Local postal authorities were asked to relay information on Thompson's mail to the FBI, and his contacts were checked as to their affiliations. The FBI had two reasons for this renewed interest: (1) Whether Thompson should be registered as a foreign agent again, this time because of his work for the German-Argentine journal *Der Weg*,<sup>116</sup> and (2) his soliciting of views on the "war crimes trials" and on the fate of Dönitz in particular, from military, legal and other eminent people. The FBI was investigating Thompson for violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act,<sup>117</sup> beginning on November 21, 1956,<sup>118</sup> in regard to his soliciting of letters on behalf of Dönitz and on the "war crimes trials," although the grounds are not cited in FBI reports and it was concluded that there had been no violation. Some of the recipients of Thompson's form letters asking for testimonials on Dönitz forwarded the letters to the FBI. This would not have perturbed Thompson, as he had sent such a letter to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover asking for his input. To one recipient, Judge Clark, Thompson wrote:<sup>119</sup>

*"Instead of writing silly letters to the New York Times protesting perhaps the first sensible act of a U.S. dominated 'allied parole commission' why don't you participate in the testimonial album described in the enclosure, as many really prominent Americans are doing? I have never understood how a man of your education could fall for such Jewish traps and mouth such fiction as 3,000,000 Jews (murdered). The Jews claim that it was 6,000,000. Were there really any murdered? I think they are all here in New York City. Perhaps we should send some down to Princeton?"*

When Dönitz was released from Spandau Prison in 1956, Thompson organized an international campaign that succeeded in getting him his full pension rights. On Dönitz's release from Spandau, Thompson and Viereck sent him a telegram dated October 1, 1956:<sup>120</sup>

*"Telegram to the legitimate president of Germany, Grand admiral Karl Dönitz, on the occasion of his release from eleven years of illegal confinement by the 'allies' for 'war crimes':*

*On the day of the triumph of your steeled will over the plans of your vengeful persecutors, your American friends congratulate you and wish you a long, healthy life. Throughout the entire despicable Nuremberg proceedings – brought about by the criminal co-guilt of the USA and world Jewry [sic], your soldierly honor shone forth as the*



*sole hope of those who wished to rebuild the collapsing Western World.*

*Through your personal courage, you have triumphed over the calculated plans of the destroyers of Western Culture, and you stand today as the personification of Honor, Loyalty and Faith. Let no considerations dissuade you from this position. You are unique in History! Today we also greet your courageous wife who has fought for you so valiantly through these difficult years.”*

The Society for the Prevention of World War III (SPWWIII) asked Senator Jacob Javits of New York whether there were any laws that could be used to prosecute Thompson and Viereck for having sent their greetings to Dönitz.<sup>121</sup> What concerned the Society was the possibility of an alliance between a revived Germany and the Soviet bloc. The democracies had fallen out with their wartime ally Stalin soon after the end of hostilities when Stalin rebuked the generous offer to become junior partner in a new world order behind the façade of the United Nations General Assembly, and the “Baruch Plan” for the ostensible “internationalization” of atomic energy, which the USSR regarded as a ruse to place atomic energy under U.S. control. The General Assembly, the USSR perceived, would be readily manipulated as a world parliament by the USA, and hence Stalin insisted instead that power reside with the Security Council, with the right to veto, thus rendering the UN powerless as a world government.<sup>122</sup> The possibility of a united Germany under Soviet auspices, while palatable to sections of the Right in Germany and the USA, was a nightmare scenario for the global wire-pullers. However, most of the radical Right in the USA zealously signed up to prosecute the Cold War against the USSR, while the Stalinists called the “Washington regime” (in Yockey’s parlance) “rootless cosmopolitans”<sup>123</sup> in the same sense that Yockey called them “culture distorters.”

The SPWWIII stated to Javits that while they did not know Dönitz’s attitude on being referred to by Viereck and Thompson as “the legitimate president of Germany,” they pointed out that shortly before Germany’s surrender Dönitz had signed a memorandum in April 1945 stating that Germany’s revival could only be achieved in collaboration with the USSR. The memorandum advocated an alliance to dominate the Eurasian landmass and to “confront the old rotten entrenched power of the West.” The SPWWIII’s Simard and Lipshutz referred Javits to an article for the magazine<sup>124</sup> of the SPWWIII that had been written by Congressman Arthur G. Klein of New York and introduced into the *Congressional Record*.<sup>125</sup> Here Klein outlined a pro-Russia orientation among German policymakers since

Frederick the Great through to Bismarck, and the Weimar era Treaty of Rapallo. From this and the Dönitz memorandum we can appreciate that Yockey, Remer, Thompson, Weiss, et al., so far from representing a heretical strand within the Right, were continuing a tradition of *realpolitik* that saw a Russo-German alliance as an organic historical development, and none more so than in confronting the victors of the two world wars.

Indeed, what seemed to be collusion between German nationalists and the USSR had caused much consternation, especially with the electoral progress of the SRP, which advocated a “neutralist” line, while informants were claiming that Yockey was calling for a guerrilla army that would assist the USSR in occupying West Germany.

The success of the campaign reflected Thompson’s wide contacts with influential people. The correspondence connected with the campaign was published as a book in 1976, *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*.<sup>126</sup> The letters had been presented as an album to Dönitz on his release.

Thompson had sent out form letters to hundreds of eminent persons throughout the world soliciting professional opinions on the war crimes trials, to form “a better historical perspective.” Describing himself on his letterhead as a “journalist and public relations counsel,” and as a literary agent and news analyst, he referred to Dönitz as having been jailed for performing the duty that any military man would be sworn to uphold. Thompson pointed out that the Nuremberg Military Tribunal did not have any legal precedent or authorization, that it was not a genuine “military tribunal,”



Vice Admiral Karl Dönitz, flag officer in charge of German U-boats (BdU) from 1935 to 1943 and Commander in Chief of the German Navy from 1943 to 1945.

[Public domain]

and that it was in violation of “Anglo-American constitutional principles.” Thompson cited Rear Admiral Daniel V. Gallery, who wrote in *Twenty Million Tons under the Sea* that the “war crimes trials” were “a libel on the military profession” and that the trial of Dönitz was “barefaced hypocrisy.” He referred to Admiral Nimitz,<sup>127</sup> who testified for the defense at the trial of Dönitz that unrestricted submarine warfare, for which Dönitz had been tried, had also been conducted by U.S. submarines in the Pacific. Thompson stated in the appeal that he had been collecting opinions for more than a year, and stated that “this collection of opinions will represent a milestone in the historical reappraisal of the dangerous precedent set at Nuremberg.” Thompson then provided a three-page list of hundreds of eminent persons who had already contributed their opinions.<sup>128</sup>

The preface of *Dönitz at Nuremberg* was written by William L. Hart, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio, who concluded by stating, “there was no legal justification for the trial, conviction or sentence of the so-called ‘war criminals’ by the Nuremberg Tribunal. We have set a bad precedent. It should not be followed in the future.”<sup>129</sup> There followed opinions against the Nuremberg Trials by hundreds of legal, diplomatic, political and military authorities throughout the world, such as Dwight Eisenhower’s lawyer brother Edgar and in particular by many naval commanders from the Allied states. Hence, the book remains a valuable corpus of authoritative opinions against the mentality of revenge that forms the essence of victories after an increasing number of globalist wars that have resulted in the barbaric treatment of the defeated leaders of Serbia, Iraq, Libya and an eye to vengeance against Syria’s Assad, et al.

Among the individuals writing to Thompson, as noted by the FBI, was Arthur Bliss Lane, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, although the FBI could find no “derogatory information” on him in their files.<sup>130</sup> Although Lane was not a contributor to the Dönitz compendium, his book on the Soviet takeover of Poland, *I Saw Poland Betrayed*, was a conservative best-seller, published in 1948 and subsequently published by affiliates of the John Birch Society.<sup>131</sup> A prominent individual who did contribute to the Dönitz campaign was Hoffman Nickerson, whom the FBI identified as the scion of a wealthy, prominent family of Oyster Bay, New York. Hoffman was an author and director of Hoffman Publishers, member of the New York County Republican Committee, New York state assemblyman in 1916, member of the AEF General Staff in 1918 and of the Inter-Allied Armistice Commission in Belgium.<sup>132</sup> Nickerson opined to Thompson that the “war crimes trials were an outrage against good morals,” setting a prec-

edent for “legalized lynching.” He stated he was glad Dönitz had been released and hoped all the others would be also.<sup>133</sup> Other contributors included Admiral Paul Hendren,<sup>134</sup> but the FBI had nothing of a dubious character on Hendren or his wife. It was noted that Thompson had written a complimentary letter to the Palestine Arab Refugee Office in New York City.<sup>135</sup> The FBI compiled a list of individuals and organizations from whom Thompson had received mail, including the Christian Educational Association, publisher of the long-running “anti-Semitic” newspaper *Common Sense*, which was to adopt a pro-Stalinist orientation; *Die Europäische Nationale*, of Wiesbaden; Chester Bowles, who had served as U.S. delegate to UNESCO, Ambassador to India, Governor of Connecticut, and had, according to the FBI, associations with communist fronts;<sup>136</sup> the pro-Hitler *Der Weg*; the pro-communist *National Guardian*; John T. Daly, manager of the coffee department of the East Asiatic Company, on whom the FBI could not find anything “derogatory;” Sanctuary Press, Sir Oswald Mosley’s publishing firm; Ralph A. Bard, former Secretary of the Navy and a trustee of an anti-New Deal organization, “Crusaders,” in 1936, et al.<sup>137</sup> Anyone who sent mail to Thompson at this time was of interest to the FBI.

As a literary agent, Thompson’s clients included General Fulgencio Batista, president of Cuba. He also represented an Argentine-Bolivian combine selling arms to Batista when he was fighting Castro’s hill guerrillas.<sup>138</sup> It can be interjected here that the USA, maintaining a constant policy on such matters, placed an arms embargo on Batista at a crucial time.<sup>139</sup> This was a long-standing U.S. measure that had been enacted against Chiang Kai-shek and against Somoza, president of Nicaragua, when fighting the Sandinistas.<sup>140</sup> It went back to the denial of arms, bought and paid for, to Admiral Kolchak when he was fighting the Red Army in the Russian Far East.<sup>141</sup> Thompson is acknowledged in Batista’s book *Respuesta* in regard to the Nuremberg trials.<sup>142</sup>

Among Thompson’s associates was the Left-liberal publisher Lyle Stuart, a neighbor. In 1962-63 Stuart was threatened with a slander suit by King Farouk of Egypt because of the publication of a book alleging sexual improprieties with prostitutes in Miami. Through Thompson’s well-placed contacts in Egypt he handed Stuart a dossier on Farouk, and the suit was promptly dropped.<sup>143</sup> It was by this means that in return Stuart’s magazine, *Expose*, opened its columns to Thompson, where he expounded on Fascist doctrine, and exposed Anti-Defamation League agents who were using “neo-nazis.”

Another interesting client was Marguerite Oswald, mother of Lee Harvey Oswald. Thompson assisted her with opposing the Warren Commission report on the Kennedy assassination, and represented her in negotiations for interviews and the sale of documents. Thompson was himself questioned on the assassination, but asserted 5th amendment rights when interviewed.<sup>144</sup> At the time, it might be recalled, the term “conspiracy theory” came into vogue, and among the theories was a Right-wing assassination prompted by General Edwin Walker or a Communist assassination prompted by Castro. Thompson also auctioned Oswald letters on behalf of Marguerite.<sup>145</sup> Thompson obviously had a special interest in Kennedy. In 1968 he published a book analyzing the late president’s signature.<sup>146</sup>

In the 1970s Thompson served as a mercenary in Rhodesia under the alias Brigadier Paul D. North, travelling on a fake Canadian passport.<sup>147</sup> This latter activity made him a target for a Black militant group called Black Avengers. During the early 1960s, Thompson was threatened by a Mossad agent, who soon afterward disappeared.<sup>148</sup>

## World in Flames

In 1960 Thompson had collaborated with Yockey on the latter’s final essay, Yockey dying in a prison cell in San Francisco that year after finally being caught by the FBI. “The World in Flames: An Estimate of the World Situation,” analyzed the Cold War era and the role of the “third world.” Thompson commented that he had persuaded Yockey to add commentary on the neutralist regimes as well as Nasser to reinforce the point “that the world is turning against the USA.” The essay appeared posthumously in 1961, Thompson having seen “that work through from his [Yockey’s] rough manuscript to the printed production.”<sup>149</sup>

In 1961 Thompson wrote to General Friedrich Foertsch, who had been appointed Commander of the *Bundeswehr*. The letter, in German, was in response to a widely publicized press release from the Embassy of the USSR in Washington condemning Foertsch as “the former Hitler general and war criminal.” As a commander at the siege of Leningrad, after the war Foertsch had been sentenced to 25 years’ internment by the Soviets, but had been released in 1955. Given the Soviet government’s allegation that he had presided over the murder of Russian POWs and was alleged to have committed “capital crimes,” one might wonder whether the Soviet treatment of German “war crimes” was more lenient than that of the West. The Soviet statement, originating with Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Af-

fairs V. S. Semyonov, condemned the Federal Government for appointing “German war criminals” who had undertaken actions in the USSR as a “direct unfriendly act towards the Soviet Union” and other subjects of German aggression.<sup>150</sup>

The USSR sought to embarrass the Bonn regime by highlighting any Hitler-era official who was appointed to a position of influence under the Federal government to highlight the resurgence of groups such as the Socialist Reich Party, and even to provoke anti-Semitic incidents in the West,<sup>151</sup> giving the impression of a revival of Nazism in Germany and the role of the USSR as the only bulwark against new Prussian aggression. Sections of the German Right did not mind playing their part in the Soviet strategy. The East German government (*DDR*) did not have any scruples, under Stalin’s direct prompting, in appointing Hitler-era officials to the highest positions in the *DDR* nor in reconstituting a nationalist political party that served a prominent role in *DDR* administrations.<sup>152</sup>

Thompson in writing to Foertsch condemned the “spirit of July 20th” (a reference to the abortive coup against Hitler, scotched by Otto Remer) prevalent in the German Federal military. He mentioned to Foertsch the “imperative” need to organize groups in the army that can maintain an independent attitude toward “world developments and to act accordingly.” Thompson was presumably advocating clandestine actions in the military that could mount a coup in the course of an emergency. Thompson mentioned to Foertsch the “ineptitude” of U.S. espionage that had “been placed in the hands of leftist star gazers whom even the Russians regard as ridiculous.” He stated that “these people have the power and the stupidity to start a war” but not the military and scientific know-how to win a war. “The days of the uninvited American meddler are about over.” Thompson asked whether the power vacuum would be filled by the Russians, the Afro-Asians or are there still representatives of the “Prussian spirit” that can assume the role?<sup>153</sup>

## Revisionism

After a long period behind the scenes, in September 1982, Thompson addressed at a convention of the Institute for Historical Review an issue that raised former IHR director McCalden’s ire, asking whether this was the direction in which the “Revisionist movement” should proceed. Nonetheless, McCalden conceded that the speech had been “intelligent and pithy.”<sup>154</sup>

The FBI took a renewed interest in Thompson in 1984 in regard to his

passport status.<sup>155</sup>

Thompson's opinion of the "American Right" was not high. However, it never had been, nor had Yockey's. He stated to Keith Stimley:<sup>156</sup>

*"As to the American 'right-wing,' I had no respect for it from my earlier experience, and I have even less today. I don't think anything constructive will ever appear from the political right-wing. It is not inconceivable that some day a group of well-intentioned military men may reach a point of frustration, and take this thing over. The military are basically conservative, and I think that they used to, at any rate, possess a realistic view of the forces that work internationally. Now that has been eroded, to some extent by, I'm sure, mis-education in the service academies, along the lines of Holocaust propaganda, anti-German propaganda, racial-tolerance nonsense and the like. But from the military generation that I knew, and these were there people who were in World War I – those senior officers pretty well knew where things were at. They knew that the Nigras were by and large worthless as soldiers unless you had three White men standing behind the back of each Black, to make sure that he conducted himself in a reasonably productive fashion. And they were aware of the Jews, later aware of the American subservience to Israel, etc. General George S. Brown was probably one of the last martyrs to American interests, when he very forcefully pointed out while Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff that Israel was absolutely not only worthless as a military ally, but a great disadvantage to the United States, and he was quickly, of course, shut up and forced out, as was General Singlaub shut up and forced out by Jimmeh [sic] Carter in quite recent years.*

*It's not impossible that ultimately a [military] coup will come from the right, and salvage this shit-barge of a country. I don't think it's worthy of salvage. I would much prefer it ruled, perhaps, by a Red Chinese field marshal. But what will happen in the future – I don't know."*

Stimley opined that a coup might only eventuate if there was a major military reversal overseas. Certainly, we now know from occasional leaks and quips that the Pentagon still includes personnel who are not happy with the USA's subservience to Israeli interests in the Middle East and other globe-trotting expeditions on behalf of U.S. commerce. However, in Thompson's heyday, there were many military luminaries militantly active in the Right and contemptuous of Zionism such as Lt. Gen. P. A. Del Valle, USMC; and Lt. Gen. George Stratemeyer, USAF; Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, and Vice Admiral T. G. W. Settle, to cite four military men who not only

contributed to Thompson's book on Dönitz but who endorsed Colonel John Beatty's anti-Zionist book *The Iron Curtain over America*.<sup>157</sup> A decade later (1962), General Edwin Walker was leading what the Kennedy Administration feared was an incipient revolt at the University of Mississippi against desegregation imposed by Federal Troops at bayonet point.

Under Keith Stimley's editorship, Thompson contributed book reviews to the *Journal of Historical Review (JHR)*, journal of the Institute for Historical Review, and in particular on the two men he esteemed most, Grand Admiral Dönitz and Major General Otto Remer.

Writing of Dönitz as the "last president of a united Germany," Thompson's opening lines were that the Third Reich was "the last heroic stand of Western Civilization," and Hitler was "the last natural leader of Europe." The Allied victory was a triumph for "the forces of Asiatic Communism and Russian Nationalism on the one hand, and Jewish Bolshevism (as exemplified by the United States, England, France and their multitude of last-minute vassals and hangers-on) on the other." In the few weeks of April and May 1945 Dönitz unexpectedly became head of state and set up a Cabinet of military and technocratic personnel. He refused to denigrate Hitler, although it would have been opportune to do so, and sought to surrender to the Western allies, a primary concern being the fate of refugees fleeing from the east; a concern not shared by Eisenhower, et al., who refused the offer of a separate surrender without the USSR. Dönitz was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment by the Nuremberg Tribunal, much to the outrage of many Allied military leaders. Although apolitical, he never forsook his oath to Hitler, a matter noted by co-defendant Albert Speer, who tried to ingratiate himself to the Allies during the Nuremberg proceedings.

During 1952-1953 a commando operation was planned to rescue the internees at Spandau and reconstitute a government-in-exile. Thompson states that those involved included residents of Spain, Portugal and the USA. Here we can conjecture that the operation would probably have been led by Otto Skorzeny, famous for his daring rescue of Mussolini. However, security was compromised and the plan was discarded. Thompson wrote that in the early 1980s he burnt a file on the matter that had long been sought "by at least four intelligence agencies." When Dönitz was released in 1956 the press noted that his wife, Inga, had maintained contact with German nationalists, and Thompson had kept in communication with her. Thompson always kept the large numbers of letters that he had solicited from eminent figures in support of Dönitz. Although not becoming involved in politics, Dönitz readily spoke before conventions of veterans. In 1980, just a few months before his death, Dönitz wrote to Thompson ex-



pressing the hope that they would meet again.<sup>158</sup>

A review for the *JHR* of a book by Remer relates the circumstances of the 1944 plot against Hitler stymied by Remer's decisiveness. Thompson wrote that if there is any one word that describes Remer, it is "courage." Thompson wrote that in 1988 Remer was head of another organization, the German Freedom Movement. Remer's outlook had not changed since the days of the SRP. He advocated total European union, including Russia, but excluding Britain and the USA. Even in 1988, Thompson still saw Remer as the leader of a new Europe:<sup>159</sup>

*"The historical reasons for such a program are eminently understandable. Many geopolitical thinkers, for instance Francis Parker Yockey, were early supporters of this viewpoint. In 1988, few can fail to respect Remer's courage and honesty in advancing it. It is possible that he can become the inspiring, visionary leader needed by Europe to effect its liberation from the counter-cultural forces which now infest and occupy it, and guide it toward a future free of economic and armed conflicts."*

Thompson wrote other reviews for the *JHR* during the 1980s. Thompson arranged the appearance of Remer at the Eighth International Revisionist Conference in 1987. When Remer died ten years later, Thompson wrote on "the loss of this old friend, with whom I had so many shared experiences," and that "we cannot permit either Remer or Yockey to become forgotten as long as we can do something about it."<sup>160</sup> Towards this, Thompson was supportive of my own small effort in producing that year a collection of mostly hitherto-unpublished Yockey manuscripts along with a biographical essay.<sup>161</sup>

In the last few years before his death on March 3, 2002, Thompson became a notable donor to conservative elements of the Republican Party, including Oliver North, Jesse Helms, David Duke and Patrick Buchanan. He was awarded membership in the party's Presidential Legion of Merit.

Why the Republican Party? At the time of the Reagan administration there seems to have been an in-house contest for supremacy between what became known as neo-conservatives and paleoconservatives. The "neo-cons," as we might call them, are neither "new" nor "conservative." They were in fact Wilsonian-type liberal-Democrats and internationalists, or ex-Trotskyites who came over to the U.S. side during the Cold War in their hatred of Stalinism.<sup>162</sup> The paleoconservatives, a term coined by Professor Paul Gottfried, were traditionalist Republicans of the Taft, America First variety, including President Reagan's treasury secretary Paul Craig Roberts and Reagan White House communications adviser Patrick Buchanan.

At the time also, an “ethnic outreach” program by the Republican Party recruited from among East European anti-communist émigrés who had fascist associations. The program was headed by Laszlo Pasztor, founding chairman of the Republican Heritage Groups Council who had been a member of the Arrow Cross movement of Hungarian National Socialists. The heritage council included Radi Slavoff, a Bulgarian supporter of German-American campaigner Dr. Austin J. App; Florian Galdau, a veteran of Romania’s Iron Guard; Nicholas Nazarenko, a Cossack *Waffen SS* veteran; et al.<sup>163</sup> This program campaigned vigorously against the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), established to hound elderly European émigrés with allegations of “war criminals,” many having fought as partisans against Soviet incursions during World War II.

Thompson’s contribution to revisionism is lasting and seminal, particularly through the soliciting of the hundreds of letters from eminent political, military, legal and diplomatic figures critical of the Nuremberg trials. Thompson, through his work with Remer, Yockey and Weiss in particular, established a dialectical method of analysis and action for the “Right,” a return to *realpolitik* that goes beyond the categorically black-and-white and red-and-blue dichotomies of much of the “Right” during the Cold War era that remains relevant in terms of present-day Russia as well as the Arab world and certain “third world” states.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> K. R. Bolton, “The Yockey-Thompson Campaign against Post-War Vengeance,” *Inconvenient History*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2013, <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-yockey-thompson-campaign-against-post-war/>
- <sup>2</sup> I was in contact with Thompson from February 20, 1995. Unfortunately, he was already ill, suffering from the effects of diabetes, arthritis, “and a serious heart condition” (Thompson to Bolton, May 8, 1995), and I was therefore not inclined to inundate him with questions.
- <sup>3</sup> FBI documents on Thompson, April 5, 1984, in regard to passport enquiries.
- <sup>4</sup> FBI report on Thompson and “Committee for Freedom of Major General Remer,” July 21, 1952 (105-919), p. 4.
- <sup>5</sup> David McCalden, *Revisionist Newsletter*, Manhattan Beach, California, No. 21, June, 1983. Although McCalden was here being strongly critical of Thompson, and criticized the Institute for Historical Review for featuring him as a special guest speaker, Thompson commented on the McCalden article that although “this was an attack on me (there have been many) [...] it is an interesting one as it came right out of U.S. intelligence files and is unusually accurate.” Thompson to Bolton, February 20, 1995.
- <sup>6</sup> Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day* (New York: Automedia, 1999), p. 256.
- <sup>7</sup> FBI report July 21, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

- 8 McCalden, No. 21, *op. cit.*
- 9 McCalden, *Revisionist Newsletter*, No. 22, July 1983.
- 10 Thompson, "I am an American Fascist," *Expose*, New York, Part 2, October 21, 1954.
- 11 "Nazis' US boy tells his goal," *The New York Compass*, October 26, 1952.
- 12 Thompson, "American Fascist," *op. cit.*, part 2.
- 13 "Nazis' US boy...", *op. cit.*
- 14 FBI report July 21, 1952, (105-919), p. 5.
- 15 Thompson, "American Fascist," part 2.
- 16 *Ibid.* The "Flyers Cases" tried at Dachau included the infamous trials of the Malmedy defendants, the trial being condemned by Senator McCarthy and the US Army van Roden Commission for the widespread use of torture. Additional allegations were made against Otto Skorzeny and nine officers of Panzer Brigade 150, who were found not guilty.
- 17 FBI report July 21, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- 20 FBI report, October 9, 1952, (105-919), p. 5.
- 21 Thompson to Navy Secretary June 27, 1950.
- 22 "Tell it to the Marines," *The National Guardian*, Vol. 2, No. 28, New York, June 7, 1950.
- 23 FBI report, August 4, (105-919), 1950, p. 2.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 3. Rudder was the first Negro to be commissioned in the Marine Corps, in 1948.
- 25 American Civil Liberties Union, News Release, June 14, 1950.
- 26 The California Committee on Un-American Activities Report, 1949, described *The National Guardian* as "from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and contents." Cited by FBI report, July 22, 1953, (105-919), p. 3.
- 27 "This is how the Marines hounded him, a decorated officer who was for Wallace," *The National Guardian*, Vol. 2, No. 20, New York, March 22, 1950, p. 1.
- 28 "New help on way," *The National Guardian*, Vol. 2, No. 22, April 19, 1950.
- 29 FBI report, September 19, 1952, (105-919), p. 3.
- 30 "Nazis' U.S. boy...", *New York Compass*, *op. cit.*
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 FBI report, May 19, 1953, (105-919).
- 33 FBI report, October 29, 1953, (105-919), p. 8.
- 34 McCalden, No. 22, *op. cit.*
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Kevin Coogan, *Dreamer of the Day* (New York: Automeia, 1999), p. 456.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 441-442.
- 38 Bolton, "The Yockey-Thompson campaign...", *op. cit.*
- 39 FBI report July 21, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 40 FBI report, October 9, 1952, (105-919), p. 1.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 42 American Jewish Committee, Germany File, Foreign Affairs Department Collection FAD - 1, August-December 1952, p. 5.

- <sup>43</sup> Edmond Taylor, "Germany: where Fascism and Communism meet," *The Reporter*, April 13, 1954, p. 12.
- <sup>44</sup> American Jewish Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- <sup>45</sup> FBI file, January 5, 1953, (105-919), p. 1.
- <sup>46</sup> Thompson, "American Fascist," part 2.
- <sup>47</sup> FBI report, December 16, 1952, (105-919), p. 1.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>52</sup> Not to be confused with the National Council for the Prevention of War, a Quaker sponsored organization, which the FBI cites in its files on Thompson, describing the Council as being critical of the Nuremberg trials, and post-war policy towards Germany. FBI report, September 17, (105-919), 1952.
- <sup>53</sup> "Nazis' US boy ...," *The New York Compass*, *op. cit.*
- <sup>54</sup> FBI report, December 16, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- <sup>55</sup> James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (London: Little Brown, 1997).
- <sup>56</sup> Thompson, "American Fascist," part 2.
- <sup>57</sup> FBI file, December 16, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- <sup>58</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist," *Expose*, part 4, New York, December 1954.
- <sup>59</sup> "Nazis' US boy...," *New York Compass*, *op. cit.*
- <sup>60</sup> Thompson, "I am an American Fascist," *Expose*, Part 2, October 21, 1954.
- <sup>61</sup> FBI report, May 15, 1953, (105-6128), p. 15.
- <sup>62</sup> Thompson, "American Fascist," part 2.
- <sup>63</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, part 2. See K. R. Bolton, "The Symbiosis between Anti-Semitism and Zionism," *Foreign Policy Journal*.
- <sup>64</sup> Thompson to Truman, December 29, 1952.
- <sup>65</sup> Thompson letter to Alger Hiss, February 27, 1954. Undelivered.
- <sup>66</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist," part 4, *Expose*, New York, December 1954.
- <sup>67</sup> Originally formed to assist Bruno Hauptmann, defendant in the Lindbergh baby kidnapping case, presumably as a type of anti-defamation league for Germans.
- <sup>68</sup> E. Mullins, *That Difficult Individual : Ezra Pound* (Hollywood: Angriff Press, 1961).
- <sup>69</sup> FBI report, August 25, 1953, (105-6128), p. 9.
- <sup>70</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist," *op. cit.*, part 4.
- <sup>71</sup> Presumably the Zionist groups had been tipped off to Thompson's plans, otherwise it seems unlikely one of their number would happen to have shown up with a German naval ensign. Thompson himself states in the *Expose* articles that the NRP, for example, was infiltrated and that Sandy Griffith, the ADL and NANL agent, had paid agents in the NRP.
- <sup>72</sup> Swan was noted as having been a mainstay of the IAAEE, which was active in trying to resist State imposed desegregation of schools in the South through the courts. Swan became assistant editor of the anthropological journal *Mankind Quarterly*, which continues to function. His suspension from Queens College did not prevent him from receiving a New York State Regents Scholarship after

graduation, and he became a professor at the University of Southern Mississippi.

<sup>73</sup> FBI report, April 25, 1954, (105-6128).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist..." part 4.

<sup>76</sup> John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover: My Four Years in the Nazi Underworld of America – The Amazing Revelation of How Axis Agents and Our Enemies within Are Now Plotting to Destroy the United States* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943). The book had smeared some good friends of Thompson's including Viereck and Lawrence Dennis.

<sup>77</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist..." part 4.

<sup>78</sup> See Oswald Spengler, *The Hour of Decision* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1933), 81-3230; chapters on "The White World Revolution," referring to class struggle within the white nations, and "The Colored World Revolution," referring to anti-colonialism, both under Bolshevik direction.

<sup>79</sup> H. K. Thompson, "I am an American Fascist..." part 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> FBI report on NRP, February 29, 1956.

<sup>82</sup> Thompson wrote to me in 1995 explaining that "Weiss had a limited grasp of English and that he gave me [Thompson] hand-written manuscripts in a mixture of poor English, good German, with some Latin and French. From this I ground out manuscripts which ultimately appeared in Madole's publication."

<sup>83</sup> FBI interview with Thompson, October 19, 1953. In this report Thompson claims to have dissociated from his former colleagues, especially Weiss and Fleckenstein, and stated that individuals had attempted to turn the ACAWC into an "anti-Semitic pressure group." However, it is evident this was a ruse, at least in part, in regard to Weiss, as they were soon co-operating again, one such project being the major series of essays on "Russia," distributed by Madole, in mid-1955.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson, Weiss, "Russia," Foreword, part 1, Summer 1955.

<sup>85</sup> Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), Vol. 1, p. 201.

<sup>86</sup> Indeed, after World War II, there was a significant revival of Orthodox religion under Stalin, a policy that was reversed under the more "liberal" Khrushchev.

<sup>87</sup> Again the influence of Spengler is apparent, and it was a theme that had been considered by Yockey. See Yockey, *Imperium* (Abergele: Wermod and Wermod, 2013), pp. 721-732.

<sup>88</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), pp. 177.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, inter alia.

<sup>90</sup> Thompson to Bolton, October 22, 1996.

<sup>91</sup> One Leftist lamented: "The truth is though that it [Communist Party of the Russian Federation...] is no friend of anyone genuinely on the left. Their politics are poisonous mixture of extreme Russian nationalism, old-school Soviet era Stalin worship, overt racism, anti-Semitism and glorification of 'the motherland' and Russian culture. One can genuinely compare their politics to the 'left wing' of the German NSDAP in the 1920s and early 30s." Online:

- <https://shirazsocialist.wordpress.com/2011/12/15/the-truth-about-the-russian-communist-party/>
- <sup>92</sup> *Der Weg* accreditation, August 27, 1954.
- <sup>93</sup> Thompson to Hoover, September 30, 1954, cited by FBI report, October 7, 1954, (105-6128).
- <sup>94</sup> F. J. Baumgarten to A. H. Belmont, FBI office memo, October 21, 1954, (105-6128).
- <sup>95</sup> Thompson to FBI New York Bureau, October 16, 1954. The FBI decided soon after to accept information from Thompson, but was dubious about contact in person. (FBI memo to Department of Justice, October 20, 1954, 105-6128).
- <sup>96</sup> William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General to FBI director J Edgar Hoover, October 22, 1954, (105-6128).
- <sup>97</sup> Thompson, "American Fascist," part 3, October 1954.
- <sup>98</sup> FBI Teletype message, "urgent," October 19, 1954 (905-6128).
- <sup>99</sup> Thompson interview with Stimley.
- <sup>100</sup> H. K. Thompson, "Some recollections on James Madole prepared for Kerry Bolton 8/95."
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>104</sup> McCalden, *op. cit.*
- <sup>105</sup> See Lawrence Dennis and Maximillian St. George, *A Trial on Trial: The Great Sedition Trial of 1944* ([1945] Torrance, Cal.: Institute for Historical Review, 1984).
- <sup>106</sup> Thompson interview with Stimley.
- <sup>107</sup> Thompson to Bolton, October 22, 1996.
- <sup>108</sup> Thompson interview with Stimley.
- <sup>109</sup> Thomas Francis, "A note on Yockey's career," in *The Enemy of Europe* (Reedy, West Virginia: Liberty Bell, 1981), 135. This was the English translation of *Der Feind Europas*.
- <sup>110</sup> Thompson to Bolton, April 16, 1995.
- <sup>111</sup> Thompson interview with Stimley.
- <sup>112</sup> Thompson interview with Stimley.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>114</sup> FBI report, October 20, 1960
- <sup>115</sup> FBI report, October 10, 1962. Most of this page is redacted.
- <sup>116</sup> FBI report, April 18, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>117</sup> FBI report, May 3, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>118</sup> FBI report, June 27, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>119</sup> Thompson to Clark, December 29, 1956, cited in FBI report May 22, 1957, (105-6128), p. 3.
- <sup>120</sup> Thompson and Viereck to Dönitz, October 1, 1956.
- <sup>121</sup> Albert Simard and Isadore Lipschutz to Javits, October 18, 1956.
- <sup>122</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Stalin – The Enduring Legacy* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012).
- <sup>123</sup> F. Chernov, "Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its reactionary role," *Bolshevik*, No. 5, March 15, 1949, 30-41. See Bolton, *Stalin...*, *ibid.*, pp. 38-46.

- <sup>124</sup> Arthur G. Klein, "Germany looks East... 'An alliance between the young socialist forces against the old rotten entrenched forces of the West'," *Prevent World War III*, no. 31, September-October 1956.
- <sup>125</sup> Arthur G. Klein, *U.S. Congressional Record*, September 14, 1956.
- <sup>126</sup> H. K. Thompson and Henry Strutz (editors) *Dönitz at Nuremberg, a Reappraisal: War Crimes and the Military Professional* (New York City: Amber Publishing Corp., 1976).
- <sup>127</sup> Nimitz contributed an opinion to the Dönitz book (p. 44).
- <sup>128</sup> FBI report, October 2, 1958, (105-6128).
- <sup>129</sup> William L. Hart, *Dönitz at Nuremberg*, p. xx.
- <sup>130</sup> FBI report, September 11, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>131</sup> Arthur Bliss Lane, *I Saw Poland Betrayed* (Belmont, Mass.: Western Islands, 1965).
- <sup>132</sup> FBI report, September 9, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>133</sup> Nickerson in *Dönitz at Nuremberg, op. cit.*, p. 58.
- <sup>134</sup> FBI report, October 15, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>135</sup> FBI report, October 29, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>136</sup> FBI report, November 26, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>137</sup> FBI report, October 29, 1957, (105-6128).
- <sup>138</sup> McCalden, No. 21, *op. cit.*
- <sup>139</sup> Mario Lazo, *Dagger in the Heart: American Policy Failures in Cuba* (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1968), pp. 160-161.
- <sup>140</sup> Anastasio Somoza (with Jack Cox) *Nicaragua Betrayed* (Boston: Western Islands, 1980). The National Guard, courtesy of U.S. policy, were left firing their last bullet.
- <sup>141</sup> "Semenoff demanded arms of Americans," *New York Times*, November 2, 1919. "Released Rifles Held Up by Graves," *New York Times*, October 3, 1919.
- <sup>142</sup> F. Batista, *Respuesta* (Mexico City: Manuel Leon Sanchez, 1960), p. 213; <http://www.cubarepublicana.org/books/respuesta/c27.pdf>
- <sup>143</sup> McCalden, No. 21, *op. cit.*
- <sup>144</sup> McCalden, *ibid.*
- <sup>145</sup> "Marguerite Oswald 1968 typed letter signed" to Thompson, American Exchange, [http://www.americanaexchange.com/auction\\_lot\\_books/2515316](http://www.americanaexchange.com/auction_lot_books/2515316)
- <sup>146</sup> Charles Hamilton, *The Robot That Helped to Make a President: a Reconnaissance into the Mysteries of John F. Kennedy's Signature* (New York, 1965).
- <sup>147</sup> McCalden, No. 21, *op. cit.*
- <sup>148</sup> McCalden, *Revisionist Newsletter* No. 22, July 1983.
- <sup>149</sup> Thompson to Bolton, April 16, 1995.
- <sup>150</sup> Press release, no. 85, April 10, 1961, Embassy of the USSR, Washington D.C.
- <sup>151</sup> See *The Anti-Semitic and Nazi Incidents, from 25 December 1950 until 28 January 1960*, White Paper of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bonn, 1960).
- <sup>152</sup> K. R. Bolton, "Stalin's German-nationalist party," *Inconvenient History*, Vol. 6, No.1, Spring 2014, Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/stalins-german-nationalist-party/>
- <sup>153</sup> Thompson to Foertsch, May 10, 1961.
- <sup>154</sup> McCalden, No. 21, *op. cit.*

- <sup>155</sup> Department of Justice to Office of Passport Services, May 7, 1984.
- <sup>156</sup> Thompson interview with Stimly.
- <sup>157</sup> When Lt. Gen. Stratemeyer received a letter from Henry Schultz of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, warning him not to be associated with an "anti-Semite" such as Professor Beatty, Stratemeyer replied, "who are you and your organization to tell me what I should read and what I should recommend other loyal American citizens to read? And, by the way, just what is the purpose of your organization?." He stated that he "resented" the letter as "a veiled threat," the "most outrageous letter" he had ever received and that he would be widely publicizing it. Stratemeyer to Schultz, October 12, 1955.
- <sup>158</sup> Thompson, "Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz: Last President of a United Germany," *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Fall 1983, Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/grand-admiral-karl-doenitz-last-president-of-a/>
- <sup>159</sup> Thompson, "Conspiracy and Betrayal around Hitler," *JHR*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1988, Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/conspiracy-and-betrayal-around-hitler/>
- <sup>160</sup> Thompson to Bolton, December 29, 1998.
- <sup>161</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Varange: the life and thoughts of Francis Parker Yockey* (Paraparaumu Beach, New Zealand: Renaissance Press, 1998). These and other manuscripts, and introductory notes are due to be published by Counter-Currents Publishing as *World in Flames: Collected Essays of Francis Parker Yockey*.
- <sup>162</sup> K. R. Bolton, *Stalin... op. cit.*, pp. 109-124.
- <sup>163</sup> For a critical summary see: Carla Binion, "Nazis and the Republican Party," [http://www.theforbiddenknowledge.com/hardtruth/nazis\\_republican\\_party.htm](http://www.theforbiddenknowledge.com/hardtruth/nazis_republican_party.htm). We might now say "Trotskyites and the Republican Party," as the faction that triumphed, setting up globalist subversive organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy," to continue the "world revolution" under U.S. auspices. Again, the primary target remains Russia.





# Inconvenient History



A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry · Published by CODOH

---

VOLUME 6 · NUMBER 3 · 2014

---



## EDITORIAL

## Revisionism as Creative Destruction

*Jett Rucker*

William Blake (1757 – 1827) was as much an artist as poet, as much a printmaker as philosopher, but I fell in with the legions guided by his spirit when I encountered a passage that comes from a public address of his sometime around 1810 that appears as follows in his Notebook:

*“When I tell any Truth it is not for the sake of Convincing those who do not know it but for the sake of defending those who Do.”*

It captured – very nearly – the spirit animating me as I engage in activities in support of historical revision. In approaching those many under the sway of the regnant narratives of events of the past, I have met up with manifold varieties of inertia. Like you and me, other people find attacks on what they have always believed or supposed unsettling, and reflexively reject not only the attacks, but those – including their lifelong friends, as the case may be – who expose them to such attacks. Maybe it has something to do with keeping one’s emotional or perceptual balance, or sense of security therein. It usually does not in any obvious way relate to any religious, cultural, or tribal fetters of the sort we all – still, even in this Age of Enlightenment – do, in fact, bear from our cradles to our graves. It could have something to do with indoctrination, or conditioning, of the sort we experience at least from the moment we pass as children through the portals of the educational institutions. But it likely also stems from the verities we absorb with our mothers’ milk.

In any case, we revisionists, no doubt like Blake in his day when he put about his own unwelcome insights, encounter disbelief and much worse at the hands of those whom we might hope to enlighten. Blake acquired the insight that such a project was, if not outright hubris, nonetheless doomed to disappointment by elemental forces of (human) nature. So, taking recourse to the Ultimate Fount of Reason to which each of us has equally ready recourse – his own self – he came to the insight that correcting the misinformed was not, in any case, his purpose. He found his real purpose in the defense, if not of The Truth itself, then of those who had realized it,

and perhaps in some cases, even enunciated it.

This struck a chord in me, but it didn't enable me entirely to see myself as I believe I am. I don't see myself quite as one capable to discover truths and expound them to the world in such fashion that, at the very least, my credibility might be respected. I am not, so to say, quite so constructive. I am, rather, destructive in most of my enterprises – rather than advancing truths, I attack untruths. I attack untruths by analyzing their effects, both those presumably intended and others not necessarily intended. I pursue the motivations for untruthful en-



*Portrait of William Blake by Thomas Phillips, 1807.*

*[Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

terprises, seeking out not only those who implement them, but those who enable those implementations, and the rewards those enablers seek for themselves and their constituencies. Perhaps this makes me a conspiracy theorist, but it makes me that in a world that indeed is quite full of conspiracies, the success and effects of which can be breathtaking.

In view of my destructive tendencies, I formulated what I call a “corollary” to Blake’s manifesto, and it goes:

*“When I refute any lie, it is not for the sake of correcting those who believe it, but for the sake of exposing those who tell it.”*

The things we are told, and the resultant beliefs we assume, whether casually or even after profound contemplation, are in every case conveyed by agents, and these agents – every time, and in all cases – are informed by an agenda that, whether it harms us or helps us, is in any case not our own agenda.

The end result of this condition, which is as ancient as the sapience of mankind, is that we are subject to lies – lies, spins, distortions, omissions,

ensorships – the list goes on forever, and we need look no further than our very own selves to see this dynamic in operation.

Successful advancement of truths of my own to supplant or deflect those imposed by the agents in command of the organs of mass sentiment would expose me to the temptation to emplace, virus-like, my own agenda in the places first claimed by my opponents. But to assault entrenched narratives with contradictions, sources of doubt – that agenda is purely, and perhaps in this case perhaps virtuously – destructive.

Should/may/can we be left shorn of all impressions of what happened “back then,” at whose hands, and on whose heads?

No. But a reasonable first step in the process of pursuing the ultimate elusive ghost, The Truth, might be first to recognize the interests invariably served by those who would inform us in such matters, and at the very least to discount what we hear in terms of what we can discern as to the motivations that might have impelled them, along with the pressures and influences their long-ago times unquestionably did exert upon them.

And as for those who we can see have need to mislead us, let us be careful about adopting particular viewpoints contrary to those they advance, for those contrary points of view may very well themselves get no closer to The Truth than the viewpoints we reject. And as for the evidence and interpretations offered in correction, we should take care to grant these messages at least the same fair hearing we granted to those that we heard earlier.

## PAPERS

---

Roots of Present World Conflict  
Zionist Machinations and Western Duplicity  
during World War I

*Kerry R. Bolton*

This paper contends that the present so-called “conflict of civilizations,” or “war on terrorism,” and the Arab-Israeli conflict have their origins in the covert machinations of the Great War that betrayed the Arabs, prolonged the war, and established a pestilential organism at the center of the Islamic world that will seemingly forever be a cause of conflict.

---

After the prior century of conflict between the European imperial powers and an agitated Arabia, World War I was an opportunity to forge a perhaps permanently cordial relationship between the West and the Arabs. Western imperial powers gave Arab leaders promises of independence for joining their war against the Ottomans.

In October 1916, T. E. Lawrence, a British intelligence operative and one of the few who had a wide knowledge of the region, traveled with the British diplomat Sir Ronald Storrs on a mission to Arabia where in June 1916 Husayn ibn ‘Alī, *amīr* of Mecca had proclaimed a revolt against the Turks. Storrs and Lawrence talked with two of the *amīr*’s sons, Abdullah and Feisal, the latter then leading a revolt southwest of Medina. In Cairo, Lawrence urged the funding and equipping of those sheiks willing to revolt against the Turks, with the promise of independence. He was dispatched to Feisal’s army as adviser and liaison officer.

However, the Zionists and the British War Cabinet had reached a backroom deal. The war was going badly for the Allies, and the only hope was to persuade the USA to enter. On the other hand, the Zionists, who had placed their hopes in the Kaiser and the Ottoman Sultan for securing Palestine, had been rebuffed. Sultan Abdul Hamid had responded to Zionist leader Theodor Herzl that a Jewish state in Palestine was not agreeable, as his people had “fought for this land and fertilized it with their blood [...] let the Jews keep their millions.”<sup>1</sup> Zionist leaders approached the Kaiser, who was then trying to align with Turkey, the Zionists claiming that a Jewish state in Palestine would become an outpost of German culture.<sup>2</sup> The

Kaiser did not acquiesce, and neither did the Czar.<sup>3</sup> The initial response from Britain to Herzl, by Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, was to support a Jewish state in Kenya.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the opposition of Jamal Pasha, Turkish Commander of Palestine, the Zionists continued to remind the Germans and the Turks of the benefits of a Zionist state in Palestine that could serve as a “counter-weight” to Arab demands for autonomy.<sup>5</sup> Other Zionists believed that Britain was the better option for securing Palestine, and Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of the Revisionist Zionist movement, formed three Jewish battalions that served with the Royal Fusiliers in Palestine in 1918.<sup>6</sup> This, however, does not diminish the Arab support for the Allied war effort, nor the promises that were made by the Allies to the

Arabs. As will be seen, the Zionist belittling of Arab sacrifices in the war, under the leadership of T. E. Lawrence, was one of the original smears against the Arab people.

Lord Kitchener, British agent in Egypt and later secretary of state for war, realized the potential for Arab support against the Turks. On October 31, 1914, Kitchener sent a message to Hussein, *sharif* of Mecca and custodian of the Holy Places, pledging British support for Arab independence in return for support of the Allied war effort. The *sharif* was cautious, as he did not wish to replace Turkish rule, which allowed a measure of self-go-



*Lowell Thomas's first photo of T. E. Lawrence taken in Jerusalem as they were introduced in the office of the Military Governor, February 28, 1918.*

*By Lowell Thomas*

*(<http://www.cliohistory.org/thomas-lawrence/show/>) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*



vernment, with that of Western colonialism. At this time the Ottoman sultan had declared a *jihad* against the Allies to mobilize Arab support for the war, and while the *sharif* feigned support, he sought out the views of Arab nationalist leaders. On 23 May 1915, Arab leaders formulated the Damascus Protocol, calling for independence for all Arab lands other than Aden, and the elimination of foreign privileges, but with a pro-British orientation in terms of trade and defense. Correspondence between *Sharif* Hussein and Sir Henry McMahon, British commissioner in Cairo, during 1915 and early 1916, culminated in McMahon's guarantee of British support for independence within the requested boundaries, so long as French interests were not undermined.<sup>7</sup>

With both sides satisfied as to the guarantees, which included a sovereign Palestine, the Arab revolt broke out in the Hejaz on June 5, 1916. With Arab aid, the British were able to repulse the German attempt to take Aden and blockade the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. This was decisive.<sup>8</sup> The Arabs also diverted significant Turkish forces that had been intended for an attack on General Murray in his advance on Palestine. General Allenby referred to the Arab aid as "invaluable." Arabs suffered much from Turkish vengeance. Tens of thousands of Arabs died of starvation in Palestine and Lebanon because the Turks withheld food. Jamal Pasha, leader of the Turkish forces, recorded that he had to use Turkish forces against Ibn Saud in the Arabian Peninsula when those troops should have been "defeating the British on the [Suez] Canal and capturing Cairo."<sup>9</sup>

Lawrence in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* related the importance of the Arab contribution to the Allied war effort, stating that "without Arab help England could not pay the price of winning its Turkish sector. When Damascus fell, the eastern war – probably the whole war – drew to an end."<sup>10</sup> Lawrence stated of the Arab revolt that "it was an Arab war waged and led by Arabs for an Arab aim in Arabia."<sup>11</sup> The Arab struggle owed little to British, or any other outside assistance. Lawrence relates in *Seven Pillars* with bitterness and shame the betrayal of the Arabs by his country's leaders after the war:<sup>12</sup>

*"For my work on the Arab front I had determined to accept nothing. The Cabinet raised the Arabs to fight for us by definite promises of self-government afterwards. Arabs believe in persons, not in institutions. They saw in me a free agent of the British Government, and demanded from me an endorsement of its written promises. So I had to join the conspiracy, and, for what my word was worth, assured the men of their reward. In our two years' partnership under fire they grew accustomed to believing me and to think my Government, like myself, sincere. In this*

*hope they performed some fine things, but, of course, instead of being proud of what we did together, I was bitterly ashamed.*

*It was evident from the beginning that if we won the war these promises would be dead paper, and had I been an honest adviser of the Arabs I would have advised them to go home and not risk their lives fighting for such stuff: but I salved myself with the hope that, by leading these Arabs madly in the final victory I would establish them, with arms in their hands, in a position so assured (if not dominant) that expediency would counsel to the Great Powers a fair settlement of their claims. In other words, I presumed (seeing no other leader with the will and power) that I would survive the campaigns, and be able to defeat not merely the Turks on the battlefield, but my own country and its allies in the council-chamber [...].”*

The dismissal of Sir Henry McMahon, British commissioner in Cairo, whose communications relaying British guarantees had set the stage for the Arab Revolt, confirmed Lawrence’s belief in Britain’s “essential insincerity” of their promises to the Arabs. This perfidy scarred Lawrence deeply for the rest of his life.

## The Sykes-Picot Agreement & Betrayal of the Arabs

In the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 between Britain and France, “parts” of Palestine would be under international administration upon agreement among the Allies and with the Arabs represented by the *sharif* of Mecca.<sup>13</sup> This Anglo-French agreement already had the seeds of duplicity as it gave the two powers control over Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan, renegeing on the commitment that had already been given by the British to *Sharif* Hussein, and without his knowledge. Lord Curzon remarked that the boundary lines drawn up by the Sykes-Picot agreement indicated “gross ignorance” and he assumed that it was never believed the agreement would be implemented. Prime Minister Lloyd George considered the Sykes-Picot Agreement foolish and dishonorable, but it was nonetheless implemented after the Allied victory.<sup>14</sup>

The Bolsheviks in the newly formed Soviet Union, eager to present themselves as the leaders of a world revolt against European colonialism, released the details of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Turks took the matter to the Arabs in February 1918, stating that they were now willing to recognize Arab independence. Hussein sought clarification from Britain, and Lord Balfour replied that: “His Majesty’s Government confirms previ-

ous pledges respecting the recognition of the independence of the Arab countries.”<sup>15</sup> In 1918 Arab leaders in Cairo sought clarification from Britain and the British “Declaration to the Seven” on 16 June confirmed the previous pledge that had been made to Hussein.<sup>16</sup>

### The Balfour Declaration

Sir Mark Sykes, the individual responsible for the Sykes-Picot Agreement, approached the British War Cabinet with the suggestion that if Palestine was offered as a Jewish homeland, then Jewish sympathy could be mobilized for the Allied cause, and the USA might be induced to join the conflict. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis used his influence to induce President Woodrow Wilson to adopt an interventionist policy.<sup>17</sup>

In return for Zionist support the British reneged on their promises to the Arabs and secretly promised to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine; a guarantee that became known as the Balfour Declaration. This scheme prolonged the war, which might have been settled in a more equitable manner towards Germany and Austro-Hungary and hence would surely have changed the whole course of history.

Samuel Landman, a leading Zionist in Britain, related that several attempts had been made to bring the USA into the World War by appealing to “influential Jewish opinion,” but these had failed. James A. Malcolm, adviser to the British government on eastern affairs, who knew that President Wilson was under the influence of Chief Justice Brandeis, convinced Sykes, and then Picot and Goût of the French embassy in London, that the only way to get the USA into the war was to secure the support of American Jewry with the promise of Allied support for a Jewish state in Palestine.<sup>18</sup> Landman states that after reaching a “gentleman’s agreement” with



*Sir Mark Sykes (1879-1919) made the suggestion that if Palestine was offered as a Jewish homeland, then Jewish sympathy could be mobilized for the Allied cause, and the USA might be induced to join the conflict. Author unknown [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

the Zionist leaders, cable facilities were given to these Zionist leaders through the War Office, Foreign Office, and British embassies and legations, to communicate the agreement to Zionists throughout the world. Landman comments that “the change of official and public opinion as reflected in the American press in favor of joining the Allies in the War, was as gratifying as it was surprisingly rapid.”<sup>19</sup> Hence, the real power of the Zionists, even at that stage, over the press and politics was evident, as noted by Landman. Of the subsequent Balfour Declaration, Landman states:<sup>20</sup>

*“The main consideration given by the Jewish people represented at the time by the leaders of the Zionist Organization was their help in bringing President Wilson to the aid of the Allies [...]. The prior Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916, according to which Northern Palestine was to be politically detached and included in Syria (French sphere) so that the Jewish National Home should comprise the whole of Palestine in accordance with the promise previously made to them for their services by the British, Allied and American Governments and to give full effect to the Balfour Declaration, the terms of which had been settled and known to all Allied and associated belligerents, including the Arabs, before they were made public.”*

The contention of Landman and other Zionists that these dealings between the Zionists and the Allies to hand Palestine over to the Zionists were known to the Arabs is nonsense, but has remained a basis of pro-Israeli propaganda. Even the Balfour Declaration refers only to British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, *so long as it does not intrude upon the rights of the Palestinians*. As shown above, the Arab leaders would not countenance a Jewish homeland in Palestine, even to the limited extent deceptively stated by Balfour. Landman refers to promises of “the whole of Palestine” being made to the Zionists. The Declaration unequivocally states no more and no less that:<sup>21</sup>

*“His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.”*

The British commander in Palestine, D. G. Hogarth, was instructed to assure Hussein that any settlement of Jews in Palestine would not be allowed to act in detriment to the Palestinians. Hussein for his part was willing to

allow Jews to settle in Palestine and allow them ready access to the holy places, but would not accept a Jewish state. Hogarth was to relate that the promises being made to both Arabs and Jews simultaneously were not reconcilable.<sup>22</sup>

These machinations were confirmed by Lloyd George to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937, the report of which states that George told the commission that if the Allies supported a Jewish homeland in Palestine the Zionist leaders had promised to “rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the allied cause. They kept their word.”<sup>23</sup>

Even after the Bolsheviks revealed these secret agreements, the Arabs continued to fight, due to Allied assurances that neither Sykes-Picot nor the Balfour Declaration “would undermine the promises that had been made to them.” Among the numerous reiterations of Allied support for the Arab cause, the Anglo-French Declaration of 9 November 1918 plainly stated that France and Britain would support setting up “indigenous governments and administrations in Syria (which included Palestine) and Mesopotamia (Iraq).”<sup>24</sup> With such assurances the Arab fight against the Turks was of crucial importance to the Allies.

## James A. Malcolm

The memoir of James A. Malcolm, adviser to the British government on eastern affairs, on the Balfour Declaration, confirms all of Landman’s claims.<sup>25</sup> Malcolm states that his father was of Armenian stock, the family having settled centuries previously in Persia, where they were closely associated with the Sassoons, the opium-trading dynasty that became a power in British politics. The Malcolm family also served as liaison between the local Jewish community and another Jewish luminary, Sir Moses Montefiore in England. When Malcolm arrived in London in 1881 for his education he was placed under the guardianship of Sir Albert Sassoon, and came into contact with Zionists at an early stage. Malcolm acted officially for Armenian interests in the Holy Land in liaising with the British and French Governments, and was in ‘frequent’ contact with the British Cabinet Office, the Foreign Office and the War Office, the French and other Allied embassies in London, and met with French authorities in Paris.<sup>26</sup> These responsibilities brought Malcolm ‘into close relation with Sir Mark Sykes, undersecretary of the War Cabinet for the Near East, and with M. Gout, his opposite number at the Quai d’Orsay, and M. Georges Picot, counsellor at the French embassy in London’.<sup>27</sup>

It is here that Malcolm introduces one of the early Zionist slurs against



*The Arabian Commission to the Peace Conference at Versailles and its advisors. Emir Feisal with, from left to right, Mohammed Rustum Bey Haidar of Baalbek, Brigadier General Nuri Pasha Said, Captain Pisani, T E Lawrence and Captain Hassan Bey Kadri.*

*By American official photographer [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

the Arabs in justifying his proposition to Sir Mark Sykes that the USA could be brought into the war if the British promised Palestine to the Jews as a national homeland. Efforts to secure Jewish support in the USA had so far failed because of the “very pro-German tendency among the wealthy American Jewish bankers and bond issuing houses, nearly all of German origin, and among Jewish journalists who took their cue from them.”<sup>28</sup> It was then that the whole Middle East imbroglio to the present was hatched by Malcolm with Sykes et al. Malcolm writes:<sup>29</sup>

*“I informed him [Sykes] that there was a way to make American Jewry thoroughly pro-Ally, and make them conscious that only an Allied victory could be of permanent benefit to Jewry all over the world. I said to him:*

*‘You are going the wrong way about it. The well-to-do English Jews you meet and the Jewish clergy are not the real leaders of the Jewish*

*people. You have overlooked what the call of nationality means. Do you know of the Zionist Movement?’ Sir Mark admitted ignorance of this movement and I told him something about it and concluded by saying: ‘You can win the sympathy of the Jews everywhere, in one way only, and that way is by offering to try and secure Palestine for them.’”*

In a lengthy note, Malcolm disparages the Arab Revolt and its contribution to the Allies, which contradicts the accounts by Lawrence in *Seven Pillars*, and the assessments of the British military leaders in that theater of war. Malcolm writes:<sup>30</sup>

*“Early in the War the Arabs and their British friends represented that they were in a position to render very great assistance in the Middle East. It was on the strength of these representations and pretensions that the promise contained in the MacMahon letter to King Hussein was made. It was subsequently found that the Arabs were unable to ‘deliver the goods’ and the so-called ‘Revolt in the Desert’ was but a mirage. Their effort, at its maximum, never exceeded seven hundred tribesmen, but frequently less than 300, who careered about the desert some hundreds of miles behind the fighting line reporting for duty on ‘pay day.’ For this they received a remuneration of £200,000 per month in actual gold, which was delivered to them at Akabah. This sum represented a remuneration for every one of the tribesmen of more than the pay of a British Field Marshal. Lawrence himself made no secret of his profound disappointment with the Arab failure to carry out their engagements. That Hussein and Feyzal were not in a position to give any effective help was afterwards made abundantly clear by the fact that Ibn Saud was easily able to drive Hussein out of his kingdom.”*

It should be noted that Malcolm claims that Lawrence was “profoundly disappointed” with the Arabs. As *Seven Pillars*, and Lawrence’s lifelong bitterness at the betrayal of the Arabs, shows, Malcolm is writing disinformation on the Arabs that has since become staple fare dished up by the Zionists and their Gentile apologists.

The acclaimed British military historian Captain Basil Liddell Hart,<sup>31</sup> chief military commentator with the Allied forces during World War I, reiterates the effectiveness of the Arab Revolt and its contribution to the Allied war effort:<sup>32</sup>

*“In the crucial weeks while Allenby’s stroke was being prepared and during its delivery, nearly half the Turkish forces south of Damascus were distracted by the Arab forces [...]. What the absence of these forces meant to the success of Allenby’s stroke, it is easy to see. Nor did the*

*Arab operation end when it had opened the way. For in the issue, it was the Arabs who almost entirely wiped out the Fourth Army, the still intact forces that might have barred the way to final victory. The wear and tear, the bodily and mental strain on men and material applied by the Arabs [...] prepared the way that produced their (the Turks) defeat."*

Clubb and Evans in their paper on Lawrence at the Paris Peace Conference sum up the importance of the Arab Revolt:<sup>33</sup>

*"Thanks to Lawrence and the Arabs, the British not only successfully invaded Palestine in the autumn of 1917 but continued north into Jerusalem, reaching the city on 11 December. From there they advanced into Damascus in September 1918, right into the very heart of Syria."*

Feisal's small army adopted guerrilla methods that tied down the Turkish army, hitting bridges and trains. On July 6, 1917, after a two-month march, Arab forces captured Aqaba, on the northern tip of the Red Sea. Thereafter, Lawrence sought to coordinate the Arab actions with General Allenby's advance towards Jerusalem. In November Lawrence was captured at Dar'ā by the Turks while reconnoitering the area dressed as a Bedouin. Recognized, he was brutalized by his captors before escaping. In August Lawrence participated in the victory parade through Jerusalem, then returned to Feisal's forces who were pressing north. By now Lawrence had become lieutenant colonel and had been awarded the Distinguished Service Order.

The Arab army reached Damascus in October 1918. Lawrence had successfully established a government in Damascus, which was to serve as the center of a unified Arab state under King Feisal. Having established order in Syria he handed rulership to Feisal. However, the Sykes-Picot Agreement between France and Britain had mandated Syria as part of the French domain. French forces deposed the government that Lawrence had established for Feisal as the center of a unified Arab state with much bloodshed. They gave Feisal Iraq. A united Arab nation, thanks to Anglo-French perfidy and Zionist machinations, was not to be. History, as we know today, was shaped in the back rooms by lobbyists, politicians and diplomats in cynical disregard for the Arabs.

Lawrence returned to Britain shortly prior to the Armistice. At a royal audience on October 30, 1918, he politely declined the Order of the Bath and the Distinguished Service Order that was to be awarded to him by the King, leaving George V, as the King was to state, "holding the box in my hand." Lawrence was demobilized as a lieutenant colonel in July 1919.

That year Lawrence, dressed in Bedouin garb, attended the Paris Peace



Conference as a delegate in the entourage of Prince Feisal, with the approval of the British government. He vainly lobbied for Arab independence, and against the French mandate that was imposed over Syria and Lebanon. Clubb and Evans:<sup>34</sup>

*“In the early days of the conference Lawrence and Feisal sought to present their case for Arab independence anywhere anytime, to anyone who would listen, delegates and pressmen alike, in private rooms and tea salons. They found willing audiences as people were curious about the mysterious yet regal Arab and his English paladin. When not courting their audiences, Feisal and Lawrence busied themselves preparing the statement that would be delivered at the conference.”*

However, the French attempted to waylay and thwart Feisal at every turn, and the British insisted that Palestine was not part of any arrangement that had been made with the Arabs during the war.<sup>35</sup> While the French were insistent on the primacy of the Sykes-Picot Agreement in their dealings with the Arabs, the British had made conflicting promises to different interests, including conflicting statements on the status of Palestine. The Anglo-India Office (which had never been in favor of British support for an Arab Revolt) regarded the presence of Lawrence at Paris as “malign,” and that his views were not in accord with British policy. Lawrence was kept out of the British delegation that met again in Paris in 1919 to discuss the issue of Syria and France with Feisal. When Feisal returned to Damascus, he declared Syria to be independent on 7 March 1920 and he was declared King of Syria, which included Palestine and Lebanon. The French forces attacked, and Feisal was deposed on 24 July 1920, forced into exile in Italy,<sup>36</sup> but was installed as King of Mesopotamia in 1921 with the support of Britain.<sup>37</sup>

Arab support for the Allied cause during World War I, and the promises that the British made to the Arabs, have been all but forgotten, at least in the West. As recent history indicates, the Arabs have bargained in good faith with the West, and have been met with duplicity and betrayal. Now the West is reaping what its perfidious politicians had sown a century ago. There was nothing “inevitable” about this “clash of civilizations.” Good will existed during World War I and was trashed for the sake of Zionism. Sycophancy towards Israel has assured ever since that accord between the Arabs and the West remains forever unattainable.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection What Price Peace?* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1978), p. 11.

- <sup>2</sup> One is reminded of the present Zionist claim that Israel is the outpost of “democracy” and of “Western values” in the region.
- <sup>3</sup> Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1914-79* (New York: Caravan Books, 1979), p. 11.
- <sup>8</sup> Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- <sup>9</sup> Quoted by Lilienthal, *ibid.*, p. 17.
- <sup>10</sup> T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013), p. 666.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
- <sup>13</sup> Hadawi, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>15</sup> Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> Hadawi, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- <sup>18</sup> Samuel Landman, *Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine* (London: New Zionist Press, 1936), pp. 2-3. Landman was honorary secretary of the Joint Zionist Council of the United Kingdom, 1912; joint editor of *The Zionist* 1913-1914; solicitor and secretary for the Zionist Organization 1917-1922; and adviser to the New Zionist Organization, ca. 1930s.
- <sup>19</sup> Landman, *ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- <sup>21</sup> Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild, 2 November 1917.
- <sup>22</sup> Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
- <sup>23</sup> Palestine Royal Commission Report cited by Hadawi, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- <sup>24</sup> Hadawi, *ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>25</sup> James A. Malcolm, “Origins of the Balfour Declaration: Dr. Weizmann’s Contribution” (London, 1944). The entire document can be read online at: <http://www.mailstar.net/malcolm.html>
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>27-29</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, note on p. 2.
- <sup>31</sup> Liddell Hart, *Lawrence of Arabia* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1989 [1935]).
- <sup>32</sup> Quoted by Hadawi, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- <sup>33</sup> Andrew Clubb and C. T. Evans, “T. E. Lawrence and the Arab Cause at the Paris Peace Conference.” Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Background.html>
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, “Politics gets in the way of a Settlement’.”
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, “A Death in the Family and a Parting of Ways,” Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Paper.html>
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, “Postscript,” Online: <http://www.ctevans.net/Versailles/Diplomats/Lawrence/Postscript.html>

## The Rise and Fall of Historical Revisionism Following World War I

*Richard A. Widmann*

World War I was a tremendous disaster. While estimates vary, most experts agree that over 8 million combatants were killed and another 21 million were wounded.<sup>1</sup> The United States suffered over 116,000 deaths including those attributed to disease and accidents. For the US, it was the costliest war since the American Civil War. However tragic for Americans, US casualties were less than one-tenth those of the major European powers – Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Britain and France.<sup>2</sup> Beyond its direct impact, its hatreds, machinations, secret deals, and even the terms of its peace resulted in the even more catastrophic Second World War. So staggering was the influence of the Great War that the entire power structure of the world began to shift.

Despite the calamity, there were those at the time who were resolutely idealistic about the causes it was said to have served. Colonel House assured President Woodrow Wilson that no matter what sacrifices the war exacted, “the end will justify them.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the catchphrase for the conflict “the war to end war” coined by British author and commentator H. G. Wells suggested a higher purpose, one that imparted meaning to the horrific death toll. Wells blamed the Central Powers for the coming of the war, and argued somewhat naively that the defeat of “German militarism” could bring about an end to war.<sup>4</sup>

Upon Germany’s conditional surrender, the victorious Allied Powers betrayed their lofty talk of a new world order of freedom, justice, and everlasting peace and refocused their energies on economic revenge. At the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, Germany was forced to accept guilt for the war’s origin and to pay nearly unlimited reparations. In addition, the German military was reduced to a domestic police force and portions of its land were commandeered to establish new nations in Eastern Europe. The territories of Alsace and Lorraine were ceded to France. German colonies were stripped away and handed over to the victorious Allies.

At the Conference, Wilson gained approval for his proposal for a League of Nations. While unhappy with the overall results, Wilson remained hopeful that a strong League could prevent future wars; he returned to the US to present the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate. The opposition from the Senate under the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge was fierce.



*Barnes with Revisionist Group, Berlin 1927.*

*Seated: right to left: Alfred von Wegerer, Baron Rosen, Barnes. Standing: second from left: Friedrich Thimme, editor of Grosse Politik.*

*Source: Arthur Goddard ed., Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1968).*

Lodge viewed the League as a supranational government that would impair the power of the American government to determine its own affairs. Other opponents believed the League was the sort of entangling alliance the United States had avoided since George Washington's Farewell Address, which counseled against just such. Ultimately, the treaty would go down to defeat with Senate Democrats voting against it due to changes added by Lodge and the Republicans.<sup>5</sup>

It was around this time that several historical revisionists emerged on the scene. While "revisionism" has been applied to various periods and conflicts, it was the conclusion of the First World War that brought the term into general use. The revisionists were intent on understanding the real cause of the war and to "revise" the punitive Treaty of Versailles and especially the "War-Guilt Clause."

In July of 1920, historian Sidney Fay wrote the first of a series of articles on the origins of the war.<sup>6</sup> Fay demonstrated the inequity of the war-guilt clause aimed at Germany. Not only had the Kaiser not decreed war upon the June 28, 1914 assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, he left on his planned vacation cruise on July 6, not expecting any "serious warlike complications."<sup>7</sup> Fay concluded that a declaration of Austrian guilt would be far closer to the truth than the war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>8</sup>

Fay's article had significant influence. The most important conversion however was that of Harry Elmer Barnes.<sup>9</sup> As a graduate student, Barnes had advocated intervention in Europe even prior to Wilson's request that congress declare war. Historian Warren Cohen recounts that Barnes noted in a private correspondence that Fay's article "undermined his faith in what his elders told him in much the same manner as had his earlier discovery of the non-existence of Santa Claus."<sup>10</sup>

Barnes's discovery of Fay (a colleague at Smith College) would launch him into a lifelong battle for truth in history. Barnes recalls,

While I wrote some reviews and short articles dealing with the actual causes of the First World War between 1921 and 1924, I first got thoroughly involved in the Revisionist struggle when Herbert Croly of the *New Republic* induced me in March 1924, to review at length the book of Professor Charles Downer Hazen, *Europe since 1815*. This aroused so much controversy that George W. Ochsokes, editor of the *New York Times Current History Magazine*, urged me to set forth a summary of Revisionist conclusions at the time in the issue of May, 1924. This really launched the Revisionist battle in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Barnes was clearly influenced by the idealism of his age. His entry into the Revisionist controversy was fueled by more than simply historical accuracy for its own sake. Barnes was convinced that an accurate evaluation of the causes of World War One was necessary for peace in the 1920s and beyond. In fact one might say that the Revisionist cause for Barnes was "truth to end all war."<sup>12</sup>

Following Barnes's article in the *New York Times Current History Magazine*, scholarly periodicals and large publishing houses sought Revisionist material for publication. By the end of 1924, Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*, J.S. Ewart's *Roots and Causes of the Wars*, and Barnes's *Genesis of the World War* were all in print and defining the Revisionist position on the war in the United States.<sup>13</sup>

In his own assessment of the early days of Revisionism, Barnes wrote of the growing number of Revisionists around the world:<sup>14</sup>

*"American Revisionists found allies in Europe: Georges Demartial, Alfred Fabre-Luce, and others, in France; Friedrich Stieve, Maximilian Montgelas, Alfred von Wegerer, Herman Lutz, and others, in Germany; and G.P. Gooch, Raymond Beazley, and G. Lowes Dickinson, in England."*

The interest in Revisionism spread from academic journals to the popular press. *The Nation* and *New Republic* were frequently publishing Revision-

ist articles. H.L. Mencken, editor of *The American Mercury* was delighted by Barnes's work. In the April 1924 issue, Mencken published Barnes's portrait of Woodrow Wilson. Controversialist Mencken gleefully commented that the article would rank Barnes alongside Judas Iscariot.<sup>15</sup>

Acceptance in the popular media was a major objective for Barnes. Barnes wrote:<sup>16</sup>

*"The present writer has devoted his own efforts in the field of war guilt publications primarily to the task of bringing the facts revealed by scholars to bear upon public opinion and upon the policies and achievements of statesmen."*

For Barnes, only sufficient popular interest in Revisionism would be able to shift popular opinion and thereby result in policy change. Only such foreign-policy change would allow peace and goodwill among nations. In the preface to his *In Quest of Truth and Justice*, Barnes went so far as to write, "historical research is of little or no ultimate value unless its results have some actual bearing upon the improvement of the well-being of man in some aspect of his life."<sup>17</sup> Barnes was therefore upset that his *Genesis of the World War*, despite becoming the Bible for American Revisionists, did not attain the distribution he had hoped for.<sup>18</sup>

It was now clear that Barnes viewed himself in a struggle with uncooperative booksellers, an uninformed public, and those historians who toed the official line – whom he would dub "court historians." In 1928, Barnes vented:<sup>19</sup>

*"A major difficulty has been the unwillingness of booksellers to cooperate, even when it was to their pecuniary advantage to do so. Many of them have assumed to censor their customers' reading in the field of international relations as in the matter of morals. Not infrequently have booksellers even discouraged prospective customers who desired to have the Genesis of the World War ordered for them."*

Barnes described the early days of Revisionism as "precarious." The shift from an academic to a public audience was sometimes met with fierce opposition. During a lecture he gave in Trenton, New Jersey, he was physically threatened by opponents in the crowd.<sup>20</sup> Barnes met with similar resistance in Massachusetts where his *Genesis* was even banned from the public library in Brookline.<sup>21</sup>

As the 1920s roared to a close the primary focus of the revisionist controversy shifted from the war-guilt clause to the question of why America had intervened in the conflict. Historians including C. Hartley Grattan and Charles Beard added their voices to the debate.

With the passage of time, emotions cooled about the Great War. Warren Cohen commented on revisionism of the late '20s:<sup>22</sup>

*“What better way could there have been for the younger generation to undermine the pretensions of the previous generation than by demonstrating that the cause for which their elders had been willing to fight and die had been worthless, a fiction created by ‘myth-mongers.’”*

It was little wonder that in 1935 when Walter Millis's *Road to War* was published that it instantly became a best seller. Barnes commented on Millis's achievement:<sup>23</sup>

*“It was welcomed by a great mass of American readers and was one of the most successful books of the decade. Revisionism had finally won out.”*

This fleeting victory of Revisionism may be most clearly illustrated by the anti-interventionist sentiment embraced by the American public in the 1930s and right through the run-up to the attack on Pearl Harbor. With the war-drums beating throughout Europe, the Revisionists valiantly attempted to point out the similarities to 1914. In a last-ditch effort to keep America out of the impending war, a group of scholars and personalities formed the America First Committee in 1940. Its membership included Harry Barnes, Charles Lindbergh, Herbert Hoover, Gerald Ford, Walt Disney, Henry Ford and John F. Kennedy among others.<sup>24</sup>

The Revisionists kept up their opposition to interventionism. Charles Beard wrote an article, “We're Blundering into War” for *The American Mercury* in which he wrote:<sup>25</sup>

*“The United States should and can stay out of the next war in Europe and the wars that follow the next war.”*

C. Hartley Grattan argued:<sup>26</sup>

*“No American shall ever again be sent to fight and die on the continent of Europe.”*

As late as November 1939 (two months after the German invasion of Poland), Barnes warned:<sup>27</sup>

*“The moment we join the war, the New Deal and all its promises of a ‘more abundant life’ will fold up, as did the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson in 1917.”*

On December 9, 1941, two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the America First Committee ceased to exist. Despite the efforts of the Revisionists, historical revisionism proved not a powerful enough force to prevent another world war.

Since World War Two, public attitudes on the interwar Revisionist controversy have been largely reversed. The battle for a proper revision of the causes of World War One was not lost because of new evidence, but rather because of new attitudes shaped by events, real or contrived, of World War Two.<sup>28</sup>

World War Two was initially a disaster for Revisionism and for the world. Cohen notes that the “revisionist interpretation of American intervention in World War I is in disrepute, the revisionist studies of America’s road to war from 1914-1917 are considered of little use to students of American diplomatic history.”<sup>29</sup>

Rather than attacking the Revisionist interpretation of World War One, the argument could be made that the Revisionists’ efforts failed for being “too little too late.” Had America not intervened, had the war-guilt clause of Versailles not been dictated, the destruction of the Second World War might never have happened. In his final article on World War One, Barnes theorized:<sup>30</sup>

*“Had we remained resolutely neutral from the beginning, the negotiated peace would probably have saved the world from the last two terrible years of war. Whenever it came, it would have rendered unnecessary the brutal blockade of Germany for months after the World War, a blockade which starved to death hundreds of thousands of German women and children. This blockade was the one great authentic atrocity of the World War period. In all probability, the neutrality of the United States would also have made impossible the rise of Mussolini and Hitler – products of post-war disintegration – and the coming of a second world war.”*

Today the conduct of interventionism has resulted in an American empire that stretches beyond its means and stirs agitation and animosity around the globe. The media and an ignorant but well indoctrinated public mock the very ideas of “isolationism” and revisionism but are left wondering why American troops are engaged and dying in perpetual wars for perpetual peace. The idealism of the 1920s has been exchanged for a pessimism that fails to even consider ways to address the decline of a once-great nation.

All would do well to recall that the historical revisionist movement set out to prevent the bloodshed of a second world war and all the wars that followed. The revisionists of World War One should be remembered as heroes who set out to discredit misleading myths that ultimately led to more war and hatred among nations, and honored by the revival and continuation of their crucially noble struggle.



## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Revisionist scholar Harry Barnes cited a slightly higher figure for known dead. In his article "The World War of 1914-18" he cites some 9,998,771 dead and another 6,295,512 seriously wounded and another 14,002,039 otherwise wounded. See Willard Waller, ed., *War in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1974 [1940]), pp. 92-93.
- <sup>2</sup> WWI Casualty and Death Tables. Online: [http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath\\_pop.html](http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath_pop.html)
- <sup>3</sup> Ralph Raico, *Great Wars and Great Leaders: A Libertarian Rebuttal* (Auburn, Ala.: Ludwig Von Mises Institute, 2010), p. 43.
- <sup>4</sup> Online: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_war\\_to\\_end\\_war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_war_to_end_war)
- <sup>5</sup> The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Online: <http://www.ushistory.org/us/45d.asp>
- <sup>6</sup> Sidney Fay, "New Light on the Origins of the World War, I. Berlin and Vienna, to July 29," *American Historical Review*, XXV, pp. 616-639.
- <sup>7</sup> Warren I. Cohen, *The American Revisionists: The Lessons of Intervention in World War I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 36.
- <sup>8,9,10</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace," in *Barnes against the Blackout: Essays against Interventionism* (Costa Mesa, Cal.: Institute for Historical Review, 1991), p. 278.
- <sup>12</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
- <sup>13</sup> Barnes, *op. cit.*, "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace," p. 278.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.
- <sup>15</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 65. See Barnes, "Woodrow Wilson," *The American Mercury*, I (April, 1924), pp. 479-490.
- <sup>16</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, *In Quest of Truth and Justice: De-Bunking the War Guilt Myth* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1972 [1928]), p. viii.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ix.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. x.
- <sup>20</sup> Barnes, *op. cit.*, "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace," p. 279.
- <sup>21</sup> William L. Neumann, "Harry Elmer Barnes as World War I Revisionist" in *Harry Elmer Barnes Learned Crusader* ed. Arthur Goddard (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1972), p. 275.
- <sup>22</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.
- <sup>23</sup> Barnes, *op. cit.*, "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace," p. 279.
- <sup>24</sup> America First Committee. Online: <http://www.nndb.com/org/039/000057865/>
- <sup>25</sup> *The American Mercury*, XLVI (April, 1939), p. 395.
- <sup>26</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
- <sup>27</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, "When Last We Were Neutral," *The American Mercury*, XLVIII (November, 1939) p. 277 quoted in Cohen. p. 216.
- <sup>28</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. ix.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- <sup>30</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, "The World War of 1914-1918" in *War in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Willard Waller (New York: Revisionist Press, 1974 [1940]), p. 97.

## The Great Holocaust Mystery: Reconsidering the Evidence

*Thomas Dalton*

**T**he Holocaust is the greatest murder-mystery of the 20th century. Six million Jews, we are told, perished at the hands of the Nazis – in gas chambers, ghettos, and concentration camps. They were starved, suffocated, and shot. Their bodies were buried in mass graves, or burned in the ovens of Auschwitz, or on open flames. And all simply because they were Jews. It was the embodiment of evil, the greatest crime ever perpetrated.

Traditional historians claim to know about this crime in great detail. They have documents, photographs, and hard evidence. They have incriminating testimony from key Nazis. Some of the gas chambers have survived. And they have innumerable Jewish eyewitnesses. According to some, it is the “most well-documented event in history.”<sup>1</sup>

And yet, when we ask detailed and pointed questions, our historians fall short. They don’t really know when, where, or how the Jews died. They have no technical explanation of how it was possible, for example, to gas thousands of people per day in a single room, and then to dispose of their bodies – such that not a trace remains. They cannot find the mass graves that allegedly held thousands of bodies. They cannot explain wartime aerial photographs that show a disturbingly calm Auschwitz camp. And they refuse to even consider a raft of contradictory evidence. In fact, many aspects of the traditional story simply don’t add up. The deeper we look, the more puzzling the picture becomes – and hence, the great mystery.

As with any murder, we, as investigators, would like to examine several aspects of the crime; these would include the motive, the means by which it was conducted, and the bodies of the victims. We would furthermore like to consider all ancillary and related evidence that might support, or refute, the traditional story. As we will see, all these areas are problematic, from the conventional standpoint.

### History Reexamined

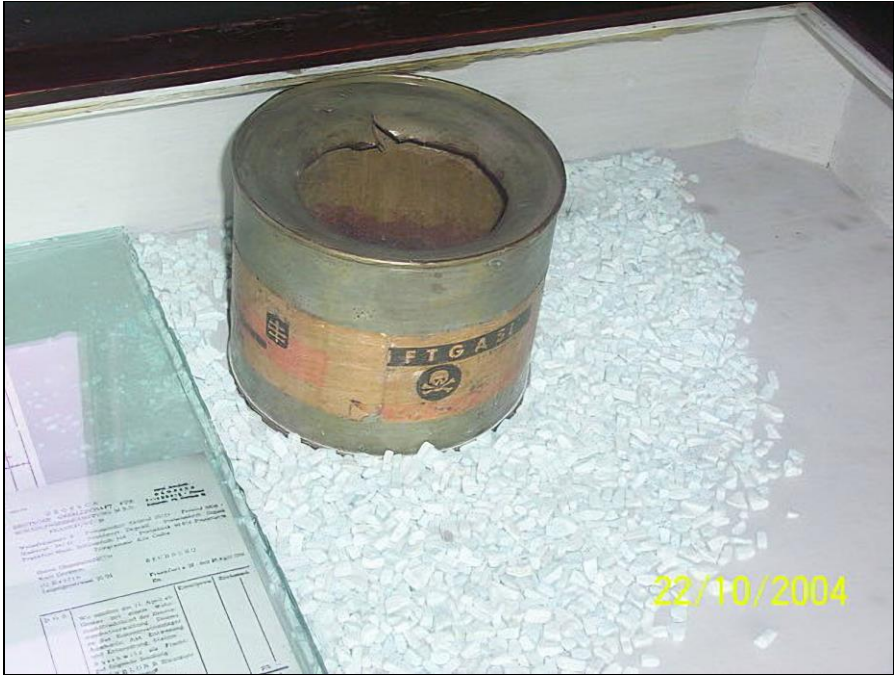
In the past few decades, a group of intrepid investigators has emerged, one that challenges the conventional view of history. Researchers who do this are generally known as revisionists; they seek to revise the orthodox ac-

count of some past event. Holocaust revisionists, however, are a special breed. They challenge not simply historians, but an entire infrastructure dedicated to maintaining and promoting the standard view. The conventional Holocaust story is sustained by hundreds, if not thousands of individuals: authors, scholars, filmmakers, publishers, academics, and the criminal-justice systems of several large countries. These orthodox historians are well paid; some have large staffs and budgets at their disposal, and many enjoy the patronage of media, government, and the corporate world.

Holocaust revisionists, by contrast, are few in number – not more than two or three dozen worldwide. They have tiny budgets and few sponsors, most of them undercover. They receive no compensation for their work. On the contrary – they are continually threatened, defamed, sued, and otherwise harassed. Their books are confiscated, and they are even occasionally thrown in jail. And yet, under the most difficult of circumstances, revisionists persevere in the task of exposing the shortcomings of the traditional view, and in turning a harsh light on some uncomfortable aspects of the Holocaust story. They do this not out of spite, nor meanness, and certainly not for financial gain – but simply in pursuit of the truth. They seek the truth of the greatest crime of the past century.

The dispute between Holocaust orthodoxy and revisionism is no mere trifle of history. It is a matter of great importance. The conventional Holocaust story is so widely accepted as self-evidently true, and as the epitome of evil, that most people cannot conceive of it being wrong to any substantial degree. If, therefore, it is shown to be wrong, or at least deeply flawed, then a central pillar of our understanding of history is threatened. Our simplistic notions of good and evil would have to be reexamined. Those who sustain and promote the traditional story today – including many prominent and wealthy Jews, their paid assistants, and the dwindling number of Jewish survivors – would suffer a serious erosion of credibility. And we might begin to question other received truths promoted by the powers that be. These facts have huge implications in many areas of contemporary life.

One striking fact is this: Most people have no idea that there is a Holocaust mystery at all. This in itself testifies to the power and influence of orthodoxy. They work hard to ensure that most of the public never hears from the other side – nor that there even *is* another side. When the topic does slip out, as it does from time to time, it is always cast in the most denigrating and insulting of terms. Revisionists are invariably called “Holocaust deniers,” “neo-Nazis,” or “anti-Semites.” They are slandered and impugned from the start. But their arguments are never discussed, never challenged, and never refuted. This, of course, is the classic *ad hominem* falla-



*Zyklon B consisted of diatomaceous earth or gypsum impregnated with liquid hydrocyanic acid. It was widely used for ship fumigation in the USA in the 1930s.*

*By Bubamara (made by myself) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

cy: to attack your opponent’s character or motives, rather than addressing the substance of his arguments. This is a standard tactic of those who have weak counterarguments, or who wish to avoid discussing the topic at all.

Consider the term ‘Holocaust denier.’ This is, in fact, a nearly meaningless phrase. What, after all, can it mean to ‘deny’ the Holocaust? In order to deny something, we first need to know what it is. By general consensus, this event has three central elements: (1) roughly 6 million Jewish deaths, (2) homicidal gas chambers, and (3) systematic intentionality on the part of the Nazis. Therefore, we require all three conditions to exist, if we are to have a “Holocaust.” In theory, if someone were to refute any one of these three points, he would be a “Holocaust denier.”

But what does it mean to deny, for example, 6 million Jewish deaths? Is a claim of 5 million “denial”? Hardly, since that figure has been long supported by prominent Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg. What about 4 mil-

lion? Doubtful; Gerald Reitlinger (1987) argued for 4.2 million Jewish deaths, and no one has called him a denier. 3 million? 1 million? We can see the difficulty here.

What about the homicidal gas chambers? Note: Any windowless room, in any building anywhere, could in theory serve as a homicidal gas chamber. All one needs to do is force people into that room, throw in some pellets of Zyklon-B (a granular package for cyanide gas, used by the Germans and many other countries to disinfect clothing and personal items), and then wait 20 or 30 minutes. Of course, this could be hugely impractical, for many obvious reasons: (a) it's very hard to force people into an enclosed space against their will, and keep them there; (b) it's tricky to get the pellets into the room without poisoning yourself and (c) it's very dangerous to extract the dead bodies without again poisoning yourself – they are infused with cyanide gas, after all, and the pellets themselves would continue to slowly release the gas for hours afterwards. You would somehow have to carefully aerate the whole room, over a period of several hours, and then cautiously remove the bodies and the pellets. And then, if you were to be “systematic” about the process, you would have to thoroughly clean out the entire room, top to bottom, to prepare it for the next batch of victims.

This is no mere hypothetical description. It is, in fact, how most of the Auschwitz chambers allegedly operated. If one then takes the obvious stance – that such a procedure is utterly impractical and ridiculous in the extreme – are you then a denier? Perhaps so; but certainly a rational one! To deny the ridiculous or the absurd is simply common sense. One wishes there were more such deniers in the world today, not less.

What about intentionality? On the traditional view, Hitler and the top Nazis desperately wanted to kill every Jew they could lay their hands on. Aronsfeld (1985: 49), for example, states that “the German Nazi plan to murder every single Jew they could is beyond doubt.” In fact, it is often claimed that the Germans put this objective above all others, even to the detriment of the defense of their country against invasion. As evidence, Holocaust fundamentalists cite various anti-Jewish statements by Hitler, Goebbels, and other Germans. But most such statements, including nearly all those by the leading Nazis, are highly ambiguous – as we will see. What is certain is that Hitler and others wanted to *remove* the Jews from Germany and the greater Reich. But it is far less clear that they wanted them *killed*.

Thus, if one claims that many thousands of Jews died – not in gas chambers, but in other incidental and ancillary ways – is this ‘denial’? Every revisionist agrees that the Nazis wanted the Jews out, and that this was a

deliberate and intentional, and even central policy of National Socialism. Many Jews undoubtedly died in the process of ethnically cleansing the Reich. And it is true that Hitler and the others were largely unbothered by this fact. But is this to deny the intentionality of the Holocaust?

We can see, then, how difficult and how meaningless it is to declare someone a “Holocaust denier.” Doing so would require a much fuller elaboration of the terms. Fundamentalists, however, never provide these facts. They prefer to slander their opponents, and leave it at that.

Let us, then, investigate this great crime ourselves. Let us examine the central elements of the Holocaust story, ask tough questions, and see where the evidence leads.

## The Big Picture

With the Holocaust, as with any such issue, it is wise to always keep the big picture in mind. So, let us ask some ‘big picture’ questions – questions that might get to the inherent plausibility of the conventional story.

First: Why do we know so little about the oft-cited “6 million” figure? It appears everywhere that we hear about the Holocaust. The US Holocaust Memorial Museum website writes:<sup>2</sup>

*“The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews.”*

The official Israeli institute Yad Vashem says:<sup>3</sup>

*“The Holocaust was the murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators.”*

Traditional historians are confident of this number; as Robinson (1976: 281) writes:

*“There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the estimated figure of some six million victims.”*

The Holocaust Encyclopedia concurs:<sup>4</sup>

*“The round figure of 6 million admits of no serious doubt.”*

But does it? Consider this fact. The Second World War in Europe ran from September 1939 to May 1945 – a period of 5 years and 8 months, or slightly more than 2,000 days. If the Germans killed 6 million Jews in the course of those 2,000 days, they must have averaged 3,000 Jews per day, every single day, for the full extent of the war. This is a truly astounding statistic: 3,000 Jews murdered every day, by some combination of gassing, shooting, and deprivation – for nearly six straight years. Is this plausible?

But the larger issue is that of body disposal. Killing is relatively easy; making bodies vanish is much, much harder. On the standard view, the Germans burned, buried, or otherwise totally disposed of 3,000 corpses (on average) every single day – for nearly six years. This would have been a monumental job in peacetime; it was a Herculean task in the midst of a major war. This alone should make us question the conventional death toll.

“So what?” some may say. “Something like 50 million people died in the course of the war, which is an even more amazing 25,000 per day. Why not 3,000 Jews?” Yes, but the larger figure includes all victims in all conflicts, everywhere on the globe. There were 58 national militaries at war, involving millions of soldiers, many of whom were shooting everything in sight. We can thus easily understand how 50 million people, globally, may have died, and the globe is indeed littered with their graves, quite conspicuously. But the Jews were targeted by a single nation, one that was busy fighting battles on many fronts. Furthermore, and critically, none of the 50 million dead bodies was made to vanish – unlike the 6 million unfortunate ones.

Second: Sometimes we need to state the obvious. *People die all the time*. They die from old age, disease, injury, and accident. They die from homicide, and they die from suicide. In any sufficiently large population group, about 1% die of such causes every year.<sup>5</sup> Among the areas that would come under German control, there lived about 9 million Jews, according to standard sources. Therefore, this Jewish population would have experienced something like 90,000 deaths per year – even if Hitler had never been born. Over the course of the war, roughly 520,000 Jews would have died, even if the Germans completely ignored them. And if we count the time since the Nazis came to power in 1933, some 1.3 million would have died.

Since the experts give us so few details, we have to assume that any Jew, in or from a German-occupied country, that died during the Nazi era, for any reason, counts as a “Holocaust victim.” We therefore have over 1 million victims before we even count a single Nazi murder. Any fair accounting of Jewish mortality would subtract the 1 million or so natural deaths from the putative total. But this rarely happens.

This also helps to explain those who say, “My such-and-such-a relative(s) died in the Holocaust.” What they mean, most likely, is that they died or went missing during the Nazi era, of causes neither specified nor even actually known. The blame adheres to Hitler by default, and the sympathy to the “bereaved.” Is this reasonable? Clearly not. But until we get details regarding *who* died, *when*, and *how*, we cannot determine the reality

of the situation.

Lest the reader doubt that such loose accountings are actually credited, consider the extremely liberal definition of a ‘Holocaust victim’ given by “the leading authority in Jewish global demography,” Sergio DellaPergola. In a 2003 report, he stated that a victim is anyone “who at least for a brief period of time was submitted in their locations to a regime of duress and/or limitation of their full civil rights.”<sup>6</sup> This is an absurdly broad definition, one obviously designed to maximize the number of victims and survivors. Clearly then, anyone who *died*, for any reason, suffered even potential duress – thus may count as a ‘Holocaust victim.’ Their family members also certainly suffered duress, and if they were alive after the end of the war could be counted as ‘Holocaust survivors.’ In fact, virtually anyone, any European Jew, who lived through the end of the war could be declared a ‘Holocaust survivor’ – and thus entitled to receive lifetime compensation from Germany, endless speaking engagements, and perhaps a book or movie dramatization of their lives.

Third: If the 6-million figure is so well documented, why then do we never see even a basic breakdown of it? That is, why do we never find even the most elementary set of numbers, based on cause of death, that add up to 6 million?<sup>7</sup> This is not a trivial matter. Allegedly the experts know, more or less, how and where the Jews were killed. They know about the six extermination camps (more on these shortly). They know about the *Einsatzgruppen*, the so-called German killing squads that operated behind the Eastern front. They know about the many Jewish ghettos – where they were located, when they operated, and when they were evacuated. The Holocaust is, after all, the “most well-documented event in history.” Why do we not have even a rough picture of how, by numbers, the Jews died, such that the totals add up to 6 million? The reader is invited to look for any reputable source, printed or online, that purports to show such a list; it will be a long search.<sup>8</sup>

Lacking data from the experts, let’s propose our own numbers. Here is one possible breakdown:

6 death camps:	3.0 million
Other camps:	0.4 million
Ghettos:	1.0 million
<u>Shootings:</u>	<u>1.6 million</u>
Total:	6.0 million

Is this correct? Hard to say. It gives the desired total, and it identifies the main categories of deaths. From what we are told by the experts, these



numbers seem plausibly close. But we should be able to do better than that. In theory, we should be able to research each of these areas in detail – each has its own set of specialists – and then justify the individual numbers. And if we find that one category has fallen short, then another must be *increased*, if we are to maintain the overall total of 6 million. This is elementary logic. So why does this basic analysis escape the hundreds of experts and thousands of published works on this event? This is not an unreasonable request: *Give us the numbers that add up to 6 million*. If they cannot, we have yet another reason to be suspicious.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, even if we were given such a list, we could not accept it at face value. We have to ask further questions, probing a bit deeper. What are the numbers at each of the six death camps, such that we can justify a total of 3 million? Which of the leading ‘other camps’ had the highest death rates, and what were those numbers – such that we can plausibly account for another 400,000? Which were the leading ghettos, and how many died in each of those – such that we can account for 1 million? (Beware: In order to count as ‘ghetto deaths,’ these must have occurred *in the ghettos*; someone who was removed from a ghetto and shipped to Auschwitz obviously cannot count as *both* a ‘ghetto death’ *and* an Auschwitz death.) There were four main *Einsatzgruppen* units. We know when and where they operated. How many did each kill, such that we can account for a large majority of the 1.6 million?

These are elementary questions. We ask not for precision, not for exactitude; rough estimates will do. We are within our rights to demand answers. Why are such answers not forthcoming?

For the sake of the present inquiry, let’s assume that the above numbers represent the conventional view. They will guide our quest for the truth.

## Origins of the “6 Million”

One of the biggest of the big-picture questions is this: Where did the infamous figure of 6 million come from in the first place? One would naturally presume it to be impossible to calculate the death toll in the midst of a raging world war. Even in the immediate aftermath, we would know little for certain. Surely, we would not take, for example, the Nazis’ word for it; they would be inclined to either minimize the death toll or, if coerced, exaggerate it. The many camp survivors – and there *were* many, even discounting “free riders” who were never near any camp – would clearly not be of much help; as prisoners, they would have been in no position to know such things as overall death tolls. Therefore, one would expect a dependa-

ble answer to come only from a detailed investigation of all the death sites, including forensic data, mass grave exhumations, autopsies, and so on. This would then be compared with surviving Nazi documentation, photographs, and other evidence. A proper investigation would clearly take months, if not years. Only then could we be confident of an estimate of 6 million.

Oddly, this is not what has been done. Far from it. In fact, nearly the *opposite* of the above has occurred. The victorious Americans relied heavily on biased Jewish and Soviet sources, and on captured and abused Nazis. They conducted no forensic investigations, no autopsies, and no unearthing of mass graves. The Americans thus relied strictly on hearsay evidence to establish the all-important Jewish death toll. And they never took a single action to confirm the number. Their position seemed to be: If the Jews say 6 million, 6 million it is.

All this would be bad enough, but the story gets much stranger still. It turns out that the world was told of 6 million Jewish victims not only in the immediate aftermath of the war, but *during* the war, at the *start* of the war, and even *before* the war – in fact, *decades before the war*. The seemingly impossible history of the ‘6 million’ constitutes a fascinating subtext to the larger Holocaust narrative.

Perhaps the earliest published connection between Jews and ‘6 million’ dates all the way back to 1850. The newspaper *Christian Spectator* (Jan 16; p. 496) printed a short article on “Spiritual statistics of the world.” They list the global population as 1 billion, of which “6,000,000 are Jews.” Two decades later, the *New York Times* reported similarly:<sup>10</sup> “there are now living about 6,000,000 Israelites, nearly one half of whom live in Europe” (12 Sep 1869; p. 8).<sup>11</sup> One may speculate that it was around this time that the number ‘6 million’ came to represent ‘all the Jews.’ Henceforth, whenever ‘all the Jews’ were under threat, the standard figure came up – as we shall see.

Just a few years later, there were already signs of trouble. The *NYT* reported in 1872 on the “persecution of Jews in Roumania” (Mar 23; p. 4). Gentile mobs were attacking them, and it appeared that “the blood-thirsty assailants would stop short of nothing but Jewish extermination” – an early precursor of claims of German extermination that would come some 70 years hence.

Or perhaps just eight years hence. In 1880 we read a striking report on “pleas for German Jews” (Dec 20; p. 2). The article examines a speech by German philosopher Eugen Dühring, and his “effrontery to demand the extermination of the entire [Jewish] race, in the name of humanity.” The

writer then speaks of petitions before the German parliament, whose purpose is “extermination – the annihilation of the Jewish race.”

But back to the subject at hand. The first mention of 6 million suffering Jews comes already in 1889. In a short article, the *NYT* asks, “How many Jews are there?” The low estimate of “the ubiquitous race” is 6,000,000. “With the exception of half a million,” it adds, “they are all in a state of political bondage.” Two years later, in 1891, we read about the sorry state of “Russia’s population of 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 Jews,” and of “the fact that about six millions persecuted and miserable wretches” still cling to their religion, against all odds. Thus began a multi-year string of stories about the “6 million suffering Jews of Russia.”

Such stories would prove useful to the nascent Zionist movement, which had only recently come into being. Its mission was (and is) to encourage world Jewry to settle in Palestine. The early Zionists were thus eager to play up Jewish suffering, in order to promote mass emigration from Europe. Referring to the Jews of Russia, noted activist Stephen Wise said this in 1900: “There are 6,000,000 living, bleeding, suffering arguments in favor of Zionism” (Jun 11; p. 7). In 1901, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported on the “hopeless condition” of the “six million Jews in Russia” (Dec 22; p. 13). In 1905, Zionists began to fret that “Russia, with its 6,000,000 Jews,” wasn’t promoting emigration (Jan 29; p. 2).

Periodic and often minor anti-Jewish actions were always portrayed in the most dramatic terms; the *NYT* despaired over “our 6,000,000 cringing brothers in Russia” (Mar 23; p. 7). Later in 1905 came a polemic against a Russian leader who “caused 6,000,000 Jewish families to be expelled” (Nov 1; p. 2) – which is impossible, incidentally, since that would have involved some 25 million Jews. In 1906 we read of “startling reports of the condition and future of Russia’s 6,000,000 Jews”; it is a “horrifying picture” of “renewed massacres” and “systematic and murderous extermination” (Mar 25; p. SM6). (One is tempted to ask, What it is about the Jews, such that they are subject to repeated threats of “extermination”?) In 1910, we find “Russian Jews in sad plight,” and we are saddened over “the systematic, relentless, quiet grinding down of a people of more than 6,000,000 souls” (Apr 11; p. 18). In 1911 the *NYT* reported that “the 6,000,000 Jews of Russia are singled out for systematic oppression and for persecution by due process of law” (Oct 31; p. 5). “6 million”; “systematic”; “extermination” – a clear trend is forming.

Soon thereafter, World War I began. We then begin to read of the plight of “more than 6,000,000 Jews who live within the war zone” (2 Dec 1914). The next month carried more reports of the eternally damned, “of whom

more than 6,000,000 are in the very heart of the war zone”; they are consequently “subjected to every manner of suffering and sorrow,” and all Americans are called upon to help (Jan 14; p. 3). In 1916, we read that “the world is silent” despite the fact that “nearly six million Jews are ruined, in the greatest moral and material misery” (Feb 28; p. 8). A year later, Rabbi Samuel Schulman exclaims that “six millions of Jews are living in lands where they are oppressed, exploited, crushed, and robbed of every inalienable human right” (Jan 22; p. 6). In May of 1917, we hear that “six million Jews – half the Jews of the world – are calling to you for help” (May 21; p. 1). By September, the situation was being described in the strongest possible terms; women and infant Jews must be saved, we are told, “if the Jewish race is to survive the terrible holocaust of the world war” (Sep 24; p. 20). Few seem to realize that a Jewish “holocaust” is said to have occurred in *both* world wars.

By late 1918, the war was nearing its end. Did we have 6 million Jewish fatalities? No. Somehow, they all managed to survive. Instead of attending their funerals, we were then called upon to aid their recovery: “Six million souls will need help to resume normal life when war is ended,” writes the *NYT* (Oct 18; p. 12).

One might have thought that this would have been the end of the stories of the 6 million. Sadly, no. The famed number simply shifted to a new region. In September of 1919, we find that it is now the *Ukrainian* and *Polish* Jews who are subject to misery; “6,000,000 are in peril” (Sep 8; p. 6). We are further horrified to read that “the population of 6,000,000 souls in Ukrania and in Poland [...] are going to be completely exterminated.” Naturally, this is “the paramount issue of the present day.” Once again, 6 million Jews under threat of extermination.

The trend continued for years, too numerous to elaborate. References include the following:

- “unbelievable poverty, starvation and disease [for] about 6,000,000 souls, or half the Jewish population of the earth” (12 Nov 1919).
- “typhus menaced 6,000,000 Jews of Europe” (12 Apr 1920).
- “hunger, cold rags, desolation, disease, death – six million human beings without food, shelter, clothing” (2 May 1920).
- “Russia’s 6,000,000 Jews are facing extermination by massacre” – again! (20 Jul 1921).
- “over 6,000,000” Russian Jews “neglected” (16 Sep 1924).

# The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!

By MARTIN H. GLYNN

(Former Governor of the State of N. Y.)

From across the sea six million men and women call to us for help, and eight hundred thousand little children cry for bread.

These children, these men and women are our fellow-members of the human family, with the same claim on life as we, the same susceptibility to the winter's cold, the same propensity to death before the fangs of hunger. Within them reside the limitless possibilities for the advancement of the human race as naturally would reside in six million human beings. We may not be their keepers but we ought to be their helpers.

In the face of death, in the throes of starvation there is no place for mental distinctions of creed, no place for physical differentiations of race. In this catastrophe, when six million human beings are being whirled toward the grave by a cruel and relentless fate, only the most idealistic promptings of human nature should sway the heart and move the hand.

Six million men and women are dying from lack of the necessaries of life; eight hundred thousand children cry for bread. And this fate is upon them through no fault of their own, through no transgression of the laws of God or man; but through the awful tyranny of war and a bigoted lust for Jewish blood.

In this threatened holocaust of human life, forgotten are the niceties of philosophical distinction, forgotten are the differences of historical interpretation; and the determination to help the helpless, to shelter the homeless, to clothe the naked and to feed the hungry becomes a religion at whose altar men of every race can worship and women of every creed can kneel. In this calamity the temporalities of man's fashionings fall away before the eternal verities of life, and we awaken to the fact that from the hands of one God we all come and before the tribunal of one God we all must stand on the day of final reckoning. And when that reckoning comes mere profession of lips will not weigh a pennyweight; but deeds, mere intangible deeds, deeds that dry the tear of sorrow and allay the pain of anguish, deeds that with the spirit of the Good Samaritan pour oil and wine in wounds and find sustenance and shelter for the suffering and the stricken, will outweigh all the stars in the heavens, all the waters in the seas, all the rocks and metals in all the celestial globes that revolve in the firmament around us.

Race is a matter of accident; creed, partly a matter of inheritance, partly a matter of environment, partly one's method of ratiocination; but our physical wants and corporeal needs are implanted



## WHITTIESEY?

in all of us by the hand of God, and the man or woman who can, and will not, hear the cry of the starving; who can, and will not, take heed of the wail of the dying; who can, and will not, stretch forth a helping hand to those who sink beneath the waves of adversity is an assassin of nature's finest instincts, a traitor to the cause of the human family and an abjurer of the natural law written upon the tablets of every human heart by the finger of God himself.

And so in the spirit that turned the poor widow's votive offering of copper into silver, and the silver into gold when placed upon God's altar, the people of this country are called upon to sanctify their money by giving \$35,000,000 in the name of the humanity of Moses to six million famished men and women.

Six million men and women are dying—eight hundred thousand little children are crying for bread.

And why?

Because of a war to lay Autocracy in the dust and give Democracy the sceptre of the Just.

And in that war for democracy 200,000 Jewish lads from the United States fought beneath the Stars and Stripes. In

the 77th Division alone there were 14,000 of them, and in Argonne Forest this division captured 54 German guns. This shows that at Argonne the Jewish boys from the United States fought for democracy as Joshua fought against the Amalekites on the plains of Abraham. In an address on the so-called "Lost Battalion," led by Colonel Whittlesey of Pittsfield, Major-General Alexander shows the fighting stuff these Jewish boys were made of. In some way or another Whittlesey's command was surrounded. They were short of rations. They tried to get word back to the rear telling of their plight. They tried and they tried, but their men never got through. Paralysis and stupefaction and despair were in the air. And when the hour was darkest and all seemed lost, a soldier lad stepped forward, and said to Col. Whittlesey: "I will try to get through." He tried, he was wounded, he had to creep and crawl, but he got through. To-day he wears the Distinguished Service Cross and his name is ABRAHAM KROTOSHANSKY.

Because of this war for Democracy six million Jewish men and women are starving across the sea; eight hundred thousand Jewish babies are crying for bread.

This 1919 article by Martin Glynn refers to a catastrophe in which "six million human beings are being whirled toward the grave." It also refers to a "threatened holocaust of human life." For full text see:

<http://codoh.com/library/document/871/>

The American Hebrew, October 31, 1919: page 582.

This brings us to the Nazi era, where the ‘6 million’ appears once again – and long before World War II. The first reference comes just two months after Hitler assumed power in January 1933. The *NYT* reports on a “Hitler protest” vote by some local New York government officials. Rabbi Stephen Wise issued an appeal: “We in America have taken the lead in a battle for the preservation of German Jewry,” adding that his group “is now active in relief and reconstruction work in Eastern Europe where 6,000,000 Jews are involved” (Mar 29; p. 9).

Three years later, we read in the *London Times* of “6,000,000 unwanted unfortunate” Jews, and of “these 6,000,000 people without a future” (26 Nov 1936; p. 15). On that same day, the *NYT* reported on a speech by British Zionist Chaim Weizmann, who “dwelt first on the tragedy of at least 6,000,000 ‘superfluous’ Jews in Poland, Germany, Austria.” In February 1937, we hear that “five to six million Jews in Europe are facing expulsion or direst poverty” (Feb 26; p. 12).

In 1938, the *NYT* ran an article headlined “Persecuted Jews Seen on Increase” (Jan 9; p. 12). “6,000,000 victims noted,” they said – referring to a combined total in Germany, Poland, and Romania. The very next month we hear about “a depressing picture of 6,000,000 Jews in Central Europe, deprived of protection or economic opportunities, slowly dying of starvation, all hope gone [...]” (Feb 23; p. 23). By May, it was the “rising tide of anti-Semitism in Europe today which has deprived more than 6,000,000 Jews and non-Aryans of a birthright” (May 2; p. 18). Later that year, the *London Times* printed an account of the “treatment of German Jews”; “the problem now involved some 6,000,000 Jews,” they wrote (Nov 22; p. 11). Bear in mind: the start of World War II was still nearly a year away.

Into early 1939, the *London Times* continued to report on Weizmann’s view that “the fate of 6,000,000 people was in the balance” (Feb 14; p. 9). War began in September of that year, and anti-Nazi propaganda accelerated. In mid-1940, the *NYT* quoted Nahum Goldman: “Six million Jews are doomed to destruction if the victory of the Nazis should be final” (Jun 25; p. 4). This was still at least one full year before Hitler allegedly decided to begin his program of Jewish mass murder – according to our experts.<sup>12</sup> How could Goldman have known what was to come?

In January of 1942, we read that Heinrich Himmler “has uprooted approximately 6,000,000 human beings” and shipped them into occupied Poland, “where they necessarily starve and freeze to death and die of disease” (Jan 18; p. SM10). By mid-1942, it was “a vast slaughterhouse for Jews” in Europe; one million were reported dead, and the remainder of the “6,000,000 to 7,000,000” at risk (Jun 30; p. 7). By December the Jewish

death toll was reported as 2 million, representing one third of the 6,000,000 “in Hitler’s domain.” It was, said the *NYT*, “a holocaust without parallel” (Dec 13; p. 21).

The sad tale continued throughout the war years:

- Hitler intends “the extermination of some 6,000,000 [Jewish] persons in the territories over which [his] rule has been extended” (*London Times*, 25 Jan 1943).
- “Save doomed Jews,” says Rabbi Hertz; the world “has done very little to secure even the freedom to live for 6,000,000 of their Jewish fellow men” (Mar 2; p. 1).
- Two million are dead, “and the four million left to kill are being killed, according to plan” (Mar 10; p. 12).
- “Five and a half million Jews in Europe are reported to have been put to death” (10 May 1944; p. 5) – still one full year before the end of the European conflict.
- And again later: “Dr. A. Leon Kubowitzki [...] reported that 5,500,000 Jews had been killed in Nazi controlled countries” (Nov 27; p. 14).

Then the first definitive claim – in January of 1945, four months before the end of the war: “6,000,000 Jews Dead,” blares the headline (Jan 8; p. 17). Jacob Lestchinsky claimed that the prewar population of 9.5 million had been reduced to 3.5 million. No mention of how he came to this figure, amidst the chaos of an ongoing war. In April, the *NYT* headlined a story: “5,000,000 Reported Slain at Oswiecim [Auschwitz]” – an incredible miscalculation, even assuming the correctness of the present-day figure of 1 million. In May we read something of an official declaration from Lord Wright of the UN War Crimes commission: “It has, however, been calculated that in all about six million Jews were deliberately slaughtered in [gas chambers] and other ways” (May 13; p. SM4). Calculated by whom? On what basis? And using what hard evidence? He does not say.

Thus is the story of the ‘6 million.’ It has an impressive legacy. Traditional historians often emphasize that the figure came from the Germans at the Nuremberg trial that began in November 1945 – which is true. A minor functionary, Wilhelm Höttl, testified to this number early in the proceedings.<sup>13</sup> Historians like to portray this as a kind of dramatic revelation, and as “official confirmation” of the number – which is a ridiculous claim. As we have seen, the number had been known, discussed, and anticipated for decades. And even then, in late 1945, no one had taken the smallest of steps to actually confirm such an estimate. It was pure hearsay, based on decades of propaganda.

Incredibly, even to the present day, we are no better off. We still have no hard data to confirm the ‘6 million’ – and good evidentiary reason to doubt it, as we will see.

## The Mystery Deepens

Back to our main plot. If we wish to examine the actual alleged murder of the 6 million, we must ask some further questions: (1) What was the intention of Hitler and the other leading Nazis? (2) Did they have the means and ability to carry out such a crime? (3) Did they in fact do it?

On the conventional view, the answers are clear: Hitler intended all along, and secretly, to kill the Jews of Europe. The Nazis constructed the means to do so, primarily in their system of ghettos, killing squads (the *Einsatzgruppen*), and in the six death camps, each of which was equipped with the infamous gas chambers. And yes, we are assured; 6 million were actually killed. “The round figure of 6 million admits of no serious doubt.”

Let’s examine each of these in turn, from an objective standpoint. What about the intentions of Hitler and the other top Nazis? Consider Hitler’s “first letter on the Jews,” dated 16 September 1919. Written when he was only 30 years old, this short letter is a reasoned study of the Jewish question in Germany:<sup>14</sup>

*“If the threat with which Jewry faces our people has given rise to undeniable hostility on the part of a large section of our people, the cause of this hostility must be sought in the clear recognition that Jewry as such is deliberately or unwittingly having a pernicious effect on our nation [...]. All this results in that mental attitude and that quest for money, and the power to protect it, which allow the Jew to become so unscrupulous in his choice of means [...]. His power is the power of money, which multiplies in his hands effortlessly and endlessly through interest, and with which he imposes a yoke upon the nation that is the more pernicious in that its glitter disguises its ultimately tragic consequences [...]. The result of his works is racial tuberculosis of the nation.”*

By ruthlessly pursuing their own self-interest, Jews inflict a virtually fatal illness upon nations. The remedy for this serious problem, said Hitler, was a “rational anti-Semitism,” one based not on hatred or emotion but rather on a straightforward desire to maintain the health of the nation. The “final objective” of this vision, he adds, is “the total removal of all Jews from our midst.”<sup>15</sup> Note: not their deaths, not their murder, but rather their *removal* from German society.



From the early 1920s, the English-language press began covering the National Socialists. In later speeches, Hitler used somewhat different terminology – but with the same end in mind. The press’s version of events, however, was decidedly one-sided. For example, in the 8 February 1923 issue of the *NYT*, they reported that “a part of the program of Herr Hitler [...] is the extermination of the Jews in Germany.” It sounds ominous. However, we now know about the decades-long history of supposed “extermination” attempts, none of which materialized.

More to the point, we need to consider exactly what Hitler said. Much of the time, the word that the English press translates as ‘extermination’ is *Ausrottung*; or in verb form, *ausrotten*. But it is not so simple. *Ausrotten* derives from *aus+rotten*, meaning literally to ‘root out’ or ‘uproot.’ And indeed, the Oxford English-German dictionary translates the phrase ‘root out’ to *ausrotten*.

Conversely, it translates *ausrotten* as both ‘exterminate’ and ‘eradicate.’ Both of these English words are revealing. ‘Exterminate’ derives from the Latin *ex+terminare*, meaning ‘out of (*ex*) boundary (*terminus*).’ In other words, to exterminate something is to drive it out, beyond the border, and thus to rid oneself of it. It does not demand the killing of the thing in question. Webster’s confirms this, defining extermination as “to get rid of completely,” or “to effect the destruction or abolition of.”

What about ‘eradicate’? This word derives from the Latin *e(x)+radix*, meaning ‘to pull up by the roots’ – hence ‘to root out’ or ‘to totally remove.’ Clearly one could ‘root out’ the Jews, for example, without killing any of them. And this seems to be what Hitler actually intended: that he wanted the Jews uprooted (eradicated) and driven out (exterminated). These meanings are combined in the term *ausrotten*.

If this were to happen in Germany, the Jewish presence there would be destroyed – not the Jews themselves, but their presence and their economic role in German life. This points to the other word that Hitler and others frequently used regarding the Jews: *Vernichtung*. The root of this word is *nichts*, ‘nothing.’ The verb *vernichten* thus means ‘to bring to nothing.’ The common English translation is ‘to destroy.’ To ‘destroy,’ in turn, literally means to deconstruct or ‘unbuild’ something. This, again, is exactly what the Nazis wanted: to deconstruct and unbuild Jewish financial power in Germany. As before, nothing in this demands the killing of the persons in question.

Hermann Göring clearly held this view. In mid-1936, he was quoted by a top American diplomat as saying that “the Jews must be eliminated from German economic life.”<sup>16</sup> There was no sense of animosity or hatred, but

simply one of economic expediency; Jews had long dominated the German economy, and the Nazis believed that it was time for it to be returned to the Germans themselves.

We get further evidence of this relatively benign meaning of the German terms from the *NYT* itself. In March 1933 they reported on a speech by Rabbi Schulman, in which he decried Hitler's "economic persecution [that] aims at the extermination of the Jewish people" (Mar 13; p. 15). The following month, we again read of the Nazis' "deliberately calculated [plan] to accomplish the economic extermination of the Jews" (Apr 6; p. 10). Such reports were correct; they drew on Hitler's harsh but nonlethal use of the words *ausrotten* and *vernichten*. But already by June of 1933, the *NYT* began to drop the economic piece of the picture. Hence we read, simply, that "Hitler's program is one of extermination" (Jun 29; p. 4). And in August, the ominous final message is clear: "600,000 [German Jews] are facing certain extermination" (Aug 16; p. 11). Thus we can see the rapid evolution from a plan of economic dismantling and removal (reality) to a distorted vision implying outright murder (fiction).

Yet more evidence comes from the extensive diary of Joseph Goebbels. Between May 1937 and the end of the war, he made 123 entries on Jews and the Jewish question.<sup>17</sup> In describing Nazi policy toward them, the most commonly used words are *evakuieren* (to evacuate), *abgeschoben/abschieben* (to expel or deport), *aus-heraus* (to move out), *liquidieren* (to liquidate, to get rid of), *ausrotten*, and *vernichten*. Notably absent are graphic and explicit words such as *töten* (to kill), *ermorden* (to murder), *erschiessen* (to shoot), and *vergasen* (to gas). And it is not only the individual words; the entire context of his passages on the Jews involves nothing but extended discussion of their removal, deportation, evacuation, and the like. Would Goebbels lie to himself, or use code words or euphemisms in his own private diary? Obviously not. When he said "evacuation" or "deportation," that's clearly what he meant. Nor did he mean deportation to any homicidal gas chambers; no such thing is mentioned in his lengthy writings.<sup>18</sup> Nazi intention was clear: the Jews would be packed up and shipped out, to the East, to the newly captured areas of western Russia, and there they would be dumped – to survive as best they could.

Finally, and most revealingly, what about the words of Hitler himself? From 1941 through late 1944, he conducted long private sessions with friends and party intimates. These discussions – monologues, actually – have been published as "Hitler's Table Talk" (see Hitler 2000). Among a wide range of topics, he makes some 16 references to Jews and the Jewish question, over a period of about three years.<sup>19</sup> *Every one* of these passages

refers, in the German original, to evacuation and removal; *not one* refers to killing, gassing, or mass murder. For example:

- “If any people has the right to proceed to evacuations, it is we [...]. We consider it a maximum of brutality to have liberated our country from 600,000 Jews. And yet we have accepted [...] the evacuation of our own compatriots!” (8-11 Aug 1941 – six months before the first so-called extermination camp was opened.)
- “The Jew, that destroyer [of culture], we shall drive out (*setzen wir ganz hinaus*)” (17 Oct 1941).
- “I prophesied to Jewry that, in the event of war’s proving inevitable, the Jew would disappear from Europe (*aus Europa verschwinden*) [...]. Let nobody tell me that, all the same, we can’t send them to the [Russian] morass!” (25 Oct 1941).
- “This sniveling in which some of the [German] bourgeois are indulging nowadays, on the pretext that the Jews have [had] to clear out (*auswandern müssten*) of Germany, is typical of these holier-than-thou’s. Did they weep when, every year, hundreds of thousands of Germans had to emigrate [...]?” (19 Nov 1941).
- “One must act radically. When one pulls out a tooth, one does it with a single tug, and the pain quickly goes away. The Jew must clear out of Europe (*Der Jude muss aus Europa heraus*) [...]. For my part, I restrict myself to telling them they must go away (*Ich sage nur, er muss weg*) [...]. But if they refuse to go voluntarily, I see no other solution but extermination (*die absolute Ausrottung*).” (25 Jan 1942).
- “The Jews must pack up, disappear from Europe (*Der Jude muss aus Europa hinaus*)!” (27 Jan 1942).
- “[The Jew] bears in mind that if his victims suddenly became aware of [the damage he causes to society], all Jews would be exterminated (*erschlagen werden*).<sup>20</sup> But this time, the Jews will disappear from Europe (*aus Europa verschwinden*).” (3 Feb 1942).
- “We shall regain our health only by eliminating (*eliminieren*) the Jew.” (22 Feb 1942).
- “Until Jewry [...] is exterminated (*ausrottet*), we shall not have accomplished our task.” (30 Aug 1942).
- “I have already cleared the Jews out of Vienna (*Der Juden habe ich aus Wien schon heraus*) [...]” (25 Jun 1943).

Hitler obviously had no reason to hold back his language when speaking amongst such close colleagues. If he had truly wanted to kill the Jews, he would have said so – more than once, and in no uncertain terms. Instead,

we find not one instance of such talk. Perhaps this is why so few of our traditional historians cite these monologues of Hitler; such passages are hard to explain, on the standard view.

The lesson here is clear. Simplistic translations are highly misleading, as are all the implicit references to mass murder. One must seek out the original German text, find the words that Hitler, Goebbels, and others actually used, and put them into proper context. Our traditional historians never bother to do this; it seems not to serve their larger purposes.

## The Run-up to the War

To better understand the circumstances of the Great Crime, we need to further examine German actions toward the Jews both before and at the start of the war. Earlier we saw that, in 1923, the *NYT* declared that Hitler's program included the "extermination" of the Jews – though they were careful not to elaborate. The year before, they were even more explicit; they wrote of his "excesses against law and order, and his speeches inciting his audiences to kill Jews and Socialists" (20 Dec 1922; p. 2) – again based on slanted translations. The *London Times* had it more correct. They reported that Hitler wanted "all Jews resident in Bavaria [...] to be rounded up in concentration camps. [...] In remote parts of the countryside, Jewish colonies are to be formed [...] which will be strictly isolated from all other sections of the population" (6 Nov 1923; p. 14).

When the National Socialists came to power in early 1933, they immediately began the process of removing Jews from positions of influence, and encouraging them to emigrate. There was minimal abuse, no pogroms, and certainly no large-scale killing. Even the dreaded *Kristallnacht* ('Crystal Night') of 9-10 November 1938 resulted in only some 90 Jewish deaths – regrettable, but clearly no massacre when viewed across the entire area of Germany. The point is this: that even through the end of the 1930s, the National Socialists did nothing more than push the Jews out of positions of power, intimidate and harass them, and do everything possible to get them to leave.

Even our traditional scholars agree – there was no mass murder prior to the war, which commenced in September 1939. Back in the 1970s, Erich Fromm wrote that "[the] systematic slaughter began only with the outbreak of the second World War. There is no convincing evidence that Hitler contemplated the annihilation of Jewry until shortly before then" (1973: 398). More recently, Peter Longerich (2010: 132) confirms this view: "The beginning of the Second World War saw the inauguration of the National-

Socialist regime's systematic politics of racial annihilation." Whether in fact there was any "systematic annihilation" or "slaughter" at all remains to be seen, however.

The war began with Germany's invasion of Poland – after much provocation by the Poles. England and France immediately declared war on Germany, which then reciprocated. The Soviet Union invaded Poland from the east two weeks later, and by the end of the month the nation was partitioned in two; Germany consolidated the western half, and the Soviets the eastern.

With victory in Poland, Germany suddenly gained control over some 1.7 million more Jews.<sup>21</sup> Did the Nazis begin mass-murdering them? No. Instead, they devised a plan to deport and confine them to a 'Jewish reservation' in the far eastern portion of German-controlled territory; this was designated as the Nisko Plan. Within a few months this was replaced by a more general objective: to transport all Jews into the "General Government," a large district of eastern Poland that included Warsaw, Krakow, and Lublin.

By mid-1940, with the German army pushing west into the Low Countries and France, it was becoming clear that even the General Government could not be a long-term solution. Thus came about the Madagascar Plan: all Jews would be shipped to the French colonial island. This, Himmler said, was much preferred to killing them, something that was both "un-Germanic and impossible."<sup>22</sup> Though the plan never materialized, it was discussed as a possibility at least through March 1942. At that time Goebbels wrote:<sup>23</sup>

*"There are still 11 million Jews in Europe. They will have to be concentrated later, to begin with, in the East; possibly an island, such as Madagascar, can be assigned to them after the war."*

Clearly no plans for mass murder – as late as March 1942!

This brings us to the actual murder itself – the scene of the crime, as it were. Allegedly, the National Socialists had three primary methods of killing Jews: ghettos, killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*), and the six death camps. Let's take a look at each of these, in order to assess the overall crime.

## The Mechanism of Mass Murder (1) – Ghettos

The first major death category is the ghetto system. Ghettos were generally small sections of cities that were designated as Jewish-only areas. They



Bundesarchiv, Bild 1011-134-0792-28  
Foto: Knobloch, Ludwig | Mai 1941

*Group of Jewish ghetto policemen lined up with bicycles in the Warsaw Ghetto, Poland, May 1941.*

*Bundesarchiv, Bild 1011-134-0792-28 / Knobloch, Ludwig / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

began to be formed in early 1940; Lodz (Poland) was one of the first. Most were established by the end of 1941 – more than 1,000 in total, so we are told. From early 1943, they began to be dismantled; the average life of a ghetto was roughly two years.

Contrary to popular belief, ghettos were not prisons. Many were completely open, and Jews could come and go as they pleased – they were only confined to living and operating businesses there. Often times, the ghetto was marked only by a sign. Clearly, they were never intended as a means of mass killing. Longerich evidently agrees:

*“The establishment of the ghettos was carried out so haphazardly and slowly that it would be wrong to see it as a systematic policy ultimately aimed at the physical annihilation of the Jews-”* (2010: 166)

Ghettos were, however, the logical first step in a program of exclusion, removal, and expulsion (‘extermination’). If the National Socialists indeed wished to ethnically cleanse the Reich, they would have begun by rounding up Jews, confining them to specified areas, and then methodically transporting them out. And this is precisely what happened. The two largest ghettos – Lodz (200,000 Jews) and Warsaw (400,000-590,000)<sup>24</sup> – were

established in February and November 1940, respectively. Jews were confined (in the manner just described) there until new areas opened in the East, upon which time the deportations commenced.

Once again, it is instructive to keep the big picture in mind. From the perspective of the Holocaust, there is one big question here: *How many Jews died in the ghettos?* Given the years of study, there should be something approaching common agreement on what that number is, and how it is derived. It should be the lodestar, the central point around which all discussion of the ghettos revolves. It should be everywhere that the ghettos are examined. And yet we find it – nowhere.

It does not appear in either older sources or newer, in print or online. Friedman's (1954) detailed study, for example, lists no death figures at all, either for individual ghettos or as a whole. More recent sources are little better. Corni's (2003) chapter on "Life and Death" in the ghettos gives a scattering of mortality statistics, but nothing comprehensive. He provides detailed – down to the individual – monthly deaths for the two largest ghettos (Warsaw and Lodz), but only for 10 and 18 months, respectively (pp. 205-206). But he draws no overall conclusions from these. He closes the chapter by citing the National-Socialist statistician R. Korherr, who allegedly claimed that 760,000 Polish Jews died in ghettos through December 1942 (p. 218) – though this total is clearly marked by Korherr as the sum of "emigration, excess mortality, and evacuation."

In his "definitive" study, Longerich (2010: 167) allots just one vague sentence to these deaths. Citing Hilberg (2003), he writes that "the total of Polish Jews killed prior to and during the period of ghettoization before the violent ghetto clearances began was approximately 500,000." Only Polish Jews? Many countries had ghettos. And what does "prior" mean? And why exclude the "violent clearances"? And what was the basis for Hilberg's figure – the man who could find only 5.1 million deaths overall?

Or consider Dean (2010); he provides exactly the kind of concise summary that should include an overall death figure, and yet we find only two mortality numbers, both for the Warsaw ghetto (more on this below). Perhaps appropriately, one of the newest dedicated studies, Michman (2011), has no death statistics at all.

Online sources are equally deficient. Wikipedia ("Jewish Ghettos in German-occupied Poland") provides a nice list of 272 ghettos, including "number of Jews confined" (maximum? average? final?), but no death statistics, nor even references to any. It does list the presumed destination of the ghetto residents; virtually all went to one of the six extermination camps, directly or indirectly. These will be examined shortly. The

USHMM website (“Ghettos”) gives no numbers, and states only that “the Germans and their auxiliaries either shot ghetto residents in mass graves located nearby, or deported them, usually by train, to killing centers where they were murdered.” How many mass graves? Where are they? Have they been examined? No answers. Yad Vashem says simply, “Many Jews died in the ghettos.”<sup>25</sup>

We must keep in mind how simple our request is. The essential equation is this: Jews went into the ghettos; some died there; the remainder were shipped out. More explicitly:

$$(\# \text{ Jews in ghettos}) = (\# \text{ Jews died in ghettos}) + (\# \text{ Jews deported out})$$

This again is elementary logic, and yet it seems to exceed the grasp of our traditional historians. Why can’t we get even rough estimates of this basic equation?

Since it is evidently too taxing a demand to request overall death statistics, let’s make it easier. Let’s look at the single largest and most-examined ghetto, Warsaw. Here we theoretically know everything, and in great detail. Even back in 1954, Friedman could write:

*“The bibliography of publications on the Warsaw ghetto is so extensive that it is impossible to enumerate even the more important studies.”* (p. 79, n 76)

How much more detailed is our knowledge today – 60 years later?

Once again, we ask the basic question: *How many Jews died in the Warsaw ghetto?* Once again, we come away empty-handed. No sources provide even a plausible estimate of this essential number.

In fact, our experts cannot even clearly answer the simpler question: How many Jews were *in* the Warsaw ghetto? Friedman (1954: 79) says 420,000 to 500,000. Corni (2003: 195) says 400,000. Dean (2010: 342) says “some 450,000.” Longerich (2010: 167) says 410,000 to 590,000! If we don’t know how many people we have to start with, we certainly can’t answer the follow-on questions regarding deaths and deportations. And if we can’t answer those questions, well, our entire picture of the Holocaust is up in the air.

Unlike the hundreds of other ghettos, we do have some partial death statistics for Warsaw. Corni (2003: 206), for example, gives us a table with monthly death figures, running from January 1941 to June 1942; these average 3,853 per month. But why stop there? The ghetto existed for another full year. Can we extrapolate this monthly figure for the entire duration? This would imply some 120,000 total deaths. If not, why not?



If so, how do we reconcile this number with the following facts presented by the USHMM?:

- “83,000 [ghetto] Jews died of starvation and disease” between 1940 and mid-1942;
- Between July and September 1942, “the Germans deported about 265,000 Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka”;
- Upon closing the ghetto in mid-May 1943, 42,000 were deported to three camps, 7,000 died fighting, and another 7,000 were shipped to Treblinka;
- 11,500 Warsaw Jews survived in the city until it was captured by the Soviets in 1945.<sup>26</sup>

For all that, *no overall death number* – for the most well-known and thoroughly studied ghetto of them all.

For that matter, what was Corni’s source for his numbers? As good sleuths, we must always ask such questions. In this case, it is particularly revealing. He cites an obscure, undated (presumed 1960) German text, *Faschismus – Getto – Massenmord*. This in turn is a translation from an even more obscure, also undated (presumed 1957) Polish source. Page 138 of this text has one table with the numbers used by Corni. But even here there are problems. There is no accompanying explanation at all – no elaboration, no context, nothing. Also, the entry for December 1941 is 43,239 – a ridiculously high figure, and obviously incorrect, and thus Corni uses the number (4,366) from the accompanying chart. But if there are such gross and blatant errors, how can we trust any of the numbers?

One reason for the reluctance to establish an overall death toll may be the obvious lack of evidence – that is, absence of victims’ bodies. Based on Corni’s data, the Warsaw ghetto yielded nearly 130 corpses per day, on average, for two or more years. What did they do with the bodies? They could not bury them, as they were in the middle of a large city. They had no crematoria, nor wood to build pyres. So – *what happened to the bodies?* And are there any remains that we might examine today, in order to confirm things?

Unsurprisingly, none of our ghetto experts addresses this thorny issue. At best we find mere passing comments in other sources. For example, in a 1942 article in the *NYT*, we read that the Warsaw Jews “have no means for funerals, so the dead are put into the street, where they are collected by the police” (Jan 7; p. 8). (The same article, incidentally, claims that 300 per day were dying, mostly due to typhus – the very disease that the Germans were trying so hard to forestall.) If the police collected the bodies – 4,000

or 5,000 per month – what did they do with them? Bury them? If so, where? Did they even count them? More unanswered questions.

Without such answers, we cannot really trust any information here. For all we know, the actual numbers could have been much lower. If there were 400,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, this would imply 4,000 natural deaths per year, or about 11 per day. With this lower number, we can well understand how the bodies may have ‘disappeared’ without a record. But Corni and others tell us that some 130 Jews died every day – ten times the natural rate. The *NYT* said 300 per day, or 30 times the natural rate. These are much harder to explain.

Or maybe it was even worse than we presume. In one striking 1943 report in the *NYT*, we read that “approximately 10,000 people are killed daily in Warsaw alone by different means; the cruelest and most inhuman instruments, which only the black satanic spirit of Hitlerism can invent, are employed” (7 Feb; p. SM16). Think of it – 10,000 per day! In a ghetto area of barely over one square mile! Perhaps the reporter, the “noted novelist” Sholem Asch, was guilty of a bit of poetic license. When we are dealing in fiction, anything goes.

It must be kept in mind how simple an analysis we are seeking. The main points could be addressed in a single paragraph. Here’s how it might go:

*“The Warsaw ghetto held 350,000 Jews at its opening, a number that peaked at 450,000 in mid-1942 and declined to 80,000 when it was closed in May 1943. Overall, 500,000 Jews passed through the ghetto. Of these, 40,000 died in the ghetto of natural causes, and 10,000 were shot there by the Nazis. The 50,000 bodies were dumped into three mass graves in a nearby forest, which were exhumed and studied in 19xx. The remaining 450,000 people were eventually transported out of the ghetto – 300,000 to Treblinka, 100,000 to Majdanek, and 50,000 to other concentration camps.”*

That’s it – very simple, very concise, and everything adds up. Of course these numbers are purely fictitious. We look to the experts to supply actual statistics. But answers are not forthcoming. And if the well-known Warsaw ghetto holds such mysteries, we can only imagine the murky state of the overall ghetto picture.

In the end, we are left with an empty sack. We must account, somehow, for roughly 1 million deaths in the ghettos. Yet we have no useful data on even the largest and best-studied ghettos. Furthermore, we must always keep in mind the natural death rate. If, for example, 3 million Jews (a

rough guess, but certainly an upper limit) were confined to our “1,000 ghettos,” we then would expect some 30,000 deaths per year – or nearly 100 per day – due strictly to natural causes. One hundred deaths per day, spread over several countries and some 1,000 different locations, could easily vanish amidst a major war. But more to the point, this would yield only some 100,000 deaths in total – a mere 10% of the claimed figure.

By concentrating the Jews, the Nazis certainly contributed to infectious diseases, malnourishment, and other maladies, and thus must be held responsible for those ‘excess’ deaths, along with any isolated shootings or other direct actions they committed. But we have no idea how many such deaths occurred.

Let’s summarize our problem here. The ghetto system ran essentially for three years: 1941-1943. Over this time period, we are told, 1 million ghetto-deaths occurred; hence almost 28,000 per month, on average, or about 925 per day. Every day, somewhere in the system, 925 bodies were either buried or burned. *Somewhere, in total, there are the remains of 1 million people.* Or so we are told.

*And yet have no record of any such bodies whatsoever* – no mass graves, no crematoria, no open-air pyres, no ‘dumping in the river’ stories – nothing. Not even the natural deaths are accounted for, which causes us to suspect that the total number of interned Jews was perhaps much smaller than claimed. And if we can’t find the victims, how can we hope to solve the crime?

## The Mechanism of Mass Murder (2) – Einsatzgruppen

On the orthodox view, the ghettoization of the Jews was only the first phase in their “extermination.” For obvious reasons, however, this system could never serve as a means of mass murder. Therefore, we are told, the National Socialists sought more expedient methods. One of these was mass shootings.

Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, rapidly capturing large amounts of land. As the main army advanced eastward, there was a constant danger of attacks by insurgents from the rear. The Wehrmacht therefore established the *Einsatzgruppen* – “task forces” – to protect the soldiers. They were organized into four main units (A, B, C, D), consisting of around 3,000 men,<sup>27</sup> supplemented by a fifth “special purpose” group. These were supported in their mission by police battalions, SS brigades (referred to as *HSSPL*), and perhaps one or two other groups. In addition to their main role, these groups were also allegedly given “authority to mur-

der members of the intelligentsia, the clergy, and the nobility, as well as Jews and the mentally ill”<sup>28</sup> – a formidable task.

The killing method was straightforward: shooting at close range, with bodies dumped in pits. There are some vague reports about the use of “six gas vans,” but details are so murky that we can conclude nothing about them.<sup>29</sup> The *Einsatzgruppen* and affiliates are responsible for a large majority of the 1.6 million Jewish shootings, on the standard view – perhaps 1.3 million or so, depending on the source.<sup>30</sup> They evidently wasted no time; the bulk of the killing was over by the end of 1942.

As always, we must focus on the big picture here. If we allow that most of the shootings occurred over some 18 months (mid-1941 to December 1942), this means that the four *Einsatzgruppen* and their auxiliary groups collectively managed to kill, on average, almost 65,000 Jews per month – or around 2,200 per day. More impressively, they managed to bury the bodies at the same rate; more on this shortly.

To get a grasp of this scale of killing, we need more detail. Longerich and most others fail to do this; for them, it is sufficient to cite a string of alleged individual events – 450 shot here, 2,400 shot there, etc – and leave it at that. Such statistics, of course, tell us little about what actually happened, and more importantly, fall far short of 1 million or more.

Of recent researchers, only Headland (1992) attempts to provide real details. Citing Wehrmacht reports, he calculates totals for each of the main *Einsatzgruppen* and the SS brigades (nothing for police battalions or others), through December 1942. His figures are as follows (p. 105):

<i>Gruppe A</i>	364,000
<i>Gruppe B</i>	134,000
<i>Gruppe C</i>	118,000
<i>Gruppe D</i>	92,000
<i>HSSPL</i>	445,000
Total	1,153,000

But there are immediate problems, as he recognizes. First, these are, allegedly, *all* of the victims – Jews and non-Jews alike. Fundamentalists assume that Jews were the large majority, perhaps 90%, though this could be drastically erroneous. Also, the *HSSPL* number is “certainly only part of their operations” (p. 106); such indeterminateness is a common ploy, and it leaves open the possibility of arbitrarily high ultimate figures.

But there are more fundamental problems. “It is not easy,” admits Headland (p. 92), “to obtain a clear picture of any distinct features” of the *Einsatzgruppen* reports; “the irregularity of the reporting frustrates us at

every turn.” He continues:

*“There is also evidence to suggest that some Einsatzkommando and Einsatzgruppen leaders deliberately exaggerated the numbers of persons shot for their own self-aggrandizement [...]. If these exaggerations existed, there is no way to determine by how much and where the numbers were embellished.”* (pp. 97-102)

It gets worse:

*“The impossibility of determining an exact total becomes even more obvious when one examines closely the numbers given in the tables [...]. Anything approaching a final total for the entire period of the war cannot be realized.”*

But wait – this is part of the “most well-documented event in history.” Why is this huge portion of the Holocaust such a mystery?

Headland states that “it is unlikely that historians will ever get beyond educated estimates as to the number of persons killed in the eastern territories [...]” (p. 106). “We may conclude,” he says on faith, “that the estimate of Raul Hilberg that over 1,300,000 Jews were killed in the east by the *Einsatzgruppen* and other SS agencies and collaborators is probably as close to a true figure as we are likely to find.” What he means is this: *Hilberg is famous, and thus we should just accept his number – despite its lack of substantiation – because we have no basis for anything better, and something of that size is needed to even begin to approach the ‘6 million.’* It hardly inspires confidence.

But there is an elephant in this room as well, one that Headland, Hilberg, Longerich, and all the others studiously avoid: the absence of bodies.

For the sake of calculation, let’s assume that the Headland numbers (above) are 100% Jews. Furthermore, let’s assume that the total rises slowly throughout 1943, from his figure of 1.15 million to a final mark of 1.3 million at year’s end. (*Einsatzgruppe* actions were almost certainly complete by this time.) Under these assumptions, the daily killing rate was very high: 500 – 2,500 per day, for most of the 2.5 year period. However, during three spectacular months – September to November 1942 – it shot up to nearly 4,000 per day, thanks to some ferocious killing by the SS brigades.<sup>31</sup>

We will set aside the myriad difficulties of hunting down, rounding up, and shooting an average of 4,000 people per day – for 120 straight days. Let’s assume this was done. Each day, the five groups have a total of some 4,000 dead bodies on their hands. Now what? The obvious answer is to bury them – in crude, deep, mass graves. In such a grave, one can pack, at most, six to eight bodies per cubic meter.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, the daily toll of

4,000 killings required a space of around 600 cubic meters – a hole that is, for example, 10 m × 12 m × 5 m deep.<sup>33</sup> In other words, a very large hole [...] a *new* one, every day [...] for 120 straight days. Even an ‘off’ day, of only 1,000 shootings, would require a hole of size 5 m × 6 m (15 × 18 ft), and 5 m deep, to accommodate the bodies.

What about a ‘bad’ day? The single worst alleged massacre was at Babi Yar, Ukraine. On 29 September 1941, *Einsatzgruppe C* supposedly slaughtered 33,771 Jews in one day. To accommodate these bodies, they would have had to dig a colossal trench 10 m wide by 100 m long, and 5 m deep. This alone would have been a major construction effort – all for a single day’s killing.

So, some obvious questions: Who was doing all that digging? Every day, year round, for two and a half years? In ice and snow? Did each team have a diesel excavator with them? And further: Where are all those holes? If 1.3 million Jews were shot and buried, it would have required, for example, 1,000 such holes, each containing an average of 1,300 bodies. Or maybe it was 2,000 holes with an average of 650 – and so on. This gives an idea of the magnitude of the problem.

And then the decisive questions: How many of these holes have we found? And how many bodies were in them?

Fundamentalists have their answers at the ready. By the end of 1942, the Nazis allegedly realized that they had made a huge mistake. So many mass graves, with so many bodies, left a vast amount of incriminating evidence. (Why they would have worried about this, we are never told.) Therefore they initiated “Action 1005” – a program to destroy the evidence of their mass shootings. Longerich (2010: 410) explains:

*“In June 1943 the commandos began to open the mass graves in the occupied Soviet territories, first in the Ukraine, then in White Russia, and finally in the Baltic states.”*

These teams were “extraordinarily thorough,” he says:

*“The mass graves were opened up, the corpses were burned on piles of wood or steel grilles, then the ashes were examined for valuable objects, gold teeth above all, before the bones were ground and the ashes scattered or buried. Then all other traces that could have indicated the places of execution were removed, and the murder scene dug over and planted.”*

Well, that settles that.

One wonders: How foolish does Longerich think his readers are? Are we supposed to accept this outlandish and impossible story at face value?

Over 1 million corpses, buried in over 1,000 mass graves, spread over hundreds of thousands of square miles, were located, exhumed, and *burned to ash* on large campfires. The subsequent tons of ash – human plus wood – were sifted for teeth, bones, and other “valuables”; the bones were ground up (how?), and the whole mess was then “scattered” or buried, such that *not a trace remains*. The killers evidently also had their own private landscapers, who came by at the end, smoothed out the soil over those 1,000 mass graves, and planted a few trees or shrubs to hide the evil deed. And perhaps a few flowers as well, in memory of the deceased.

This is a ludicrous story, but it is conveniently ludicrous. It attempts to explain away the glaring hole – the fact that we have found no evidence even approximating the 1.3 million supposed victims. Indeed, by a sort of perverse logic, the absence of bodies *confirms* the traditional view: “Of course there are no bodies; that was part of the plan.” Of course.

Even if the Nazis had attempted such a thing, there are substantial problems here:

1. Were the Nazis so stupid as to not think of this problem at the outset? And yet so brilliant as to effect the total elimination of evidence?
2. Merely finding all the mass graves again, after one or two years, would have been a major task in itself. The Nazis obviously had no GPS systems or satellites. They would have required an extensive and extremely detailed set of hand-drawn maps and written descriptions. Why do we have no evidence of such things?
3. Digging up hundreds of thousands of rotting corpses would have been a messy, awkward, and revolting job under the best of conditions – and impossible during frozen winter months.
4. The amount of wood required to burn decayed, rotting corpses would have been astronomical. Note: the Nazis weren’t merely ‘cooking’ the bodies, they were *burning them to ash*. To do this on an open-air fire requires an immense amount of fuel, something like 160 kg (350 pounds) of wood per body, at minimum.<sup>34</sup> A modest, 1,000-person grave would thus demand at least 160,000 kg (175 tons) of firewood. And the fire would have failed in the case of cold, rain, wind, or other adverse conditions.
5. On what basis can our experts claim that the *Einsatzgruppen* used “steel grilles”? Do they have any record of these? Any remaining examples, any photographs – anything?
6. The ash would have been overwhelming. Each body, plus the wood to burn it, would produce about 9 kg (20 pounds) of ash; 1,000 bodies yields 20,000 pounds, or 10 tons of ash. Can we imagine the Germans

- “sifting” through mountains of ash, in the cold and rain, pulling out teeth and bones – each tooth individually inspected for gold, each bone tossed into the “grinder” pile?
7. Grinding hard material such as bone requires large, power-driven machinery. Do we have any evidence that such machines existed, and were deployed all over Eastern Europe?
  8. Buried ash remains as ash for years, decades, even centuries. If they buried the ash, it is still there. Why have we not found it?
  9. Disturbed earth, as in the huge burial pits, cannot simply be erased. Merely filling them in with dirt does not do the job. Modern technology can easily detect such disturbances, even from the air. Why have we not found these huge pits?<sup>35</sup>

The problems compound – to an embarrassing degree. As detectives in this great crime story, we must know when to dismiss obvious fiction. One feels sorry for Longerich and the others who must promote such rubbish. They know, or should know, that it is nonsense. And yet they promote it all the same.

A more rational explanation is this: that the *Einsatzgruppen* and affiliated groups shot far fewer people, and far fewer Jews, than is claimed. No one doubts that they did kill many people, perhaps thousands, of all varieties. There was a war going on, after all. No one doubts that the bodies were frequently and unceremoniously dumped in pits. But to have killed well over 1 million Jews, buried them all, dug them all up a year or two later, burned them all to ash on wood fires, sifted through all the ash, and then hidden the ashes – this is impossible. The fact that we have no evidence of even a fraction of this story is telling. It is a clear sign that our traditional historians are seriously misleading us. It would not be too much to call them outright liars. The question then is: Why?

### The Mechanism of Mass Murder (3) – Gas Chambers

We have now examined ghettos and mass shootings in the East as ineffective means of killing and disposing of 6 million Jews. At most, we can imagine these two situations being associated with the death of perhaps two or three hundred thousand Jews over the course of the five-year war – many of them dying from natural causes.

Despite the many unsolvable problems and issues cited above, let’s make a temporary concession. Let’s say that Hitler and the other leading Nazis did indeed want to kill every Jew in Europe. Even then, could they





*The Majdanek “gas chamber” where it is alleged that prisoners were murdered with both carbon monoxide and Zyklon B. Tomasz Kranz, the director of the Majdanek Museum lowered the estimate of Jewish victims, which was once reported as high as 1.5 million down to 59,000.*

*By Roland Geider (Ogre) (Own work) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

have done it? The ghettos and half-dozen killing squads obviously weren't getting the job done. Something else would have been required.

If they had actually sought to kill masses of Jews, the Germans clearly had many options at their disposal. Shooting would have been perhaps the *last* method chosen; it is a tedious, slow, and uncertain process to take large numbers of people, line them up individually or in groups, and execute them. There were clearly better alternatives. For example, the Ruhr Valley had many abandoned coal mines, most with ready access to rail lines. The Nazis simply had to ship trainloads of Jews there, toss them down the empty shafts, and collapse the mines. Or they could have drowned them; it would have been a simple matter to pack people into crude shipping containers and dump them into the sea. That would have accomplished the evil deed and eliminated the evidence all at once.

If, for some strange reason, they felt compelled to ‘gas’ the Jews, they had options there too. As Fritz Berg points out, there were large, train-sized “gas chambers” in existence; these were used to fumigate train-carloads of bedding, clothing, and personal effects with deadly cyanide gas.<sup>36</sup> Typhus,

as we know, was a huge problem during wartime, and the Germans took many precautions. Rather than fumigate clothing, however, the Nazis simply could have processed carloads of Jews. They could have killed hundreds in minutes, with no risk to themselves. And the dead bodies would have been conveniently packed up, ready to head off for disposal.

If, for some other strange reason, the Germans preferred to use ‘chambers,’ they had options there as well. Consider this obvious fact: Once you have gone to the trouble of rounding up Jews and packing them tightly into small, air-tight rooms, *you don’t need to gas them*. If the room is even close to “air-tight,” you just wait 30 minutes or an hour, and everyone is dead. No toxic chemicals, no lengthy aeration, no messy cleanup – just open up the doors and haul out the asphyxiated bodies.

And there were simpler alternatives still. Round up the Jews, confine them in crude, prison-like structures in the countryside, and let them starve. Or faster yet: force them into large open-air corrals in the winter, with no shelter of any kind – just big fenced-in pastures. One cold night, and all are dead from exposure. The variations are endless.

But the Nazis, we are told, adopted none of these obvious alternatives. Instead, they opted for a complex, technical, and dangerous process of mass murder in gas chambers.

In order to better understand this most critical aspect of the Holocaust story, we need some background information. Prior to and during the war, the National Socialists created a large network of ad hoc prisons – concentration camps – throughout the Reich. By 1943 there were some 20 major camps of 25,000 or more inmates, and at least 65 ancillary camps with around 1,500 people each.<sup>37</sup> Many assume that all these were “death camps,” that is, places of mass murder. But this is not so. On the orthodox view, only six camps were dedicated to the murder of the Jews: Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Sobibor, Majdanek, and Chelmno.

These six so-called death camps, or extermination camps, were never labeled as such by the Germans. They all served different purposes, ran for different periods of time, and experienced different mortality rates. In fact the only points of commonality, according to traditionalism, are (a) they all held large numbers of Jews, and (b) they all contained homicidal gas chambers.

Once again, even the simple task of determining death tolls is problematic. Every expert, and every source, seems to have a different figure for each camp. And the variation is not insignificant; the highest estimates can be five or even ten times as high as the lowest. Even if we look at the two most ‘authoritative’ sources – USHMM and Yad Vashem – we find wide

differences.<sup>38</sup> For present purposes, we will use a rough average of these two organizations' numbers.

The table below lists the six camps, sorted by start date, and the approximate average estimates of Jewish fatalities:

<b>Camp</b>	<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>	<b>Jews killed</b>
Chelmno	Dec 1941	Sep 1942	250,000
Auschwitz	Jan 1942	Nov 1944	1,000,000
Belzec	Mar 1942	Dec 1942	550,000
Sobibor	Apr 1942	Sep 1943	225,000
Treblinka	Jul 1942	May 1943	900,000
Majdanek	Sep 1942	Nov 1943	75,000
<b>Total:</b>			<b>3,000,000</b>

These six camps thus account for a nominal total of 3 million Jewish deaths, as we have assumed at the start. They are fully half of the Holocaust.

Let's look, then, at the basic picture of each camp, so that we can better determine if, and how, Jews were killed there. We will run through the list roughly from least to most fatal.

### 1. Majdanek<sup>39</sup>

This is a camp that was once unsurpassed in its horror, but now has fallen mightily in the rankings. The *NYT* first reported on Majdanek in July 1943. They wrote that "the German murder toll in Poland is reaching a new high [...] including 1.8 million Jews [in all camps]" – according to the Polish Minister of Home Affairs.<sup>40</sup> He tells of men, women, and children "deported to the Majdanek death camp in the Lublin district, where they were slaughtered in masses in death chambers." On two days in July, "more than 3,000 persons were murdered in gas chambers. Such executions are taking place every day."

But it got worse. One year later, the *NYT* had precise details. "Victims put at 1,500,000 in huge death factory of gas chambers and crematories," screamed the headline.<sup>41</sup> The camp had recently been "liberated" by the Russians, and they invited Western reporters in to see the horror firsthand. Reporter Bill Lawrence wrote,

*"I have just seen the most terrible place on the face of the earth – the German concentration camp at Maidanek, [at which] as many as 1,500,000 persons from nearly every country in Europe were killed in the last three years. I have been all through the camp, inspecting its*

*hermetically sealed gas chambers, in which the victims were asphyxiated, and five furnaces in which the bodies were cremated.*"

He went to a nearby forest, where he saw 10 open mass graves – though only 368 bodies. "In this forest," he says, "the authorities estimate there are more than 300,000 bodies." The victims were of assorted nationalities: "Jews, Poles, Russians" and others.

Needless to say, the "1.5 million victims of Majdanek" meme failed to withstand scrutiny. Because the camp was so well-preserved, it was amenable to thorough investigation. As it turns out, "the authorities" never found more than a tiny fraction of the purported bodies. As the years passed, the gas-chamber stories dwindled away and "official estimates" began to fall: first to 1.38 million in 1986, and then to 360,000 in 1990. Then further: 235,000 people, of whom just 110,000 were Jews (1992); 60,000 Jews (2000); "over 50,000" Jews (2003).<sup>42</sup> From the revisionist standpoint, Graf and Mattogno (2012) have calculated that the Jewish death toll was slightly less than 28,000.<sup>43</sup>

"So what?" some may say. "This reduction in death toll is a good thing. It shows that traditional historians are willing to alter their views over time, as new research emerges." It *would* be a good thing, if (a) they acknowledged the important contribution from revisionist writers, and more importantly (b) it led to a corresponding decrease in the '6 million.' But neither of these ever happens.

Consider the estimate of 59,000 Jewish victims – a number that comes from the director of the Majdanek Museum, Tomasz Kranz (2007). In order to accept his number, we need to know how and when these people died. But even he gives us a rapidly shifting story. In 2003, Kranz wrote that "60 percent of the victims in Majdanek died as a result of starvation, forced labor, maltreatment, and illness" (2003: 230). If this holds for the Jews, it means some 35,000 died of these 'natural' causes, while the remaining 24,000 died by gassing or shooting. But we also have the story of the "Harvest Festival" (*Erntefest*) massacre, in which 18,000 Jews were allegedly shot at Majdanek on a single day, 3 November 1943. If this is true, it leaves, at most, only (24,000 – 18,000) = 6,000 Jews who were gassed or shot prior to that date.

But Kranz could evidently see that this caused a problem for the conventional view, which demands large numbers of Jews gassed at each of the six death camps. If only 6,000 were 'shot or gassed,' and if, say, one or two thousand of these were shot, this leaves only perhaps 4,000 that were gassed – unacceptably low for our traditional historians. This is likely why, in 2007, Kranz backpedaled. He now makes no claims about gassings ver-

sus shootings or other causes. He makes no mention of the victim count at the “Harvest Festival.” He simply says:

*“We do not, after all, have at our disposal any data documenting deaths by dividing them into various forms of killing.”* (2007: 104)

In a footnote he adds that “estimates concerning the numbers of mass prisoner shootings and gassing [...] are very general estimates and are not supported by source research.” Therefore, such figures “should be considered of little use.” In other words, we know *almost nothing* about *how* the Jews died; it is all speculation. But if this is true, how can he be so confident of his 59,000 figure?

The heart of the Majdanek story, like all six death camps, lay with the gas chambers. The standard account, dating to 1944, holds that the camp had seven such chambers. They were unique in that they supposedly used both Zyklon-B (cyanide pellets) and carbon monoxide from pressurized cylinders.

But these claims have withered under critical examination. One chamber in the ‘new crematorium’ was simply an enclosed, windowless room – but lacking a ventilation system, it could not have been used to gas people. Two other chambers were claimed to exist in a ‘Barrack 28’ – which no one can locate today, and was likely a figment of Soviet imagination.

This brings us to the building known as “Bath and Disinfection Unit I,” which allegedly held the other four chambers. Fortunately, it remains standing to this day, and thus can be easily examined.

The four B&D chambers are designated as follows:

- Room C: largest of the four rooms, allegedly used Zyklon only. But this room has a large, easily broken glass window, and no ventilation system. Today even the traditional historians agree that the room was used only for delousing of bedding and clothing.
- Attention now falls on the final three rooms:
- Room A: a medium-sized room, with two lockable doors and no windows.
- Room B1: a small chamber, with small window and lockable door.
- Room B2: a small chamber, no windows, one lockable door.

But Zyklon use seems to be ruled out for all three. Rooms B1 and B2 have no ventilation, and only crudely constructed (and likely post-war) ceiling holes in which to dump the poisonous Zyklon. But there is no obvious way to get to the roof to access these holes, and there is the usual problem of how to remove the dead bodies once they are mixed with the deadly pellets. Room A had two doors, which could have served as a crude ventila-

tion scheme – sufficient for bedding and clothing, but not for people. But it has not even ad hoc ceiling holes, and thus no evident scheme to introduce the Zyklon.

In conclusion, if the Germans gassed anyone with cyanide pellets at Majdanek, it was an extremely crude, dangerous, and bluntly speaking, idiotic procedure – scarcely worth serious consideration.

As to the claims of carbon monoxide poisoning, these are based on the fact that two of the rooms – A and B1 – have perforated metal pipes running along the walls. The pipes lead to a small exterior shack that contains two large compressed-gas containers. It looks bad, until one reads the container labels: CO<sub>2</sub>, or *carbon dioxide*.<sup>44</sup> Carbon monoxide is deadly; but carbon dioxide is not. We breathe it in and out every moment of every day. Why would the Germans pipe carbon dioxide into enclosed rooms? There is one obvious answer: to slow down decay of dead bodies. If the rooms were used as temporary morgues, CO<sub>2</sub> would allow for somewhat extended storage by displacing oxygen. In fact, fruit growers use this technique all the time when they want to store fresh fruit over the winter; they use large carbon-dioxide coolers.

This furthermore helps to explain witness accounts. The rooms had dead bodies (true), they were “gassed” (true, after they were already dead), and the bodies were eventually burned in crematoria (true). The individual facts are true, but they do not add up to “homicidal gas chambers.”

The bottom line is that Majdanek has sunk to irrelevance in the larger Holocaust story. Even if we accept that 60,000 Jews died there, they represent a mere 1% of the alleged total. Consequently, we hear very little about the camp any more, from our traditional historians.

## 2. Chelmno

Even more so than the others, Chelmno is truly something of a mystery camp. It wasn't even a fixed camp per se, but rather more of a processing station and, separately, a burial ground. Victims arrived by truck at the small village of Chelmno on the Ner River, 60 km northwest of Lodz, Poland. There they found a large country manor – variously called a “mansion,” “palace,” “*Schloss*,” or “castle,” depending on the source – where they disembarked.<sup>45</sup> They were then told they would be shipped further on to the East, to labor camps. Instead, claim the historians, they were herded down a ramp into waiting vans – vehicles that were modified to gas them. Hence the Chelmno murder weapon: *gas vans*.<sup>46</sup>

Once done, the van would head out to the “forest camp,” a plot of land some 5 km from the village. The bodies would be buried, and later, ex-

humed and burned. The reader should not be surprised if the plot line sounds familiar.

Chelmno was such a mystery that, for decades, virtually no detailed studies were published on it. The best one could hope for was a short encyclopedia entry, or references to obscure foreign-language documents. Only in the past few years have we seen dedicated works appear. To date we have three books: two orthodox accounts, by Krakowski (2009) and Montague (2012), and one revisionist analysis by Mattogno (2011).

Our best source of information on any camp is wartime documentation, but unfortunately “documentation about [Chelmno] is almost nonexistent,” according to Mattogno (2011: 7). Montague (2012: 2) concurs; he laments the “little physical evidence” remaining, the “absence of camp records and other relevant Nazi documents,” and the fact that “[camp] photographs remain tragically lost to history.” Current accounts of the camp are based almost entirely on unreliable witness testimony given in various postwar trials, and on a scattering of data derived from incomplete excavations. This partly explains the wide disparity in death estimates, from USHMM’s “over 156,000” to Yad Vashem’s “320,000.” For our purposes, we have assumed a median figure of 250,000.

As the first in existence, Chelmno was supposedly the ‘experimental’ death camp, the one that would establish the process for the others to come. Allegedly, it was in the summer of 1941, following early successes against the Soviets, that the Germans began to devise their “final solution” for the Jews – mass murder, on the standard view, or evacuation to the East, according to revisionists. Presumably acting on (unwritten) orders from Hitler, Himmler surveyed his technical experts for the best way to kill masses of people. Based on their experiences to date, they knew that shooting and ghetto-confinement would not work. One of Himmler’s men, Ernst Grawitz, allegedly proposed using “a fast acting, highly volatile gas.”<sup>47</sup> As Mattogno demonstrates, they had many alternatives, including the highly toxic phosgene and diphosgene gasses. Even the dreaded Zyklon (hydrogen cyanide, or HCN) was considered only moderately toxic among those studied. The least toxic was carbon monoxide. And yet the Nazis inexplicably elected to use carbon monoxide in their prototype death camp.

The Germans had two ready sources of carbon monoxide. One was compressed gas, transported in large metal cylinders of the kind that were (wrongly) attributed to Majdanek. The other was from internal combustion engines. Compressed gas was expensive to produce and awkward to transport, allegedly, but engines were everywhere. Every car and every truck automatically produced carbon monoxide exhaust – for free. The

choice was obvious.

According to witnesses, the gas vans were furniture-van-like vehicles, each holding between 25 and 50 people in the rear cabin. The vehicles were retrofitted with flexible exhaust pipes that could easily be redirected to a hole in the floor of the rear cabin. Exhaust gas, on this view, would pour into the cabin, quickly killing all inside. The dead bodies could then be conveniently trucked away to a disposal site at the forest camp.

But which engine type to use? The Germans had three alternatives at that time. One was a standard gasoline engine, which put out CO gas at concentrations between 1 and 6%. This is sufficient to do the job; CO is generally fatal within 30 minutes at levels above 1%. A second option, though, was much better: the so-called “producer gas” engines, which actually *created* CO gas to use as fuel. Producer-gas engines generated CO at levels of 18-35%, which would have rapidly killed all exposed.

But the National Socialists, we are told, passed over these two options, preferring instead their third alternative: a diesel engine. As it happens, and unbeknownst to nearly all witnesses and historians, diesels produce very little carbon monoxide – only about 0.1% for most of their operating range.<sup>48</sup> Incredibly, then, after choosing the *least toxic* gas, the Germans inexplicably chose the *least effective means* of producing that gas. We may be excused if we are skeptical of this alleged scheme.

Yet even today this fact seems to cause no concern for our fundamentalists, who continue to insist on the diesel story. In the authoritative Oxford study, for example, Karen Orth (2010: 370) writes:

*“Chelmno and the Reinhard camps [i.e. Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec] killed with carbon monoxide gas generated by diesel truck motors [...].”*

The fact that the National Socialists bypassed more deadly gases, and then opted to use a diesel engine to kill with CO, is sufficient for a rational investigator to dismiss the entire gas van story. But there are other problems with it. For example, it is physically impossible to pump exhaust gas into a “hermetically sealed” cabin. Either the engine will stall, or the cabin will be blown apart. There would have to be some complex system of pressure valves to let out the oxygen as the CO came pouring in. But no one has ever described such a scheme. If we had an actual surviving gas van at our disposal, we could easily answer such questions; unfortunately, not one has remained. (More problems of ‘vanishing evidence.’)

Furthermore, we have a much more plausible explanation for the wartime accounts of gas vans. Trucks running on producer-gas systems were



in fact called *Gaswagen*, or ‘gas vans.’ Additionally, the Germans had specially outfitted vans for use with Zyklon to delouse clothing and personal items; these too were called ‘gas vans.’ But when word got around of the (true) existence of gas vans, combined with the (true) fact that people were dying and being buried or cremated, and at the same time friends and family members were being shipped out of ghettos, never to be seen again, we can imagine how stories of homicidal gassings in vans could emerge.

How do these two orthodox authors handle these issues? On the critical question of diesel versus gasoline engines, and the subsequent production of deadly CO gas, both Krakowski and Montague are completely silent. The word ‘diesel’ appears not once in Krakowski’s book. Montague never specifies the engine type, nor informs the reader of the critical difference. Late in the book he allots one paragraph to “the question of the type of gasoline these vehicles used” (p. 208), but then neglects to answer the question. It is clear that he uses the term ‘gasoline’ as a generic for engine fuel, failing to make the crucial distinction between ordinary gasoline (petrol) and diesel fuel.

Potentially decisive evidence could exist in the mass graves, which allegedly held something like 250,000 bodies before they were exhumed and burned. We know where the graves are; in fact, there is a ‘victim memorial’ there today. Montague discusses the graves in detail, and supplies a helpful map. Today we see evidence of three long (circa 200m), thin (8m) disturbances, one smaller disturbance of some 60m in length, and about a dozen isolated pits. In total, these could indeed have held some quarter-million bodies.

Case proven? Not quite. As Mattogno explains (pp. 95-105), there have been four excavations of the Chelmno mass gravesites: 1945, 1951, 1986, and 2003. The first three were so poorly conducted that nothing conclusive can be determined. The 1986 examination, for example, found “a huge amount of crushed human bones” at the presumed location of corpse-burning site, but we are given no measurable details. Four bags of sample earth were analyzed, of which only “a few percent” consisted of bone fragments or ash (p. 97). The latest investigation in 2003 produced, once again, no objective, quantifiable data. Whatever is in those pits today, it evidently does not support the orthodox view. Perhaps these are the reasons why both Krakowski and Montague completely ignore the excavations.

But as Mattogno explains, there are yet more problems. If, say, 250,000 bodies were cremated on site, this would have required vast amounts of firewood – something like 40 million kg, or around 43,000 tons.<sup>49</sup> This

would have necessarily deforested huge areas around the camp – and yet the woods are largely intact, dating to well before the war. If they trucked in all that wood, there would have been a parade of witnesses testifying to the continuous stream of incoming vehicles; but we have none.

Once burned, the ash pile would have been monumental: roughly 2.2 million kg (2,500 tons). As with the *Einsatzgruppen*, the Nazis would then have sifted through the whole mass looking for teeth and bones, and then employed one or more mechanical grinders to crush them. Given the murky details of the four excavations, however, we must assume that very little ash has in fact been found.

Conclusion: the ‘mystery camp’ remains largely mysterious. The vans, the bodies, the fuel, and the ash have all but vanished, as has all documentary and photographic evidence. The alleged gassing method is quite literally senseless. And we can easily understand how such stories of “homicidal gas vans” came to exist. Doubtless many Jews passed through the Chelmno station, on their way out of the Lodz ghetto. Doubtless many of them died in the ghetto and surrounding region. Perhaps the bodies were taken to Chelmno to be disposed of. Perhaps some were buried, and some burned on crude pyres. But the evidence suggests that this number was much smaller than 250,000 – perhaps a few thousand at most.

### 3. Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka

The next three camps – Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka – have many features in common, and thus are often addressed together. We will do the same. The camps are typically considered part of an “Operation Reinhardt” (or Reinhard) that involved confiscating Jewish property and then either killing them (orthodox view) or deporting them to the East (revisionist view).

These camps are unique in that they were at fixed locations in the east of Poland, and allegedly were dedicated strictly to the mass murder of Jews. We know their locations, but sadly, and as before, very little of the camps remain. Today they consist essentially of designated forest clearings and various reconstructed, and therefore hypothetical, elements of the former camps.

The commonalities are striking, and telling. On the traditional view, all three camps:

- Opened with three gas chambers, and then added more later on.
- Were located on rail lines, in remote locations of eastern Poland.

- Had two distinct zones – an entry zone and an “extermination” zone – linked by a walkway called “the Tube.”
- Gassed Jews using the exhaust from a diesel engine.
- Initially buried their victims, and then later exhumed and burned them on site.
- Buried the ashes on site.
- Lacked even a single crematorium.
- Were demolished, planted over, and handed to a local Ukrainian to farm the land.

Both fundamentalists and revisionists view the camps as part of a common plan, and thus we would expect similarities. However, this ends up working against the standard view because the difficulties and absurdities of one camp are shared by all.

We are already familiar with most of these problems. One is the use of diesel engines for homicidal gassing – it is simply absurd to think that, with the advanced science and technology of Nazi Germany, diesels are the best they could do. And yet, orthodoxy insists on the diesel story. Previously we saw the quotation by Orth, regarding Chelmno and the Reinhardt camps. Hilberg evidently agrees:

*“Belzec is reported to have been equipped with a diesel motor; Treblinka is said to have had one from the start.”* (2003: 936)

According to the USHMM:<sup>50</sup>

*“In 1942, systematic mass killing in stationary gas chambers (with carbon monoxide gas generated by diesel engines) began at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, all in Poland.”*

Yad Vashem says this:<sup>51</sup>

*“The [Treblinka] extermination area included a brick building that housed three gas chambers. A diesel engine was housed in an adjoining shed – this engine produced the carbon monoxide, which fueled the chambers.”*

In another entry, they write:<sup>52</sup>

*“Belzec, which commenced operation in March [1942], had three gas chambers located in a wooden barrack; Sobibor, where the killings began in May, housed its gas chambers in a brick building and Treblinka, which was established in July, had three gas chambers that could be hermetically sealed. At each of the three camps, hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered by exhaust gas from diesel engines.”*

We can understand their dilemma. So much time and energy has been dedicated to the diesel gassing story that they cannot back down without a major loss of credibility. They therefore repeat the same story over and over again, without ever informing the reader of the severe technical improbabilities involved.

There is a related problem, however. People who die from carbon monoxide poisoning frequently have bright pink or red coloration on their skin. This is a chemical reaction of the blood to the gas, and it is a unique and distinctive marker.<sup>53</sup> Therefore the witnesses who claimed to have seen the dead bodies at the Reinhardt camps should have remarked on an overwhelming number of pink or red corpses. It would have been a sure sign of CO gassing. As it happens, no one has done this. Some report having seen blue or yellow coloration, but never pink or red. And yet this would have been the dominant feature, readily apparent to all. The reader is invited to search for witnesses claiming to see red corpses; it will be a long search.

But let's press ahead with our investigation. Traditional historians offer us a nominal account of the Reinhardt deaths over time. Let's lay them all out in a single view, to get a better look. Based on a variety of sources, the following table shows estimated monthly deaths (thousands), for each of the three camps, during the two years of their operation.<sup>54</sup>

Reinhardt Camp Deaths – Traditional, in thousands													
1942													
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
Sobibor	0	0	0	27	27	27	0	0	7	7	7	7	109
Belzec	0	0	44	42	4	18	54	156	96	66	60	10	550
Treblinka	0	0	0	0	0	0	191	128	180	202	100	32	833
Totals:	0	0	44	69	31	45	245	284	283	275	167	49	1,492
1943													
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
Sobibor	8	11	11	11	15	15	15	15	15	0	0	0	116
Belzec	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Treblinka	32	19	4	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67
Totals:	40	30	15	17	21	15	15	15	15	0	0	0	183

As we can see, the total figures for each camp match those we assumed previously: Sobibor = 225,000, Belzec = 550,000, and Treblinka = 900,000. The monthly figures are conjectural, but obviously some such combination of deaths must have occurred, if the requisite totals are to be attained. If the experts disagree with these figures, they are welcome to propose better ones – and to justify them.

A few things jump out at us. Any single camp number above 30 (that is, above 30,000) means that more than 1,000 people per day were allegedly gassed that month. Given the many difficulties of this process, cited previously, that would have been quite a task. But the numbers go much higher than this. For seven of the months, the numbers equal or exceed 100,000 per month, or about 3,300 daily. The peak month – Treblinka in October 1942 – was over 200,000, or more than 6,700 per day. Once again, we are confronted with an astonishing and frankly unbelievable claim: that the Germans managed, using only diesel engine exhaust, to kill nearly 7,000 Jews per day, every day, for a solid month.

As before, the ‘buried-exhumed-burned’ sequence would also have been a huge problem. All the *Einsatzgruppen* issues recur here, though at greater levels of absurdity. Based on our experts’ accounts, Chelmno was the first camp to exhume and burn, in the open air, on wood fires (in August-September 1942). If this was the “success” that we are told it was, the orders should have immediately gone out to the other camps: *stop burying your dead, just burn them*. (Note that all three Reinhardt camps were in operation by then.) But as it happened, only Sobibor began the exhuming and burning process right away. Belzec continued burying its dead for three more months. Treblinka, for *seven* more months. And the *Einsatzgruppen* were still digging mass graves a full *nine* months after the Chelmno “success.”

For that matter, why did the Reinhardt camps *ever* need to bury bodies? If they were in fact designed and built as “pure extermination camps,” surely the Germans would have constructed basic crematoria at each location – high-speed, highly efficient crematoria, to totally dispose of the evidence of the crime. Instead, they could do no better (allegedly) than to dump the bodies in a big hole in the ground, and then later, realizing their stupidity, dig up and burn the decaying corpses over log fires. And then, in another move of monumental stupidity, they decided to bury the ashes in the very holes from which the corpses came – ash that would then sit there for decades, waiting to be analyzed.

But even this understates the situation. In reality, they were burning so many corpses, at such a high rate, that their ‘log fires’ would have been towering infernos. The burning rate at Sobibor, for the last three months of 1942, would have been roughly 900 per day – 900 rotting corpses burned to ash, every day, for three cold winter months. Tons of ash, sifted for teeth and bones, every day, for three months.

And that was the ‘easy’ camp. Belzec, allegedly, burned their 550,000 bodies over five winter/spring months<sup>55</sup> – an average of nearly 3,700 per

day. Treblinka, though, was truly mind-boggling. There, we are told, they burned 900,000 corpses during just four months<sup>56</sup> – an astounding rate of 7,500 per day. That would require something like 1.2 million kg of wood, every day. It would generate about 67,000 kg of ash, every day. Is this reasonable? Surely not. This is in the realm of fantasy fiction. And yet it is exactly what our experts expect us to believe.

What, in fact, do the experts have to say about all this? Here's what famed Holocaust researcher Martin Gilbert – *Sir* Martin Gilbert – said:

*“The deliberate attempt to destroy systematically all of Europe’s Jews [peaked in 1942], during which hundreds of thousands of Jews were being gassed every day at Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor, and Treblinka.”* (1981: 26)

Wait – can that be correct? *Hundreds of thousands gassed – every day?* Sir Martin is a smart man. Surely, he doesn't make loose, off-the-cuff declarations. Surely, he knows that it is impossible – *impossible* – to gas and burn “hundreds of thousands” in four camps, every day. Why, then, would he publish such an obvious falsehood? Why would he lie? Sir Martin is a self-proclaimed Zionist Jew. Surely, he knows the folly of lying about the Jewish Holocaust. So – why would he lie? In whose interest is it to exaggerate such claims (or in whose interest *was* it – he made these claims prior to his knighthood)?

The only hope to get to the bottom of these issues is to conduct on-site excavations. Such work would allow us to determine the number and size of the mass graves, to quantify any remaining bodies, bones, or ash, and to find any remnants of the gas chambers. To a greater or lesser degree, such work has been performed at all three Reinhardt camps. What, then, does the excavation record tell us about each of these? Here is a summary in brief.

**Belzec:** All 550,000 bodies buried before exhumations-cremations began in December 1942. Two excavations since the war.

1. A Polish investigation in 1945 dug nine large holes, up to 10m wide and up to 8m deep. Findings: Sand mixed with intermittent human ash, along with scattered bones. No firm conclusions can be drawn, but from the wording – “some charred remains,” “part of a human body,” “a human skull,” “two shinbones and a rib,” “one partially burnt specimen,” etc. – it suggests something on the order of hundreds of bodies, but not hundreds of thousands.<sup>57</sup>
2. A 1997-1999 investigation, led by Andrzej Kola, dug 2,227 core samples in a grid-like pattern. Claimed to find “33 mass graves,” but based

on their reported size they could have held less than one quarter of the alleged 550,000 bodies that were buried there. Also, their ash content was sporadic, inconsistent, and “absolutely incompatible” (Mattogno 2004: 87) with any mass incineration.

Kola’s findings were published in small book, *Belzec: The Nazi Camp for Jews in Light of Archeological Sources* (2000). Perhaps tellingly, this book is rarely cited, rarely discussed, and virtually unobtainable. It seems that it does not provide the definitive proof that was hoped for.

**Sobibor:** Only 81,000 bodies buried before cremations began in October 1942. Several excavations, separated into three phases. Findings summarized in Bem and Mazurek (2012).

1. Kola (2000-2001). Digging 3,805 core samples over nine hectares, Kola “hoped to pinpoint the location of the gas chambers” (p. 98). He claims to have found seven mass graves and five building structure remains (“Objects A-E”). All of the mass graves contained skeletal remains – that is, unburned bodies – which argues against the bury-exhume-burn thesis. Total volume of the six main graves was around 14,700 cubic meters, sufficient to hold more than 100,000 bodies. But as Graf, Kues, and Mattogno (2010: 123) point out, simply because they were large enough “does not mean that [that many] corpses *were* buried in them.” Furthermore, due to random and uncontrolled diggings at the site after the war, there is a “high probability” that the graves were originally “considerably smaller” than at present. In any case, data from the core samples did not result in any determination of numbers of victims. Regarding the building remains, one large structure (“Object E”) was hinted at by Kola to be the gas chamber; unfortunately, he says, “it is impossible to give a simple answer [to this question].” Graf et al (pp. 159-160) explain why: (a) witnesses said the gas chamber building was brick, and yet Kola’s structure was all wood; (b) at the presumed location of the diesel gassing engine, Kola found only spent ammunition casings; and (c) the huge size of the object – some 80-100 meters in length – was never mentioned by any witnesses. Notably, Kola’s report has never been translated into English or any western language.
2. Bem (2004). In the second phase, Bem and colleagues hoped to find both the gas chambers and the ‘tube’ or path – also called the *Schlauch* or *Himmelfahrtstrasse* – that led to the chambers. Persisting in the thesis that Object E was the gas chamber building, they found a small rectangular space “that was tentatively interpreted as the room for the combustion engine [not “diesel”?] producing the exhaust fumes that

were pumped into the gas chambers” (p. 105). Regarding the Tube, their investigation “had not produced the expected results,” meaning, they found nothing.

3. Haimi (2007-present). At this point, an Israeli-led team took over excavation. Continuing previous efforts, they too sought the chambers and the tube. Regarding the all-important chambers, hopes invested in Object E turned out to be in vain: “we can, with a high degree of certainty, state that Object E is not the remains of the gas chambers” (p. 113). Its purpose and function thus remain unknown, and the search for the chambers goes on.

Regarding the Tube, Haimi and team found a long pattern of parallel post-holes.

*“This pattern of two rows [...] are interpreted as being the remains of the final section of the Himmelfahrtstrasse, which should have led to the gas chambers.”* (p. 126)

Unfortunately for the team, this pattern leads to what is now a large (roughly 30m × 30m) paved asphalt memorial lot; excavating there would mean tearing up the sacred memorial site.

Compounding the difficulties, it was announced in March 2014 that the Poles would build a new visitor’s center and a nearly mile-long “memorial wall”; this would have the effect of ending, or at least severely inhibiting, further exploration in those areas.<sup>58</sup> We note also that the focus seems to have moved completely away from the mass graves and their contents. Evidently this was not a productive area of research, as it was not yielding the “expected results.”

But Haimi and his team are optimistic. As reported in the above news story, they await permission to excavate under the asphalt lot.

*“Under this square – almost the size of a soccer field – they expect to find remnants of the gas chambers.”*

We await this development with bated breath.

Meanwhile, dispute about the number of Sobibor victims goes on. A footnote<sup>59</sup> in the 2012 Bem and Mazurek report states that “the Germans committed 300,000 murders here” – a figure that significantly exceeds that of both the USHMM and Yad Vashem. On the other hand, skeptical revisionists such as Graf, Mattogno, and Kues say this:

*“It must be stressed that this is only a rough estimate, but we find it probable that the number of Sobibor victims is in the vicinity of 10,000 dead.”* (2010: 169)



A figure of 10,000 dead, while still tragic, would reduce Sobibor to near insignificance in the Holocaust story, and to virtual irrelevance in the larger tragedy of World War II. Suffice it to say that the present evidence is decidedly in favor of the revisionists.

**Treblinka:** Virtually all of the 900,000 victims buried before cremations began in April 1943. Three excavations.

1. Soviet-Polish investigation (1944). Conducted shortly after the Russians captured the camp in August 1944, this team found three mass graves, with a grand total of some 300 corpses. Based on this scant evidence, the team declared the camp “an enormous death combine,” a “death factory,” and announced that “about three million” died there.<sup>60</sup> This study holds little credence, for obvious reasons.
2. Polish investigation (1945). A year later another Polish team analyzed the site, over the course of five days. Human remains were found only during a single day’s dig, unearthing “a large quantity of ashes as well as [unburned] human remains.” Again, virtually useless as a quantitative investigation.
3. C. Sturdy Colls (2007-present). Recently, a 20-something British archaeologist, Caroline Sturdy Colls, was somehow enlisted to conduct the first investigation of Treblinka since the war years. Her work, called the “first-ever excavation” of the camp, has been rolling along at a low boil for some seven years now, with precious little analysis to show for it. She has published no books on it, no papers quantifying the results, and virtually nothing of substance.<sup>61</sup> Her chief purpose seems to be to produce media stories and “documentaries” of the camp that promote the traditional viewpoint.

Sturdy Colls has proven herself able to produce inconsequential and even embarrassing results. For example, rather than digging at the site of the mass graves – which is conveniently covered over in concrete – she conducted a small excavation nearby, at the site of a pre-war cemetery. She found... human remains. A greater embarrassment was her finding of a fragment of an orange tile “with a Star of David on it.” Such tiles, she says, “fit in with the idea that we are in the area of the gas chambers.” She adds that this reminds her of claims that Stars of David were placed on the outside of the gas chambers, to lull the Jewish victims into a sense of complacency. In reality, the tile was a product of a long-established Polish ceramics firm, *Dziewulski i Lange*. Their brand logo was a six-sided mullet star that resembles the Jewish star, though having no connection to it. It was stamped on the back of their tiles.

And yet the media continue to trumpet her findings as if of great significance. The Web-based media organization LiveScience, for example, headlined this story on 27 March 2014: “First-ever excavation of Nazi death camp Treblinka reveals horrors.” The opening paragraph reads, “The first-ever archaeological excavations at the Nazi death camp Treblinka have revealed new mass graves, as well as the first physical evidence that this camp held gas chambers, where thousands of Jews died” – all untrue, incidentally. The piece goes on to plug Sturdy Colls’s new documentary *Treblinka: Hitler’s Killing Machine*. As before, the article provides no concrete information at all. The final section, “Finding the Gas Chamber,” includes this statement:

*“The second two trenches [excavation sites], however, revealed a brick wall and foundation. The gas chambers were the only brick buildings in the camp, Colls said. The excavations also revealed orange tiles that matched eyewitness descriptions of the floor of the killing chambers. Chillingly, each tile was stamped with a Star of David, likely part of the Nazi subterfuge that the building was a Jewish-style bathhouse.”*

Of the stunning finding of the foundations of the gas chamber, we get nothing: no size, no location, no structure, no maps, no photos, no surrounding artifacts – nothing. Of the orange tiles, no mention of the Polish firm that created them long before the war. All in all, an appalling bit of pseudo-archaeology and a risible piece of reporting. But this is par for the Holocaust.

### A Better Account...

For all that, *something* happened at those Reinhardt camps. But it seems not to have been mass murder. If we take Hitler’s words literally, he wanted to drive the Jews out of the German-controlled regions. If this in fact was his plan, he would first create ghettos to confine them, and then later implement a system by which they could be systematically deported to the farthest possible reaches of Eastern Europe. Such a mass deportation scheme would surely not consist of haphazard train shipments; it would require routing all Jews through a few designated gateway points, or transit camps, to (a) disinfest them of any lice that would spread the typhus virus, and then (b) funnel them on eastward.

The ideal location for such transit camps would be on the eastern edge of German territory, as of late 1941. In fact, all three Reinhardt camps were located on or near the eastern boundary of the General Government region of occupied Poland – the perfect location for transfer into newly-captured

Russian territory. (They would have had to disembark there anyway, to switch to new trains that ran on the larger gauge Soviet rail system.) Funneling the Jews through these camps, disinfesting them, and then shipping them on eastward would have been a logical procedure for such a mass deportation.

Interestingly, then, *all three camps should be expected to have had gas chambers* – but chambers that gassed clothing and personal items, against the disease-carrying lice. Similarly, all three camps should be expected to have had shower rooms – *real* shower rooms, ones that washed the often-filthy new arrivals. Thus, we should not be surprised if the likes of Kola, Haimi, or Sturdy Colls find evidence of such things. In fact we should expect it.

The ‘Tube’ also makes more sense, on the revisionist view. Dirty, possibly lice-infested people arriving at the camp would need to be initially quarantined. They would then be taken in batches through an isolated pathway – a tube – to the disinfestation area, where they would be bathed, and their belongings ‘gassed’ with cyanide. They would then be sent to a ‘clean’ area of the camp, isolated from the incoming quarantine zone, awaiting transfer on to the East.

Imagine how this would appear to the tired, frightened, sick incoming people: Friends and family members are separated from them, sent off to ‘where the gas chambers are,’ never to return. Separately they hear (true) stories of dead bodies being buried and/or burned; the smoke and the smell pervade the camp. What are they to conclude? It is entirely understandable – but entirely wrong.

We must keep in mind: Many Jews undoubtedly died in those camps. Some perished *en route* to them. Some came sick with typhus, dying soon after arrival. Some were likely euthanized by the Germans. Some, assuredly, were killed. Based on the lack of crematoria at all three camps, the Nazis were clearly expecting only a small and scattered number of dead; they probably assumed that ad hoc burials on site would suffice. We can easily imagine that, as the pace of deportation accelerated, so did the number of dead. Burials, therefore, would at some point have become insufficient – at different times, for each of the three camps. We can thus understand the move toward limited burnings on open fires (there being no other alternative).

How many died (or arrived dead), on the revisionist thesis? We have already seen an estimate for Sobibor: 10,000. Regarding Belzec, Mattogno (2004: 91) says, “it is possible to infer [...] an order of magnitude of several thousands, perhaps even some tens of thousands.” Somewhat arbitrarily,

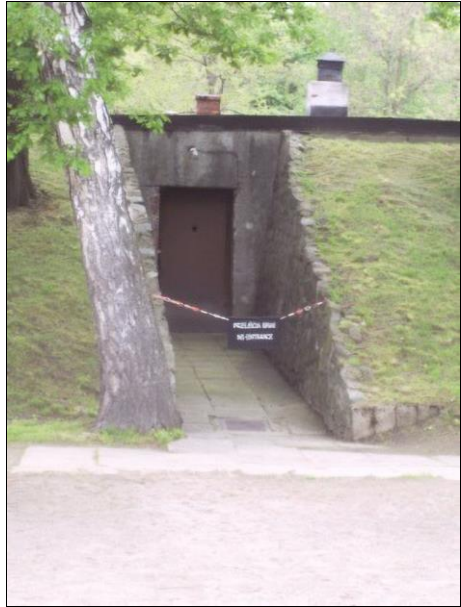
let's assume a number of 50,000, as a working estimate. This is consistent with the general revisionist line that actual deaths are around 10% of conventional estimates. As to Treblinka, revisionists make no explicit claims. Therefore, let's again assume 10% of our traditional number, or 90,000. In each of the three camps, we can state with confidence that the actual data from excavations and archaeological studies, as it stands today, are much closer to revisionist than to standard figures. If the expert historians were honest about their work, they would reduce their estimates to better align with the actual data. We await this development.

It has been a long road, this quest for the truth. We are becoming weary; our attention is flagging. But we must press on – the (retrospective) fates of 6 million hang in the balance. Only one more step to take, the last and the largest: Auschwitz.

#### 4. Auschwitz

Finally, we come to Auschwitz – the single greatest killing site of the Holocaust, and the linchpin of the entire murder-mystery. Around 1 million Jews died there, according to orthodoxy, the vast majority in the gas chambers. Unlike the other camps, strangely enough, this one did not ‘vanish’; there are plenty of relevant material remains. (Odd – if there was one camp the Nazis would have wanted to make disappear, it surely would have been this one.) Also unlike the other camps, we have witnesses, survivors, documents, photos – nearly everything needed to solve the crime.

But first, let's establish the basic facts of the camp. The Auschwitz complex consisted of three distinct areas: (1) Auschwitz-I, also called the *Stammlager* or Main Camp; (2) Auschwitz-II, better known as Birkenau;



*Air-raid-shelter entry of the former Crematorium I at the Auschwitz Main Camp, created in 1944. Existing blueprints show that the alleged gas chamber was in fact a morgue that was later converted into an air raid shelter. By Thomas Dalton*

(3) Auschwitz-III, also called Monowitz, which was a labor camp and chemical processing facility. Birkenau was only one mile from the Main Camp; Monowitz, about three miles. Of the 1 million presumed Auschwitz deaths, roughly 98% occurred at Birkenau, with the remaining 2% at the Main Camp.<sup>62</sup>

The Main Camp held one crematorium; the larger Birkenau had four. Now, we need to be clear: *There is nothing ominous about a prisoner camp having crematoria.* Any such facility designed to hold thousands of people will experience many deaths – from natural causes, if nothing else. The Germans knew this, and built the camps accordingly. A crematorium building needs furnaces in which to burn the corpses, and it needs rooms to serve as temporary morgues; these would hold the bodies prior to actual cremation. When possible, the morgue rooms would be underground (cooler), but then connected to the furnace facility via some means of transporting bodies. Lacking underground morgues, open chambers adjoining the furnace room would suffice.

The expert historians, however, see it differently. For them, National-Socialist crematoria were Satanic assembly lines of death, designed strictly for the mass annihilation of Jews. Jews walked into the buildings alive, and left as ash. The morgues were, for them, “undressing rooms” and “gas chambers.”

Let’s look at the numbers a bit more closely. On the orthodox view, the camp began gassing Jews in February 1942. At the time, there were two gassing sites: the Main Camp crematorium (“Krema 1”) and a small converted farmhouse, or “bunker,” in Birkenau. After a few months, a second, larger Birkenau bunker was added. These three sites sufficed for all of 1942.

Near the end of that year, we are told, the Germans decided to ramp up the gassing routine. They elected to build four new crematoria in Birkenau – Kremas 2-5. These were all in action by June 1943, and they carried the gassing load through the end of the camp’s existence.

Overall the gassings ran for some 34 months (Feb 1942 to Nov 1944). Based on various standard sources, we can estimate how many Jews were gassed each month. The chart below gives one scenario that roughly matches the claims of our experts – though they never quite put it so clearly. (Clear presentation, it seems, invites difficult questions.) As always, if they have better numbers, we welcome their input.

Auschwitz Deaths – Traditional, in thousands													
1942	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
Main Camp:	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	18
Birkenau:													
Bunkers	0	1	5	5	5	6	20	20	20	20	20	20	142
Cremas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals:	0	2	7	7	7	8	22	22	22	22	21	20	160

1943	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
Main Camp:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Birkenau:													
Bunkers	20	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40
Cremas	0	0	3	10	11	14	15	15	15	14	14	14	125
Totals:	20	20	3	10	11	14	15	15	15	14	14	14	165

1944	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Totals
Main Camp:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Birkenau:													
Bunkers	0	0	0	0	25	30	25	0	0	0	0	0	80
Cremas	17	20	25	25	110	220	110	20	20	16	12	0	595
Totals:	17	20	25	25	135	250	135	20	20	16	12	0	675

Again, some issues stand out right away. As mentioned, the main-camp gassings are all but insignificant – amounting to 18,000 of the 1 million deaths, or around 2%. Conversely, the bunkers assume unexpected importance, accounting for 262,000 (26%) of the deaths.

The four Birkenau crematoria, however, are the notorious centerpiece of the Auschwitz story. During their first year of operation (1943), they allegedly killed 125,000 Jews. This is an average of 12,500 per month, or 416 per day – spread over four crematoria. Each crematorium, therefore, gassed, on average, about 100 people per day. This sounds bad, but it is nothing compared with orthodox claims of gas chambers that killed “2,000 people at a time.”<sup>63</sup> But to reach that figure, the Germans would have had to build up a 20-day backlog of Jews, and then gas them all at once. In that case, there would only have been a *single gassing per month*, at each crematorium. Hardly the high-speed assembly line of death that has been portrayed.

Even more striking is a comparison between the ‘actuals’ and the capacities. With all seven gassing structures together (5 Kremas and 2 bunkers), and assuming a reasonable five gassing cycles per day, the Germans had the capacity to kill at least 65,000 per day. “Monstrous,” we say. Actu-

ally, let's think about this for a moment. A capacity of 65,000 per day works out to *nearly 2 million per month*. Even in their wildest dreams, the Germans could not have expected to kill 2 million Jews in a month at a single camp. It is inconceivable that they planned and carried out such a process. This fact alone argues strongly against the conventional view of Auschwitz as a dedicated, purpose-built death camp.

Despite this monstrous gassing capability, for all of 1943 they 'actually' gassed an average of just 416 per day: *a mere 0.64% of capacity*. Why would the Germans have constructed a gassing death camp with roughly 156 times the capacity that they needed?

The situation was little changed for the first four months of 1944; rates increased to roughly 720 per day, a pathetic 1.1% of capacity. And the same held for the last four months of operation, which fell back to around 560 per day (0.86%) – requiring only two gassings per month, at each Krema.

In fact the only time things deviated from this surprisingly low-level gassing scheme was during two fateful months in mid-1944: the "Hungarian Operation." From mid-May to mid-July 1944, we are told that the Germans shipped some 400,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz to be immediately gassed.<sup>64</sup> If we add this to the on-going quantity of non-Hungarian Jews, we see that, during this eight-week period, the Germans allegedly killed about 450,000 Jews. During just these eight weeks, *45% of the entire Auschwitz death toll occurred*. The remaining 55% of the killings were spread out over the other 128 weeks – a striking notion, to be sure.

Take the single worst month: June 1944. Here we have some 250,000 gassings occurring in 30 days, or an average of 8,300 per day. With four Kremas and a bunker at their disposal, the Germans would have had no problems at all. It was, after all, only about 12% of their total capacity. In fact, tiny Bunker #2, with its single 90 sq. meter chamber, could have handled ( $900 \times 5 =$ ) 4,500 daily, or the bulk of the load. A single additional chamber, in any one other Krema, would have sufficed even for the mind-boggling Hungarian operation.

Actually, the Germans did have a problem, a huge one: *body disposal*. For the two years prior to the Hungarian action, Auschwitz averaged about 16,000 deaths per month. At first they had only the small Krema 1 to burn the bodies. This could not keep up, and so the excess bodies were buried, and later exhumed and burned on open fires – a familiar story by now, with all its attendant difficulties. When the four new Kremas came on-line, they managed to do the job.<sup>65</sup>

Strangely, though, the Krema cremation capacity was a huge mismatch

with the gassing capacity. The five Kremas contained a total of 52 “muffles,” or body-insertion openings. Each muffle could burn, on average, one adult body per hour.<sup>66</sup> Allowing for 20% children, we may assume a practical average of 1.2 bodies per hour. The entire camp, therefore, could cremate about  $(52 \times 1.2 \times 20 =)$  1,248 bodies per day.<sup>67</sup> Now, compare this with the gassing capacity of 65,000 per day. If the camp was truly designed as a high-volume death camp, surely the two figures would roughly match. Instead, we find far too many ‘gas chambers’ and far too few crematoria muffles. Another strike against the conventional view.

Things changed for the eight weeks of the Hungarian Operation. The Kremas were already at full capacity, processing about 1,000 bodies per day, collectively. But 8,300 corpses were being produced each day. This left a stunning *7,300 a day to be burned on open pit fires*.<sup>68</sup> Needless to say, the logistics of such an operation would have been insurmountable:

- Can only stack and burn a few hundred bodies at once. Would have required 15 or 20 simultaneous pits, working round the clock.
- Huge wood requirements – more than 1 million kg (1,200 tons) per day.
- Huge amounts of ash produced – more than 60,000 kg (67 tons) per day, about 160 cubic meters, to be sifted for teeth and bones.
- Ash disposal – all that ash was disposed of in the immediate vicinity of the camp, according to our experts. And yet today we have no evidence at all of any remaining ash.
- Huge amounts of smoke produced. This would have been highly problematic, signaling not only what was going on at the camp, but also been clearly visible to Allied planes flying overhead.

This last point deserves elaboration. With all crematoria chugging along at full capacity, and some 15 or 20 open pit fires burning round the clock, the camp would have been awash in smoke – smoke easily visible from the air. Here we are in luck: the Allies snapped two air photos of Auschwitz during the Hungarian operation, and the Germans took another of their own. Thus we have three high-quality photos to analyze.<sup>69</sup> What do they show?

Photo #1 (May 31): This Allied photo shows the four Birkenau crematoria, without a hint of smoke from any of them. We do see one, thin smoke plume emanating from behind Crema 5; it evidently came from a single, small pit fire.

Photo #2 (July 8): This German photo again shows a single wisp of smoke coming from the same location. No smoke from the crematoria, and no other smoke anywhere else in the camp.

Photo #3 (June 26): The most damning: This Allied photo, taken at the





*Ruins of Krema 2 in Auschwitz-Birkenau.*  
By Thomas Dalton

very height of the Hungarian Operation, shows no Krema smoke, no pit smoke – in fact, *no smoke whatsoever*. It shows no arriving hordes of Jews, no parading of victims to the gas chambers, no sign at all of any mass killing [...] nothing but a calm and quiet prison camp on a clear summer's day.

It seems that the more information we obtain, and the more clues that mount, the more tenuous becomes the traditionalist story.

There are many other deficiencies to the Auschwitz story, which we can only mention here in passing:

- Krema 1 at the Main Camp – the one shown to all the tourists – has been significantly “reconstructed.” One exasperated French fundamentalist exclaimed, “Everything there is false.” It presents a highly misleading picture to visitors.
- The underground ‘gas chambers’ in Kremas 2 and 3 required that corpses be raised to the ground floor level, where the muffles were located. To this end, the Germans designed in a small freight elevator, one that was capable of carrying 10 to 15 bodies at a time. Upwards of 200 elevator trips would thus have been needed to empty the chamber. This is entirely impractical, if intended as a rapid mass-murder process.
- The Nuremberg trials contained not a single German document on gas chambers at Auschwitz.
- No autopsy was ever performed on an Auschwitz corpse that confirmed death by cyanide gas.

- Jewish Auschwitz survivors have made numerous outrageous, impossible, and conflicting claims about the camp; these could fill a book in themselves.
- The alleged gassing methods are amateurish and ridiculous: pellets sprinkled over the victims heads (Krema 1), through an opening in a side wall (Kremas 4 and 5, and both bunkers), or lowered down in a little metal cage through the roof (Kremas 2 and 3). Much more professional means existed, such as the device that the Germans installed in their Zyklon delousing chambers at Dachau.
- Kremas 4 and 5, and both bunkers, lacked ventilation systems. Without these, there would have been no way to remove the deadly gas from the chambers prior to extracting the dead bodies.
- In the ruins of Kremas 2 and 3, there is no evidence of either the ceiling holes, or the metal Zyklon cage fixtures.
- Two experienced revisionist researchers, Fred Leuchter and chemist Germar Rudolf, separately examined samples from the walls of the Krema 2 chamber, looking for cyanide residue. Both found extremely low levels, far below that expected for a homicidal gas chamber.<sup>70</sup>
- Records showing amounts of coke (fuel) delivered to the camp crematoria suffice for only some 10% of the claimed victim count.

Finally, we are left again with this question: How many Jews died in Auschwitz, on the revisionist view? Robert Faurisson has suggested a figure of 150,000. Mattogno and Graf argue for a lesser number, 136,000. Let us take 140,000 as a median revisionist estimate. Once again, this is much more in line with the actual evidence uncovered to date.

## Whodunit?

Perhaps we are now ready to draw some conclusions about this great murder mystery called the Holocaust. Let's construct a rational and plausible account of what happened to the Jews during World War II. All the evidence suggests that Hitler was true to his word: that his Jewish policy was one of 'ex-termination' (*Ausrottung*), that is, of forcibly removing the millions of Jews from the territories that Germany wished to inhabit. If many died in the process, it was tough luck for them. As a people, they were guilty of inciting both world wars and especially the treasonous German Revolution of November 1918.<sup>71</sup> Via their dominance in the Weimar government, their incessant promotion of crude, decadent, and materialistic values, their over-representation in media, law and finance, and perhaps

most of all their malevolent control of Bolshevik Russia, the Jews were a mortal threat to German well-being. Whatever misfortunes befell them as they suffered their deportation were well-deserved, on Hitler's view. But he never desired, and never ordered, their mass murder.

Phase One of this process, mass ghettoization, sufficed for nearly two years. Over this time, perhaps 100,000 Jews died, most of natural causes. Concentration ultimately led to an increase in typhus and other communicable diseases, and thus the Germans implemented a rigorous system of disinfection: shaving and showering inmates, and gassing their belongings with cyanide. This was not always successful; many thousands more died in transit or at the various concentration camps where they were temporarily interned.

Phase Two was the actual removal process, on trains heading east. Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were strictly transit camps, designed to serve as transfer points in the systematic removal of the Jews from the Reich and deployment of them for the war effort. Over time, these camps accumulated several thousand dead bodies; together the four camps dealt with perhaps 150,000 dead Jews, who perished from a variety of causes – but none from gassing, on the revisionist view. Majdanek and Auschwitz were both transit and labor camps. The former suffered nearly 30,000 deaths and the latter perhaps 140,000 – in each case, most due to typhus and other diseases.

We did not explore the “other camps” that, on the orthodox view, accounted for some 400,000 Jewish deaths. These would presumably include such infamous places as Dachau and Buchenwald, along with lesser known camps like Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen, and Stutthof. These five camps, which had among the highest number of total deaths apart from the six ‘extermination’/transit camps, recorded a total of 194,000 deaths.<sup>72</sup> The percentage of Jews at these camps, however, was relatively low. Therefore, they contributed little to the overall Jewish death toll.

The eastward-advancing German army had to deal with a ruthless insurgency in the areas they conquered, much of it by Jewish fighters. At the same time, numerous local populations in Eastern Europe took the opportunity of German invasion to initiate anti-Jewish pogroms of their own doing – frequently involving innocent civilians, unfortunately. In total, perhaps 150,000 more Jews died during this roughly two-and-a-half-year process. But the physical evidence of such killing is so scarce that even this may be an over-estimate.

In total, then, it seems likely that roughly 570,000 Jews died throughout the duration of World War Two. We may call this a ‘holocaust’ if we wish,

though such a designation implies special standing for the Jewish victims and a consequent demeaning of the more than 50 million non-Jewish victims. The ‘6 million’ figure was always a symbolic number, and never grounded in factual reality. Perhaps this many Jews were *displaced* during the war, and forced out of their home countries, never to return. Six million refugees, maybe; six million killed, never.

The traditional figure of 6 million deaths, then, seems to have been a dramatic and unsupported overestimate. The more likely number – around 570,000 – is less than 10% of this. It is a shocking conclusion. Is it really possible that our expert historians could be so wrong? Unquestionably, yes. We have already seen one such example in Majdanek. This camp came to world attention with ‘authoritative’ claims of 1.5 million killed. Even as late as 1986, experts estimated 1.38 million Jewish deaths there. Today the curator of the camp museum claims just 59,000 fatalities – a reduction of 96%.

A second example comes from Auschwitz itself. Prior to 1990, all authoritative sources held that the camp witnessed 4 million total deaths (Jews and non-Jews). On July 17 of that year, the *Washington Times* announced: “Poland reduces Auschwitz death toll estimate to 1 million.”<sup>73</sup> Virtually overnight, and with little fanfare, the most infamous of death camps saw a 75% reduction. As it happens, though, the reduction came almost exclusively in the non-Jewish numbers – which plummeted by over 90%. It was another dramatic instance of the experts being significantly wrong, for decades.

As a third example, consider another group allegedly targeted by Hitler: homosexuals. In 1975 the *NYT* reported that “nearly a quarter of a million homosexuals were executed by the Nazis between 1937 and 1945” (Sep 10; p. 45). Six years later, Rector (1981: 116) wrote, “It seems reasonable to conclude that at least 500,000 gays died in the Holocaust because of anti-homosexual prejudice that consequently led to a Nazi policy of gay genocide [...]” “Actually,” he adds, “500,000 may be too conservative a figure.” Today, however, Grau (1998: 140) admits this: “An examination of the Third Reich’s trial statistics [...] reveals that these numbers are wildly exaggerated.” Putting hard figures to it, Novick (1999: 223) says, “The actual number of gays who died or were killed in the camps appears to be around five thousand, conceivably as high as ten thousand.” Another astonishing development. Here we see a drop from a “conservative” 500,000 to perhaps 5,000 – the actual figures now coming in at a mere 1% of prior estimates. Thus we should not be too surprised if the overall Jewish death toll ultimately drops by 90% or more. Given the facts, it seems inevitable.

## The Experts Respond

The case is all but closed. The facts are in, and most any rational and impartial observer would likely come to the following conclusions: (1) the ‘6 million’ is a vast overestimate, by a factor of 10 or more; (2) the alleged homicidal gas chambers were used far less often than is portrayed – and perhaps not at all; (3) the data are far more compatible with the deportation thesis than with the mass murder thesis; (4) there has been a concerted effort by professional historians and others to cover up inconvenient facts, to lie, and to avoid discussion of the many problematic aspects of the Holocaust story; and (5) the public has been repeatedly misled and manipulated by a false image of Jewish suffering.<sup>74</sup>

This, at least, is how it appears from an objective viewpoint. Still, the fundamentalists are nothing if not stubborn. They tenaciously defend the conventional story. Perhaps we have been too confident of our results. Do they, perhaps, have a good response to the above issues?

Again, this is difficult to say with certainty because our expert historians generally avoid discussing such issues at all. Occasionally, though, they are moved to respond. Let’s look at two recent attempts.

First we have the book *Lying about Hitler*, by Richard Evans (2002). A Cambridge University historian, he has produced more than a dozen books on Germany and the Third Reich. The occasion for this particular book was the David Irving trial, at which Evans provided expert testimony on behalf of the defendant, Deborah Lipstadt – herself an aggressive proponent of orthodoxy.<sup>75</sup>

In Chapter 4 of the book – “Irving and Holocaust Denial” – Evans attempts to summarize and rebut the revisionist point of view, with the ultimate goal of proving Irving to be a denier. In order to do so, he must define ‘Holocaust denial,’ show that it is wrong, and demonstrate that Irving supported it.

On the first count, Evans does a fair job. He proposes four pillars of denial: (1) less than 6 million Jews killed; (2) gas chambers were not used to any large degree; (3) the National Socialists’ intention was deportation and not mass murder; and (4) the Holocaust story is “a myth invented by Allied propaganda,” and “the supposed evidence [...] was fabricated after the war” (pp. 118-119). We can agree with the first three, but the last is not defended by any revisionist of the past 20 years or so.<sup>76</sup>

Evans then reviews the revisionist movement, employing the usual array of deceptive tactics. First, he liberally sprinkles his text with *ad hominem* attacks and other slanders, beginning with the generous use of the

term ‘denier.’ These deniers, he says, “inhabit an intellectual world that [is] far removed from the cautious rationality of academic historical scholarship. What moved them seemed to be a strange mixture of political prejudice and bitter personal experience” (p.114) – though one wonders how Evans knows such things. They offer “a perverse kind of entertainment,” something that belongs “to what some have called a paranoid style of historical writing” (p. 117). Deniers live in a kind of fantasyland; they claim “that virtually nothing of what [the survivors] had suffered had ever happened” (pp. 117-118). More hyperbole from Evans; no serious revisionist has claimed that “nothing ever happened” to the Jews, or that they did not suffer greatly. But he goes on. “A good deal of [revisionist writing] seemed to be linked to racial hatred and antisemitic animosity in the most direct possible way.” Another false statement, and tellingly, he offers neither citations nor any evidence to support this charge. In sum, says Evans, we must beware of the “weird and irrational world of Holocaust denial” (p. 119).

Next, Evans runs through a brief roll-call of prominent revisionists. But true to form, he gives an entirely misleading view of the field. He covers five individuals: Paul Rassinier, Austin App, Wilhelm Stäglich, Arthur Butz, and Robert Faurisson. Certainly, these men were important in the early development of revisionist ideas, but today only Butz and Faurisson are active – Faurisson remarkably so for a man of 85. The others are historical figures, for the most part. Rassinier died in 1967, App in 1984, and Stäglich in 2006. Butz is alive and well – and still a professor at Northwestern University – but his activities in the revisionist movement are somewhat diminished from what they once were. His major contribution was *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, originally published in 1976.<sup>77</sup>

All this would be fine if Evans then went on to examine the present-day figures, and to cite their works. But this he does not do. He prefers to focus attention on the oldest and least relevant sources, the weakest arguments, and the least relevant individuals. By contrast, our investigation has emphasized the newest sources, the strongest arguments, and the leading current researchers in the field. This is the only way to reach a fair conclusion about the greatest crime of the past century.

To be clear: Over the past three decades, serious academic revisionist work has been conducted by just a handful of individuals. At the top of the list, we would include such men as Carlo Mattogno, Germar Rudolf, Jürgen Graf, Thomas Kues, Friedrich Berg, and Samuel Crowell.<sup>78</sup> Of these, Mattogno is the most prolific, having written or co-written more than a dozen books in just the past 10 years. Their very latest work, along with that of several other researchers, is published with the online journal *Inconvenient*

*History*.<sup>79</sup> The most important recent books are published in the series called Holocaust Handbooks, currently running to 28 volumes.<sup>80</sup> The best overview works are Rudolf's *Lectures on the Holocaust* (2010) and Dalton's *Debating the Holocaust* (2009). For a somewhat more detailed but still comprehensive look at all the major issues, see Rudolf's anthology *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2003).

We can easily check the honesty of a traditionalist critique by seeing how many of the above names and sources they cite. Unsurprisingly, Evans fails miserably. In what was surely not an accident, his chapter manages to completely bypass every name referenced above. In the only minor exception, two names – Mattogno and Berg – appear, without commentary, in three footnotes (p. 297), but only in reference to their oldest published material from the 1980s. For a Cambridge historian, this is completely unacceptable. Evans is either ridiculously ignorant of his subject matter, or is deliberately misinforming the reader by excluding nearly all of the most relevant information. Either way, his credibility is almost zero.

Apart from his *ad hominem* attack and distorted presentation of revisionism, Evans deploys a third common tactic: silence on the key issues at hand. For example, he tells us nothing of the long and discrediting history of the '6 million'; nothing of the true meaning of vital German words such as *Ausrottung* and *Vernichtung*; nothing of what Hitler actually said about the Jews; nothing of the deportation plans such as Nisko and Madagascar; nothing of the Auschwitz air photos; and nothing of the absence of bodies or remains at nearly every phase of the Holocaust.

Interestingly, he does touch briefly on the decisive issue of diesel gassing – though giving just a hint of the difficulties involved. Evans writes:

Irving also denied that diesel engines could be used for killing operations. "These engines," he [Irving] said, "exhaust non-lethal carbon dioxide, and only minute quantities of toxic carbon monoxide." (p. 131)

True, as we have seen. Evans's reply? Nothing. He loftily declares Irving's argument to be "specious and derivative" (p. 132), and leaves it at that. This is actually quite common among orthodox historians. When compelled to discuss an inconvenient issue, they will mention it very briefly, explicitly or implicitly deem it false, and then drop it.

Finally, a fourth tactic: straw-man argumentation. Evans's final pillar of 'denial' is that the Holocaust is a "myth" and the evidence "fabricated." He elaborates: "Reading through the work of Holocaust deniers like Arthur Butz, it was more than clear that they wanted their readers to believe that the evidence for the Holocaust was all fabricated" (p. 137). Later he refers to "the common position of Holocaust deniers that evidence for the Holo-

caust has been fabricated” (p. 148). These statements are utterly false. As mentioned above, the ‘fabrication’ claim is not a key aspect of any important revisionist work today. Thus, it becomes a straw man: Evans lays out an argument that revisionists *do not hold*, knocks it down, and then declares victory. It is a classic logical fallacy. The fact that Irving – not a serious Holocaust revisionist – made two or three ill-considered remarks does not grant Evans license to smear the true revisionists with the same broad brush.

Just to clarify things, three points need to be made here. First, in all of our preceding inquiry, and the many issues relating to the ghettos, the shootings, and the camps, not once did we rely on the claim that evidence was fabricated. This fact alone is sufficient to dismiss Evans’s charge. Second, there are indeed cases of evidence tampering, and these cannot be denied. The main-camp gas chamber at Auschwitz (Krema 1) was substantially altered, as even traditionalists admit; “everything there is false.” The Dachau gas chamber was likewise significantly modified, and perhaps even constructed, after the war.<sup>81</sup> National-Socialist testimony at Nuremberg obtained through abuse and torture amount to witness tampering. Certain key letters on the gas vans appear to be forgeries. And ceiling holes in the ruins of Krema 2 at Auschwitz have mysteriously ‘appeared’ in recent years. But these are the exceptions. The vast majority of the revisionist case has nothing to do with fabrication of evidence. And third, we have seen evidence that orthodox historians – including Evans himself – actively deceive the reader. This is yet another common fundamentalist technique: falsely attribute to your opponents the same nefarious tactics that you deploy yourself.

The only minor point in Evans’s defense is that his book was published in 2002, prior to the many important revisionist works of the past 10 years. But the same cannot be said for Deborah Lipstadt. A professor of theology and a Zionist Jew, Lipstadt has long promoted herself as an expert on the Holocaust and Holocaust denial. In 2010 she published a chapter, “Denial,” in the authoritative Oxford University Press book *Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. The book is a 776-page tome dedicated to all aspects of the Holocaust. Here, if anywhere, we would expect to find a rational, logical, and disinterested treatment of the many troublesome issues.

Once again, we are disappointed. In her very first sentence, Lipstadt manages to utilize not one, not two, but three argumentative fallacies. The “deniers” (slander) are led by a small group of men, including “Faurisson, Butz, and Irving” (misleading names), who “spread the notion that the Holocaust [...] never happened” (straw man and flat-out lie). A poor start,



to be sure.

She then offers a list of 12 points of alleged commonality amongst all deniers. Of these, only five are legitimate and relevant: (1) no genocide took place, (2) homicidal gas chambers did not exist, (3) Jewish fatalities were much less than 6 million, (4) there are non-sinister explanations for many issues, including Zyklon use against typhus and the fact that *ausrotten* means ‘uprooting,’ and (5) the Nuremberg trials were a “victors’ court” that involved torture to extract false confessions. Some of her other points are true but largely irrelevant to the revisionist case: Jews were involved in instigating the war, Russia was the true enemy of the West, Jews were part of the anti-German insurrection, and the victorious Allied/American investigation teams “contained a preponderance of Jews.” Her remaining points include many other misleading and deceptive charges.<sup>82</sup>

The bulk of her piece focuses on “deniers’ tactics.” The list below summarizes these, and provides some obvious responses.

- Deniers often refer to “immoral equivalencies,” that is, downplaying Jewish persecution by the Germans because all parties in the war did terrible things. (Irrelevant to the Holocaust mystery and to revisionist arguments.)
- “Deniers cast themselves as academics engaged in a reasoned pursuit of historical truth” (p. 563). (True and accurate. Why this is a problem is unclear – except that it makes the job of traditionalists like Lipstadt much harder.)
- Survivor testimony “is ignored, discredited, or dismissed unless it can be interpreted as indicating that the Holocaust did not happen.” (Partly true. Outrageous, contradictory, or blatantly false testimony is disregarded. Some testimony is useful, but must always be subjected to scrutiny. In no case is testimony used to support the idea that the Holocaust “did not happen.”)
- “Deniers rely on verbal obfuscation,” as when they discuss the meaning of ‘final solution’ or ‘special treatment.’ (It is not “obfuscation” to refer to the actual words used by the Germans and to examine their true meanings in context. Notably, she does not mention here the issues with *ausrotten* and *vernichten*.)
- Minor errors in either National Socialist or survivor testimony are used to discredit the entire testimony. (False; each specific claim must be examined on its own merits. However, a statement containing even one flagrant falsehood must immediately be suspected of containing other falsehoods.)

- Deniers try to exonerate leading National Socialists by attributing the murder of Jews to rogue elements of the army or to German allies. (Jewish deaths resulted from a wide variety of causes – none of which derived from explicit orders at the top. Call this ‘exoneration’ if you like.)
- Related to the above, deniers emphasize that no one has found a Hitler order for mass murder, nor even reference to such an order. (True, and a significant fact. Lipstadt tries to brush away this inconvenient matter by stating that “reputable historians seldom base their conclusions on the existence, let alone the absence, of a single document” (p. 566). But no revisionist has ever based his claim on this single fact. It is only one of many that point to mass deportation, not mass murder.)
- Auschwitz Krema 2 ruins have no evidence of ceiling holes into which the Nazis poured the Zyklon pellets. Without such holes, there was no mass murder at Birkenau. And disproving mass murder at Auschwitz undermines the entire Holocaust story. Hence Faurisson’s famous quip: “No holes, no Holocaust!” (True, and another difficult fact for Lipstadt and her colleagues. She claims to know of “a wide variety of evidence that attests to their existence and location.” She points to one air photo allegedly showing something on the Krema 2 roof, and one ground photo showing “chimneys” under construction, but these fail to prove her case. In the end, the stubborn fact remains: if there were holes in the ceiling of Krema 2, there would almost certainly be some tangible evidence today. But there is none.)

Lipstadt’s piece closes with a pointless discussion of the allegations that Anne Frank’s diary is fraudulent, and a short recap of the Irving trial.

Thus, we can see the same deceptions at work here as in Evans’s book. *Ad hominem* attacks abound: revisionists are “deniers,” “anti-Semites,” and “racists.” Misleading presentation of revisionism and the leading revisionists: no mention at all of Mattogno, Rudolf, Graf, Kues, or Berg, nor anything at all on their many important publications through 2010. Silence on many of the same key issues: nothing on the ‘6 million,’ Hitler’s actual words, deportation plans, incriminating air photos, or the glaring absence of bodies or remains. And straw-man arguments: emphasis on ‘hoax,’ ‘myth,’ evidence fabrication, and the idea that ‘the Holocaust never happened.’

Unfortunately, those among the reading public who are not well versed in this great murder-mystery will not detect these fallacies. They, quite literally, do not know what they are missing. And because fundamentalists have a complete monopoly over mainstream media and academia, their

deceptions largely go unpunished. Only the rare and intrepid investigator will press into the Holocaust mystery deeply enough to approach the truth – or escape the deceptions. But when it happens, he will be well-rewarded.

## Closing Thoughts

Control of ideas and restrictions on freedom of thought are crucial to the success of traditionalism. The reader should have no illusions about the extent of this control. The book trade, for example, is notorious. Mainstream publishers will not touch any book that has even a scent of revisionist ideas. And yet orthodox historians have a seemingly endless supply of publishing opportunities. As evidence of this fact, we note that an Amazon.com search of English books on the Holocaust, just since the year 2000, returns 10,130 titles – roughly *two releases per day*. And not only books. Holocaust-themed and anti-Nazi movies are churned out like clockwork. News stories are routinely peppered with references to it. School children and college students are regularly indoctrinated with false, misleading, and self-serving ideas. Governmental leaders bend over backward to appease the Holocaust lobby, and they rush to make obligatory visits to Israel and the Yad Vashem museum there.

The Internet has offered some respite from the oppressive traditionalism, but even there all is not well. Consider Wikipedia – “the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit,” so they claim. However, “particularly sensitive pages” are considered “protected.” Evidently all pages relating to the Holocaust are in this category. The reader is invited to make changes to either the “Holocaust” or “Holocaust Denial” pages, to include any of the relevant names, sources, or issues mentioned above. Changes will be visible for a few hours, at most. At some point, an automatic ‘restore’ function will activate, erasing all unauthorized edits. So much for Internet freedom.

In ancient Greece, Socrates became known as a wise man who continually asked troublesome and inconvenient questions. Ultimately it cost him his life. But his society, and all of subsequent history, reaped an immeasurable reward from his brave and relentless efforts. We can be like that. Socrates’s life can be a model for our own. We can ask tough questions, rooting out corruption and ignorance among those in power. We can challenge those who manipulate history for their own ends. We can expose those who lie for personal gain in wealth and power. Like Socrates, we may pay a price. But as with him, our efforts will ultimately be rewarded. In this way, broader society may yet solve the greatest murder mystery of the past century.

The “Holocaust” was truly a great crime. But justice has not been served. Only by relentlessly pursuing the truth can we achieve reconciliation, punish the liars, manipulators, and deceivers, clear the guilt of the past, and move ahead as civil nations. Our very future depends upon it.

## Bibliography

- Alvarez, S. (2011), *The Gas Vans*. Barnes Review.
- Aronsfeld, C. (1985), *The Text of the Holocaust*. Micah Publications.
- Bem, M. and Mazurek, W. (2012), *Sobibor: Archeological Research Conducted on the Site of the Former German Extermination Center in Sobibor 2000-2001*. Foundation for Polish-German Reconciliation. Online at: [www.sobibor.info.pl](http://www.sobibor.info.pl)
- Butz, A. (2003), *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (3rd ed.). Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Cooper, A. (2012), “Holocaust denial: Assaults on collective memory becloud Europe’s future.” Online: [www.huffingtonpost.com](http://www.huffingtonpost.com) (17 May 2012).
- Crowell, S. (2011), *The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes*. Nine-Banded Books.
- Dalton, T. (2009), *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look at Both Sides*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Dalton, T. (2010), “Goebbels on the Jews” (Parts 1 and 2). *Inconvenient History* Vol. II, p. 6 and p. 189. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/goebbels-on-the-jews-part-1/>; [~part 2/](https://codoh.com/library/document/goebbels-on-the-jews-part-2/).
- Dalton, T. (2011), “Reexamining the ‘Gas Chamber’ of Dachau.” *Inconvenient History* Vol. III, p. 322. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/reexamining-the-gas-chamber-of-dachau/>.
- Dalton, T. (2013), “The Jewish Hand in the World Wars” (Part 1). *Inconvenient History* Vol. V, p. 240. <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-jewish-hand-in-the-world-wars-part-1/>.
- Dalton, T. (2014), “The Jewish Hand in the World Wars” (Part 2). Page 120 of this volume.
- Dawidowitz, L. (1986), *The War against the Jews* (2nd ed.). Bantam.
- Dean, M. (2010), “Ghettos,” in *Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. Hayes and Roth, eds. Oxford University Press.
- DellaPergola, S. (2003), “Review of relevant demographic information on world Jewry.” Online: [http://www.icheic.org/pdf/ICHEIC\\_demography1.pdf](http://www.icheic.org/pdf/ICHEIC_demography1.pdf)
- Desbois, P. (2008), *The Holocaust by Bullets*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Evans, R. (2002), *Lying about Hitler*. Verso.
- Friedman, P. (1954), “The Jewish ghettos of the Nazi era,” *Jewish Social Studies*, 16: 61-88.
- Fromm, E. (1973), *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. Holt, Reinhart, and Winston.
- Gilbert, M. (1981), *Auschwitz and the Allies*. Henry Holt.
- Graf, J. (2003), “National-Socialist concentration camps,” in *Dissecting the Holocaust*. Rudolf, ed. Theses and Dissertations Press.

- Graf, J. (2007), “On the revision of the number of victims at Majdanek.” Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/on-the-revision-of-the-number-of-victims-at/>.
- Graf, J., Kues, T., and Mattogno, C. (2010), *Sobibor*. Barnes Review.
- Graf, J. and Mattogno, C. (2012), *Concentration Camp Majdanek* (3rd edition). Barnes Review.
- Grau, G. (1998), “Final solution of the homosexual question?” in *The Holocaust and History*. Berenbaum and Peck, eds. Indiana University Press.
- Headland, R. (1992), *Messages of Murder*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Hilberg, R. (2003), *The Destruction of European Jews*. (3rd edition). Yale University Press.
- Hitler, A. (1953/2000), *Hitler's Table Talk: 1941-1944*. Enigma.
- Kogon, E. (2006), *The Theory and Practice of Hell*. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Kola, A. (2000), *Belzec: The Nazi Camp for Jews in Light of Archeological Sources*. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- Krakowski, S. (2009), *Chelmno: A Small Village in Europe*. Yad Vashem.
- Kranz, T. (2003), “Between planning and implementation: The Lublin District and Majdanek camp in Nazi policy,” in *Lessons and Legacies* (vol. 4), L. Thompson (ed.). Northwestern University Press.
- Kranz, T. (2007), “Bookkeeping of death and prisoner mortality at Majdanek,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 35(1): 81-108.
- Laqueur, W. (ed.) (2001), *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Yale University Press.
- Leuchter, F. et al. (2005), *The Leuchter Reports: Critical Edition*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Lipstadt, D. (2010), “Denial,” in *Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. Hayes and Roth, eds. Oxford University Press.
- Longerich, P. (2010), *Holocaust*. Oxford University Press.
- Mattogno, C. (2004). *Belzec*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Mattogno, C. (2011). *Chelmno*. Barnes Review.
- Mattogno, C. and Graf, J. (2005), *Treblinka*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Mattogno, C., Kues, T., and Graf, J. (2013), *The “Extermination Camps” of “Aktion Reinhardt.”* Castle Hill.
- Michman, D. (2011), *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust*. Cambridge University Press.
- Montague, P. (2012), *Chelmno and the Holocaust*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Novick, P. (1999), *The Holocaust in American Life*. Houghton Mifflin.
- Orth, K. (2010), “Camps,” in *Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. Hayes and Roth, eds. Oxford University Press.
- Piper, F. (1994), “Gas chambers and crematoria,” in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*. Gutman and Berenbaum, eds. Indiana University Press.
- Rector, F. (1981), *The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals*. Stein and Day.
- Reitlinger, G. (1987), *The Final Solution* (5th ed.). Aronson.
- Robinson, J. (1976), “The Holocaust,” in *The Catastrophe of European Jewry*. Gutman and Rothkirchen, eds. Yad Vashem.

- Rudolf, G. (ed.) (2003), *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2nd ed.). Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Rudolf, G. (2003b), *The Rudolf Report*. Theses and Dissertations Press.
- Rudolf, G. (2010), *Lectures on the Holocaust* (2nd ed.). Barnes Review.
- Sturdy Colls, C. (2012), “Holocaust archaeology: Archaeological approaches to landscapes of Nazi genocide and persecution.” *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, 7(2): 70-104.
- Tansill, C. (1952), *Back Door to War*. Regnery.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For example, Rabbi Abraham Cooper (2012) recently said this: “No crime in the annals of history has been as well documented as Nazi Germany’s Final Solution, the state-sponsored genocide that systematically murdered 6 million European Jews.”
- <sup>2</sup> <http://www.ushmm.org> (“What was the Holocaust?”). Accessed May 2014.
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.yadvashem.org> (“FAQS: What was the Holocaust?”). Accessed May 2014.
- <sup>4</sup> Laqueur (2001: 139).
- <sup>5</sup> In 2002, for example, the US had 2.45 million deaths in a population of 288 million: 0.85%.
- <sup>6</sup> See DellaPergola (2003).
- <sup>7</sup> Occasionally one will find a tally *by country* claiming to show such a total. Dawidowitz (1986: 403), for example, lists 21 countries with death figures that add up to 5,933,900. But (a) those are unverifiable, because people moved all over Europe during the war, and (b) they don’t address the central question: How do we know that all those people died?
- <sup>8</sup> Here is a simple test: Check the “Holocaust” entry on Wikipedia, and try to find numbers, by cause of death, that add up to 6 million. Wikipedia is, of course, notoriously unreliable, but it nonetheless gives an indication of the problem at hand.
- <sup>9</sup> The one (almost) exception is Hilberg (2003), who gives some specific numbers for these categories of death. But his numbers add up to just 5.1 million – far short of the standard toll. And even these suffer from major problems, as we will see.
- <sup>10</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all following quotations are from the *NYT*.
- <sup>11</sup> Interestingly, they provide some detail by country. Russia is #1, with 1.3 million Jews, or 22% of the world total. Germany is high on the list, with a total of 446,000 Jews (7.4%).
- <sup>12</sup> The decision came some time in mid-1941, allegedly.
- <sup>13</sup> International Military Tribunal, vol. 31, p. 86. See also *NYT*: “Trial data reveal 6,000,000 Jews died” (Dec 15; p. 8).
- <sup>14</sup> From the online version at <http://www.hitler.org>.
- <sup>15</sup> “*die Entfernung der Juden überhaupt.*”
- <sup>16</sup> Memorandum of a conversation with J. Riddleberger on 11 August 1936; cited in Tansill (1952: 387).
- <sup>17</sup> For a full account of all the diary entries, see Dalton (2010).

- <sup>18</sup> Again, he would have had no reason to avoid mention of gas chambers in his private diary. Yet they are totally absent – as is reference to Auschwitz, Treblinka, and the other so-called death camps.
- <sup>19</sup> Hardly the “obsession” with Jews that has been portrayed.
- <sup>20</sup> Literally, ‘beaten down’ or ‘beaten to death.’
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. Longerich (2010: 148).
- <sup>22</sup> Cited in Longerich (162).
- <sup>23</sup> Goebbels’ diary, entry dated 7 March 1942; see Dalton (2010).
- <sup>24</sup> The high estimate of Warsaw is found in Longerich (167). The next largest ghettos, according to Corni (2003: 195), were Lvov (103,000), Minsk (100,000), Bialystok (50,000), Kaunas/Kovno (42,000), Czestochowa (40,000), Lublin (36,000) and Radom (32,000).
- <sup>25</sup> <http://yadvashem.org>, Holocaust Resource Center, “Ghetto.”
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.ushmm.org>, encyclopedia entry for “Warsaw.”
- <sup>27</sup> Per Longerich (2010: 185).
- <sup>28</sup> Longerich (2010: 144).
- <sup>29</sup> See Longerich (2010: 279).
- <sup>30</sup> This number is accepted by Headland (1992: 106). Yad Vashem claims 1.25 million deaths. USHMM says simply “over 1 million.”
- <sup>31</sup> The main contributor during this period was *HSSPL* leader Hans Prützmann; according to traditionalists, his group single-handedly managed to shoot 363,000 Jews in this four-month period. See Longerich (2010: 353) or Headland (1992: 104-105). For a revisionist view, see Mattogno, Kues, and Graf (2013: 419).
- <sup>32</sup> Though even this is a stretch. Imagine a cube-shaped, open-top wooden box, measuring one meter (3 feet) on each side. Now imagine six or eight random people – short and tall, skinny and fat – trying to cram themselves into that box.
- <sup>33</sup> In English units, roughly 30 ft × 36 ft in area, and 15 ft deep. Of course, if the killings were divided amongst the groups, so would the burial task.
- <sup>34</sup> See analysis in Dalton (2009).
- <sup>35</sup> Recently, the Catholic priest Patrick Desbois claims to have found “hundreds” of mass graves. But his book, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (2008), is a farce. It contains little more than anecdotal stories and unjustified assertions. He offers no details of excavations, forensic analysis, ground-mapping, or the like. We can therefore draw no conclusions whatsoever.
- <sup>36</sup> See <https://web.archive.org/http://www.nazigassings.com/Railroad.html>
- <sup>37</sup> See Kogon (2006: 247). Even this simple fact, however, is subject to wild variation. The *NYT* recently reported that USHMM researchers have now established that there were, incredibly, *980 concentration camps* (“The Holocaust Just Got More Shocking,” 1 March 2013). It’s enough to make one’s head spin.
- <sup>38</sup> As of June 2014, the following were found online (U = USHMM, Y = Yad Vashem): Auschwitz (U = “over 960,000,” Y = 1.1 million); Belzec (U = 434,000, Y = 600,000); Sobibor (U = “over 167,000,” Y = 250,000); Treblinka (U = 870,000 – 925,000, Y = 870,000); Majdanek (U = 80,000 – 92,000 overall, Y = 60,000); Chelmno (U = “over 156,000,” Y = 320,000).
- <sup>39</sup> Pronounced ‘My-DON-ek’. Also spelled Maidanek. Sometimes referred to by the name of the nearby city, Lublin.

- <sup>40</sup> 27 July 1943; p. 9. Once again, we have no substantiation of this estimate.
- <sup>41</sup> 30 Aug 1944; p. 1.
- <sup>42</sup> See Dalton (2009: 154) for details.
- <sup>43</sup> See also Graf (2007).
- <sup>44</sup> Close-up photo available online: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/docs/Irving/RadDi/2011/100911.html>
- <sup>45</sup> This building was demolished by the Germans in April 1943. Only portions of the foundation remain today.
- <sup>46</sup> For a detailed revisionist study of these vehicles, see Alvarez (2011).
- <sup>47</sup> Cited in Mattogno (2011: 21).
- <sup>48</sup> Diesels have long been used in mines and other confined spaces for precisely this reason. Granted, they can be ‘detuned’ to produce somewhat more of the gas, but this severely impairs the drivability of the engine; and the same engine that killed the Jews also drove them away, as we are told.
- <sup>49</sup> To put this in perspective: the Eiffel tower weighs about 7,300 tons. Thus the Germans would have required nearly six Eiffel-towers’ worth of wood to fully consume those bodies.
- <sup>50</sup> Online: “Gassing operations.”
- <sup>51</sup> Online: “Treblinka.”
- <sup>52</sup> Online: “Gas chambers.”
- <sup>53</sup> In fact, even today, American meat suppliers use carbon monoxide gas to treat their meat, precisely because it gives it the “cherry red” appearance of fresh meat.
- <sup>54</sup> In Dalton (2009: 67-74), such analysis is called a death matrix.
- <sup>55</sup> December 1942 through April 1943.
- <sup>56</sup> April through July 1943.
- <sup>57</sup> Report cited in Mattogno (2004: 79).
- <sup>58</sup> “At Sobibor: Building in the heart of a death camp.” Posted at <http://www.timesofisrael.com> (8 March 2014).
- <sup>59</sup> Page 129, note 18.
- <sup>60</sup> Cited in Mattogno and Graf (2005: 78-80).
- <sup>61</sup> Her 2012 article, “Holocaust archaeology,” for example, is nearly useless as a quantitative study. It devotes a mere two pages of text to Treblinka, saying nothing of value. She claims to have found “over one hundred features” of the camp using her ground-penetrating radar, though no details are provided. Notably, all talk of gas chambers is absent.
- <sup>62</sup> Odd, then, that nearly all present-day Auschwitz tours are at the Main Camp. Few tourists manage to get over to Birkenau to see the truly important gas chambers where virtually all of the alleged killing took place. True, the Birkenau crematoria are in ruins, but still, this is where all the action occurred.
- <sup>63</sup> Kremas 2 and 3 had a single chamber each, of 210 sq. meters in size. Each chamber could gas, allegedly, over 2,000 people at once – taking the traditionalist assumption of 10 people per sq. meter. Kremas 4 and 5 had three gassing rooms each, totaling an even larger 236 sq. meters.
- <sup>64</sup> This accounts for the huge increase in camp numbers for May (135,000), June (250,000), and July (135,000) 1944.



- <sup>65</sup> Despite the fact that Krema 4's furnaces burned out after only three months of operation, never to be used again.
- <sup>66</sup> This figure is highly debated. Traditionalists claim that each muffle could burn five or even 10 bodies per hour, but this is both technically and practically impossible. Of course, children's bodies, being smaller, could be burned at a rate somewhat higher than one per hour.
- <sup>67</sup> Assuming a 20-hour work day.
- <sup>68</sup> Lest we think this a fantastical exaggeration, here is what camp expert Franciszek Piper has to say: "The [excess corpses] were burned at the rate of about 5,000 in 24 hours in the incineration pits near the crematoria, [and] the same number were incinerated in the pits of bunker 2 [...]" (1994: 173). Therefore, in total, an astounding 10,000 bodies per day burned at the camp.
- <sup>69</sup> These photos are nearly impossible to find in traditionalist sources, for obvious reasons. On the rare occasion when they do appear, the reader is not informed about what was allegedly happening at the time. All three photos are reproduced in Dalton (2009: 204-205).
- <sup>70</sup> See Leuchter (2005) and Rudolf (2003b).
- <sup>71</sup> See Dalton (2013, 2014) for a full account.
- <sup>72</sup> See Graf (2003: 298-299).
- <sup>73</sup> *Washington Times* (17 July 1990; p. A11).
- <sup>74</sup> It is not hard to see how this would serve to benefit Israel and Jews worldwide.
- <sup>75</sup> A discussion of the trial would take us too far afield. In brief, Lipstadt called Irving a "Holocaust denier" in an earlier book. He objected, and sued her for libel. Irving lost. Several aspects of the Holocaust story arose during the trial, but the main focus was on the concept of 'denial' and on Irving's prior statements. The Holocaust story per se was never subjected to examination.
- <sup>76</sup> Some claim that individual reports or letters were fraudulent, but such cases are rare and relatively insignificant for contemporary revisionists. Certainly their arguments do not hinge on such claims.
- <sup>77</sup> A slightly updated third edition was published in 2003.
- <sup>78</sup> Irving is not among these; he is an important World War Two revisionist, but only marginally a Holocaust revisionist, and not a very well-informed one at that. This is largely why he lost his trial.
- <sup>79</sup> See <http://inconvenienthistory.com/columnists/index.php>. Their list of columnists currently runs to 33 names. [IH's data has been merged into the CODOH database, hence no separate author list currently exists; ed.]
- <sup>80</sup> See <http://www.holocausthandbooks.com>. Notably, all volumes are available as free PDF downloads.
- <sup>81</sup> See Dalton (2011).
- <sup>82</sup> Such charges include that all deniers claim the Holocaust was a 'hoax,' evidence was fabricated, Anne Frank's diary is a forgery, and gas chambers were really air raid shelters.

# The Recovery of Human Fat in the Cremation Pits

*Carlo Mattogno*

It is well known that several witnesses from Auschwitz describe cremation pits equipped with a system for the recovery of human fat flowing down off the human bodies into appropriate fat recovery pits or ditches from which it was drawn off by means of buckets and thrown back on the fire. Revisionists consider such a procedure impossible. Holo-blogger Sergey Romanov, in his text “Recovery of Liquid Fat from Pyres Is Impossible”<sup>1</sup> attempts to demonstrate that it was possible.

---

## 1. Romanov’s Arguments

Romanov reviews the testimonies of the following former inmate members of the *Sonderkommando* at the Birkenau crematoria: Joshua Rosenblum, Filip Müller, Henryk Tauber, Charles Bendel, Henryk Mandelbaum, Shlomo Venezia, Shlomo Dragon. He then sets forth his own arguments.

*“Even if a pool of liquid fat is burning, this burning fat can still be collected and poured back on the pyre. So this is much ado about nothing. The only half-controversial issue here is the description of merely ‘boiling’ and ‘sizzling’ fat, apparently without large-scale burning, as seems to be implied by only two witnesses, Tauber and Müller. Even if one were to prove that these descriptions are inaccurate or embellished, this wouldn’t impeach the rest of the testimonies, which merely mention the use of fat but don’t dwell on the question of whether it was burning or not. But are Tauber’s and Müller’s descriptions trustworthy?”*

After citing the description of my experiments using animal fat, mentioned below, Romanov comments:

*“So many words. But what exactly did Mattogno prove? At best that the fat dripping from a burning corpse would probably ignite, if it was also surrounded by sufficient heat. Though it should be kept in mind that in certain situations fat would also flow without igniting; for example, if a corpse is burning and corpses next to it are not yet aflame and have wounds in ‘fatty’ areas, the fat may flow out of these wounds without igniting just on account of nearby heat, because the melting temperature would be reached, but not necessarily the ignition temperature, and the corpse skin wouldn’t have to be burned in order to free the liq-*

uid fat; in the initial phase of incineration this fat probably would not meet a 'bed of embers' below. But let's assume for the sake of the argument that Mattogno is correct in that the liquid fat exuding from a burning corpse will immediately catch fire.

The main problem with Mattogno's experiments is that he doesn't really consider the situation described by the witnesses. Let's try to reconstruct it.

We have an incineration pit with a sloped trench running through it which connects to a separate smaller collection pit. At different times in different pits the configurations might have varied slightly (two collection pits, two trenches, etc.). The pyre is built in the incineration pit proper, above the trench. The pyre is lit and after some time the fat begins to flow from the corpses. To repeat, let us assume that it immediately ignites.

As we know, just because the fat is ignited does not mean that it is immediately destroyed. The burning fat still flows. Thus, Mattogno's contention that it wouldn't be able to reach the collection pits because of a bed of embers is strange, to say the least. It would flow between the embers. Maybe in late stages of incineration there would be so many embers on the bottom that they would absorb all the fat, but we're not talking about late stages. Not to mention that it takes time for a bed of embers to form in the first place.

The burning fat would flow to the trench from the presumably sloped sides of the bottom of the incineration pit. Then it would flow in the sloped middle trench in the direction of the collection pit.

How much burning liquid fat would flow in the direction of the collection pit? We can't know for sure, but let's consider a pyre of 2000 bodies, with an average body being 45 kg. This body mass accounts not for emaciation (clearly, you won't get much fat from an emaciated person) but for children's bodies. I should note here that most Jews arriving in Auschwitz-Birkenau in the periods in question weren't in the best shape, but they weren't emaciated either, probably unlike the majority of Jews taken to the Aktion Reinhard(t) camps."

Romanov then cites a second source according to which the fat contained in the corpse of a normal adult ranges from 10-20%, and then continues:

*"To be ultra-conservative, let's take 7% as our average. Then we're already dealing with at least 6300 kg of fat. That's quite a lot and it is probably an underestimate (it would be 9000 kg if we assumed 10%, 13500 kg for 15%, and so on). Much of this fat, maybe even most of it,*

would undoubtedly burn before reaching the collection pit. But there is nothing to suggest that hundreds, if not thousands of kilograms of fat would not reach it.

*The burning fat has reached the pit. What happens now?*

*One of the leading specialists in forensic investigation of fires, Dr. John DeHaan, who, together with his colleagues, has burned quite a lot of corpses, both animal and human, in controlled environments, has this to say about combustion of human fat in his and Elayne Pope's presentation 'Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains':*

*'Fat only burned where it had been rendered and absorbed into carpet, towel, blanket, clothing or charred wood.*

*And under the Figure 6 (my emphasis):*

*Charring of carpet or wood flooring supports the wick effect necessary to sustain combustion of rendered body fat.*

*In the concluding section of their article 'Combustion of animal fat and its implications for the consumption of human bodies in fires' (PDF file, DeHaan, Campbell and Nurbakhsh, Science & Justice, 1999, Vol. 39, No. 1), DeHaan and co-authors state (p.38):*

*It is clear that animal fat (and by extension human body fat, which is said to be very similar to the subcutaneous pork fat used here) can contribute to the fuel of a compartment fire. Its combustion depends on substantial preheating by an external heat source and the availability of a porous wick (such as charred cellulosic material).*

*In an e-mail correspondence Dr. DeHaan further elaborated on this point (message dated 11.11.2009):*

*Yes, unless there is a great deal of external radiant heat flux to keep the pool of fat at a very high temperature, it will not sustain combustion on a flat, non-porous surface. Just like candle wax will only burn on a smooth table top if you continually play a blow torch across it. We have had instances where a very corpulent body has released so much rendered fat that it forms a pool or stream that supports flame in the fire environment that a pool fire existed it is because the external fire was able to heat the liquified fat well past its flash point. (One commercial crematorium was burned down as a result, and others have been damaged!) Charred wood flooring or very porous concrete or lava-stone have been seen to act as a wick, so the nature of the floor is important.*

*Thus, animal fat, although a good fuel, is unable to sustain its own combustion unless there is a sufficient external source of heat or a suitable porous wick is present.*

*The witnesses don't give precise distances of the collection pits from the pyres (Müller seems to have indicated 'several meters', although he is vague), thus we have a right to assume that the collection pits were far enough from the pyres for the fat in them not to have been re-ignited by heat radiation.*

*This is a crucial point, since in none of his experiments has Mattogno considered a situation in which the external source of heat radiation is absent. Moreover, his point about the impossibility of collecting the fat because of the high temperature of the pyre is also moot."*

Romanov comments:

*"Thus without a suitable porous wick and without the external heat source the fat would stop burning soon. If there was nothing to serve as a wick in the collection pits, and if they were far enough from the pyre, then the fat in them would not have been ignited by an incoming burning stream."*

Now let's consider the case in which a wick would be present. In this case a candle can be a good analogy. In fact, in old times quite a lot of candles were made out of fat. You can make your own lard candle (<http://www.cockeyed.com/science/candle/lard.shtml>) and verify that when the fat around the wick melts and forms a pool, this liquid fat does not ignite, despite the flame being near it. Rather, only the wick itself burns, while absorbing the liquid fat.

Romanov then examines the example of the possible presence of material functioning as a wick in the recovery pits, something that can only be discussed hypothetically. He then attempts to justify two allegations contained in the statements by Tauber and Müller, which in my opinion are perfectly irrelevant, just as is the question of the boiling fat, which according to him is the "only half-controversial issue"!

## 2. Presentation of the Problem

According to Holocaust historiography, beginning in mid-May 1944, when numerous convoys of Hungarian Jews were arriving at Auschwitz almost every day, the crematoria at Birkenau could not handle the cremation of the enormous numbers of "gassing victims," so cremation pits were dug in the courtyards to the north of Crematorium IV and in the courtyard of "Bunker 2." According to Franciszek Piper [chair of the Historical Department at the Auschwitz State Museum- ed.], 10,000 bodies a day were cremated in these pits, 5,000 in each of them.<sup>2</sup>

Here, historically, is where the problem arises. As I showed in a specific study, to which the reader may refer,<sup>3</sup> the air photographs of Birkenau taken between May and September 1944 do not show any cremation pits in the vicinity of the so-called “Bunker 2” and only a small area, about 50 meters square, which appears to be emitting smoke, in the courtyard of Crematorium V. Assuming the data adopted by Müller, to cremate the 10,000 bodies per day referred to by Piper would have required cremation pits with a total surface area of 3,000 square meters,<sup>4</sup> 60 times as much. In reality, due to the high water table, the necessary surface area would have been 9,000 square meters, 180 times larger than that attested to by the aerial photographs!

The second problem is that Holocaust historiography does not know, and cannot say, how many cremation pits existed and how big they were, at the two locations mentioned and in total. This is because the statements of the witnesses are contradictory in this regard. The following table, for example, shows the eyewitness testimony relating to the alleged pits near Crematorium V:<sup>5</sup>

<b>Witness</b>	<b># of pits</b>	<b>Length [m]</b>	<b>Width [m]</b>	<b>Depth [m]</b>
Tauber/1	4*	?	?	?
Tauber/2	5	?	?	?
Mandelbaum	?	30-35	15	?
Jankowski	2	20	2	2.0
Dragon	5	25	6	3.0
Bendel	3	12	6	1.5
Müller	5	40-50	8	2.0

Rosenblum, cited by Romanov, spoke of an imprecise number of cremation pits, dug in support of the crematoria, measuring  $10 \times 5 \times 2$  meters in depth.<sup>6</sup> They did not specify where they were, but, for their functioning, they could only have been the alleged pits near V. I will not dwell on the contradictions in their statements relating to the capacity of the pits and the duration of the cremation procedure.<sup>7</sup>

I recall that in the courtyard of Crematorium V there was a cremation site measuring 50 meters square, more or less square, therefore each side measured approximately  $7 \times 7$  meters. How reliable are these witnesses?

### 3. Reconstruction of the “Real Situation” (that is, the “Authentic” Fairy Tale) of the Cremation Pits

Romanov asserts that I have not considered “the real situation described by the witnesses”; but it is he who, in his reconstruction, does not take account of it, lucubrating on the basis of purely theoretical or hypothetical presuppositions. This is so true that he neglects the essential data in the absence of which any reasoning becomes entirely random: dimensions of the cremation pit, length of the fat-recovery conduit and the number and disposition of the bodies and the wood. This data is supplied by Müller and Tauber.

The first declares that one cremation pit measured 40-50 meters  $\times$  8 meters,  $\times$  2 meters in depth; from the center, two channels 25-30 centimeters wide ran transversely along a slope towards the two sides of the pit and each one terminated in a “collection ditch,” dug into the bottom of the pit.<sup>8</sup> The disposition of the pyre was as follows: one layer of old railway ties, sawn beams, pieces of wood and sawdust (*Sägespäne*), covered with dry fir branches, then, on top of that, a layer of 400 bodies, one next to the other in four rows; then, another two similar layers, so that the pyre had 1,200 bodies in it.<sup>9</sup> The last layer reached about half a meter above the edge of the pit.<sup>10</sup> The cremation took 5-6 hours.<sup>11</sup>

Tauber, by contrast, indicates the dimensions of the fat recovery pit: m 2  $\times$  2  $\times$  4 in depth.<sup>12</sup> Romanov, who quotes the related passage, observes that it “could not have been 4 meters deep due to the high water table,” which, according to him, at the time, permitted the digging of pits [only] 2-3 meters in depth, a claim that is debatable, to say the least.<sup>13</sup> For the moment I shall limit myself to noting that the diagram of the *Zentralbauleitung* no. 2534/2 dated 15 June 1943 relating to the provisional decantation installation (“*Provisorische Erdbecken*”) of *Bauabschnitt III* (Construction Sector III) at Birkenau shows that the water table was at a height of 232.51 meters, the surface of the ground at 233.71 meters and the bottom of the decantation basin at 231.01 meters.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the water table was 1.20 meters below the surface of the ground and the collection basins were 2.70 meters deep.<sup>15</sup> It is obvious that it would not have made any sense to dig collection basins 2.70 meters deep if the water table had been shallower. On the other hand, we know that on 2 June 1944 (in the midst of the alleged cremation pit operation) *Bauabschnitt III* was still swampy (*sumpfig*), so much so that 14 barracks that had been built there could not be lived in for fear of contamination of the water table,<sup>16</sup> which confirms the depth stated above: 1.2 meters.

It follows that all the eyewitness statements alleging a depth of 2-3 meters are unreliable. Let's hope that Romanov does not claim that the witnesses (poor souls!) got confused and couldn't tell the difference between 1.2 and 2-3 meters!

But let us assume as a hypothesis that the maximum limit was 3 meters.

The reconstruction of the "real situation described by the witnesses" simply cannot do without diagrams, without which one runs the risk of getting lost in idle chatter, which is precisely what happened to Romanov.

It should furthermore be stated that he concerns himself with the extremely meager description of the cremation pits supplied by Müller at the Auschwitz trial:<sup>17</sup>

*"The depth of these pits was probably two and half meters. [...]"*

*"And they were constructed so that each pit had a sloping channel on the bottom. [...]"*

*"And at the sides, still further away – a few meters – these holes had been dug. [...]"*

*"The human fat flowed into these holes."*

He also stated that the pits were "35, 30 perhaps 40 meters" long and "6-7 meters" wide,<sup>18</sup> which is in obvious contradiction with everything written by the witness in the book:  $50 \times 8 \times 2$  (maximum dimensions) against  $40 \times 7 \times 2.5$ , but let us not worry about it (since Romanov will no doubt find a "rational" explanation for this). But in his book, where he supplied the most detailed description of the structure of the cremation pits, Müller made no mention of this distance between the pyre and the human-fat-recovery pit. Assuming the average measurements adopted by him indicates a cremation pit 45 meters long, 8 meters wide and 2 meters deep. From the center, two channels 27.5cm wide were dug lengthwise, issuing into two human-fat-collection pits. These channels were presumably lined with brick, because, according to Müller, "bricks" and "cement" were used to build them, among other things.<sup>19</sup> For the slope, we may take that from the edges of a traditional road with a crowned surface, intended to enable the rain water to flow laterally, with two lateral sections sloping from 6 to 3%.<sup>20</sup> But, liquid fat has a greater viscosity than that of water.

As regards human fat, it is difficult to obtain reliable data, but we know what ox fat, at 100°C, has a viscosity coefficient 1.7 times greater than water at 20°C;<sup>21</sup> we will therefore have to assume the maximum slope angle of 6%.

If, therefore, the cremation pit was 45 meters long, and the two human-fat-recovery pits measured 2 meters across each (Tauber), half the crema-



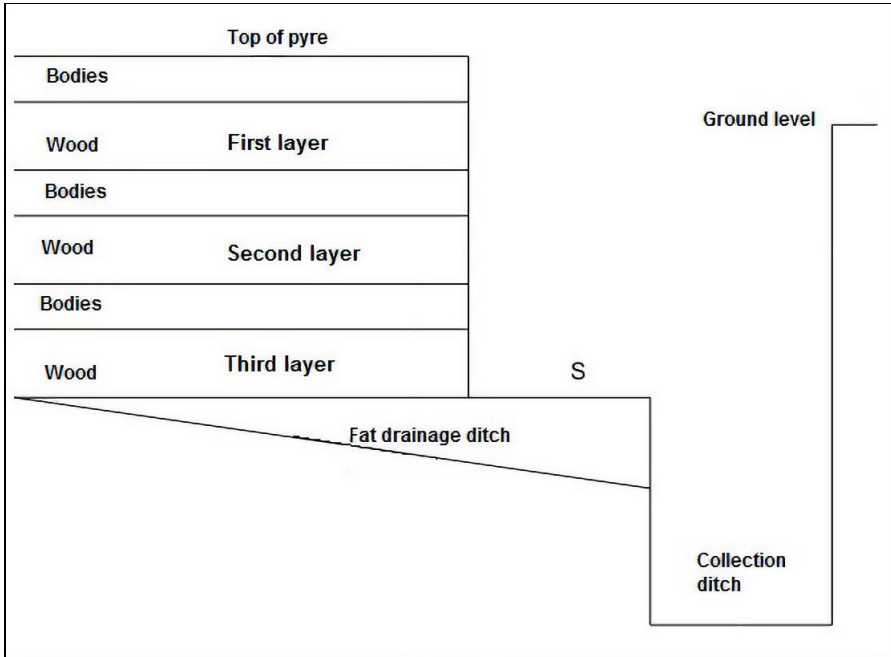
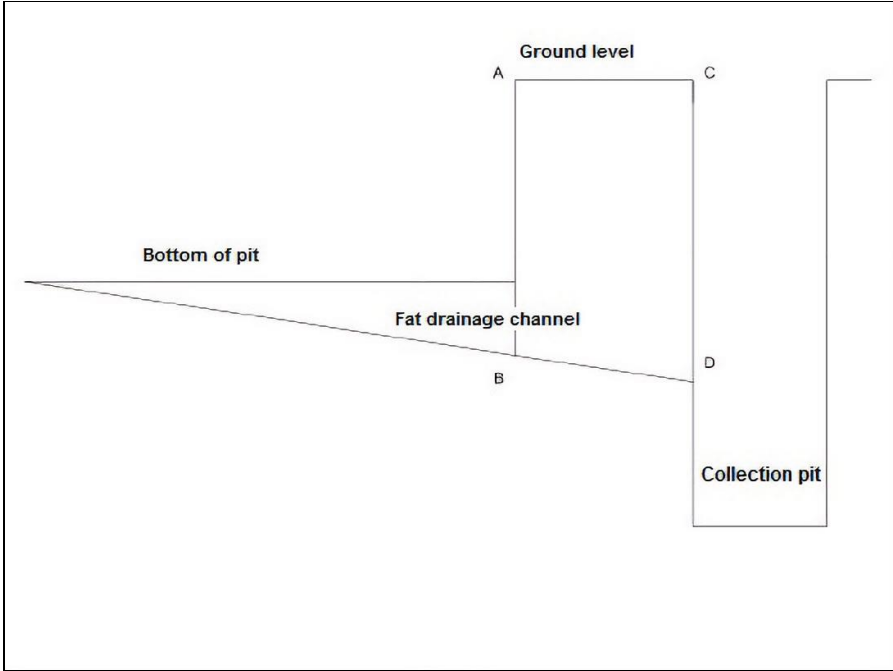


Figure 1: Diagram of the vertical section of the middle of the cremation pit according to the description of Witness Müller.

tion pit would have been 22.5 meters, 2 of which were occupied by the human-fat-recovery pit; the human-fat channel descended to the depth of  $(20.5 \times 0.06 =)$  approximately 1.2 meters from the bottom of the cremation pit, or 3.2 meters below the edge of the pit. Since a bucket with a capacity of 12 liters has a height of 28.5 centimeters (and a circumference exceeding 31),<sup>22</sup> the minimum depth of the human fat collection pit required to be able to reach the presumably liquefied fat was 30-40 centimeters, therefore its depth below the level of the ground was 3.5-3.6 meters. Well into the water table.

Figure 1 shows a schema (not to scale) of this construction system.

Müller’s affidavit at the Auschwitz trial, if it were understood to mean that the human fat collection pits were separated from the cremation pits and were located a few meters further away from the edges of the cremation pit in each case, makes no sense in practice. As shown by the related diagram (Figure 2), in this case the human fat channel would have been even longer. Assuming for example a distance of 3 meters, it would descend to a depth of  $(23.5 \times 0.06 =)$  approximately 1.4 meters, down to 3.4 meters from the surface of the ground. It would be necessary to dig a pit next to the cremation pit from the level of the ground  $2 \times 2 \times 3.7$  meters



*Figure 2: Diagram of the vertical section from the middle of the cremation pit, with external fat-collection pit.*

deep (in this case 0.3 meters deeper than the mouth of the human fat channel), but by hand it would be impossible to excavate the stretch of channel linking the two pits together, because this would start from a depth of  $(22.5 \times 0.06 =)$  approximately 1.3 meters from the edge of the cremation pit (Point B of Figure 2) up to approximately 1.4 meters from the edge of the collection pit (Point D), because, from the level of the ground, it would be necessary to excavate – by hand – a channel 25-30 centimeters wide and from 3.3 to 3.4 meters deep.

The second possibility is that the distance of several meters would relate to that running between the pyre and the edge of the human fat collection pit (S in Figure 3). In this case the pyre would have been shorter. According to the data mentioned above, half the pyre would have been  $(22.5 - 2 - 3 =)$  17.5 meters, or 35 meters in all.

Since the bodies were arranged on the pyre in 4 rows of 100 bodies each, for each body there was an average space of only 35 centimeters, which confirms that the distance between the pyre and the collection pit could not in any case have been much greater than 3 meters. And since the pyre, which was 2.5 meters high, would have collapsed due to the effects of the fire, moving closer to the collection pit, one can be certain that the

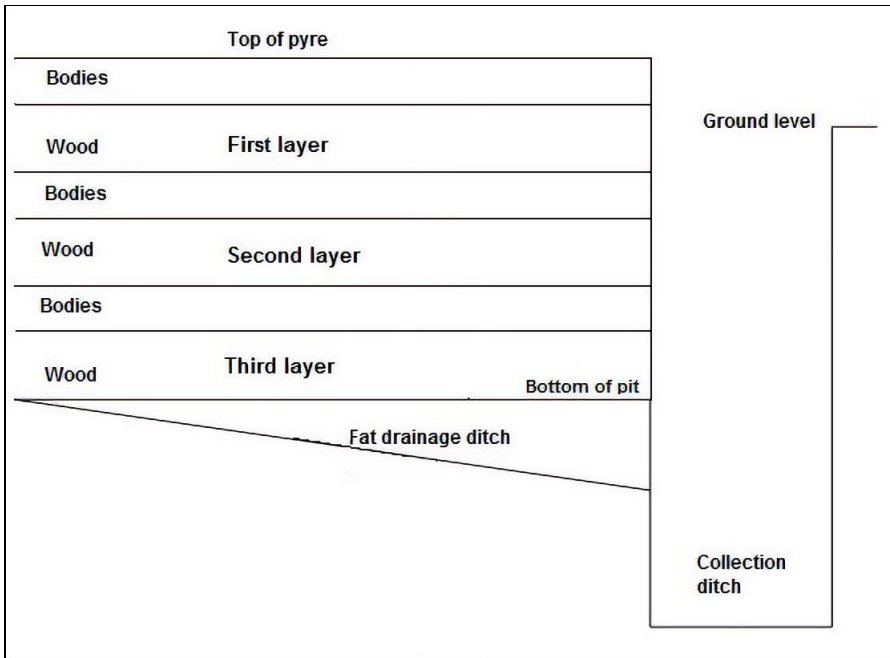


Figure 3: Vertical cross-section schema of the middle cremation pit with separate internal fat-collection pit.

heat would have been more than sufficient to ignite any possible fat deposited in said pit. I will return to this question below.

The data supplied by Müller also permit us to estimate the quantity of wood employed. The three layers of wood and bodies were ( $2.5 \div 3 =$ ) thick, approximately 0.8 meters each.<sup>23</sup> Assuming 0.2 meters per body, there remain  $0.6 \times 3 = 1.8$  meters for the wood, corresponding to a volume of ( $35 \times 8 \times 1.8 =$ ) 504 cubic meters.

1 cubic meter of ordinary wood in a pile weighs from 340-450 kg,<sup>24</sup> assuming the lowest value, 504 cubic meters correspond to ( $0.340 \times 504 =$ ) approximately 171 tons, with a thermal coefficient of 3,000 Kcal/kg. This, therefore, means ( $171,000 \div 1,200 =$ ) 142.5 kg for every cadaver, and per 1 kg of body weight, according to the average weight adopted by Romanov, ( $142.5 \div 45 =$ ) 3.1 kg of wood.

It should also be noted that Venezia's description, adopted by Romanov, is even more nonsensical. He states:<sup>25</sup>

*"The pits were sloping; the human fat produced by the burning bodies ran along the bottom to a corner, where a sort of hollow had been dug to collect it. When the fire threatened to go out, the men took a bit of this human fat from the hollow and poured it over the bodies to get the*

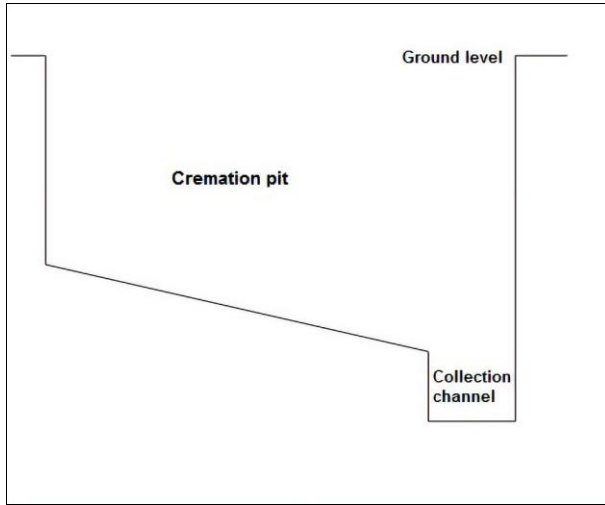


Figure 4: Diagram of a cremation pit according to the witness Venezia

*flame started again. I have never seen anything like it, except here, in the pits at Bunker 2.*”

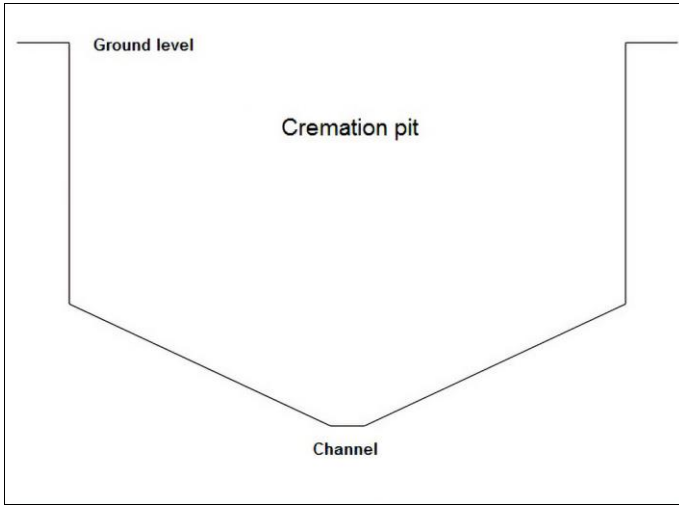
For the witness, therefore, there was no human-fat-collection channel dug along a slope; rather, the very bottom of the pit itself constituted the sloping channel, as I have illustrated in Figure 4.

The fact that Romanov accepts as realistic the case of a “cremation pit with *one* sloping human-fat-collection channel running lengthwise, connected to a small *separate* human-fat-collection pit” and considers the possible existence of two human-fat-collection channels [merely] a “slight variant,” is ample proof of his confusion. The first case, in fact, would be similar to that described by Venezia: one single channel would run from one edge of the cremation pit and would issue into the human-fat-collection pit at a depth of  $(45 - 2) \times 0.06 =$  approximately 2.6 meters below the bottom of the pit ( $2 + 2.6 =$ ) 4.6 meters below the ground level; the collection pit would have been at least 0.3 meters deep, therefore its depth from the surface of the earth would amount to 4.9 meters.

#### 4. The Quantity of Fat Theoretically Recoverable

Let us now examine Romanov’s conjectures regarding the quantity of fat contained in the bodies and that theoretically recoverable.

He assumes 2,000 bodies with an average weight of 45 kg with a fat content of 7% of body mass, a percentage which he considers “underesti-



*Figure 5: Cross-section of a theoretically functional cremation pit, with sides sloping towards the human fat collection channel*

mated,” so that he arrives at a final proposed quantity of 15%. Since “it is not uncommon to find fat percentages below 10 percent among male cross-country skiers and below 12 percent in female [skiers],”<sup>26</sup> it is difficult to imagine that the Hungarian Jews would possess a percentage exceeding 10%. The average weight of the bodies, on the other hand, is too low, so I have assumed the weight of 60 kg which I have calculated elsewhere, also assumed by Robert Jan van Pelt.<sup>27</sup> As to the number, why does Romanov speak of 2,000 bodies when the most important witness only mentions 1,200?

These data show that the fat contained in the bodies would have amounted ( $1,200 \times 60 \times 0.1 =$ ) to 7,200 kg. The specific weight of human fat is 0.903,<sup>28</sup> therefore 7,200 kg would correspond to approximately 8,000 liters. First of all, let us examine the purely theoretical case of the human fat in the cremation pit:  $8,000 \div (41^{29} \times 8) =$  approximately 24 liters per square meter, corresponding to a uniform depth of 2.4 centimeters. By virtue of the viscosity of the liquid fat, if such a quantity were poured uniformly into a concrete tank identical to the above-described cremation pit, only a small part would flow into the channel and then only if the bottom sloped from both sides towards the center, as I have illustrated in Figure 5. Romanov realizes the difficulty, and speculates that the sides of the bottom of the cremation pit were “presumably sloping,” but neither Müller nor any other asserts anything of the kind.

On the other hand, the bottom of the cremation pit consisted of sandy

soil, which would have easily absorbed the little more than 2 centimeters of liquid fat.

It therefore follows with certainty that the fat would only enter the channel if it fell directly into the channels from above, as  $(41 \times 0.275 \times 24 =) 270$  liters of fat could be expected to do based on the aggregate area of the channels. But if the human fat recovery pit measured  $2 \times 2$  meters (Tauber), then the depth of the fat in the collection pit would amount to  $(0.270 \div (2 \times 2) =)$  approximately 7 centimeters. Furthermore, I would like to introduce a reality check: the liquid fat [would] pass through as many as three layers of wood, approximately 504 cubic meters, equal to approximately 171 tons. Some part of the fat would adhere to the wood due to the force of cohesion between the molecules of fat and the molecules of wood, [while] the rest would be absorbed by the sawdust and sandy earth of the bottom of the pit. Only the part of the human fat indicated in the calculations above would flow into the channel, while the level of fat collected in the collection pit would amount to less than 7 centimeters.

The third case to be examined is the “real” case (according to Müller’s account). Here, a distinction should be made between two phases: that of the ignition of the pyre and that of its full rate of burn.

Allowing for the sake of argument that the situation mentioned by Romanov was really possible, *i.e.*, that part of the fat from the bodies could flow into the pit without catching fire, this would have been true of the subcutaneous fat only. In a specialist text cited by Romanov we read:

Subcutaneous body fat constitutes the principal source of heat, but it must be exposed (through a laceration of the skin) and rendered liquid in such a way that it may be absorbed into porous materials functioning as a wick.<sup>30</sup>

Surely Romanov, when he speaks of “wounds in ‘fatty areas’” of the bodies, is referring to this passage.

Subcutaneous fat forms only part of body fat, which is also found in the bones, the internal organs of the body and the brain.<sup>31</sup> The subcutaneous fat flowing out would have partly adhered to the wood, and would have been partly absorbed by the sandy earth, so that only a quantity greatly less than the 270 liters calculated above would actually have flowed into the human-fat-collection pit, corresponding to a volume much less than that in the second case.

Such an eventuality is nevertheless proven impossible by one of my experiments involving the combustion of animal flesh and fat.<sup>32</sup>

PHOTOGRAPH 1 shows an improvised oven constructed by myself. I placed 10.8 kilos of beef on the upper grill, with an initial charge of 4.5

kilos of wood (followed by successive charges as needed) on the grating. Over the course of the experiment, I noted the following:<sup>33</sup>

*“The fat, falling in the pan placed beneath the burning wood, ignited immediately and burned with an intense flame (see Photograph 9, taken after 15 minutes). The meat caught fire after one hour. Two hours later, the meat was still burning with an intense flame.”*

Photographs 2 and 3 show that, although the meat wasn’t even charred, the fat flowing down off of it was already aflame. The structure of the improvised oven corresponds, in scale, to a cremation ditch open to the front, therefore the results are readily applicable to the present case. They are all the more applicable due to the fact that the percentage of fat employed was more than double that which would exist in the cremation pits (10% of body weight). For the experiment, I used the following:

Bone and cartilage	4.1 kg
Visible fat	2.1 kg
Meat waste	1.9 kg
Internal organs	2.7 kg
Total	10.8 kg

The visible fat was approximately 19.4% of the total weight, in addition to the fat contained in the remaining mass, so that the effective percentage of fat may be estimated at 25-30%. Photograph 1 leaves no doubt in this regard.

Romanov’s claim that “there is nothing to indicate that hundreds, if not thousands, of kilograms of fat” could not have reached the human-fat-collection pit, is obviously absurd.

Liquid human fat, therefore, could under no circumstances flow into the collection pit.

## 5. The “Wick Effect”

But even assuming for the sake of argument that a certain quantity of liquid human fat had actually been collected in the appropriate collection pits in one of those many miracles with which the eyewitness testimonies are filled, what would have happened in actual fact?

Romanov, as we have seen, calls upon experiments performed by De-Haan and his collaborators to assert that the liquid fat “is unable to sustain its own combustion unless there is a sufficient external source of heat or a suitable porous wick is present.”

The experiments in question were intended to ascertain the contribution

of human fat to a fire of limited proportions in which a human body was burned with little fuel and whether or not the fire could be sustained due exclusively to the heat produced by the combustion of the human body fat involved. According to Romanov, the situation of the human-fat-collection pits would resemble the situation illustrated in Photographs 4 and 5:

In reality, the “wick effect,” such as the localized combustion in a pit of human fat, is applicable only when the external fuel is scarce enough and the flow of heat radiating outwards from that source is rather scarce, so that the combustion is sustained practically by the fat alone. On the other hand, when the body is enveloped by a high temperature, the result is such as shown in Photograph 6.

The “wick effect,” therefore, is only necessary, or pertinent, on the condition that there is no very intense flow of radiant heat to maintain the pit of fat at a very high temperature, as stated by DeHaan.

But it is obvious that burning a body on a carpet is one thing, while a cremation pit containing 171 tons of burning wood is another. In the animal-fat combustion experiments performed by DeHaan and mentioned by Romanov,<sup>37</sup> the maximum temperature recorded was 911°C.<sup>38</sup>

Over the course of a subsequent experiment, DeHaan recorded a maximum combustion temperature of 880°C for the pork fat and 913°C for human fat.<sup>39</sup>

In an article relating to other experiments, DeHaan writes, together with two collaborators, that,

*“Temperatures in excess of this threshold would produce products of pyrolysis and products of true combustion following the self-ignition.”*

He then adds:<sup>40</sup>

*“[T]he chromatograms of human fat burnt in a microfurnace at 500°C were very strictly comparable to those produced by a large mass of fat from a human body burnt in a house fire.”*

According to the manual of John H. Perry, a certified engineer, the ignition temperature of pork fat<sup>41</sup> is 343°C, but its flash point is 184°C.<sup>42</sup> In practice, [at temperatures] above 355°C, human fat begins to burn spontaneously in a continuous manner and without any contribution from an external heat [source] and above 185-190°C the liquefied fat emits vapors in such quantities that they burn if ignited.

The “wick effect,” as shown in Photographs 4 and 5 occurs only when part of the liquefied fat absorbed by a support material reaches the flash point. On the other hand, when the fat is all subjected to temperatures exceeding 185-190°C, the situation which results is that shown in Photo-



graphs 2 and 3. When the temperature exceeds the flash point of the fat, the latter develops inflammable vapors over its entire surface which burn with the formation of an intense flame, as seen in Photographs 7 and 8, relating to two experiments I conducted.

I placed an aluminum pan containing 250 grams of lard on the floor of the ash box of a furnace open to the front. The wood (fuel) grate is located 25 centimeters above the floor of the ash box. As it is constructed of a metallic mesh with mesh openings measuring  $2 \times 1$  cm, the grate only allowed minute smoldering embers to fall into the pan. The fat contained in the pan became liquefied and started to boil due to the heat radiated from the hearth; the vapors formed from the fat ignited rapidly, burning with a bright flame (see Photograph 7).

I placed an aluminum pan containing 500 grams of lard on the combustion grid of a furnace open to the front and to the top (see Photograph 8). The combustion grid was located 25 centimeters above the grate. After I ignited the wood in the hearth, the lard liquefied rapidly and began to boil; the vapors caught fire, producing very intense flames approximately 80 centimeters high. The combustion lasted approximately 2 minutes.

Returning to Romanov, he organizes his argument around 2 points. The first is the claim that liquid fat “would flow between the embers.”

An obvious absurdity, if one considers the question in concrete terms. Photograph 9 shows the bed of embers resulting from my combustion experiment in a small pit ( $0.85 \times 0.50 \times 0.60$  meters (in depth) using 15 kg of beef with 52.5 kg of wood after one hour.

After 16 hours, the temperature of the embers was still approximately  $320^{\circ}\text{C}$ . Therefore, according to Romanov, from the liquefied fat (what is more, this is a risible quantity, as I demonstrated above) flowing on these embers, they would have traversed them without catching fire! This is also in conflict with the “wick effect,” since all the conditions exist for a total combustion of the fat: an adequate quantity of carbonized wood and ashes (the “wick”), the flash point of the fat.

In this situation, the worst-case scenario would produce a situation analogous to that of my experiment illustrated by Photograph 10.

The experiment was conducted in a furnace of tuff blocks open to the front and top. I placed an aluminum pan containing 250 grams of lard on the floor of the ash box and installed a metallic grid with mesh openings  $10 \times 10$  centimeters wide located 28 centimeters above the level of the ash box. I then ignited the wood on the grate.

When the combustion became intense, the embers began to fall into the underlying pan; the fat in it first became liquefied then was absorbed into

the ashes and burned with a flame which was somewhat less intense, but lasted longer (approximately 15 minutes), like the wick of a kerosene lantern (see Photograph 10).<sup>43</sup>

Let us go on to the second point. For Romanov, by virtue of the “wick effect,” the liquefied fat miraculously flowing into the human-fat-collection pit would not burn (at least not entirely).

Another obviously absurd claim, if one considers that the wood on the pyre would have developed a heat flow at least 17,000 times greater<sup>44</sup> than that to which DeHaan exposed his fat samples and that the burning of a pig carcass (comparable to a human body) causes recorded temperatures of 813°C. Under such conditions, any human-fat-collection pit, even at a distance of several meters away from the pyre, would rapidly reach the flash point as well as the fat ignition temperature. Therefore, the point brought up against me by Romanov, according to which my experiments did not take account of the “situation in which the external source of radiant heat is absent,” is obviously nonsensical. The very opposite is the case: it is he who has failed to take account of the situation in which the radiant heat flow is 17,000 times higher than that employed by DeHaan.

The claim that the fat hypothetically contained in the pits “would not have been ignited by a burning stream” which would have arrived there is therefore clearly absurd.

To summarize, the fat flowing from the bodies in a cremation pit would burn immediately, even during the initial phase, when the bodies are still more or less intact (Photographs 2 and 3).

The “wick effect” is irrelevant to a cremation pit, because the temperature in the pit would be such as to exceed the flash point and ignition temperature of the fat, so that it would necessarily burn with an intense flame (Photographs 6, 7, 8).

The liquefied fat cannot flow between or through the burning embers without catching fire; in the worst-case scenario it would burn with a moderate flame and more slowly over its entire surface (Photograph 10) and not at a single point.

## 6. Collateral Problems

The recovery of the human fat as described by former Auschwitz inmates also presents insuperable practical problems. How was it possible to collect the hypothetical liquid fat by means of a bucket attached to a long pole, standing on the edge of a cremation pit with a total radiant heat of 2,148,200 MJ and a minimum temperature of 600°C?<sup>45</sup>

There is also a less serious general problem: what was the purpose of the collection of the human fat? According to the witnesses, it was to accelerate the combustion of the bodies (Rosenblum, Tauber, Bendel, Mandelbaum) or to reignite the flames on the pyre (Venezia, Dragon). This presupposes that the human fat flowing down from the bodies into the pits would [otherwise] have been wasted, that it was irrelevant in the total balance of combustion, otherwise the collection would have made no sense. In reality, as I have shown above, the liquefied human fat would have burned completely inside the pit developing its maximum thermal effect and supplying the pyre with a heat of 244,800 MJ.

As noted experimentally over the course of the mass combustion of animal carcasses:<sup>46</sup>

*“a very important factor during the process of incineration was that the fat from the carcasses significantly contributed to the rate of incineration. It was observed that small bodies weighing less than 100 pounds [45 kg] did not incinerate as rapidly as carcasses with more body fat. It was seen that the body fat accelerated the cremation rate and produced higher combustion temperature.”*

The procedure described by the witnesses moreover contains a basic contradiction: on the one hand, it is claimed that the fat flowing from the bodies did not burn, but was collected at the bottom of the pit, traversing several layers of burning wood and bodies, plus the bed of embers and ashes, and then flowed into the human-fat-collection pits; on the other hand, it is claimed that the fat collected in these pits was thrown back onto the burning pyre, to accelerate the combustion of the bodies or refuel the flames. What was to prevent it from flowing right back down into the collection pit? And if it burned the second time, why didn't it burn when it flowed down off the bodies in the cremation pits?

To summarize, the question remains: who would ever dream up such a crazy idea? Certainly not Kurt Prüfer, a certified engineer, the only true cremation expert at Auschwitz.

Only members of the (communist) resistance movement interned at the camp, who were solely concerned with the invention of propaganda horror stories.

It might be noted that the recovery of body fat to be poured back onto the funeral pyres was never utilized to incinerate the cadavers of thousands of cattle of all types having died in epidemics of recent memory.

Photos (© Carlo Mattogno)



*Photo 1*



*Photo 2 (sideways)*



*Photo 3 (sideways)*



*Photo 4: Fat burning at one single limited point within a pit of liquid fat (Wick Principle). From: J. DeHaan and E. Pope, Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains<sup>34</sup>*





*Photo 5: Fat absorbed by porous material burning in a limited area (Wick Principle). From: J. DeHaan and E. Pope, Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains<sup>35</sup>*



*Photo 6: Fat burning completely and intensely when the temperature of the fire exceeds that of the inflowing fat. From: J. DeHaan and E. Pope, Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains<sup>36</sup>*



*Photo 7 (sideways): Lard combustion experiment with pan below the combustion grid.*



*Photo 8 (sideways): Lard combustion experiment with pan above the combustion grid.*





*Photo 9: Embers resulting from a combustion experiment in a small pit.*



*Photo 10*



## Notes

Translated by Carlos W. Porter.

- <sup>1</sup> S. Romanov, "Recovery of liquid human fat from pyres is impossible..." Online: <http://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2009/11/recovery-of-liquid-human-fat-from-pyres.html>
- <sup>2</sup> F. Piper, "Gas Chambers and Crematoria," in: *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*. By Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 173.
- <sup>3</sup> C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: Open Air Incinerations* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2005).
- <sup>4</sup> I will discuss this calculation in Note 9.
- <sup>5</sup> Mattogno, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- <sup>8</sup> F. Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz* (Munich: Verlag Steinhausen, 1979), pp. 207-208.
- <sup>9</sup> If a pit  $45 \times 8 = 360 \text{ m}^2$  could accommodate 1,200 bodies, 10,000 bodies would have required 8.3 pits for that same density, with a total surface area of 3,000  $\text{m}^2$ .
- <sup>10</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.
- <sup>12</sup> Affidavit of Henryk Tauber before the Soviet War Crimes Commission on 27-28 February 1945. GARF, 7021108-8, p.11.
- <sup>13</sup> See, in this regard, my article "'Cremation Pits' and Ground Water Levels at Birkenau," in: *The Revisionist*, Vol. 1, No.1, February 2003, pp. 13-16.
- <sup>14</sup> APMO, negative no. 20943/19. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 169.
- <sup>15</sup> Mattogno, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- <sup>17</sup> *Der Auschwitz-Prozess* (The Auschwitz Trial), Digitale Bibliothek, Directmedia Publishing, Berlin, 2005 (DVD), deposition OF 9 October 1964, p. 20,701. According to the text in Czech, which differs from the German translation.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20,700.
- <sup>19</sup> Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
- <sup>20</sup> G. Colombo, *Manuale dell'ingegnere* (Milan: Hoepli, 1916), p. 200.
- <sup>21</sup> Luigi Gabba, *Manuale del chimico industriale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1923), p. 405.
- <sup>22</sup> Online: <http://www.termafrigo.it/shop/secchio-graduato-inox-cm31-h27-lt12.html>
- <sup>23</sup> Since the water table at Birkenau was located at 1.20 meters from the surface of the ground, the procedure described by Müller would only permit the stacking of two layers of fuel, plus bodies, in the cremation pits. Any possible third layer would have been completely above the surface of the ground, exposed to the dispersive action of the heat by the wind. See, in this regard, my article "Experiments involving the Combustion of Animal Flesh and Fat," in: § 2.3
- <sup>24</sup> G. Colombo, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

- <sup>25</sup> S. Venezia, *Sonderkommando Auschwitz. La verità sulle camere a gas. Una testimonianza unica* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2007), p. 77.
- <sup>26</sup> Wilf Paish, *Guida pratica alla scienza dello sport* (Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2000), p. 129.
- <sup>27</sup> J. Graf, T. Kues, C. Mattogno, *Sobibór: Holocaust Propaganda and Reality* (Washington: The Barnes Review, 2010), pp.132-133.
- <sup>28</sup> Luigi Gabba, *op. cit.*, p. 406.
- <sup>29</sup> Pit according to Fig. 1: length 45 m – (2+2) lateral pits = 41
- <sup>30</sup> John DeHaan, Elayne Pope, “Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains,” poster presented at Interflam 2007 Conference. Interflam2007 Proceedings. Interscience Communications. London 2007.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> For further details, please refer to my article, cited above, “Verbrennungsexperimente mit Tierfleisch und Tierfett. Zur Frage der Grubenverbrennungen in den angeblichen Vernichtungslagern des 3. Reiches,” in: *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 7, No. 2, July 2003, pp. 185-194 English: “Combustion Experiments with Flesh and Animal Fat: On cremations in pits in the alleged extermination camps of the Third Reich,” *The Revisionist*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2004, pp. 64-72; <https://codoh.com/library/document/combustion-experiments-with-flesh-and-animal-fat/>.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- <sup>34</sup> Original caption: “Rendering fat burning on adjacent plywood floor.”
- <sup>35</sup> Original caption: “Burning in the vicinity of the body was observed long after the fire in other combustibles had self-extinguished.”
- <sup>36</sup> Original caption: “Charring of carpet or wood flooring supports the wick effect necessary to sustain combustion of rendered body fat.”
- <sup>37</sup> J. DeHaan, S:J: Campbell, S. Nurbakhsh, “Combustion of Animal Fat and Its Implications for the Consumption of Human Bodies in Fires,” in: *Science & Justice*, 1999, 39 (1), pp. 30-31.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp, 31, 38. The poster cited above, by J. DeHaan and E. Pope, “Combustion Properties of Human and Large Animal Remains” also indicates maximum combustion temperatures of the pig carcass: 813°C.
- <sup>39</sup> John DeHaan, Said Nurbakhsh, “Sustained Combustion of an Animal Carcass and Its Implications for the Consumption of Human Bodies in Fire,” in *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, September 2001, p. 1079.
- <sup>40</sup> J. DeHaan, D.J. Brien, R. Large, “Volatile organic compounds from the combustion of human and animal tissue,” in: *Science & Justice*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 2004, p. 235.
- <sup>41</sup> According to DeHaan and collaborators, “pig carcasses (or pork fat) may accurately be used to simulate the combustion properties of human bodies.”
- <sup>42</sup> J.H. Perry, *Chemical Engineer’s Handbook* (Wilmington, Delaware, 1949), p. 1584.
- <sup>43</sup> “Verbrennungsexperimente mit Tierfleisch und Tierfett. Zur Frage der Grubenverbrennungen in den angeblichen Vernichtungslagern des 3. Reiches,” *op. cit.*, p. 193.
- <sup>44</sup> The heat produced by the fat should be added to the heat produced by the wood. I have shown above that, of the 7,200 kg of fat contained in the bodies, only

270 liters or 240 kg could theoretically flow into the fat-collection pits; the remaining 6,960 kg would produce heat in the amount of  $(6,960 \times 34^* =) 236,640$  MJ.

\* The energy release of combustion of human fat, according to DeHaan and collaborators, is 34MJ/kg. "Combustion properties of human and large animal remains," *op. cit.*

- <sup>45</sup> At temperatures exceeding 600°C, "upon commencement of the combustion, a distillation of the organic substance with simultaneous carbonization" will be observed. P. Schlapfer, "Betrachtungen über den Betrieb von Einäscherungsöfen," in: *Schweizerische Verein von Gas- und Wasserfachmännern Monatsbulletin* (Zurich, year XVIII, year 1938), no. 7, p. 151.
- <sup>46</sup> Swine carcass disposal evaluation using Air Curtain Incinerator System, Model T-359. December 19 – 20, 1994. Pilot Point, Texas. U.S. Department of Agriculture/Texas Animal Health Commission.

## The “Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen” (Prisoners’ Report) of 12 June 1945

*Klaus Schwensen*

One of the earliest postwar sources about Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp is the so-called “Prisoners’ Report” which was compiled under the supervision of Hellmut Bock, a communist and former inmate of the camp. The first draft was ready by 7 May, just two weeks after the SS had left the camp. The German original of this first draft has been lost, but an English translation has survived. In the following weeks the report underwent several changes. Quite obviously the Soviet victors, acting through a sub-commission of the “Extraordinary State Commission” (ESC) which carried out investigations in the camp, figured as “commissioning editors.” Altogether eight versions of the report exist. A comparison of their contents is highly revealing, as it shows considerable differences. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the Soviet investigators influenced the final version of the “Sachsenhausen Death Camp,” which is tenaciously propagated even today, from the very beginning.

---

### 1. On the Genesis of the “Prisoners’ Report”

On 21 April Sachsenhausen was evacuated, however between 2,400 and 3,400 prisoners were left behind in the camp, among them 2,000 – 3,000 sick and convalescent patients housed in the camp hospital and other buildings, 12 physicians (all of them prisoners and foreign nationals) and 25 orderlies.<sup>1</sup> Some stockmen (who had been employed at the hog-fattening farm and the angora rabbit breeding farm), gardeners, kitchen personnel and bakers also stayed behind; so did a group of about 40 Communist prisoners who had hidden in the camp because they wanted to welcome the Red Army, their comrades and liberators, rather than being evacuated. The battle of Berlin was still in full swing.

On 22 April 1945 the large SS-owned zone of Oranienburg, where Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen was situated, was virtually deserted. The first soldiers of the Red Army who approached the camp were hailed as liberators but had to march onward at once. The camp was in the sector of the front assigned to the Second Polish Infantry Division, which formed

part of the Red Army. On the morning of 23 April parts of this division reached the SS zone and the camp.<sup>2</sup> On the same day, a “special commission of the political division” entered the camp, where it was welcomed by Polish and (Communist) German prisoners and shown around. A few hours later the Poles had to move on, however they managed to record a report about their impressions,<sup>3</sup> which was later reproduced in a book written by one of the Polish officers, Lieutenant Józef Margules.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, this very first report from the Allied side is of limited value as it is essentially based on hearsay – all kinds of lurid horror stories the Communist prisoners had told their visitors. Only in the last days of April did the Red Army take possession of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The entrance was again controlled by guards, and nobody was allowed to enter or leave the camp without a permit, a document the liberated prisoners could obtain quite easily.<sup>5</sup>

Alfred Reckendrees provides us with some information about the genesis of the “Prisoners’ Report.” This report written for the benefit of the Soviet liberators was probably the brainchild of Hellmut Bock, a Communist prisoner under whose supervision the document was drafted. According to Bock, a group of former prisoners who had stayed behind in the camp had decided to<sup>6</sup> “collect evidence about the camp in order to make it available to future investigative authorities.”

Since the first draft was ready by 7 May, we may assume that Bock and his comrades had set to work in the last days of April.<sup>7</sup> Their “office” was probably Barrack 4 which the communist prisoners had converted into a “community block.”<sup>8</sup> Whether the Soviet investigators were already present in the camp at this early date, and to what extent they influenced this first draft, remains unknown. At the behest of the Moscow-based ESC, a Soviet investigative commission became active at Sachsenhausen on 12 May and stayed there until the end of June. The leader of the commission, Lt. Colonel Sharitch, undoubtedly learned of the existence of the draft at once. A great deal of circumstantial evidence suggests that the Soviets demanded numerous changes and additions until the final version was officially handed over to the Commission, which included the “Prisoners’ Report” in its own documentation about the camp.

## 2. The Different Versions of the Report

There are several versions of the “Prisoners’ Report,” most of them typewritten transcriptions or carbon copies. The first task of this writer was to establish the chronological order of the versions. His task was greatly facil-



*Fig. 1: Seeing off the French doctors Dr. Leboucher (left) and Dr. Coudert (right), Sachsenhausen, 23 June 1945. Second from right is Johann Hers (with shag pipe) and third from right is Frederik Bischoff (with tie). Source: Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen; published in: G. Morsch and Alfred Reckendress. See Endnote 1.*

itated by the fact that the report is subdivided into 11 chapters, a subdivision which remained largely unchanged in all eight versions. It was critically important to distinguish between versions the contents of which had undergone deliberate changes and transcriptions which contain but minor copying mistakes.

I have numbered the eight different versions of the “Prisoners’ Report” from HB-1 to HB-8 (HB stands for “*Häftlingsbericht*,” Prisoners’ Report). The first draft, HB-1, has been lost. To obtain copies of HB-3 and HB-4 I would have had to visit the archives, which was impractical for lack of time.

### HB-1 – The First Draft

The first draft of the report must have been ready by 7 May because on that day Dr. Emile Coudert, a French physician who had been employed at the camp hospital, criticized the document in a *Stellungnahme* (comment).<sup>9</sup> This first draft (we may exclude the possibility of an earlier version) has been lost; perhaps it languishes in some Russian archive. The other doctors, all of whom were foreign citizens, endorsed Dr. Coudert’s complaints

and denounced the privileged position of the German prisoners during the existence of the camp.<sup>10</sup> In his response to the doctors Hellmut Bock pointed out that the draft contained a list of German prisoners who had mistreated their fellow inmates.<sup>11</sup>

### HB-2 – The English translation

Upon their return to the Netherlands the former prisoners Willem Frederik Bischoff van Heemskerck and Cand. Med. Johann Hers compiled a report about Sachsenhausen.<sup>12</sup> Both young men had studied medicine before the outbreak of the war, and Bischoff had for some time served in the Dutch army as a lieutenant. Both had been deported to Sachsenhausen because of their activities on behalf of the illegal resistance movement. During the final stage of the camp, Bischoff was Technical Director of the hospital barracks and Hers had worked there as an orderly. A copy of their report was made available to Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, and another copy apparently was forwarded to the British authorities.

“Part I” of the report is a text written in the English language and entitled “Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen at Oranienburg.” In view of the fact that the title, the subdivision into chapters and the headings of these chapters in this English language document match those of the other versions of the Prisoners’ Report, there can be no doubt that the former is simply a translation of the latter.<sup>13</sup> Bischoff and Hers are mute as to the genesis of the original, however several clues suggest that their text is based on the first draft (HB-1). Probably the two Dutchmen, being co-signers of the Prisoners’ Report, had got a copy of HB-1. Back in Holland, Bischoff personally translated the report from German into English.<sup>14</sup>

Version HB-2 is by and large congruent with the later versions, which means that Bischoff’s translation must have been faithful to the original. On the other hand, HB-2 contains a couple of passages which were eliminated in HB-7 and HB-8, and some passages which appear in the later versions are lacking here. Reckendrees<sup>15</sup> ventures the opinion that Bischoff and Hers took one of the later versions to Holland and made certain changes when they translated the text into English, but this thesis is not particularly convincing. In all likelihood the English version (HB-2) is a translation of the lost first draft (HB-1) and therefore the oldest known version of the Prisoners’ Report. Probably in 1946 the British handed over a copy of this report to the Russians, who later forwarded the document to Sachsenhausen.<sup>16</sup>

The “Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen at Oranienburg” (HB-2) additionally contains four lists compiled by former Communist

prisoners in May 1945. These documents (with Dutch language headings) list the names of SS men and prisoners accused of having committed crimes in the camp:

**1a** – *Die Lagerführer und Rapportführer von 1940-1945* [Camp Commandants and Rapporteurs from 1940-1945]

**1b** – *Blockführer und Verwaltungsbeamte, die als Mörder und Schläger sowie schwerbelastend [sic] aus dem Lager hervorgegangen sind* [Trusties and administrative officers who left the camp seriously implicated in murders and beatings].

**1c** – Camp elders who committed offenses against other inmates at Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen. [This heading is in Dutch, not in German. In Bischoff's version the second part of the sentence is crossed out by hand; apparently Bischoff did not share the opinion of the Communists about the respective camp elders.]

**1d** – List of former inmates of Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen who have committed serious crimes (German heading).

List 1d is already mentioned in Bock's reply to the objections the doctors had raised against the first draft HB-111. This corroborates our thesis that the translation HB-2 is indeed based on HB-1.

### HB-3

A photocopy of version HB-3 can be found at the archives of Sachsenhausen.<sup>17</sup> The report is dated 31 May 1945 and is therefore the earliest surviving German version. The length of the report (32 pages) is the same as in the later versions. It is only signed by Hellmut Bock and four other (Communist) prisoners, all of them German nationals.

According to Reckendrees<sup>18</sup> this version is “probably identical with the one presented in early May” (HB-1) which would mean that the first draft HB-1 is not lost but does still exist in the form of HB-3. If his assumption (HB-3 = HB-1) was true and our little thesis that HB-2 = HB-1 is also true, than HB-3 should also be in agreement with HB-2. However, we believe that – as regards content – *there are* some differences between HB-3 and HB-1/HB-2 although we are momentarily unable to verify our thesis since the HB-3 version is available only in *Archiv Sachsenhausen*.

### HB-4

Having commented on the texts HB-1 and HB-3, Reckendrees mentions yet another draft, “probably the second one.”<sup>19</sup> In accordance with our chronological numbering we will call it HB-4. Since we were unable to



check this version, we have to rely on Reckendrees and are compelled to content ourselves with the following observations:

- The report is undated. Reckendrees claims it was finished by the beginning of June 1945.
- The signers are the same 12 persons as in the later version HB-7, among them by now ten non-German prisoners.
- The report contains an appendix about the situation of the foreign inmates. Reckendrees thinks that this was the version handed over to the Soviet governmental commission. According to Christl Wickert “our actual state of knowledge [...] does not allow a definitive answer to the question which version was made available to the governmental commission.”<sup>20</sup>

We can presume that the text of the Prisoners’ Report was basically ready by late May or early June, except for a single but exceedingly important sentence which first appears in HB-5.

#### HB-5 – Willi Müller’s Version

This carbon copy of 32 pages on yellowish-ocher flimsy paper is from the estate of the former Communist camp elder Harry Naujoks who had after the liberation returned to his native city of Hamburg. It was sent to him by a certain Willi Müller from Bremen.<sup>21</sup> The typewriter used had the SS rune which suggests that HB-5 was written in May or June 1945 with a typewriter belonging to the former SS camp administration. At the very end of the text a sentence was inserted which we will discuss later.

Several handwritten addenda were made with ink (presumably by Naujoks), and some lengthy addenda in the same hand were inserted with paper clips. Apparently, the carbon copy HB-5 had been sent to Naujoks in order to give him the means of making corrections or amendments. In the later versions some of these addenda are lacking.

#### HB-6 – A. Schöning’s Copy

Another typewritten version from Naujok’s estate is probably a first carbon copy; this can be inferred from the clean type face on white onionskin.<sup>22</sup> The document ends with “A. Schöning, Hamburg 39, Himmelstr. 26 III.” Most probably Schöning, who like Naujok lived in Hamburg, owned a typewriter and copied the text to do Naujok a favor. Apparently, the changes suggested by Naujok (see HB-5) were largely made. Whether they were still present in the final version HB-7 I was unable to check.

### HB-7 – The Final Version of the Prisoners' Report (12 June 1945)

We may safely assume that HB-7 is the final version of the report which was handed over to the Soviet investigators. The report itself is undated, but the cover letter written by Hellmut Bock is dated "Oranienburg, den 12. Juni 1945." The original (with the signatures of the signers) is probably moldering in some Russian archive. On the other hand, we are in possession of a carbon copy (HB-7a), and there must have been a (presumable) transcription (HB-7b) both of which are probably based on the original. The (presumable) transcription HB-7b is only available in the form of a low-quality photocopy (HB-7c).

#### HB-7a

Version HB-7a, a text of 35 pages, is from the documents of Dr. Rudolf Pechel, a journalist and newspaper editor who had been detained in Sachsenhausen because he was suspected of high treason.<sup>23</sup> As in the case of HB-5, the text was written on ocher onionskin. This suggests that this text too was typed in the camp. As the document is letter-perfect, it is probably safe to conclude that this was the version handed over to the Soviet investigators by Hellmut Bock. Therefore HB-7a is presumably a carbon copy of the original.

#### HB-7b

It appears that soon after the war there was also made a typewriter transcription of the original, which we will call HB-7b. It was typed on a German typewriter which did not have the SS runes. It can be inferred from the archive stamps and the pagination that this copy once was, or still is, in some Moscow archive and that (later) a low-quality photocopy (HB-7c) was sent to Sachsenhausen.

#### HB-7c

In the left margin of the above-mentioned photocopy<sup>24</sup> we distinctly see the typical black spots which arise when copying sheets which are bound in a thick folder or looseleaf binder. When one puts such a folder or binder on a photocopier, the pages will inevitably be blackened in one of the two margins. Therefore the left margin of HB-7c was often illegible owing to the black spots, however it was always possible to complete the blackened words either from context or thanks to the versions HB-7a or HB-8. The question arises why the poor-quality photocopy HB-7c was not made from the original (HB-7) but from a copy (HB-7b). In all likelihood it was kept in the archives of the KGB (nowadays FSB) and therefore practically inac-

cessible when the copy was needed. For this reason the copy had to be based on another copy, which was of low quality.

### HB-8 – The Printed Version

Probably in 1947 a brochure was produced entitled “*Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen durch den ehemaligen Häftling Theodor Feuerlein*” (“Report on the Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen by the former prisoner Theodor Feuerlein”).<sup>25</sup> Feuerlein, together with Bock, Engemann, Schöning and other Communists, figures on a list of Communist inmates who had stayed behind in the camp, and the title says clearly that he was the author of the report. The information Feuerlein provides about himself is extremely sparse: We only learn that he had been attached to the work commando Falkensee and remained in the camp until 3 May. But as the first draft of the report was only ready around 7 May and Feuerlein did not sign any of the different versions, he cannot possibly have been the author.

It is not difficult to guess why this brochure was published in 1947, before the Sachsenhausen trial: Quite obviously the German population was to be enlightened about the “crimes of the German Fascists” at Sachsenhausen. For reasons unknown to me it was purported that Feuerlein had been the author. It is therefore logical that neither the cover letter authored by Hellmut Bock nor the appendix “The Situation of the Foreign Prisoners” appears in this brochure: Both texts would have undermined the claim that Feuerlein was the author. The first sentences of the report (HB-7c, HB-8) also point to the conclusion that Feuerlein had little, if anything, to do with the genesis of the document.

The text HB-8, purportedly authored by Feuerlein, is to a considerable extent identical with HB-5, HB-6 and HB-7. But as the final draft HB-7, which was accessible in the Soviet Occupation Zone, contained several garbled passages, the text required some editing. The result of this “reconstruction” is HB-8 which enables us to understand the garbled passages in the previous versions. On the other hand, some minor new mistakes crept into HB-8. Finally, the text underwent a professional typesetting.

## 3. The Signers of the Prisoners’ Report

Among the twelve signers of HB-7 there were two Germans, two Dutchmen, two Poles, one Czech, one Belgian, one Italian, one Slovak and one Frenchman. Apparently, the Soviet investigators attached much value to the international character of this circle. Seven of the twelve signers had

been employed at the camp hospital (Bischoff, Dr. Delaunois, Dr. Deder, Dr. Feledy, Dr. Gyarmati, stud. med. Hers, stud. pharm. Wassermann). This was due to the fact that the sick inmates and the personnel of the hospital were not evacuated. Three other signers (Bock, Misiewicz and Pointner) belonged to the group of Communist prisoners. It is not clear which group the remaining two signers, the Polish mathematician Dombrowski and the French gardener Samon, belonged to. At the end of the report all twelve signers are listed with their names, dates of birth, countries of origin plus the date of their internment in the camp. In the following survey we only mention those prisoners about whom some details are known.



*Fig. 2: F. W. Bischoff van Heemskerck as Senior Equerry (Opper Stalmeester) of the Royal Stables (ca. 1967)  
Source: Koninklijke Verzamelingen.jpg*

– Willem Frederik Bischoff van Heemskerck (Freek Bischoff)

Born in the Hague in 1917, interned at Sachsenhausen since 18 February 1941. Bischoff, who had been a lieutenant of the Dutch Army, was sent to Sachsenhausen for his activities on behalf of the resistance movement. During the last phase of the camp, he was technical director of the hospital barracks and block elder (*Blockältester*) in the hospital barrack R I. In HB-7 he signs as “Freek Bischoff.”

After his return home Bischoff was advanced to the rank of captain and started a career as “Equerry to the Queen of the Netherlands.”

Bischoff ended his career in 1980 as Master of the Royal Stables with the rank of a brigadier of the cavalry. He had been responsible not only for the horses but also for the motor pool. Furthermore, he held several honorary posts, high decorations and was engaged in equestrianism. Frederik Willem Bischoff van Heemskerck died in 2007 in a Swiss hospital aged 89 years.

– Hellmut Bock

Born on 25 February 1907. His last place of residence was Berlin. From 1925 to 1933, he was a member of the *SPD* (Social Democratic Party of Germany), but in 1933 he joined the *KPD* (Communist Party of Germany). Arrested on 22 September 1934, sentenced to five years in prison, transferred to Sachsenhausen on 30 November 1939. In addition to writing the “Prisoners’ Report,” Bock belonged to the group of prisoners who evaluated the SS statistics about the inmates<sup>26</sup> and compiled name lists.



*Fig. 3: F.W. Bischoff van Heemskerck as Brigadier and Master of the Royal Stables (ca. 1970)*

*Source: Dpa Picture Alliance; published in: Reformatorisch Dagblad, [www.refdag.nl/achtergrond/koninklijk-huis](http://www.refdag.nl/achtergrond/koninklijk-huis) (30 June 2007).bs*

– Dr. med. Elemer Gyarmati

Italian citizen of Hungarian descent, born in Turin on 22 April 1906, interned at Sachsenhausen since 1 August 1944. The reasons for his arrest and incarceration are unclear. Gyarmati worked as a doctor in the camp hospital. Like the other physicians, he was left behind with the sick inmates when the camp was evacuated. His case sheds light on the origins of the Prisoners’ Report.

Allegedly, Gyarmati was re-arrested on 6 May by the Soviets, who accused him of “collaboration with the Fascists.” From August 1945 he was interned as prisoner No. 97179 in the newly established Soviet *Sonderlager* (special camp) without being formally charged with any crime. He once again worked as a doctor in the camp hospital before being released on 7 February 1950.<sup>27</sup> Having been sent to Sachsenhausen as late as August 1944 Gyarmati cannot have contributed much to the Prisoners’ Report. In all likelihood he was encouraged to sign the report because the signers needed an Italian.

– Cand. Med. Johann Hers

Johann (Hans) Hers, a medical student from Holland, arrived at Sachsenhausen Camp on 13 October 1940. He worked in the camp hospital as an orderly. The liberated Dutch prisoners who wanted to return to their country soon became the object of a tug-of-war between the Soviets and the



*Fig. 4: Zbigniew Misiewicz shows around members of the Soviet investigatory commission*

*Photo: Gerasimow, May/June 1945; published by Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen, Informationsblatt Nr. 24 "Soviet Sachsenhausen Trial 1947," Oranienburg 1999.*

Western Allies. In summer 1945, Hers twice secretly travelled to Berlin by the S-Bahn (which was still possible at that time) to ask the Western occupation authorities for help.

#### – Zbigniew Misiewicz

Born on 23 February 1925, interned at Sachsenhausen from 4 May 1940. In HB-7 Misiewicz (whose name is almost illegible) is mentioned as the third from the bottom of the foreign signers. According to the document, he was an electrician by profession. He must have learned his trade in the camp for at the moment of his arrest he was only 15 years old. Misiewicz was probably a Communist sympathizer already while still an inmate in the camp. After the war he joined the Communist Polish Workers' Party. He is named as a member of the author's team (*Autorenkollektiv*) of the Sachsenhausen standard work *Damals in Sachsenhausen*.<sup>28</sup> Being born in the border town of Brest-Litovsk, he apparently knew some Russian so the Soviet Commission used him in 1945 as a witness and helper (Fig 4).

– Hans Pointner

This textile worker from Vienna had been in the camp since 4 January 1940. Together with Bock and Feuerlein, he appears on the “list of Communists still at Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp.” He was one of the five signers of version HB-3.

#### 4. The Intervention of the Soviet investigators

In their introduction to the Prisoners’ report (HB-7, HB-8) the authors point out that “the description of the facts is solely based on our memory. [...] For the sake of objectivity, we refrain from mentioning cases based on hearsay.” This type of disingenuous assertion abounds in concentration camp literature and should always be taken with a grain of salt. At least the final version of the report (HB-7) shows numerous traces of Soviet interference.

##### a) The Choice of the Co-signers

Surprisingly there is not a single Soviet citizen among the signers, despite the fact that there were several Russians among the prisoners left behind at the camp and that there was no shortage of Soviet POWs and “*Ostarbeiter*” (foreign workers from the East) liberated by the Allies at Mecklenburg. Apparently, the investigative commission had no desire to use their compatriots as witnesses because Soviet citizens who had fallen into German captivity or been sent to Germany as *Ostarbeiter* were viewed with suspicion by the Soviet “organs” [= security services]. As the Soviet POWs had surrendered to the “German Fascist Occupiers” and thus broken their oath to fight for Stalin until their last cartridge and their last breath, they were considered traitors. While the Red Army was shedding blood in fierce winter battles, they had wintered over with the “Fascists” and even survived the war, which was highly suspicious. The same applied to the *Ostarbeiter*, Soviet civilians who had been obliged to work for the German wartime economy. For the *NKVD*, all these Soviet citizens were objects of a rigorous screening. After their liberation, tens of thousands of them were deported to the camps of the *GULAG*.

##### b) Typical Soviet Diction

Some of the catchwords and formulations found in the report were unknown in Germany until the end of the war but very typical for Soviet propaganda. The use of such words in the Prisoners’ Report strongly points to Soviet influence. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this:

After the Warsaw insurrection had been crushed, the Germans treated captured combatants of the Polish *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army) correctly in accordance with the Hague Conventions: As they wore uniforms and fought under a regular leadership, they were not partisans but qualified as regular prisoners of war. In September 1944, about 17,700 of these Polish POWs were sent to Sachsenhausen and its satellite camps. In the Prisoners' Report<sup>29</sup> they are scornfully referred to as "elements who had sought the protection of the Fascist Wehrmacht." This is typical Soviet jargon. It is well known that the Red Army, which was halted on the eastern shore of the Vistula, did not extend any effective assistance to the insurgents but idly stood by while the uprising was being crushed. The Soviets did not want the Polish nationalists to succeed because the Polish nationalists supported the London-based Polish government in exile and would have hindered the planned Sovietization of Poland.

The use of the word "*Okkupation*" for the German campaign against the Soviet Union is typical Soviet language as well.<sup>30</sup>

### c) Vituperative Propaganda

It goes without saying that the prisoners had no reason to love the SS. All the same no invective is used in the oldest version of the report, HB-2. On the other hand, the massive use of invective in the later versions clearly recalls the hateful Soviet propaganda during the war, as documented by Joachim Hoffmann.<sup>31</sup> The SS men are labeled as "*Banditen*" (bandits, 9x), "*Strolche*" (thugs, 3x), "*Bestien*" (beasts, 2x) "*Verbrecher*" (criminals, 2x), "*Raubritter*" (highwaymen, twice) and "*Schinder*" (torturers), while female SS guards are called "*Furien*" (furies). The SS is described as a gang of sadists to whom order, laws and military discipline were unknown and who indulged in all kinds of mind-boggling atrocities according to their desire and mood without ever being rebuked by their superiors.

## 5. Comparison between the Different Texts

The following comparison between different versions of the report, which is limited to certain important aspects and concentrates on HB-2, HB-7c and HB-8, shows substantial differences, HB-2 being the shortest version. We will now examine some examples (the subtitles are taken directly from HB-7 and HB-2, respectively).



### General Remarks (*Allgemeines*)

One of the topics dealt with in this paragraph is the reception of the new arrivals at Sachsenhausen whom the *SS-Lagerführer* always greeted with a speech.<sup>32</sup> HB-2 contains two sentences referring to the Russians who had succumbed to typhus. We quote from Bischoff's English translation:<sup>33</sup>

*"By the end of '41 such an oration [by the Lagerführer] used to be followed immediately by a kind of exhibition of a heap of nude and emaciated corpses of Russian prisoners starved to death. To clear [? – illegible] away what had remained of these unhappy fellows was the first task of the newcomers."*

To what extent this description corresponds to the facts is open to discussion. In the later versions this passage disappeared.

### The Situation of the Foreign Prisoners (Omitted in HB-7)

HB-2 contains a few sentences which are obviously taken from a passage about the situation of the foreign prisoners. It is not clear if this text was collectively authored by the non-German signers or if only a few of them volunteered to contribute. One passage deals with the relationship between foreign and German inmates.<sup>34</sup> The English text runs as follows:

*"To the terror exerted by the SS was added the terror organised by the german [sic] prisoners. It was a masterly stroke of the SS to maintain the tensions in the camp by these alternative regimes of german [sic] ruffians and political prisoners, who towards the foreign prisoners fancied themselves 'Die Herren der Welt' (The World's Rulers), and as a sequel of this policy a united front of the prisoners between them and the camp leaders was practically out of the question."*

The authors here allude to the fact that the camp and block elders were alternately recruited among the criminal and the political prisoners (the former wore a green, the latter a red triangle). These frequent changes greatly influenced the mood prevailing in the camp. The foreign prisoners stated:<sup>35</sup>

*"Alas there were a good deal more bad 'Blockältesten' than good ones, which gave us foreigners a true picture of the average German's mentality."*

In HB-7c and HB-8 these passages are missing. HB-7 has a one-page appendix entitled "*Die Lage der ausländischen Häftlinge*" ("The Situation of the Foreign Prisoners," pp. 31-32). Had the foreign inmates, among them several medical doctors, not been able to write more than one single page? Hardly, but their text was apparently slashed by the Soviet investigators.

## The Work of the Prisoners (Arbeitseinsatz der Häftlinge)

This chapter contains a list of the construction works performed from 1936-1944. The text and the list are virtually identical in HB-2, HB-7c and HB-8. The third-from-the-last object mentioned on the list (“Construction work in 1944”) is of particular interest because both German versions refer to a “special camp for imprisoned officers of the Allied powers.”<sup>36</sup> In the English version HB-2 this sector is simply called “Shelters for special units.”<sup>37</sup> What were these “special units”? Did Bock as the author of the Prisoners’ Report perhaps allude to the fact that Allied officers were interned in this “special camp”? The inmates could hardly be expected to know any details, for Zone II was strictly separated from the Camp triangle (also called the Great Camp or Zone I). As a matter of fact, most inmates of the “special camp” apparently belonged to two groups: Prominent Allied POWs and notorious escapees. This was also the place where Stalin’s son Jacob Dzhughashvili lived before committing suicide on 14 April 1943.

## The Hospital (Krankenbau)

In mid-November 1941 a heavy epidemic of typhus broke out in the camp. HB-2 contents itself with one laconic sentence:<sup>38</sup> “In 1941 a typhoid epidemic broke out putting the camp in quarantine for some months.” HB-7 and HB-8 provide us with more detailed information:<sup>39</sup>

*“Immediately after the murder of the Red Army soldiers in November 1941 typhus transmitted by lice broke out in the camp. Only thanks to the energetic intervention of the prisoners, especially the then camp elder Harry Naujocks [should be Naujoks] and Werner Staacke, could catastrophic consequences be averted.”*

With regard to this epidemic a short explanation seems appropriate. Spotted fever (typhus exanthemicus), alternatively called “spotted typhus” or simply “typhus,” is caused by the virus *Rickettsia prowaseki* and transmitted by lice. If no medical treatment is administered, more than 50% of the sufferers die.<sup>40</sup> In order to forestall outbreaks of this dangerous epidemic, it was a general measure taken in all camps, that all newly arrived prisoners had to be deloused with Cuprex, while their clothes were disinfected with Zyklon-B, and to undergo a quarantine of two weeks.

This disease is often confused with typhoid fever which is caused by the bacillus *Salmonella typhi*, an epidemic not transmitted by lice but by feces-polluted water and food.

Although in HB-2 the German word “Typhus” was correctly translated as “typhoid epidemic” (typhoid fever), the reference to “lice” clearly shows

that the epidemic which had broken out in November 1941 was typhus (German “*Fleckfieber*” or “*Flecktyphus*”).

### Masses pour into the Camp (Masseneinweisungen)

The English language version HB-2 states:<sup>41</sup>

*“In 1944 the total strength with the outdoor camps and building units amounted to more than 75,000 prisoners. In this figure the chief groups shared as follows: 9,000 Russians, 5,000 Poles, 3,000 Frenchmen [...].”*

The figure of 75,000 is an obvious transcription error. The real figure was 25,000, for in HB-7c we read:<sup>42</sup>

*“Only after the outbreak of the war were so many foreigners sent to the camp that the Germans constituted a minority. At a time when the total number of inmates amounted to 25,000, there were about 9,000 Russians, 5,000 Poles and 3,000 Frenchmen in the camp.”*

The figure of 25,000 corresponds approximately to the situation in 1943. HB-8 again contains two mistakes:<sup>43</sup>

*“Only after the outbreak of the war were so many foreigners sent to the camp that the Germans constituted a unity [“Einheit,” should be: “Minderheit” (minority)]. At a time when the total number of inmates amounted to 25,000, there were about 9,000 Frenchmen [should be: “Russians”], 5,000 Poles, 3,000 Frenchmen in the camp.”*

### Public Executions

#### (*Öffentliche Hinrichtungen*)

HB-2 laconically states:<sup>44</sup> “In 1942 the first prisoner was hanged by *Lagerführer* Suhren [...].” In this context the crematorium worker Paul Sakowski, who together with some of his colleagues had to carry out executions by hanging, is mentioned for the first time: “The political prisoner Sakowski officiated as hangman.”<sup>45</sup> HB-7c provides some additional information: “The first person hanged by order of *Lagerführer*



*Fig. 5: Paul Sakowski as defendant in the Sachsenhausen trial (Berlin-Pankow, Oct. 1947)*  
Source: Soviet press releases, 1947 (open source)



*Fig. 6 and 7: Paul Sakowski as long-term prisoner in the GDR, left in 1955 (35 years old) and right ca. 1970 (50 years old)*

*Source: Records Department of former GDR penal system; published in BILD Zeitung (Berlin) of 4 March 2002, p. 10.*

Suhren was a BV<sup>46</sup> who had attempted to escape on the first day of Whitesuntide. The political prisoner SAKOWSKI officiated as hangman.<sup>47</sup>

Paul Sakowski, born in 1920, was the son of a Communist functionary from Breslau. When he was deported to Sachsenhausen, he was just 18 years old, which made him the youngest political prisoner. His older Communist fellow-inmates, who had known his father, took Paul under their wing. After a brawl he was first locked up in the camp prison and then employed as a worker in the crematorium. Although he had not volunteered for the job of a hangman, the other prisoners, especially the Communists, resented him for his “collaboration with the Fascists” (“Other young prisoners would rather have hanged themselves!”). After the war, the Soviets branded him as the “hangman of Sachsenhausen,” and at the Sachsenhausen Trial in Berlin, he – the petty crematorium worker – was put in the dock together with the former SS leaders – a truly grotesque situation!

In October 1947, Sakowski, like most of the other defendants, was sen-

tenced to 25 years and sent to Workuta in Northern Russia where the former camp commandant Anton Kaindl and some other former members of his staff died within months. The sixty-year-old Karl Zander, Sakowsky's colleague from the crematory, died within some weeks. In late 1955 or early 1956, Sakowski was handed over to the authorities of the GDR and served his 25 years to the very last day. Although made under duress, his statements during his interrogations by the NKVD and later the East German Ministry for State Security are important historical sources.

### Liquidations (*Liquidierungsaktionen*)

This section addresses various crimes ascribed to the SS. We content ourselves with three examples.

#### a) The “*Russenaktion*” (Autumn 1941)

It is an established historical fact that in autumn 1941 a number of Soviet prisoners of war were shot at Sachsenhausen and in some other camps (“*Russenaktion*”). In all likelihood the victims were political commissars (*politicheskie rukovoditeli, politruks*) who were usually called “*Kommissare*” by the Germans. Each unit of the Red Army had its *politruk* who acted as a watchdog for the commanding military officer. The National-Socialist leadership (Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich) regarded these men as the driving force behind the fanatical Bolshevik resistance and denied them the status of combatants. This gave rise to the highly controversial “*Kommissarbefehl*” according to which all captured commissars were to be shot on the spot. But the commissars could not easily be identified, their only distinguishing mark being a red star on their sleeve which could easily be removed. This allowed many captured commissars to hide among the masses of Soviet POWs. Following an order by Heydrich, the Soviet prisoners of war in the camps were screened; those who turned out to be commissars were to be “sorted out” whereupon they were transferred to the nearest concentration camp and shot there.

Another aspect of the question of Soviet POWs was that they did not benefit from the protection of the 1907 Hague Convention and the 1929 Geneva Convention because the Soviet Union had denounced the Hague Convention in 1919 and never signed the Geneva Convention. Owing to this fact the Soviet prisoners of war were disadvantaged compared to POWs from the other allied nations in many respects (lodging, food rations, the right to receive parcels, to write letters etc.). All the same they too were entitled to humane treatment, and the Wehrmacht never carried out any mass killings of Soviet POWs.

Soviet postwar propaganda ably conflated the fact that the Russian prisoners were treated worse than POWs from other countries with the legally questionable shootings of commissars. This gave birth to all kinds of horror stories about the gruesome fate of the Soviet prisoners of war. In the earliest version of the Prisoners' Report (HB-2, Bischoff's English translation of the first draft), the alleged mass murder of the Russian prisoners is described as follows:<sup>48</sup>

*“September – December 1941. 16,000 Russian prisoners, driven together like cattle, were slaughtered. On the grounds of the industry-department [a better translation of the German word “Industriehof” would have been “industrial yard”] four riding furnaces were standing so that the corpses could be cleared away uninterruptedly. Their ashes became the site for the new crematory. Before these people were murdered they were beastly ill-treated. Music out of big loudspeakers deafened the shrieking of the victims. The Russian prisoners brought into the concentration camp were outlawed. One Sunday afternoon three Russian soldiers were standing near the gate of the camp. A Blockführer suddenly hit upon the idea of opening a window and using them for target practice.*

*End December [1941]. 2,500 war prisoners remained. According to official information they would not be finished. Six barracks were specially closed and a board bearing the words ‘War prisoners labour camp’ [Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitslager] was attached. The commandant Loritz made the Blockführers on duty (Bugdalla, Knittler and Fickert) responsible for not one single prisoner leaving this camp alive. Their supply was half a ration of a normal prisoner.”*

In this context it should be mentioned that the shootings with small-caliber pistols were carried out in a big wooden storage shed in the northern sector of the Industrial Yard which was screened by walls and buildings. Except for the approximately eight crematorium workers, few other prisoners were employed there. The bulk of the inmates had no access to this sector and could therefore neither see nor hear what was transpiring there – a situation which favored the development of wild rumors. Several crucial aspects of the *Russenaktion*, such as the date when the killings began and the number of victims, still remain obscure.

In the easily readable copy HB-7a of Dr. Rudolf Pechel, page 30, where the chapter “*Liquidierungsaktionen*” begins, is unfortunately lacking. The next version, HB-7c, is the most garbled of all and contains the highest number of illegible passages. However, the garbled and unreadable passag-

es of HB-7c are corrected in Feuerlein's version HB-8. The description of the *Russenaktion* in the later versions is based on HB-2 but enhanced by further horror stories, and the diction of the text shows beyond doubt that the Soviet commission had "improved" the text.<sup>49</sup>

*"September – October 1941. After the initial successes of the invasion of the Soviet Union the Fascist criminals abandoned all pretense to humanity. They were overcome with murderous frenzy and gave free rein to their bloodlust. In Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen 16,000 Russian prisoners of war, soldiers of the Red Army, were driven together like cattle and slaughtered in the most horrendous way. On the grounds of the so-called industrial yard there were four mobile crematorium ovens by means of which the bodies were uninterruptedly disposed of. Their ashes were the ground on which the new crematorium was built. Before the people were slain, strangled, kicked to death or killed in other fanciful ways by the beasts, they were fiendishly tormented. The SS transformed these orgies of murder into real celebrations. Brandy flowed like water, and the loudspeakers drowned out the cries of the victims. The killers did not care to make sure that the victims were dead before being cremated; many of them were still alive when they were shoved into the ovens.*

*The Russian prisoners of war deported to Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen were free game; any SS thug could kill them according to his desire and mood. One Sunday afternoon three Russian soldiers were standing at the camp gate. On the spur of the moment the Blockführers decided to use them for target practice.*

*At the end of October 2,500 prisoners of war officially not destined for liquidation were still in the camp. Six barracks were ring-fenced and designated as 'Kriegsgefangenen-Arbeitslager' (POW working camp). The commandant Loritz ordered the serving Blockführers Budgalle, Knittler and Fickert to ensure that no prisoner left this camp alive. It is hardly necessary to point out that they fulfilled this task to his complete satisfaction.*

*After the long marches they had been forced to perform, the prisoners of war arrived in a state of total exhaustion. Their clothes were little more than rags. Upon their arrival they had to stand in the open air the whole day without coats and headgear. They only received half of the rations allotted to other prisoners. At night they slept in completely empty rooms without straw and blankets. Of course these rooms were not heated. It goes without saying that the SS bandits would not leave the prisoners of war alone at night. Their diseased imagination knew no*

*limits. Knittler chose a row of sleeping prisoners whose heads formed a straight line, shot them with his pistol and then counted the heads pierced by the bullet. SS-Scharführer Maierhöfer had cages with rats attached to the naked bodies of captured Russian soldiers so that they were chewed alive.*

*The prisoners who served as Blockführers at the POW camp were recruited from the worst elements. They contributed to the extermination of the prisoners of war by stealing their rations and passing on to the SS what they did not consume themselves.*

*By mid-February 1945 hardly 700 of these 2,500 captured soldiers of the Red Army were still alive. As a reward for their 'efforts' during these massacres, all SS men who had taken part in them were allowed to take a trip to Italy and were awarded the war merit cross."*

Where on earth had Bock and his comrades gotten all this information? The prisoners had no access to the northern industrial court. The handful of crematorium workers who had to dispose of the dead bodies were bound to strict secrecy and lodged apart from the other inmates. Accordingly, not a single witness is mentioned in the reports of the "*Russenaktion*." Nor do we learn when the first Soviet POWs arrived at Sachsenhausen or when their "slaughter" began. As to the killing method, the authors of the report remain rather vague. Apparently, they did not know anything about prisoners being shot in the back of the neck through an opening in the wall (a method described in detail by subsequent inmate-authors) until their memory was duly refreshed (see following paragraph).

As to the number of the murdered Soviet prisoners, the various versions of the report concordantly mention a figure of 16,000 victims. However, the head of the Soviet commission, Lt. Colonel Sharitch, did not repeat this figure. In his final report, he summarized the "*Russenaktion*" rather laconically:<sup>50</sup>

*"At the camp there were also Soviet prisoners of war. They arrived in large groups at the Sachsenhausen camp for a special purpose – liquidation. No statistics were kept about this category of prisoners. The Russian prisoners of war were kept behind barbed wire in special barracks and isolated from the other inmates. They did not even get the scanty rations allotted to the other prisoners."*

The first Soviet drafts of a report about Sachsenhausen<sup>51</sup> which were produced between May and September 1945 speak of 14,000 shot Soviet POWs while the figure given in later drafts is 13,000 to 14,000. In the GDR it was claimed that 18,000 Russian soldiers had been shot. These



contradictory numbers prove that none of the authors possessed any tangible information. All figures given are mere guesswork based on atrocity propaganda. On the other hand, it is a proven fact that SS officers who had received the war merit cross at around that time were rewarded with a vacation in Italy. (Fig. 8).

A German magazine reported this fact, and its cover showed the honorees in uniform attending a folklore show on the island of Capri. Since the German press were available in the camp library, those compiling the *Häftlingsbericht* had the notion supplied to them quite graphically.

b) The Gas Chamber and the Neck-Shot Facility

Both the gas chamber and the neck-shooting facility

play a considerable role in the Soviet propaganda about Sachsenhausen. Significantly neither the former nor the latter is even mentioned in the oldest known version of the Prisoners' Report (HB-2). The undated version HB-5 (32 pages) does not contain any reference to these killing facilities either. The last chapter ("*Liquidierungsaktionen*") ends with the evacuation of the camp and the sentence: "*About 400 healthy inmates, among them 200 women and 40 German political prisoners, stayed behind voluntarily, defying the order of the SS.*" However, this last sentence is followed by yet another sentence which is neatly stuck on a piece of the same ocher onion-skin somewhat lower than the rest of the lines (unfortunately the archives rules did not allow the author to copy this page). This sentence runs as follows:



Fig. 8: "Tarantella for German soldiers" – SS officers attending a folkloric festival on Capri, alleged to be the Blockführers of Sachsenhausen who had been shooters in the Russenaktion. Source: Hamburger Illustrierte, (Spring?) 1942

*“The mass murders in the crematorium were carried out either by shooting in the neck or in the gas chamber.”*

Although the authors had been working on their report for five weeks (April/May 1945) the expressions “shooting in the neck” and “gas chamber” appear for the first time in HB-5. Had Hellmut Bock, under whose supervision the document was being drafted, and his comrades really forgotten about these murder facilities? Or were they simply ignorant of their existence? There is every reason to believe that this last sentence was added at the behest of the Soviet investigators. The likewise undated version HB-6 has an appendix, correctly designated as such, which this time is not stuck on the page with glue but typewritten:

*“Appendix*

*During the action against political prisoners in 1944 the main accomplices of the special commission were the following prisoners: The camp elder Samuel Kühnke, the camp elder Kuert Beier, the foreman Kokoschinsky. The mass murders in the crematorium were carried out either by shooting in the neck or in the gas chamber.”*

In Version HB-7, which dates from 12 June 1945, the last chapter “*Liquidierungsaktionen*” ends on page 31. On first inspection, the “very last sentence” about the shots in the neck and the gas chamber seems to be lacking. But in fact, it is still there but in a slightly different place, in the middle of page 31. It is logically unconnected to both the preceding and the following sentences. Finally, in Feuerlein’s version (HB-8) the ominous sentence is in the same place as in HB-7, but it now forms its own paragraph.

Let us recall that while the report was being drafted, the Soviet commission was carrying out its investigations in the camp. One of its sections was a technical group consisting of three officers with engineering degrees. The Soviet technicians carefully studied the abandoned but intact crematorium where a small room of 2.9 × 3.9 m was “identified” as a former gas chamber.<sup>52</sup> Even today visitors to Sachsenhausen are told that this room formerly served as a “gas chamber.” It would have been greatly embarrassing if the former inmates of Sachsenhausen had known nothing of a “gas chamber” in May and June 1945!

### c) The Rat Torture

Let us return to version HB-7c. In the chapter “*Liquidierungsaktionen*” (bottom of page 29, almost illegible) we find the following sentence:

*“SS-Scharführer Maierhöfer had cages with rats attached to the naked bodies of captured Russian soldiers so that they were devoured alive.”*

This gruesome but hardly credible story is the result of a simple copying mistake. Feuerlein's version (top of page 20) is slightly less horrible and less incredible: The prisoners were not "devoured" (*aufgefressen*) but only "chewed on" (*angefressen*) by the hungry rodents.

Here it is – the rat torture! In the 1920s German and other Western newspapers reported that this method was practiced by the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War. Probably Hitler had read these reports, too, for after Stalingrad he voiced his fear that captured German officers might be forced "with the rat" to make any statements desired by their jailers. A description of the rat torture is also found in George Orwell's post-war masterpiece *1984*. The protagonist of the novel, Winston Smith, is so utterly terrorized by the sight of a caged, stinking, hungry rat directly in front of his face that he betrays his lover and becomes a faithful follower of Big Brother.

Whether this atrocious torture was really practiced in any country and by any regime is open to discussion, but it was certainly not practiced at Sachsenhausen. Whoever makes such wild claims is under the obligation to produce hard evidence. No former inmate and no SS man ever claimed to have witnessed such a scene. Only the professional criminal Erwin Rathmann, a man blessed with a particularly fevered imagination, mentions the rat torture although he does not claim to have seen it himself. We quote his statement without any modifications as translated into English. It contains several illegible words:<sup>53</sup>

*"All those murders were horribly carried out:*

- the victims [lost] their eyes from a strong jet of water played on the eyes by a [ho]se;*
- starved rats were placed in glass containers and hung [at?] the body of the victim so that he was eaten alive;*
- or hand grenades were hung around the body of the victim with strings attached to them which when pulled exploded."*

Heinrich Lienau, an old Social Democrat whom clear-sighted fellow inmates aptly called a "rumor-monger" and a "teller of fairy tales," mentions the rat torture in his book,<sup>54</sup> his informant being – Erwin Rathmann. Not content with the rat horror, Lienau serves his readers another mind-boggling atrocity story, a prisoner being quartered alive! To cut a long story short, the rat torture at Sachsenhausen is nothing but malign slander, however it perfectly reflected the spirit of those days. That the Soviet propagandists regularly used prisoners of the Germans to spread their atrocity tales fits the picture.

The example of the rat torture illustrates the hollowness of the claim that the authors of the Prisoners' Report had only mentioned facts they had personally witnessed. As a matter of fact, we cannot even be sure that the lurid rat story had been invented by the former prisoners; it may very well have been the brainchild of the Soviet commission.

## 6. Summary

A comparison between the different versions of the Prisoners' Report shows that the relatively sober, if biased report of the Communist inmate Hellmut Bock and his comrades was enhanced by an array of new horror stories. Without the slightest doubt this was done at the behest of the Soviet commission which was carrying out "investigations" in the camp. At least partially, the Prisoners' Report, one of the earliest documents about the situation prevailing at Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp, may be a useful historical source, but owing to the interference of the Soviet authorities, quite obviously became a piece of atrocity propaganda.

On 2 November 1945, shortly after the Berlin show trial against the SS command staff of Sachsenhausen, Hellmut Bock led a meeting of the "Victims of Fascism" (*OdF*) which took place at a movie theater in Berlin-Friedrichshain. Bock thanked the Soviet people for the trial and rejected critical comments about the way it had been conducted. On the other hand, some of the "discoveries" made by the Soviet military tribunal seem to have dumbfounded him, for he stated that the Soviet authorities had "exposed crimes we did not know anything about"<sup>55</sup> According to a former fellow inmate<sup>56</sup> Hellmut Bock was "sent packing" in 1949 or 1950. He died in 1990.

### Abbreviations

<i>AS</i>	<i>Archiv Sachsenhausen</i>
<i>ESC</i>	Extraordinary State Commission
<i>FSB</i>	<i>Federalnaja Sluzhba Besopasnosti</i>
<i>GARF</i>	State Archives of the Russian Federation
<i>GDR</i>	German Democratic Republic
<i>HB</i>	<i>Häftlingsbericht</i> (Prisoners' Report)
<i>KGB</i>	Soviet Secret Service ( <i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoj Besopasnosti</i> ), 1954-1991
<i>NKVD</i>	<i>Narodni Kommisariat Vnutrenikh Djel</i> (Soviet Security Service of the Ministry of Interior)
<i>OdF</i>	Victims of Fascism ( <i>Opfer des Faschismus</i> )

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Alfred Reckendrees, “Das Leben im befreiten Lager” [Life in the Liberated Camp], in: Günter Morsch and Alfred Reckendrees (ed.), *Befreiung Sachsenhausens 1945* [The Liberation of Sachsenhausen in 1945], *Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten*, Volume 7, Edition Hentrich, Berlin 1996.
- <sup>2</sup> Peter Jahn, “Die Befreiung des Konzentrationslagers Sachsenhausen im Verlauf der Kampfhandlungen zur Eroberung Berlins” (The Liberation of Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen during the Combat Operations for the Conquest of Berlin), in: Morsch and Reckendrees, *Befreiung Sachsenhausens*, *op. cit.*, p. 82-89, Footnote 24.
- <sup>3</sup> *Bericht der polnischen Militär-Kommission im KL Sachsenhausen vom 23. April 1945* [Report of the Polish Military Commission in Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen, 23 April 1945], Central Military Archive in Warsaw, Organization and Combat Operations of the Polish People’s Army in 1943-45. Document Selection, IV, Warsaw 1963, p. 831-833.
- <sup>4</sup> Jozef Margules, *Piechurzy Kolobrzeskich Piatki*, Warsaw 1967. A partial German translation can be found in *Sachsenhausen*; in *AS*, Sign. 27/37, p. 279-302.
- <sup>5</sup> In August 1945 the camp was handed over to the NKVD and became part of the Gulag as “Spezlag No. 1.”
- <sup>6</sup> Hellmut Bock, “Begleitschreiben zum Häftlingsbericht vom 12. Juni 1945 [Cover letter to the Prisoners’ Report of 12 June, 1945]; *GARF* 1525-1-340 T3 – 305; *AS* 235 M 173 Vol. 3 p. 148.
- <sup>7</sup> Reckendrees, *op. cit.*, p. 104, p. 109 (endnotes 15 and 16).
- <sup>8</sup> Reckendrees, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- <sup>9</sup> Dr. Emile Coudert, “*Stellungnahme*” (Comment). 7 May 1945, in: *AS* LAG I/7.
- <sup>10</sup> Comment of the doctors, typewritten transcript or carbon copy, in: *AS*, without signature.
- <sup>11</sup> [Hellmut Bock], Response to the comments of the foreign doctors, copy, Oranienburg, undated (about 10 May), in: *AS* LAG I/7/1.
- <sup>12</sup> F.W.K. Bischoff van Heemskerck and J.F.Ph. Hers, *Rapport over het Concentratiekamp Sachsenhausen* [Report on the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp], unpublished, The Hague, September 1945. RIOD, 250k, 27 Sachsenhausen No. 59, File 327; Copy in *AS* No. 59, File 3.
- <sup>13</sup> N.N., “Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen at Oranienburg,” translated into English and signed by Bischoff. The report corresponds to “Part I” of the report made by Bischoff and Hers.
- <sup>14</sup> F.W. Bischoff van Heemskerck, statement made during a telephone conversation with the author (15 December 2004). Mr. Bischoff, who was born in 1917, was 87 years old at the time of this conversation.
- <sup>15</sup> Reckendrees, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- <sup>16</sup> War Crimes Investigation Unit BAOR (British Army of the Rhine), “Report on Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp,” 19 March 1946. SA Moscow, 1525-1-340, T. 3, Bl. 453 – 475; Copy in *AS* 235 M 173, Volume. 3, Bl. 219 – 239.
- <sup>17</sup> “Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen” (Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen), dated 31 May 1945, signed by Hans Pointner, Fritz Winzer, Walter Engemann, Hans Behr and Hellmut Bock. *AS* LAG II/2.

- <sup>18</sup> Reckendrees, p. 104 and p. 109, endnote 15.
- <sup>19</sup> “Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen” (Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen), undated. Copy in RIOD 250k, 27 Sachsenhausen no. 59, File 2; Copy (with different pagination) in AS LAG I/6. Quoted according to Reckendrees, p. 109 (endnote 17).
- <sup>20</sup> Christl Wickert, “Die Aufdeckung der Verbrechen durch die sowjetische Regierungskommission im Sommer 1945 und ihre Folgen” [The Exposure of Crimes by the Soviet Governmental Commission in Summer 1945 and Its Consequences], in: Morsch/Reckendrees, p. 125 (endnote 2).
- <sup>21</sup> AS 6/31 (formerly I/6 – “Nachlaß von Harry Naujoks” [Harry Naujoks’ estate]), Copy on ocher onionskin, undated, handwritten note “via Willi Müller, Bremen.”
- <sup>22</sup> AS 6/31 (formerly I/6 – Harry Naujoks’ inheritance), archives’ pagination 40-59 (original pagination 1-12, rest without pagination).
- <sup>23</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7a, carbon copy from the documents of Dr. Rudolf Pechel, first kept at the archives of Walter Hammer, nowadays at the IfZ Archives, ED 106, Volume 74.
- <sup>24</sup> [Hellmut Bock and others], “Bericht Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen” (Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen), vorgelegt der Untersuchungskommission der UdSSR zur Untersuchung von Verbrechen der deutschen Faschisten im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen, Oranienburg, den 12. Juni 1945 (Presented to the Investigative Commission of the USSR for the Investigation of the Crimes of the German Fascists at Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen, Oranienburg, 12 June 1945). *GARF*, 1525-1-340, T. 3, p. 31350 – 31382 (or sheets 351-383); Copy in AS 235 M. 173 Vol. 3, sheets. 148 -181.
- <sup>25</sup> Feuerlein, Theodor, *Bericht über das Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen* (Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen), Landesdruckerei Sachsen, Dresden [1947].
- <sup>26</sup> Klaus Schwensen, “The Number of Victims of Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp 1936-1945,” *Inconvenient History*, Vol. 4, Fall 2012. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-number-of-victims-of-sachsenhausen/>
- <sup>27</sup> The date and the reason of Gyarmati’s re-arrest are mentioned in the camp diary of the *Spezlag* (Special Camp) Sachsenhausen which is now at *GARF*. The diary is also preserved with the Tracing Service (*Suchdienst*) of the German Red Cross. We owe this information to Mrs. Gisela Gneist † (Hamburg), leader of the “Consortium Sachsenhausen 1945-1950.” Gneist had been arrested by the *NKVD* – as a 15-year-old schoolgirl – in autumn 1945 due to “anti-Soviet activities.” She had been interned in Sachsenhausen from 1945-50, together with all her class comrades. Most of the boys died of starvation. She remembered Dr. Gyarmati very well, since he was the doctor who was responsible for the women in the Soviet *SpezLag*.
- <sup>28</sup> Autorenkollektiv (edited by the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters in the German Democratic Republic), *Damals in Sachsenhausen*, Kongress Verlag, Berlin, undated (1961).
- <sup>29</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7, p. 20 and HB-8, p. 13 respectively.
- <sup>30</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7, S. 28.

- <sup>31</sup> Hoffmann, Joachim, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941 – 1945*, Verlag für Wehrwissenschaften, Munich 1995.
- <sup>32</sup> After the commandant, the *Lagerführer* was the second man in the camp. He was responsible for the organization and the daily routine. The *Lagerführer* frequently changed; their respective names are registered in HB-2. Appendix, List Ia.
- <sup>33</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p.1.
- <sup>34</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p.1-2 (English translation by Bischoff).
- <sup>35</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 3.
- <sup>36</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7, p. 14 snf. HB-8, p. 9 respectively.
- <sup>37</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 8.
- <sup>38</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 10.
- <sup>39</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7, p. 18 and HB-8 p. 12.
- <sup>40</sup> *Meyers Großes Universal Lexikon*, Vol. 5, Bibliographical Institute Mannheim/Vienna/Zurich, 1982.
- <sup>41</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 11.
- <sup>42</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7, p. 21.
- <sup>43</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-8, p. 14.
- <sup>44</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 13.
- <sup>45</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-3, p. 25.
- <sup>46</sup> BV = “Befristete Vorbeugungshaft” (terminable prevention custody), characterized by a green triangle. This category of prisoners consisted of criminal repeat offenders, in the jargon of the other inmates called “Berufsverbrecher” (“professional criminals”).
- <sup>47</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7c, p. 25.
- <sup>48</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-2, p. 13.
- <sup>49</sup> Häftlingsbericht HB-7c, S. 28-30 (faulty); better: HB-8, p. 19-20.
- <sup>50</sup> A. Sharitsch, Final Report of 29.6.1945, GARF 7021-104-2, Bl. 14-41; Copy in AS, 232, M. 159, Bl. 1-43; German translation in StAnw Köln, 24 Ks 2/68 (Z), Sonderakten, Vol. 13, Bl. 57-105. As for the “*Russenaktion*” see. the Russian original p. 5/18; German translation by Arloser, S. 8/64.
- <sup>51</sup> Klaus Schwensen, “The Report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission on Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp,” *Inconvenient History* Vol. 3 No. 4 (Winter 2011), or: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-report-of-the-soviet-extraordinary-state/>
- <sup>52</sup> Wlochlin, Teljaner and Grigorjew, *Akt* (Technical Report), GARF 7021-104-3, p. 1-20.
- <sup>53</sup> Erwin Rathmann, Accompanying letter to a horror report about Sachsenhausen, dated “Brunswick [...] July 25, 1945.” The report and the letter were addressed to the organization OdF (*Opfer des Faschismus* (Victims of Fascism)). This organization forwarded both documents to the Soviet military government in Berlin which for its part handed it over to the British military government. Copy in AS 235 M 173 Vol. 3, p. 96-102.
- <sup>54</sup> Heinrich Lienau, *Zwölf Jahre Nacht*, Verlag Nielsen, Flensburg 1949
- <sup>55</sup> Agde, Günter (ed.), *Sachsenhausen bei Berlin – Speziallager Nr. 7 1945 – 1950*, Aufbau Taschenbuchverlag (ATV), Berlin 1994.

- <sup>56</sup> Archiv Walter Hammer, IfZ Archiv, Munich, Sign. ED 106, Volume 77, S. 76. Hammer, an independent spirit, fled from the GDR in 1950 and settled in West Germany. He made his living in Hamburg where he corresponded with numerous former fellow inmates. Without any support from the state, he endeavored to contribute to an objective history of Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp.



---

## REVIEWS

---

### The Sleepwalkers How Europe Went to War in 1914

*Ralph Raico*

*The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, by Christopher Clark, HarperCollins, New York 2013, 697pp.

---

**T**he question of the causes of the outbreak of the First World War – known for many years during and afterwards as the Great War – is probably the most hotly contested in the whole history of historical writing.

At the Paris Peace Conference, the victors compelled the vanquished to accede to the Versailles Treaty. Article 231 of that treaty laid sole responsibility for the war's outbreak on Germany and its allies, thus supposedly settling the issue once and for all.

The happy Entente fantasy was brutally challenged when the triumphant Bolsheviks, with evident *Schadenfreude*, began publishing the Tsarist archives revealing the secret machinations of the imperialist “capitalist” powers leading to 1914. This action led the other major nations to publish selective parts of their own archives in self-defense, and the game was afoot.

Though there were holdouts, after a few years a general consensus emerged that all of the powers shared responsibility, in varying proportions according to the various historians.

In the 1960s, this consensus was temporarily broken by Fritz Fischer and his school, who reaffirmed the Versailles judgment. But that attempt collapsed when critics pointed out that Fischer and his fellow Germans focused only on German and Austrian policies, largely omitting parallel policies among the Entente powers.

And so the debate continues to this day. A meritorious and most welcome addition is *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*, by the Cambridge University historian Christopher Clark.

Clark explains his title: the men who brought Europe to war were “haunted by dreams, yet blind to the reality of the horror they were about to bring into the world.” The origins of the Great War is, as he states, “the



*Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie leave the Sarajevo Guildhall after reading a speech on 28 June 1914. They were assassinated five minutes later.*

*By Karl Tröstl? (Europeana 1914-1918) [CC-BY-SA-3.0  
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

most complex event of modern history,” and his book is an appropriately long one, 697 pages, with notes and index.

The crisis began on June 28, 1914 with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austrian-annexed province of Bosnia. It had its roots, however, in the small neighboring kingdom of Serbia and its strange history. As Serbia gradually won its independence from the Ottoman Turks, two competing “dynasties” – in reality, gangs of murdering thugs – came to power, first the Obrenovic then the Karadjordjevic clan (diacritical marks are omitted throughout). A peculiar mid-nineteenth-century document, drawn up and published by one Iliya Garasanin, preached the eternal martyrdom of the Serbian people at the hands of outsiders as well as the burning need to restore a mythical Serbian empire at the expense both of the Ottomans and of Austria. According to Clark, “until 1918 Garasanin’s memorandum remained the key policy blueprint for Serbia’s rulers,” and an inspiration to the whole nation. “Assassination, martyrdom, victimhood, the thirst for revenge were central themes.”

When Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 after an occu-

pation of forty years, all of Serbia was outraged. The prime minister, Nicola Pasic, and other leaders spoke of the “inevitable” life-and-death struggle against Austria in the sacred cause of “Serbdom.” Yet the country was economically backwards, the population largely illiterate. What was required was a great-power sponsor. This they found in Russia.

The new Russian ambassador to Belgrade was Nikolai Hartwig, a fanatical pan-Slavist. A huge loan from France (for decades Russia’s close ally) was arranged, to improve and modernize the Serbian army.

Hartwig came in contact with a co-conspirator, Dragutin Dimitrijevic, known as Apis, who was chief of Serbian Military Intelligence. At the same time he headed a secret society, “Union or Death,” or the Black Hand. It infiltrated the army, the border guard, and other groups of officials. The Black Hand’s *modus operandi* was “systematic terrorism against the political elite of the Habsburg Empire.” Apis was the architect of the July plot. He recruited a group of Bosnian Serb teenagers steeped in the mythology of eternal Serbian martyrdom.

The Archduke was not targeted because he was an enemy of the Serbs. Quite the contrary. As Gavrilo Princip, the actual assassin, testified when the Austrians put him on trial, the reason was that Franz Ferdinand “would have prevented our union by carrying out certain reforms.” These included possibly raising the Slavs of the empire to the third ethnic component, along with the Germans and Magyars or at least ameliorating their political and social position.

The young assassins were outfitted with guns and bombs from the Serbian State Arsenal and passed on into Bosnia through the Black Hand network. The conspiracy proved successful, as the imperial couple died on the way to the hospital. The Serbian nation was jubilant and hailed Princip as another of its many martyrs. Others were of a different opinion. One was Winston Churchill, who wrote of Princip in his history of the Great War, “he died in prison, and a monument erected in recent years by his fellow-countrymen records his infamy, and their own.”

All the evidence points to Pasic knowing of the plot in some detail. But the message passed to the Austrians alluded only to unspecified dangers to the Archduke should he visit Bosnia. The fact is, as Clark states, Pasic and the others well understood that “only a major European conflict involving the great powers ‘would suffice to dislodge the formidable obstacles that stood in the way of Serbian ‘reunification.’”

In a major contribution the author refutes the notion, common among historians, that Austria-Hungary was on its last legs, the next “sick man of Europe,” after the Ottomans. The record shows that, in the decades before

1914, it experienced something of a *Wirtschaftswunder*, an economic miracle. In addition, in the Austrian half at least, the demands of the many national minorities were being met: “most inhabitants of the empire associated the Habsburg state with benefits of orderly government.” The nationalists seeking separation were a small minority. Ironically, most of them feared domination by either Germany or Russia, if Austria disappeared.

Following the Bosnian crisis of 1908, “the Russians launched a program of military investment so substantial that it triggered a European arms race.” The continent was turned into an armed camp.

France was as warm a supporter of Serbia as Russia. When the Serbian king visited Paris in 1911, the French president referred to him at a state dinner as the “King of all the Serbs.” King Petar replied that the Serb people “would count on France in their fight for freedom.”

The two Balkan wars of 1912-1913 intensified the Serbian danger to Austria. The terrorist network expanded dramatically, and Serbia nearly doubled in size and saw its population increase by forty per cent. For the first time, Austria had to take it seriously as a military threat.

The head of the Austrian General Staff, Franz Conrad, on a number of occasions pressed for a preventive war. However, he was curbed by the emperor and the archduke. The latter had also opposed the annexation of Bosnia and Clark calls him “the most formidable obstacle to an [Austrian] war policy.” The foreign minister, Leopold von Berchtold, was a part of the heir-apparent’s pro-peace camp.

Clark develops in detail the evolution of the two combinations that faced each other in 1914, the Triple Entente and the Central Powers (what remained of the Triple Alliance, before the defection of Italy, which ultimately became a wartime ally of the Entente).

Back in the 1880s, the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had fashioned a series of treaties with Russia and Austria designed to keep a revanchist France isolated. With Bismarck’s dismissal in 1890, the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia was allowed to lapse. Clark breaks with older views in holding that this wasn’t the result of recklessness on the part of the new Kaiser, Wilhelm II, but rather the studied decision of inexperienced officials at the Foreign Ministry.

Hitherto friendless, France eagerly embraced a powerful new friend. In 1894, the Franco-Russian Alliance was formed (it was in effect in 1914). One of the treaty’s provisions stated that in the event of mobilization by any member of the Triple Alliance, France and Russia would mobilize all their forces and deploy them against Germany.

French diplomacy, directed by Theophile Delcasse, continued to be

brilliant. After settling colonial differences with England, an *Entente Cordiale* (Cordial Understanding) was concluded between the two western powers.

Edward Grey was foreign secretary and the leader of the anti-German faction in the cabinet. Germany he viewed as an “implacable foe.” He was seconded by Eyre Crowe, a key figure in the Foreign Office, whose influential memorandum of 1907 lamented the titanic growth of German industrial power.

Delcasse joined his two allies together: England and Russia settled their own colonial differences, and combined in a treaty in 1907. The Triple Entente was complete.

The Germans, face to face with three world empires and with only Austria as an ally, complained bitterly of their *Einkreisung* (encirclement). Perhaps they had a point.

Clark also deviates from the mainstream in demoting the naval race as a critical factor in British antagonism. London never took Wilhelm’s grandstanding about his ocean-going navy seriously. The British always knew they could outbuild the Germans, which they did.

Russia’s disastrous defeat in the war with Japan, 1904-05, served to divert Russian expansion westwards, to the Balkans.

During the approach to war, in the western democracies public opinion was a negligible factor. The people simply did not know. When in 1906 British and French military leaders agreed that in the event of a Franco-German conflict British forces would be sent to the continent, this was not revealed to the people. “The French commitment to a coordinated Franco-Russian military strategy” was also hidden from the French public. So much for democracy.

It was the Italian attack on the Turks in Libya, encouraged by the Entente powers, that sent the dominoes falling. The small Christian nations formed the Balkan League, promoted by Russia, aimed against both the Ottomans and Austria, with Serbia in the lead. Serbian advances electrified aristocratic and bourgeois Russia but angered Austria. With the threat to Serbia, “Russia’s salient in the Balkans,” the Russians mobilized on the Austrian frontier. It was the first mobilization by a great power in the years before the war.

That crisis was defused, but the lines of French policy were stiffened. Poincare, foreign minister and premier, “reassured the Russians that they could count on French support in event of a war arising from an Austro-Serb quarrel.” Similarly, Alexandre Millerand, war minister, told the Russian military attaché that France was “ready” for any further Austrian inter-

ference with Serbian rights. Further French loans helped build strategic Russian railroads, heading west. Even the Belgian ambassador to Paris saw Poincaré's policies as "the greatest peril for peace in today's Europe."

As 1914 opened, the chances of avoiding war seemed dim. The peacetime strength of the Russian army was 300,000 more than the German and Austrian armies combined, not to count the French. What could Germany do in the event of a two-front war?

All the powers had contingency plans if war came. The German plan, concocted in 1905, was the Schlieffen plan, named for the chief of the Prussian General Staff. It mandated a strong thrust into France, considered the more vulnerable partner, and, after neutralizing French forces, a shuttling of the army to the east to meet the expected Russian incursion into eastern Prussia. Since everything in the plan depended on speed, it was deemed necessary to attack through Belgium.

Back in central Europe, it was clear that Austria had to do something about the murder of the imperial couple. An ultimatum to Serbia was prepared and sent on July 23, more than four weeks after the murders. The delay, partly due to Austria-Hungary's cumbersome constitutional machinery when it came to foreign policy, partly to the Dual Monarchy's traditional *Schlamperei* (slovenliness), served to cool the widespread European indignation over the assassinations.

The provisions that most irked the Serbians were points 5 and 6: that a mixed committee of Austrians and Serbians investigate the crime and that the Austrians participate in apprehending and prosecuting the suspects.

It was a farce on both sides. Austria was looking for a pretext for war. This was the sixth atrocity in four years, and amid unrelenting irredentist agitation Vienna was determined on the final solution of the Serb question.

For their part, the Serbian government knew that any investigation would lead to the critical complicity of its own officials and swing European opinion in the enemy's direction. It was imperative that Austria be seen to be the aggressor. So after all that had happened, Clark maintains, the Serbian response "offered the Austrians amazingly little."

Edward Grey, however, held that Austria had no reason for complaint. He bought the Serbian argument that the government was not responsible for the actions of "private individuals," and that the ultimatum represented a violation of the rights of a sovereign state.

On July 28 Franz Josef signed the declaration of war against Serbia. Sazonov refused even to listen to the Austrian ambassador's evidence of Serbian complicity. He had denied from the start "Austria's right to take action of any kind" (emphasis in Clark). The Tsar expressed his view that the

impending war provided a good chance of partitioning Austria, and that if Germany chose to intervene, Russia would “execute the French military plans” to defeat Germany as well.

The Imperial Council issued orders for “Period Preparatory to War” all across European Russia, including against Germany. Even the Baltic Fleet was to be mobilized. At first the Tsar got cold feet, signed on only to partial mobilization, against Austria. Importuned by his ministers hungry for the war that would make Russia hegemonic in central and eastern Europe, he reversed himself again, and finally. As Clark notes, “full [Russian] mobilization must of necessity trigger a continental war.”

On August 1, the German ambassador, Portales, called on Sazonov. After asking him four times whether he would cancel general mobilization and receiving a negative reply each time, Portales presented him with Germany’s declaration of war. The German ultimatum to France was a formality. On August 3, Germany declared war on France as well.

In England, on August 1, Churchill as first lord of the admiralty mobilized the British Home Fleet. Still the cabinet was divided. When Germany presented its ultimatum to Belgium on the next day, Grey had his case complete. Though Belgian neutrality had only been guaranteed by the powers *collectively* and Italy refused to join in, Grey argued that England nevertheless had a binding moral commitment to Brussels. As for France, he explained that the detailed conversations between their two military leaderships over the years had created understandable French expectations that could not be ignored.

This persuaded the waverers, who were also fearful of the possible resignations of Grey and Asquith. Such a move might well bring to power the Conservatives, even more desirous of war. Seeing the writing on the wall, the few remaining anti-interventionists, led by John Morley, resigned. It was the last act of authentic English liberalism. Lord Morley, the biographer of Cobden and Gladstone, was the author of the tract *On Compromise*, on the need for principle in politics. On August 4, Britain declared war on Germany.

Warmongers in Paris, St. Petersburg, and London were ecstatic. Churchill beamed, “I am geared up and happy.” But Clark demolishes another myth, that of the delirious throngs. “In most places and for most people” the news of general mobilization came as “a profound shock.” Especially in the countryside, where many of the soldiers would perforce be drawn from. Peasants and peasants’ sons would furnish the cannon fodder, much of it in France and Germany, the vast bulk of it in Austria-Hungary and Russia. In tens and tens of thousands of villages there reigned “a

stunned silence,” broken only by the sound of “men, women, and children” weeping.

It was into this Witches’ Sabbath that, from 1914 on, Woodrow Wilson slowly but steadily led the unknowing American people.



## Republican Party Animal

*reviewed by Chip Smith*

*Republican Party Animal*, by David Cole, Feral House, Port Townsend, Wash., 2014, 319 pp.

---

**R***epublican Party Animal* is a layered chronicle of David Cole's short but storied public career as a "Jewish Holocaust denier" and of his equally unlikely "second life" as David Stein, when he would come to play an influential role as an event organizer and Op-Ed dynamo among the guarded ranks of Hollywood conservatives before having his heretical past exposed by a vindictive ex-girlfriend. The dual biographical narratives converge in a morally conflicted tale of downfall and personal reinvention, of intersecting identities and of consequences wrought in the whirlwind momentum of a life less ordinary.

Cole's telling is breezy, surefooted, and entertaining throughout; he gives the impression of a natural raconteur, punctuating his episodic memoir with revealing anecdotes, ironic observations, and self-effacing humor, all while providing the kind of sympathetic yet critical discussion of Holocaust revisionism that, coming from a reputable imprint with wide distribution, is rare if not unprecedented.

"I will most likely come off as an asshole in this book," Cole announces at the outset. And while I suspect that will indeed be the conclusion of certain readers (including one well known magazine editor who has since threatened legal action), it isn't mine.

### No Country for Jewish Revisionists

Cole's curious – and curiosity-driven – initiation into the intellectual quick (though never the dominant political culture) of Holocaust revisionism started off, as he tells it, "innocently enough," in the late 80s as a capricious detour during his youthful adventures train-hopping political movements for kicks and edification. Being intrigued by IHR co-founder David McCalden's category-defying ideological profile as "a militant atheist, an Irish nationalist, and a Holocaust revisionist," Cole wrote to him asking for literature and information. When McCalden instead showed up at Cole's doorstep in full-on confrontational mode (he thought Cole was "a 'Jewish infiltrator' trying to cozy up to him for nefarious purposes"), Cole assured

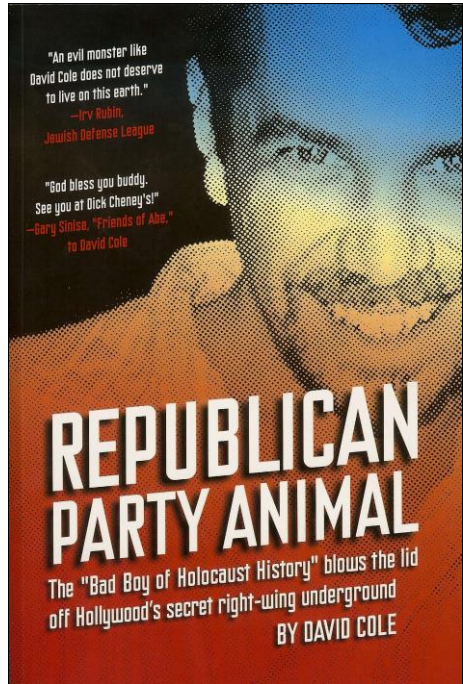
him that he was sincere and there was an apparent meeting of minds. Following this encounter, Cole read McCalden's hand-picked literature and found it to be "[i]ncredibly amateur crap." Yet he was left with questions. "The problem" he discerned, was that "mainstream historians would never address revisionist concerns, and the revisionists, for the most part, were sloppy and (mostly) ideologically motivated."

Preoccupied, Cole soon went to visit McCalden, only to receive the news that the guy had died of AIDS, leaving behind a massive collection of books and private correspondence that, by default, fell into Cole's possession. Whatever inchoate doubts or questions Cole had entertained about the

standard Holocaust historiography, it seems fair to surmise that his "identity" as a non-dogmatic Holocaust revisionist crystallized in the months-long binge of immersive reading that followed. I imagine it was with some nostalgia that Cole recalls his underground education:

I rented an apartment with two stories so that I could devote one entire floor just to the books. And I read every single one of them, making notes, bookmarking pages, and indulging in what would become, in less than a decade, the lost art of reading hard-copy books without a computer in sight.

By the early to mid-90s, Cole would be riding a wave of public notoriety as an intrepid, Hollywood-bred independent researcher and documentary filmmaker making the rounds on daytime TV talk shows professing informed skepticism about the received history of the Holocaust. In those days, which I remember too well, Cole could be seen alongside IHR spokesman Mark Weber on the *Montel Williams Show* (where, in an ironic twist recounted in *Republican Party Animal*, his appearance led to the reunion of two Holocaust survivors – brothers who had lost contact after the war, each assuming the worst about the other's fate). He appeared with



The cover of David Cole's  
*Republican Party Animal*

CODOH founder Bradley Smith and *Skeptic* editor Michael Shermer on a rather tense episode of *Donahue*. He even went on the *Morton Downey Junior Show*, where he suffered the late host's outrageous nicotine-expectorating spleen with pluck.

The first and most conspicuous thing that distinguished Cole from other Holocaust revisionists (as they were still referred to in those days, when the artifice of civility had yet to give way to the "denier" shibboleth), was, of course, the fact that he was, perhaps more than nominally, Jewish. Cole's Jewish identity was at once a hook and a problem. On the one hand, his Jew-cred ingratiated him to many revisionists who understandably wanted, for the most part sincerely, to disassociate their work from the thick funk of anti-Semitism that surrounded it. On the other hand, the specter of a "Jewish Holocaust revisionist" rankled the guardians of orthodoxy for whom the public image of a Jewish gas chamber skeptic presented a dangerous rift in a carefully crafted Manichean narrative that had long served to marginalize and stigmatize – and across certain borders, criminalize – critical engagement with what I like to call "the other side of genocide."

But it wasn't all talk-show theater. Because the second, and ultimately more important, thing that set Cole apart from other revisionists was his knack for getting his hands dirty. He conducted – and documented – on-site investigations in the "Holiest of Holies" where the worst conveyor-belt atrocities were believed ("by all the best people" as Bradley would have it) to have gone down. Cole's groundbreaking guerilla Auschwitz documentary, *David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper* ([holocausthandbooks.com/video/david-cole-in-auschwitz/](http://holocausthandbooks.com/video/david-cole-in-auschwitz/)) remains a case in point. Rather than simply lay contextualizing narration over the usual stock footage of marching brownshirts and bulldozed corpses, Cole did what other revisionists, a few notable exceptions notwithstanding, would not – and to be fair, could not – do; he visited ground-zero and critically examined the physical structure of what was then presented to tourists as a homicidal gas chamber in its "original state." Cole put questions to the museum staff and even scored a groundbreaking interview with then-curator Dr. Franciszek Piper – who, at little prompting, admitted what revisionists alone had long contended – that the "gas chamber" displayed to tourists as the genuine article was in fact a postwar "reconstruction" (though of course, revisionists would more likely call it a "fake"). While other revisionists buried their noses in books (which is, of course, important), Cole took matters into his own hands. He was inquisitive. He was tenacious. He was clever. And just as important, he had the testicular brass – and the "Jew face" – to go where others feared to tread.

To Phil Donahue, Cole was “the Antichrist” (seriously, Donahue called him that, to his face!). To professional “Skeptic” Michael Shermer, he was a “meta-ideologue,” or what we might now call a high-functioning troll, who reveled in the role of the contrarian, stirring up trouble “for the hell of it.” To revisionist king-of-the-mountain Robert Faurisson, he was a dangerous upstart, a loose cannon who couldn’t be trusted to toe the line. To Irv Rubin – crucially, the *late* Irv Rubin – David Cole was something worse.

Cole’s history with the man whom, from the other side of eternity, he describes as the “lovable and murderous head of the Jewish Defense League” began in a violent altercation when Rubin tried to shove Cole down a section of stairs at a 1991 UCLA speaking engagement. It ended, more or less, a few years later when a threat of mortal violence changed the course of Cole’s life. The pivotal turn – or plot point, since we’re in Hollywood – came in late 1997, when, for a variety of reasons, Cole had more or less absconded from his public dalliance with revisionism. That’s when, “[f]or reasons known only to him,” Rubin took to the nascent World Wide Web to place a \$25,000 bounty on Cole’s head.

Evoking the lurid prose-style of a forgotten dime-store pulp novel, Rubin’s accompanying screed described Cole as “a low-lying snake that slithers from dark place to dark place, [spreading] his venom to innocent victims.” And when Rubin fulminated that “an evil monster like this does not deserve to live on this earth,” it wasn’t mere bluster; it was an incitement. Rubin had long been suspected of (and has since been implicated in) a number of arson attacks and fire bombings directed against revisionists and revisionist organizations so there was every reason to believe that he – or more likely one of his psychotic JDL lackeys – might rise to the task. Like the leader of some torch-wielding mob in an old horror film, Rubin wanted to kill the monster, not metaphorically, but literally. And he offered cash money to anyone who would do the bloodwork or provide information to make it easier. “This world would be a happier place, indeed,” the avuncular zealot declared, “when all the Jew-baiters and Jew-haters have disappeared, especially the most vicious hater of them all, David Cole.”

But the event proved to be fateful rather than fatal. There’s been a good deal of hazy speculation over just what happened, with some people, myself included, speculating that Cole’s subsequent “recantation” (such a silly word to use in the 21st century) was ghostwritten by Rubin and signed under duress, and with others suspecting that Cole’s public declaration might have been, if not sincere, at least in line with what seemed to be his increasingly ambivalent stance toward revisionism. The truth as revealed in

Cole's book, is shaded grey.

In short, Cole took the threat seriously. He considered going to the police but rejected that option because of the unwanted publicity it would entail. In the end, he opted to simply call up his *bête noir* and offer up an unequivocal, notarized recantation in exchange for his life. He wrote it himself. It was bullshit, of course, but it also provided a way out. A clean break from the public existence he had entered with perhaps too much reckless disregard for what might follow.

In *Republican Party Animal* he is clear that "The recantation was Cole's 'death.'" "

*"I had already left revisionism, so I figured why not 'kill' Cole, especially if it saves my actual hide. Once someone like Cole recants, there's no going back. Your credibility is shot. If you try to recant your recantation, people will always wonder, 'was he lying then, or is he lying now?' I agreed to the recantation not just to get the bounty removed, but to burn all Cole bridges. I knew that the revisionists who were already getting pissed at me in 1995 would truly hate me when they read what I gave Rubin. I wanted to 'kill' Cole in a way that would make it impossible for me to go back."*

But David Cole didn't die, literally or figuratively. It might be more accurate to say that he receded, only to resurface as the script demanded. It remains an open question whether Cole's ensuing life adventure resolves in measures of liberation and redemption or in desolation and ruin. Unlike a Hollywood script, life isn't so tidy.

## Toasting Team America

As the curtain closes on the first act, Cole finds himself in a funk, "limping back to square one." When a fashion-mad actress-girlfriend leaves him spiraling in debt, he spends some time "pining and whining" before eventually moving on to some shady but apparently lucrative Internet business ventures where he cynically leverages his by-then-encyclopedic knowledge of Holocaust history to play "both sides" for what financial gain could be had. Having for practical reasons already adopted his new identity as "David Stein," he invents other pseudonyms – "one to sell books and videos to Holocaust studies departments around the world, and one to sell books and videos to revisionists." And the vultures, from both sides, take the bait.

Cole's account of what might be considered his transitional phase is tinged with moral ambivalence and, ultimately, regret.

“The truth is, I *can't* defend it,” he writes at one point.

*“The only thing I can say is that after I was forced out of the field by the death threats of the JDL and the lies of people like Shermer [more on Michael Shermer later – CS], I had to emotionally divorce myself from the subject matter [...] unlike my revisionist work, which I'll still defend, and unlike my conservative work, which I'll still defend, I can't defend the period in between.”*

Following this episode, Cole soon walks into another bad relationship, adopts yet another name (“David Harvey,” if you're keeping track), and pulls off another death-faking caper, this time to escape the physically abusive clutches of a woman he now refers to only as “the Beast.” Then he goes off the grid, ensconcing himself in the beach city environs of El Segundo, where he soon becomes restless. Teaming up with a fellow film editor referred to as “Fat Frank,” Cole eventually re-enters his old turf to do some shadow revisionist – or quasi-revisionist – work, shooting a still-unreleased interview with Mel Gibson's dad (!), making a short documentary about the persecution of Ernst Zündel and Germar Rudolf, and ghost-writing an important free-speech manifesto entitled “Historians Behind Bars.”

In the course of “one thing leads to another,” Cole's friendship with Fat Frank leads to a friendship with actor Larry Thomas, best known for his role as the “Soup Nazi” on *Seinfeld*, which leads to a relationship with a blonde vixen, which leads to a bout with erectile dysfunction, which leads, fatefully, to yet another bad bet romance, this time with a “six-foot-tall redhead with an amazingly big smile” named Rosie – the actress-model who would eventually play a key role in blowing David Stein's cover. If *Republican Party Animal* were film noir, I guess Rosie would get billing as the femme fatale – except that by most accounts she was bad news from the start. One inescapable conclusion to be gleaned from *Republican Party Animal* is that David Cole has abominably bad judgment when it comes to the ladies.

While Cole's introduction to revisionism is clearly delineated in *Republican Party Animal*, it is somewhat less clear how he came to identify as a “South Park conservative.” He provides a hint that the Left's shambolic response to the end of the Cold War in 1989 might have been a germinal factor, but it is almost in passing that he mentions, in a prelude to a discussion of his involvement (working with the legendary Budd Schulberg) in the restoration of Pare Lorentz's 1946 documentary *Nuremberg*, that he had “over the years” somehow found time to pen a number of conservative

(mostly anti-Islamist) op-eds for the *L.A. Times* under yet another “revolving series of pseudonyms.”

The lack of a clear-cut conservative origin story is a point of minor frustration for me if only because during my brief correspondence with Cole in the mid-90s, I had come away with the impression that he identified as a liberal. Maybe it was his abortion rights activism, or maybe it was his outspoken atheism (which he now disavows, also without much explanation) that tripped me, but when the stories broke about *l'affaire* Cole-Stein, my first thought was: *David Cole is a Republican?*

No matter, Cole seems sincere. “I don’t mind being defined by what I’m against,” he explains, “And I’m against the left.” More insightfully, he goes on to distinguish ideology from principle:

*“Principle is not the same as ideology. As an example, Islamism – the set of beliefs adhered to by Muslims who want to impose their worldview on others – is an ideology. But opposition to Islamism isn’t necessarily an ideology. It can be, but not by necessity. One can oppose banning women from voting or driving on principle. You can be right, left, moderate, or totally apolitical, and still, on principle, say ‘that’s a bad and oppressive idea.’ The fact that I dismiss ideology and ideologues doesn’t mean I don’t have principles, and it doesn’t mean that I don’t care passionately about them. And, generally speaking, the right side of the spectrum, more often than not, reflects my principles.”*

Fair enough, then. Cole is a conservative as a matter of principle, not as a matter of dogma. He’s more P. J. O’Rourke than Russ Kirk. More Hayek than Rand. I get it. I even sort of agree.

The same hands-on approach that had distinguished Cole’s career as a revisionist researcher would prove instrumental in guiding his meteoric rise in the demimonde of Hollywood conservatives – or “Friends of Abe” as he came to know them. So successful was he in navigating this semi-secretive social network that after proving his mettle as a party organizer in various settings he would brand his own offshoot organization, the “Republican Party Animals,” hosting liquor-doused GOP fundraisers that were attended by outspoken and semi-closeted right-wing celebrities, pundits, and proles.

Cole took careful notes along the way and while I suppose his insider’s account of so many soirees and mixers will be chum for certain political junkies, I personally would have preferred more in the way of a sketch. As it stands, Cole’s reminiscences about this period of his life seem burdened by a surfeit of anecdote – too much detail at all turns, too much dwelling on interpersonal contretemps. But while I can’t shake the sense that a

measure of time and distance would have advised finer editorial discretion, the truth is I have yet to read an autobiography that doesn't suffer from this tendency. It may be that the occasional pangs of boredom I felt in reading Cole's play-by-play can be chalked up to selective incuriosity. I felt the same way about Jim Goad's *Shit Magnet*, and Goad is one of my favorite writers.

## Telling All

The Feral House promotional copy pitches *Republican Party Animal* as a kind of inside-politics-inside-Hollywood tell-all. And indeed, there's scuttlebutt on offer if that's your fix.

On the revisionist side of the aisle, we learn, or we are reminded, that David McCalden – the guy who played a formative role in introducing Cole to revisionist theory – was a sexual as well as intellectual outlaw who gave his wife AIDS (before dying of it himself) back when a viral load meant a one-way ticket to the morgue. We learn – or we are reminded – that Robert Faurisson, was sufficiently pin-pricked by Cole's ungovernable audacity that he huffed and puffed and spread rumors that Cole was a “World Jewish Congress infiltrator.” (Cole's grave sin, incidentally, was to break with revisionist dogma by broadcasting his opinion that the Natzweiler gas chamber in France, unlike those on display at Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Dachau, etc., was the real deal, albeit a highly eccentric outlier in the scheme of the received mass-gassing narrative.)

Aside from such morsels, however, Cole's recollections about his exploits among the maligned revisionist milieu are mostly reflective, even-handed, and often fond. He gives David Irving due credit as a once-formidable narrative historian with a narcissistic penchant for self-sabotage. He expresses warm regard for CODOH-founder Bradley Smith (“we don't agree on everything, but he's a lifelong friend”), and his thoughts on certain egregiously persecuted revisionists (or, in some instances, “deniers”; Cole insists upon the distinction) are presented with judicious attention to the underlying free-speech travesty that somehow still eludes many outspoken civil libertarians. Ernst Zündel (whom Cole describes as a “denier,” again if you're keeping a ledger) is a good example. Cole appraises the repeatedly imprisoned German-Canadian pamphleteer as a harmless crank who “*really* loves Hitler,” yet he channels Voltaire in voicing unqualified support for a man who has spent a significant part of his adult life behind bars, often in solitary confinement, for what can only be described as thoughtcrime. “I never said anything in support of his views,” Cole writes,



“but I supported his right to be free from prosecution for simply writing a book, and I still do. On that subject, I’d stand with him again today.” Cole is equally resolute in his defense of Germar Rudolf (“revisionist”), a German chemist who was extradited from his legal residence in the United States to be locked up for years in a German cell, all for the “crime” of writing about blue stains on old concrete.

Turning to the celebrities and politicians on the other side of the aisle, Cole’s grievances are moderate, and his gossip is less salacious than I would have expected. John Voight comes off as a harmless lush. Gary Sinese is a “*mensch*” with some unknown skeletons in his closet. D-listers Pat Boone and Victoria Jackson are unsurprisingly depicted as conspiracy-mongering loons. Clint Eastwood is aloof in a good way. Kelsey Grammer is aloof in a creepy way. David Horowitz is described as “a huge dick” who “reacts to a request to shake hands as most men would to a request to grab the penis of a rotting corpse.” There’s a blowjob story featuring Oliver Stone’s batshit crazy son. There’s a funny story about Michael Reagan’s war on gophers. And, yeah, it turns out that Cole’s deadbeat dad was “apparently” the doctor who served Elvis that fatal dose of Demerol. Gotta mention that.

You might think that Cole’s harshest score-settling would come in for Rosie and the Lolita-chasing neocon-cum-Disney-scripting hack with whom she tag-teamed to out David Stein as a Holocaust denier [...] in which case you would have another think coming. Because the dirtiest dirt in *Republican Party Animal* is reserved not for the people who exposed Stein as Cole (nor for Irv Rubin, the man who tried to have Cole murdered), but for an accused rapist (as Cole never tires of emphasizing, for reasons more subtle than they first appear) who has for some time served as “the media’s go-to guy for the selective skepticism of hipsters who hang out in coffee shops in Silverlake.”

Let’s warm up with a bit that made me laugh:

*“After Shermer contacted me, we hung out a few times. The first time I was at his house, he asked me if I’d like any coffee. I drank coffee religiously in those days (my pre-alcohol days), so I said yes. And Shermer proceeded to re-heat a pot of coffee that was stone cold, presumably brewed that morning, hours ago.*

*‘Uh, can you maybe brew up some fresh?’*

*‘No need, it’s just as good reheated.’*

*Sometimes, it’s the little things that matter as much as the big ones when you’re trying to gauge someone’s intelligence. Here was a sup-*

*posed 'scientist' with no concept of how fresh-brewed coffee gets worse when it gets cold."*

Cole goes on to describe *Skeptic* editor Michael Shermer as "one of the most dishonest human beings I have ever known," and he has the goods – specifically transcripts of recorded phone conversations – to back up his spleen. It's little surprise that Shermer unleashed his lawyers in an unsuccessful bid to prevent Cole's book from being published. What's more surprising is that the man still enjoys his inflated reputation after being so thoroughly exposed as a mendacious opportunist who repeatedly betrayed and libeled Cole and who has deceitfully misrepresented his – and other revisionists' – work at every conceivable turn. I won't go into detail about just what dirt Cole has against "Shermy," but I will say that his prolonged and hyper-documented animadversion is worth the cover price.

So, there's juice for those who come a-lookin'. Some of it may be petty, but some of it is well justified and even newsworthy. Still, I would politely insist that the "tell-all" aspect of *Republican Party Animal* ultimately amounts to a wink-sly bait-and-switch. Cole's thematic gravamen, tucked between so much confessional digression and tittle-tattle, concerns the burden of conscience and a man's abiding struggle to maintain a modicum of personal and intellectual integrity while inhabiting two worlds where cynicism and suspicion hold sway.

Cole's story is thus laced with insight bearing on such threads of connective tissue that, moral equivalence be damned, unite revisionism with movement conservatism. When Cole dwelled in revisionist circles, he inveighed against Faurisson-branded "No holes, No Holocaust" rhetoric and pled for sanity against the seductive force of sundry conspiracy theories. When Cole dwelled in the world of conservative politics, he found himself in the same futile rut, taking public issue with Breitbart-branded trench warfare tactics and pleading for sanity against the seductive force of sundry conspiracy theories. "I'd rather gouge out my testicles," Cole quips, "than accept the accolades of the lunatic fringe."

Whether you find the tone colorful or off-putting will be a matter of taste, but I think Cole is especially good on this front. One of my longstanding gripes with movement revisionism (I pay less attention to movement conservatism) is that it blends too easily with rank crackpottery. The revisionist affiliation with – and tacit affinity for – various threads of wildly conspiratorial speculation may be understandable when we consider that respected World War II scholars have largely been driven away by very real threats of prosecution and ruinous public censure, but in the atmosphere that prevails under a black cloud of taboo the loudest voices tend

to be the looniest. It's an insidious catch-22 that in turn makes it only too easy for consensus-mongering guys like Michael Shermer to paint the whole project in broad strokes as a manifestation of hate-fueled paranoia. Cole puts the matter more bluntly when he notes that "[c]leaning up flaws in the historical record after a major event like a world war is not the same as claiming that all 27,000 residents of Newtown decided to fake a mass shooting."

While I may not share Cole's explicitly "pro-Zionist" views, it is thus without qualification that I endorse his stridently expressed contention that:

*"The people who think that revising the history of the Holocaust will somehow topple Israel are idiots. Israel's existence is not based on whether or not there were gas chambers at Auschwitz in 1944. If, tomorrow, Yad Vashem declared that Auschwitz had no killing program, it would not make one damn bit of difference. Israel would be fine, because Israel's Muslim foes don't give a good fuck about historical subtleties. No one in the Muslim world is studying forensic reports, thinking 'if I can't find traces of cyanide residue in the Auschwitz kremas, I'll hate Israel and try to destroy her. But if I can find the traces, by gosh, I'll love and support her.'"*

We are faced with a subject so clung up with emotive gravity that Cole's elementary defense of disinterested inquiry is difficult for people to grasp, which is why it bears repeated emphasis. There is nothing *inherently* hateful or even political about revisionist research. This is fundamentally true regardless of what personal motives impart to individuals who persist in such research, and it is fundamentally true regardless of what political arguments or agendas may latch to such research. While motivated ideologues can be counted on to use revisionist scholarship as a cudgel against their imagined enemies, the underlying investigative project is simply and eternally a thing apart; it is an empirical and interpretive process that, once the fog has lifted, will be judged on its relative merits and deficiencies – the same as with other "problematic" species of skeptical inquiry, such as concerning racial differences or climatology or various aspects of human sexuality. Once this much is understood, it becomes possible to distinguish the substantive core of revisionism from the cranked-up clamor that invariably surrounds it.

Being wise to this difficulty, Cole anchors his own interpersonally fraught micro-history of foibles and resentments to the project of historiography writ large. A memorable passage taps the messy truth:

*“[...] in every massive conflict between nations you see the exact same things that occur in conflicts between individuals – the same jockeying and maneuvering, the same collecting and testing of loyalties, the same measuring of risk against gain. The difference is only the scale. I used to make that point when I lectured. Never elevate or excoriate historical figures to the extent that they stop being flesh-and-blood humans. Don’t make Hitler the devil, and don’t make the Founding Fathers gods. They were still human, no matter their impact on history.*”

Is the task really so difficult? I’m afraid it is. Humanity is long in the weeds, and we are burdened with heavy baggage. For all his sarcasm and ventilation, Cole ends up counseling humility before the big questions. Who will notice?

## Gas in the Gaps?

Given his past investment in the subject, it’s a safe bet that many readers will be interested in David Cole’s present take on Holocaust history and revisionism. Although he expresses understandable reluctance about holding court on the subject anew, the truth is that Cole is never more in his element than when he writes about history. He’s attentive to detail and he presents his theses logically in clear language that stands in welcome contrast to the palaver-laden cant of certain professional obscurantists. He would be a good teacher.

Revisionism comes up at tangential and direct turns throughout the biographical narrative – significantly in “The Idiot’s Creed,” which provides a fascinating account of Cole’s “behind the scenes” interactions with a number of prominent public figures during his revisionist days – but Cole’s present views are explicitly teased in an early chapter none-too-subtly entitled “So Just What the Hell Do I Believe, Anyway?” and are more carefully developed in a 24-page appendix that should be of special interest to traditional Holocaust historians and revisionists alike.

The unavoidable headline is that Cole stands by his early research, rejecting the standard claim that Auschwitz and many other infamous camps served as killing centers equipped with homicidal gas chambers. “Auschwitz was not an extermination camp,” he writes:

Auschwitz and Majdanek in Poland, and Dachau, Mauthausen, and the other camps in Germany and Austria, were not extermination camps. They were bad, bad places. People were killed there. Jews were killed at Majdanek by shooting, and Jews were killed at Auschwitz in 1942, most likely

due to decisions made by the commandant in defiance of orders from Berlin.

In the following paragraph, Cole writes:

*“However, Auschwitz was not the totality of the Holocaust. Not by far. Serious revisionists (David Irving, Mark Weber, and hell, I’ll throw my own name in there) don’t dispute the very provable mass murder of Jews (by shooting) during the months following the invasion of Russia. And at a camp like Treblinka, there is a massively strong circumstantial case to be made that the Jews who were sent there were sent there to be killed. It’s circumstantial because very little remains in the way of documentation, and zero remains in the way of physical evidence. But revisionists have never produced an alternate explanation of the fate met by the Jews sent to camps like Treblinka and Sobibor, with empty trains returning. However, accepting that Treblinka was a murder camp but Auschwitz wasn’t means that the Holocaust was not as large in scale or as long in operation as the official history teaches. So taking Auschwitz out of the category of extermination camps is seen as lessening the horror of what, even shorn of Auschwitz, was still a horrific situation.”*

While Cole’s summary may come laced with a bit more anti-Nazi editorial invective than is typically found in the currents of dissident Holocaust scholarship, his take on the history of Auschwitz in particular pretty much distills to a grounded recitation of revisionist theory, at least insofar as he rejects the standard claim that the site was renovated to be an ever-efficient killing factory during the latter phase of the war. In his more detailed treatment, where Jean-Claude Pressac’s work figures prominently, he deftly summarizes myriad forensic and chronological problems to advance the openly revisionist conclusion that the most infamous extermination camps were nothing of the kind.

And in case anyone other than Phil Donahue still believes the propaganda about the Dachau “gas chamber,” Cole is at the ready with a sobriety check:

*“Eventually, by the 1970s, the Dachau museum admitted that the ‘gas chamber’ was never used. The fact that the ‘phony shower heads’ were created by the army prior to the visit of U.S. dignitaries in ‘45 is the biggest open secret in the field. The current claim at Dachau is that the room was ‘decorated’ with dummy shower heads, which replaced the real shower heads and thus made them useless, in order to fool the victims, and once they were inside, gas pellets were thrown in from chutes in the side wall. And the half-measure ‘revision,’ that the chamber was*

*'never used,' really needs to be meditated on for a moment to grasp its stupidity. We're supposed to believe that the Nazis took a working – and very necessary – group shower room at the camp, and replaced the working shower heads with fake ones, because they wanted to fool the victims into thinking they were walking into a shower room, which they would have thought anyway if the original shower heads had simply been left intact, and then the Nazis decided not to ever use the gas chamber, but now the room was unusable as an actual shower because the real shower heads had been replaced by fake ones, fake ones that were supposedly necessary to fool victims into thinking that they were walking into a shower room which is exactly what the victims would have thought without the fake shower heads because the room actually was a shower room which could have still been used as one in between gassings if not for the dummy heads that replaced the genuine ones.'*

If you want a down-and-dirty distillation of Cole's current views, the most tightly packed summation is probably provided in the following two paragraphs:

*"The evidence of the mass murder of Jews was largely buried or erased by the Nazis long before the end of the war. At the war's end, what was there to show? What was there to display? And something had to be displayed. World War II is a war with an ex post facto reason for being. The war started to keep Poland free and independent. At the end of the war, when Poland was essentially given to the USSR as a slave state (not that there was much the U.S. could have done to stop it from happening), none of the victorious powers wanted folks to start asking, 'wait – sixty million people dead, the great cities of Europe burned to the ground, all to keep Poland free, and now we're giving Poland to Stalin?'*

*So Hitler's very real brutality against the Jews had to become 'the reason we fought.' Except, those brutalities began in earnest two years after the war started. But why quibble? Russia had captured Auschwitz and Majdanek intact (more or less), and the U.S. had captured Dachau totally intact. So, those camps became representations of a horror for which almost no authentic physical evidence remained. At Auschwitz, an air raid shelter was 'remodeled' to look like a gas chamber (as the museum's curator admitted to me in a 1992 interview). At Majdanek, mattress delousing rooms were misrepresented as being gas chambers for humans (as the museum's director admitted to me in 1994). And at Dachau, the U.S. Army whipped up a phony gas chamber room to give*

*visiting senators and congressmen in 1945 a dramatic image of 'why we had to fight.'*"

Attentive readers will note how Cole, at certain points in the above-cited excerpts, parts company with many revisionists. This is made clearest in the appendix, where, in a nuanced counterpoint to the long-rehearsed revisionist emphasis on lack of a clearly discoverable "master plan" authorizing the wholesale extermination of Europe's Jewish population, Cole plausibly argues that there were actually a congeries of "plans" floated and hatched at various stages in the wake of the infamous (and still profoundly misunderstood) Wannsee "protocols," with such plans being molded by shifting goals and expediencies as the Nazis pursued an overarching yet decentralized injunction to resolve the "Jewish question" one way or another with only instrumental regard for the welfare of Jewish people. Sometimes this meant the exploitation of Jewish labor. Sometimes it meant the mass transfer or "evacuation" of populations. And sometimes it meant mass killing, including by gassing.

From this vantage, Cole focuses on the question of intent, discerning clues in the sequence of contemporaneous communications and pronouncements, many culled from Joseph Goebbels's writings, to support his conjecture that for a time – specifically from "1942 through 1943" – Jews were dispatched to genuine extermination camps, specifically "Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Chelmno," otherwise known as the Aktion Reinhardt system, where they were lined up and shot, or, in classic Holocaust style, queued up and fed to gas chambers (albeit of the truck-rigged must-have-been-carbon-monoxide-not-diesel-exhaust variety, not the pellet-inducted Zyklon B variety) and then burned (in pits, not crematoria).

Anyway, here's the money shot:

*"From 1942 through 1943, Polish Jewry was subjected to one of the most brutal campaigns of mass murder in human history. Because of the secrecy surrounding those four extermination camps, and the fact that they were ploughed under and erased from existence in 1943, it's difficult to be precise about certain details. And we do know that some Jews were sent to those camps as a throughway to other destinations (as recounted multiple times in Gerald Reitlinger's 1953 masterwork The Final Solution). But, more than enough circumstantial evidence exists to show that for most Jews, the train ride to those camps was one-way, and final."*

Not being an historian (and not having the constitutional fortitude for serious historical research), I will leave it to revisionist scholars to engage

Cole's interpretation of the timeline, the documentary *mens rea* and such other circumstantial evidence that might or might not support the conclusion that the eastern camp system served for a time as a full-on gas-and-burn death factory. I'm confident they'll have plenty to say, since this whole area seems to have assumed prominence as the focal point of revisionist (and anti-revisionist) critique over the past decade or so, as evidenced by the widely viewed video documentary, *One Third of the Holocaust*, by the forensic researches of Fritz Berg, and by the voluminous output of guys like Germar Rudolf, Carlo Mattogno, Thomas Kues, Jürgen Graf and others, often in rebuttal to the mud-slinging gang of anti-revisionist gadflies over at the "Holocaust Controversies" site. Cole may not have come looking for an argument, but he'll have one if he wants it. One can only hope that the debate, if it comes, will proceed with a modicum of civility. Whether Cole's argument is sincere or tactical (and I'm inclined to believe he is sincere), it should be received as an invitation for revisionists to clarify and supplement their mounting counterargument in a spirit of good faith.

Regardless of how it will be met among active revisionists, I am sure that Cole's argument will seem positively baffling to the average reader who has been groomed to regard Auschwitz as synecdoche for the canonical Holocaust story. While it may be understood that Cole is correct when he points out that "Auschwitz was not the totality of the Holocaust," ordinary readers who come to *Republican Party Animal* with the usual engrained preconceptions will be hard-pressed to digest his "gas in the gaps" counter-narrative. I imagine it will be a bit like being told that yes, there was a Battle of the Alamo, but it actually took place in North Dakota!

No matter where the chips fall, I do think that Cole's "exterminationist" interpretation of the Aktion Reinhardt system is superficially plausible and therefore useful. Whether it can withstand more intensive scrutiny is a different matter. Being a dilettante at best, I can only say it's not how I would bet. Presumably for reasons of brevity, Cole neglects to directly address the copious revisionist literature in this area, so when he states that "revisionists have never produced an alternate explanation of the fate met by the Jews sent to camps like Treblinka and Sobibor, with empty trains returning" I am left to wonder whether he has read Samuel Crowell's carefully documented treatment of the Aktion Reinhardt camps in the Nine-Banded Books edition of *The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes*. For what it's worth, the relevant discussion is framed in the seldom-read fourth part of Crowell's book, "The Holocaust in Retrospect," where – I'm trying to save everyone time here – the most succinct statement of an "alternate explana-



tion” (though Crowell would probably call it an “interpretation”) is advanced in the fifth section, “Aktion Reinhardt and the Legacy of Forced Labor,” beginning at page 339. Without wading too deep into the morass, Crowell offers a contextual reading of several key documents to support the revisionist position that “Aktion Reinhardt was about wealth seizure and SS control of Polish Jews, chiefly for labor purposes: It was not about mass murder.”

While Crowell’s analysis does not – indeed cannot – *exclude* the possibility that these sites were at some point devoted to the crudely mechanized destruction of human beings, including by mass gassing, I think he is persuasive in his interpretation of documents that render the scenario less likely than Cole asserts. For example, the authentic Franke-Gricksch inspection report (which wasn’t discovered until 2010 and is not mentioned by Cole) explicitly discusses the eastern program as a plunder operation, makes no reference to gassing, and includes population assessments that are plainly at odds with the numbers in the “final” Korherr report (which, it should be noted, has been disavowed by Korherr himself).

Crowell’s discussion of the top secret 1944 Globocnik report to Himmler along with its addendum also provides clear support for the interpretation that the AR system was primarily devoted to wealth seizure and includes an important note about “relocated persons” being given chits as a kind of bullshit assurance that “future compensation” would be rendered for their assets “some day in Brazil or in the Far East.” If the reference to “relocated persons” meant Jews – and there is a strong contextual reason to assume so, given the geographic presumption in the wording – then this addendum is difficult to reconcile with the notion that Jews were being systematically snuffed upon arrival at the camps.

While I make no apology for assigning Crowell plenipotentiary status in this arena, I realize it may be considered bad form since I am his publisher. Let this be my disclaimer, then, if such be warranted. I may be biased, but I am convinced that the importance of Crowell’s research has not been fully appreciated, and I think that his concise but granular study of extant documents hovering around the AR camp system are relevant and need to be considered along with the forensic and testimonial issues that revisionists will likely raise in counterpoint to Cole’s argument. In any case, when you grapple with informed disagreement, it is wise to seek out what philosophers of knowledge call “epistemic peers,” if only as a safeguard against the conceit of certitude, and I think the views of Crowell and Cole can be usefully considered as a proximate peerage; they’re intelligent men evaluating the same evidentiary chain, presumably in good faith, yet reaching

different conclusions.

I should mention also that it is largely due to Crowell's better known socio-cultural study of mass gassing claims that I am inclined to view particular gassing claims from a default perspective of skepticism. World War II mass-gassing stories are so bedeviled with conflation, confabulation, and culture-bound confusion – and for delineable reasons – that it is well, in the absence of clear-cut physical evidence, to weigh sociogenic explanations against the kind of literal interpretation that holds sway in the standard historiography.

## Shadows and Mirrors

In forms of storytelling low and high, we have come to recognize a narrative device. By allusion to Dostoyevsky, it may be referred to as the *Doppelgänger* or the “Double.” It's also sometimes called the “Shadow,” which I like better. I'm never sure about these things. I don't know if it's a modern invention or one of those Jungian archetypes that Joseph Campbell used to go on about. I'm not even sure whether it's a trope or a motif, or some other lit-crit flavor I never learned. All I know is that it comes up often enough. Think of Humbert Humbert playing his cat-and-mouse game with Clare Quilty in *Lolita*, or think of the drug-addled narc in Phillip K. Dick's *A Scanner Darkly* – itself a re-imagining of Nabokov's *The Eye* – unwittingly stalking himself until the damage is done. Think of Marlow and Kurtz, or think of lycanthropic myths, or, if you're a simpleton, stop at Jekyll and Hyde or – why not? – *The Nutty Professor*. Jerry Lewis version, please.

The Shadow may appear as a liberating demon like Tyler Durden in *Fight Club*, or as a beastly projection like Patrick Bateman in *American Psycho*. But the underlying psychology isn't so moveable; it always settles around the problem of the divided self, and around such conflict as arises when one mask is dislodged to reveal the secret face that haunts or entices. And, to bastardize Robert Burns, when a Shadow meets a Shadow, there must come a reckoning.

It's tempting to read David Cole's unexpected and possibly important memoir as a kind of real-life Shadow story. The hallmarks are there. It's about a guy haunted and lured by the former self he had hoped to bury, and the reckoning, obligatorily foreshadowed, comes as it must.

But if that's the template, we are just as soon confounded by questions. Who is the Shadow? Is the Shadow David Cole, the once and again infamous “Jewish Holocaust denier” who left an indelible mark on one of the

most abominated intellectual movements in modern history? Or is the Shadow David Stein, the titular “Republican Party Animal” who penned influential op-eds while organizing mixers for Hollywood’s “right-wing underground”? Is the Shadow flickering in the multiplicity of lesser pseudonyms and guises the author created as a matter of camouflage or whim as he stood in two circles? Or does the Shadow dwell elsewhere, perhaps in the hearts and minds of those who cast aspersions upon the man in subterfuge?

It’s a matter of perspective, I suppose. Or of sympathy. Or maybe it’s just a false start. Cole’s story is, in any case, ultimately not so much about a self-divided as it is about the burden of irrevocable choices and what cornered insight may be gained in the wake of so much preposterous tumult, when every cover is blown and there’s nowhere left to hide.

“I don’t want to be here,” Cole emphasizes at the beginning of his story. In the closing chapter, he plays on a recurrent Coen brothers theme to assert that he has “learned nothing.” I believe one of these voices. I am deeply suspicious of the other.

# Inconvenient History



A Quarterly Journal for Free Historical Inquiry · Published by CODOH

---

VOLUME 6 · NUMBER 4 · 2014

---



## EDITORIAL

---

## The Karski Report: The Holocaust in Miniature

*Jett Rucker*

**T**his issue of INCONVENIENT HISTORY features an article by Friedrich Jansson that is appropriate to the Year 2014, designated by the Sejm (legislature) of Poland the Year of (Jan) Karski, the intrepid courier/witness for the London-based government-in-exile of Poland, born in Poland one hundred years ago. The article discloses, for the first time of which I, an occasional student of the matter, am aware, the tortuous experience of the reports rendered in December 1942 by Karski, whose effigies today grace parks and university campuses from New York to Jerusalem. Celebrated in a 1994 hagiography titled *Karski: How One Man Tried to Stop the Holocaust*, his exploits on one undercover mission into the heart of German-occupied Europe have, as delineated in Jansson's masterful recapitulation, undergone a series of (partial) expungements and reconstructions that in their particulars and in their severity uncannily mimic the expungements and reconstructions that produced the Holocaust Narrative(s) with which everyone, at least who grew up in the West in the Twentieth Century, has been inculcated, with the usual result of entrenched, if unconsidered, belief in extensive untruths.

To rely upon the novel, but to me seemingly unchallengeable conclusions of Jansson's article, Karski undertook a hazardous mission into German-occupied Europe in the service of his London- (non-Communist) Polish employers to garner material that might serve his employer's purposes, which were both to oppose the present German occupation of Poland and to counter the efforts of a competing (Communist) entity in Moscow to gain international approval for their (ultimately successful) project of being recognized as the legitimate government of Poland. For this enterprise, Karski's employers had decided, like the British with their Balfour Declaration and other such maneuvers, to capitalize on the global financial strength of international Jewry, and in pursuit of this part of their agenda, to assign Karski to penetrate not only the Warsaw Ghetto, but at least one "extermination camp." Karski dutifully visited the Warsaw Ghetto (presumably no difficulty for him, as he had been supplied with papers identifying him as non-Jewish), and from there was directed to the "extermina-

tion camp” of Belzec, a small town 300Km to the southeast, where his contacts in the ghetto assured him he might witness an extermination camp in operation.

Karski (again, following Jansson and other reporters) went to Belzec, and there found no evidence of an extermination camp, but rather, a scene that closely fitted that of a transit camp.

And there, the problems arose. Karski, upon his return to London in November 1942, apparently first reported what he saw, though the accounts upon which we are forced to rely for that are, at the very least, interested. Interested in what? The answer is, several details, and one overriding concern: that the German occupiers be shown to be intent upon annihilation of the Jewish race, at least as it exists in Europe. And this concern required that Belzec in fact be the extermination camp that the anti-German party line insisted that it was, and not a mere transit camp from which inmates went forth to fates that could not be described with any degree of specificity, much less credibility.

Concern about such matters was somewhat out-of-body for the Roman Catholic cadre that ran the London-based government-in-exile of Poland. But it was expedient – to a degree that bore on the success, the very life, of the group. This faction had to consider two potential deal-killers possibly residing in the hearts of Poles in Poland: sympathy for communism and hatred of the Jews. It had to choose between these predilections on the part of the modal Pole on the ground in the contested territory. It chose to side with the Jews, against the communists, a fact made ironic by the domination by Jews of the Communist regime that ultimately took over Poland after World War II.

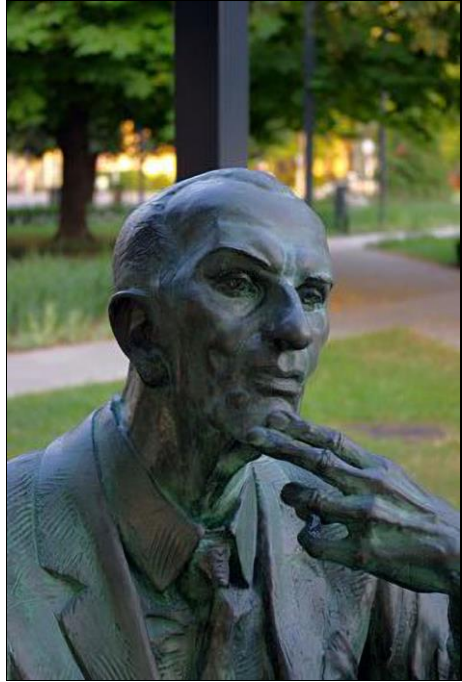
Karski’s report, then, for all the horrific detail true, exaggerated, and false, that it contained, undermined this agenda more than it served it. So it was suppressed. The London Polish government issued a Note<sup>1</sup> to the Allies arrayed against National-Socialist Germany dated December 10, 1942 in which it delineated all manner of genocidal atrocities against Jews by the enemies of said “government,” including, at Belzec, murder by electrocution of all (Jews) transported thence. The exigencies of propaganda and international (military) conflict are such that the particulars of Karski’s eyewitness account had to be suppressed, at least until this proclamation had its intended (immediate) effect, that is, the issuance of the Joint Declaration by Members of the United Nations of December 17, 1942<sup>2</sup>, which claimed for the powers opposing Germany the divine purpose of protecting Europe’s Jews from the depredations upon them of which it accused National-Socialist Germany, perhaps a reprise of the United States’s issuance

of the Emancipation Proclamation at a similar point (about three years in) in the course of America's War between the States.

After this critical event, Jansson's account explains, parties hoping to gain from particulars – carefully selected and judiciously edited – of Karski's intrepid exploits publicized their favored versions of where he went, when he went there, what he saw, and what he made of it, sometimes without his knowledge of what they were publicizing, at other times with his complicity in "shading" the occasional detail or interpretation thereof. Between his understandable desire to serve his employer's – and his country's, as he must have seen it – immediate needs and his own requirements for continued employment and regard, Karski's own cooperation with the many campaigns of deception surrounding him seems more than understandable, particularly in the light of his subsequent utterances, whether calculated or careless, to set the record of what he saw straight.

What strikes me about this Saga of Karski is how the forces of interested, and sponsoring, parties' imperatives interacted with Karski's observations and his reports thereof, and with Karski's own enduring self-interest and with the interests of the various media and entities that so-to-speak fed upon his testimony produced a narrative that, viewed over time through the lens so assiduously provided us by Jansson, squirmed and wriggled in a pattern that reveals the forces themselves and the agendas motivating those who applied those forces.

The sponsoring party, the London-based Republic of Poland, is long gone. Also gone is the Soviet-Union-sponsored Communist regime that controlled Poland until about 1990, replaced by one that has sought mem-



*Jan Karski Bench in Warsaw at the Museum of the History of Polish Jews*

*Source: By Mateusz Opasiński (Own work) [CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Commons*



bership in the European Community and NATO. Very much with us today, however, is the sovereign promoter of international Jewry, Israel, and the compelling narrative defended by its advocates of the Holocaust. Also with us, if only in the nature of annoying gnats buzzing about our eyelashes, is the “corporal’s guard” of revisionists who have been advancing a cover story in fact invented by their dominant adversaries that Karski actually visited only a “sorting” camp at Izbica Lubelska, some distance from Belzec. Jansson’s account destroys this particular spin on Karski’s movements, dispositively.

But history, it would seem, is a football, as an object of contention between competing teams is aptly called, and just like the ball in a contest of what Americans call soccer, it is kicked back and forth, up and down, into goals, and outside them, by groups warring with all their might to make it go one way or another. The football analogy, however, is grossly deficient on at least one score, and that is the number of contending teams, and even the number of goals being sought in the contest. Originally, the contest in which Karski found himself caught up seemed to involve a mere three teams: the Communists, the non-Communist London government-in-exile, and the Germans, who held the ground in question. Over time, however (much more time than is involved in the usual football match), a group previously considered pawns in the game, the Jews, gained ascendancy by various means including the creation of the state of Israel, and it could be they, along with their massively powerful amen chorus in the United States, who have acquired the means to keep the game afoot, as it were, in the service of their own agendas and propagandistic desiderata.

Jansson’s article powerfully depicts the “football” nature of history in general, but in particular that portion of history that concerns itself with the experiences of the Jews of Europe during the time of territorial expansion that Germany undertook during its interval of National Socialism. And like the Karski football, the Holocaust football has been “all over the field” over its long and active life. Putting aside prewar adumbrations such as those cataloged in Don Heddesheimer’s 2005 *The First Holocaust*, the Note from the Republic of Poland cited above may have been the “kick-off” for the historical event that overshadows all others before or since, with the subsequent United Nations Declaration counting as the “extra point” (this analogy from *American* football).

The “launch” provided by the Note of December 10, despite styling its own details as “fully authenticated,” was wobbly enough. Larded throughout with phrases such as “As far as is known” and “It is reliably reported,” the Note details the specialization of the Belzec camp in murder by elec-

trocution while assigning the use of poison gas to that at Chelmno. It takes one detail from Karski's report and relates the use of corrosive chemicals on the floors of railcars to slowly and painfully kill the Jews forced to ride in said rolling torture chambers.

From there, the Holocaust was off on a merry chase that eventually revived the tired World War I canard of soap made from the fat of murdered Jews, lampshades made from human skin, and so on in a litany that is repeated (though critically) even in the pages of this very journal.

I have found it illuminating to project the patterns depicted in Friedrich Jansson's article upon what I know, what I have heard, what I used to know, and what I now disbelieve, of the Holocaust.

It seems, upon due consideration, to be all of a piece. And by no means just as to the Holocaust.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Republic of Poland. *Note Addressed to the Governments of the United Nations on December 10, 1942*. Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., New York, London, Melbourne, 1942. See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raczy%C5%84ski%27s\\_Note](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raczy%C5%84ski%27s_Note)
- <sup>2</sup> Members of the United Nations. *Joint Declaration by Members of the United Nations of December 17, 1942*. Read in the House of Commons, London, 1942. At [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Joint\\_Declaration\\_by\\_Members\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_Against\\_Extermination\\_of\\_the\\_Jews](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Joint_Declaration_by_Members_of_the_United_Nations_Against_Extermination_of_the_Jews)

## PAPERS

## Jan Karski's Visit to Belzec: A Reassessment

*Friedrich Jansson*

*“Claude Lanzmann: There are no survivors of Belzec.  
Jan Karski: There are a lot of them!”*

“**O**ne man who tried to stop the Holocaust.” “The first witness to the Holocaust.” Superlatives have never been lacking in descriptions of the Polish courier Jan Karski. His celebrity has extended to academia, where much ink has been spilled over such questions as whether Karski was on a mission to save the Jews (he was not) or whether he played an important role in informing the Allies about the alleged extermination of the Jews (he did not). Yet the actual contents of Karski's witness account have generally been relegated to the background, to be “dealt with” briefly and then forgotten once more. On the traditional view, Karski's story is as follows: Jewish leaders, having learned of Karski's impending mission to London, asked him to carry a message for the Jews as well as for the Poles. They smuggled him into the Warsaw ghetto and into the Belzec “death camp” so that he could act on their behalf as a direct eyewitness. He then “became one of the first eyewitnesses to present to the West the whole truth about the fate of the Jews in occupied Poland.”<sup>1</sup>

As Karski described his experience at Belzec, he had seen a transport of Jews being driven out of the camp, down a narrow passage, and onto a waiting train. On that train, they would “die in agony,” killed by the disinfectant which had been spread on the floors of the wagons. Some time later, the train having meanwhile traveled to a remote location, their bodies would be removed and disposed of.<sup>2</sup>

Gradually, certain historians developed reservations about the story of Karski's visit to Belzec. The camp, after all, was supposed to have been a killing center equipped with homicidal gas chambers. All Jews sent there were supposed to have been killed in those chambers, less a few who were kept alive to work in the camp. And transports of Jews were certainly not supposed to have departed Belzec, whose status as an extermination camp was to be proved by the fact that transports of Jews continually arrived at, but never departed, the camp.

In the late 1970s, Karski's story was given a new round of publicity, and he gave a number of interviews discussing his visit to Belzec. Far from reconciling his experiences with the accepted history of Belzec, these interviews highlighted and extended the contradictions. Karski repeatedly told interviewers that during the war he had actually believed that Belzec was a transit camp, not a death camp. Once Karski had given several such interviews, Holocaust historians began to catch onto the fact that Karski's story was incompatible with the official history of the Belzec camp, and beginning in the late 1980s began to distance themselves from him. One of the first to express reservations in print was Raul Hilberg, who complained in his book *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders* that



Jan Karski (24 June 1914 – 13 July 2000)

Source: By commons: Lilly M pl.wiki: Lilly M real name: Małgorzata Miłaszewska-Duda [GFDL

(<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC-BY-SA-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0

(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>), via Wikimedia Commons.

Above all, trains did not leave Belzec or Treblinka<sup>3</sup> so that the passengers could die in the cars. Belzec and Treblinka were death camps with gas chambers, and these facilities were not mentioned in Karski's account.<sup>4</sup>

The response to this troublesome witness was complicated by the fact that Karski had been hailed as a hero and savior of Jews. He had been named "Righteous Among the Nations" and made an honorary citizen of Israel. To call him a liar would be politically inconvenient. A more elegant solution was needed, and was found: Karski had not visited Belzec, but the Izbica transit ghetto, where he witnessed a deportation *to* Belzec. Thus altered, Karski's observations would no longer contradict the standard Holocaust storyline. This account was promoted by Karski's biographers Thomas Wood and Stanislaw Jankowski<sup>5</sup> and rapidly gained general ac-

ceptance. Although some historians continued to repeat the older story,<sup>6</sup> the triumph of the new version was so complete that when Karski was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2012, the official announcement stated that Karski had “worked as a courier, entering the Warsaw ghetto and the Nazi Izbica transit camp, where he saw firsthand the atrocities occurring under Nazi occupation” without mentioning Belzec at all.<sup>7</sup>

This paper will show that the thesis that Karski visited Izbica and witnessed the deportation of a transport of Jews is certainly false, and will explain the features in Karski’s reports which have been used to support the thesis of a visit to Izbica. Furthermore, it will show that Karski’s accounts contain information that can only have come from an actual visit to Belzec. Both revisionist and orthodox writers have adduced arguments against Karski’s alleged visit to Belzec.<sup>8</sup> These too will be addressed in due course, and shown not to give any reason to doubt that the visit occurred.

## 1. Karski’s Chronology

In order to clarify the circumstances surrounding Karski’s visit to Belzec, we must first clarify *when* it happened. The outline of Karski’s story is as follows: in Warsaw he met with Jewish leaders, who smuggled him into the Warsaw ghetto (twice), and some days later into the Belzec camp. Later he traveled to London as a courier for the Polish government in exile, where among other things he reported on the situation of the Jews. When did this happen? Karski arrived in Britain on November 25, 1942,<sup>9</sup> and was detained and interrogated at the Royal Patriotic School, leading to some minor diplomatic kerfuffle.<sup>10</sup> In his book *Story of a Secret State*, Karski boasted that his entire trip from Warsaw to London lasted only 21 days,<sup>11</sup> and dated his conversation with Jewish leaders to the beginning of October,<sup>12</sup> his visits to the Warsaw ghetto and Belzec occurring after that.

A number of authors have accepted this date and thereby been led into confusion, for this chronology, which served to emphasize the swiftness of Karski’s trip, is false. As Karski’s biographers Wood and Jankowski observe, there are documents recording Karski’s departure from Warsaw by October 2nd and his arrival in Paris by October 6th.<sup>13</sup> Clearly this rules out the above mentioned chronology. More recent scholarship has suggested that Karski left Warsaw between September 12th and 19th.<sup>14</sup> An earlier report of Karski’s story in the Jewish publication *The Ghetto Speaks* dates the visit to the Warsaw ghetto to August and the Belzec visit to late September.<sup>15</sup> An even earlier and generally overlooked source – which will be

discussed in greater detail below (Section 3) – dates those two visits to August and September.<sup>16</sup>

Karski's description of his conversation with Jewish leaders in Warsaw shows that he visited the Warsaw ghetto after the first wave of deportations, probably during the brief halt that occurred in late August and early September.<sup>17</sup> The date of Karski's departure from Poland shows that the Belzec visit can on no account be dated any later than September. While *The Ghetto Speaks* dates it to late-September, this is part of a stretched-out chronology that places Karski in Poland until late October, nearly a month too long. Cutting the timeframe down to the proper size would move Karski's visit to early September, which is the most probable date.

## 2. The Izbica Thesis

As previously discussed, Karski's statements that he had seen Belzec as a transit camp, coupled with his newfound celebrity, put traditionalist Holocaust scholars in an uncomfortable position. Accepting that Belzec actually was a transit camp was out of the question. Calling Karski a liar was politically inconvenient, and would set a dangerous precedent. Consequently, they elected not to reject Karski's story altogether, but to change his destination. The location they seized on was Izbica, a Jewish town located between Belzec and Lublin.

The principal support for their argument was that some versions of Karski's story from 1943 describe a visit to a camp a certain distance from Belzec, and distinct from the Belzec camp itself. As they interpreted the texts, the visit to Belzec was only a late addition to his story. As Karski's biographers E. Thomas Wood and Stanislaw Jankowski put it:<sup>18</sup>

*"The village Jan reached was not Belzec, nor did Jan think it was while he was there. When he first spoke of this mission after reaching London three months later, he described the site as a 'sorting point' located about fifty kilometers from the city of Belzec – although in the same statement he referred to the camp's location as 'the outskirts of Belzec.' (The actual Belzec death camp was in the town of Belzec, within a few hundred feet of the train station.) In an August 1943 report, Karski at first placed the camp twelve miles, then twelve kilometers outside of Belzec. By the time he began retelling his story publicly in 1944, the town he reached had become Belzec itself. [...]*

*Jan was in the town of Izbica Lubelska, precisely the midway point between Lublin to the northwest and Belzec to the southeast – forty miles*

*from each locality. Izbica was indeed a “sorting point”; Karski had this fact right and the distance from Belzec nearly right in his earliest report.”*

The claim that the destination of Karski’s visit was in fact Izbica is taken for granted in the more recent literature.<sup>19</sup>

However, as we have seen, Karski’s visit to Belzec – or, on the new understanding, to Izbica – can be dated to September, most likely early September. Is it possible that Karski visited Izbica at that date and saw a transport being loaded with Jews?

If this were to be true, the first requirement would clearly be that there actually *was* a transport departing Izbica at around this date. Consultation of standard sources readily confirms that there was not. The lists of transports in Yitzhak Arad’s standard book on the Reinhardt camps contains no transports departing Izbica between May 15 and October 22, 1942.<sup>20</sup> A more recent list of all transports to and from Izbica contains some transports missing from Arad’s book, but confirms that no transport departed Izbica at any time even approximating the date of Karski’s visit.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the Izbica thesis fails on simple matters of chronology. Jan Karski cannot have visited Izbica and witnessed a transport of Jews being loaded to depart, because no transports of Jews departed Izbica at the time he allegedly visited. In contrast, Belzec was at the peak of its activity at the time of Karski’s visit.

While the fact that Karski’s description of his experience does not match the reality of Izbica in *time* is sufficient to refute the Izbica thesis, it is worth observing that his description does not match the reality of Izbica in *place* either. Karski’s descriptions of the camp he visited consistently maintained that it was entirely fenced in. For example, in the 1943 pamphlet *Terror in Europe*, Karski’s account describes the camp as “bounded by an enclosure which runs parallel to the railway track,”<sup>22</sup> and his 1944 book *Story of a Secret State* elaborates that it was “surrounded on all sides by a formidable barbed-wire fence” and well-staffed by guards.<sup>23</sup> Izbica, however, was not a closed ghetto. It was surrounded neither by walls nor barbed-wire fences.<sup>24</sup> Therefore Karski’s account cannot be of Izbica.

Looking at Karski’s full story makes the geographic contradiction between Karski’s story and Izbica even clearer. As Karski described his trip, he took the train to a town from which the Jews had been removed. There he met his contact, a Belzec guard, with whom he walked to the camp. The geography of Karski’s story, therefore, consists of an Aryan town and a nearby fenced-in camp that dealt with Jews. This matches the reality of Belzec Town and Belzec Camp. It does not match the reality of Izbica,

which was an almost entirely Jewish settlement. As the Izbica native Thomas Blatt described it, Izbica was a “typical shtetl” with a prewar Polish population of only two hundred,<sup>25</sup> where Jews and Poles lived together even during the war.<sup>26</sup> Robert Kuwalek quotes a Jew who was deported to Izbica and described it as not a ghetto but “a purely Jewish town where no Poles lived.”<sup>27</sup> While Kuwalek notes that this statement is inaccurate, as “several dozen” Polish families lived in Izbica at that time, the description nevertheless illustrates just how dramatically different Izbica was from the town which Karski described visiting. Karski visited an Aryan town with a nearby fenced-in camp, while Izbica was an unfenced Jewish town without a nearby fenced-in camp. The two could hardly be more different.

We have seen that the Izbica thesis is impossible on both chronological and geographical grounds. Moreover, the internal logic of Karski’s story contradicts the idea of a visit to Izbica. As he described his visit to Belzec/Izbica, it was arranged by the Jewish underground, who wished to show him the full extent of the persecutions of the Jews so that he could speak in their cause as a direct eyewitness when he arrived in London. Therefore they decided to send him to Belzec, which they had identified as an extermination camp. Jewish organizations had in fact identified Belzec as an extermination camp, but they had made no such identification of Izbica. For Jewish leaders to wish to obtain a witness to Belzec, which they conceived as an extermination camp, is perfectly logical. According to one report, the Jews had sought a witness to Belzec exterminations as early as April 1942, and were willing to pay any witness who would give such testimony.<sup>28</sup> Their motivation for desiring a witness to a seeming extermination camp is understandable, but given that Karski had already seen the Warsaw ghetto, there was no reason for them to exert themselves in sending him to see the Izbica ghetto.

Nor does it make sense that Jewish leaders would arrange a trip to Izbica for Karski while telling him that he was going to Belzec. Even the possibility that Karski might have ended up visiting Izbica by mistake in spite of the fact that a visit to Belzec had been arranged is ruled out by the fact that Karski describes making a prearranged rendezvous with a Belzec guard, which would have been impossible in the event of a mistaken location or a last-minute change in plans. It is also unlikely that Karski could have been seriously confused about his location. As one author has stated, “[s]ince Karski was very familiar with Polish geography, it is difficult to see how he could have erred.”<sup>29</sup> Karski knew the area well. He had attended the University of Lvov, just 45 miles from Belzec.<sup>30</sup> In December 1939,



<b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>		<b>INFORMATION AND RECORDS BRANCH</b> (Postal and Telegraph Censorship)		<b>For Ministerial Use</b>	
No. : TL.03308		Date : 5.12.42. 10.45 <b>INDEXED</b>		Co : Central Telegraph Office Passau	
Language : English		From : <b>IGNACY SCHWARZBART</b> QUEENSWAY BAYSWATER		To : <b>JEWISH CONGRESS</b> 330WEST -42ND STREET, NEW-YORK CITY	
<p>SPECIAL OFFICIAL ENVOY GENTILE ESCAPED AND ARRIVED HERE LEFT CAPITAL THIS OCTOBER SAW WARSAW GETHTO ON LAST AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER WITNESSED MASS MURDER OF ONE THOUSAND SIX THOUSAND JEWS AT BELZEC SPOKE TO HIM YESTERDAY 3 HOURS CONFIRM ALL MOST HORRIBLE MASS ATROCITIES STILL LIVING ALL REMNANTS OF JEWS FACING DEATH STOP BROUGHT DESPERATE APPEAL OF THIS REMNANT TO WORLD JEWRY SENDING REPORT STOP CONSTANTLY NEGOTIATING RACZYNSKI JEWISH JOINT COMMITTEE FOR DIPLOMATIC AND RESCUE ACTION SETTLED DETAILS SHORTLY GOVERNMENTS PUBLISHED FULL REPORT SMKT INFORM REPRESENTATION BUT PRESS ONLY WITHOUT</p> <p>Censors' Note:- Mentioning- IGNACY SCHWARZBART</p>					
Distribution:		C 12313 / 61 / 18			
P.O. INF. B.B.C.		I.R.B. DE.8.12.42. m			
P.I.D.		(Use both sides of this form)			

Figure 1: Schwarzbart's telegram

he had seen an earlier camp for Jews located near Belzec. He had described this camp in a 1940 report, and mentioned the town of Belzec by name, correctly locating it “on the boundary of the territories occupied by the Bolsheviks.”<sup>31</sup> The supposition that he confused Belzec with Izbica is far-fetched.

Although the preceding arguments easily show that the Izbica thesis is totally untenable, they still leave some questions unanswered. Was the location of Belzec really a late addition to Karski's story? Why are there versions of Karski's story that describe visiting a “sorting point” rather than Belzec? Finally, did Karski really go to Belzec or did he not? The remainder of this paper will answer these questions.

### 3. The Earliest Report of Karski's Visit

Authors supporting the Izbica thesis have supposed that Karski's first accounts describe a visit to a camp some distance from Belzec. This claim is refuted by a telegram sent by Ignacy Schwarzbart, one of the two Jewish members of the Polish National Council, the day after he met with Karski.<sup>32</sup> The telegram, which was preserved because it was copied by the British censors,<sup>33</sup> has been largely ignored, despite its obvious importance.<sup>34</sup>

The telegram records a three-hour meeting the previous day<sup>35</sup> between

Schwarzbart and a special official envoy gentile, evidently Jan Karski, who told Schwarzbart about visiting the Warsaw ghetto in August and in September visiting Belzec where he witnessed mass murder of one transport of six thousand jews.

The telegram confirms that Karski reported visiting Belzec from the beginning. Therefore, the chronological sequence of accounts of Karski's trip is not:

– visit to a “sorting point” some distance from Belzec → visit to Belzec  
but

– visit to Belzec → visit to a “sorting point” some distance from Belzec  
→ visit to Belzec

Below, we will be concerned with explaining this sequence of accounts.

### The Vanishing Meeting

In an important article on Karski's mission, David Engel has argued that the courier did not meet with Ignacy Schwarzbart until months after arriving in London. Engel's principal argument was that Schwarzbart's diary does not mention Karski until March 16, 1943, and then only for a remark about the relative positions of the Jews and Poles, not as the source of any vital new information.<sup>36</sup> If an incidental remark from Karski was enough to cause Schwarzbart to make a note in his diary, Engel reasoned, then a meeting with Karski revealing the truth of extermination at Belzec would certainly have provoked the same response.

Schwarzbart's silence caused Engel to doubt that Karski had bothered to contact Jewish leaders at any earlier date. In light of Schwarzbart's telegram shown above, his diary's months-long silence about Karski takes on quite a different significance. Why did Schwarzbart not record his meeting with Karski in his diary? His telegram shows that it was of great importance to him at the time. Given that his diary *does* record an unimportant remark Karski made some months later, why is it silent on such a momentous meeting?

## 4. Some Background

Our next aim is to determine why there are accounts of Karski's trip which put him in a “sorting point” far from Belzec. In order to solve this problem, we will need to look at the full array of wartime sources for Karski's story. Before we do this, however, it will be useful to step back and consider the broader context. Who was Karski? What were his goals, and what prob-

lems did he face? Or more to the point, what were the goals and problems faced by the Polish government in exile?

Any general account of Karski's context must start with the government which he served. As a result of the diplomatic posture they had taken prior to the war, the Poles found themselves in opposition to both Germany and the Soviet Union. While opposition to Germany fit comfortably with their position among the minor allies, opposition to the USSR involved a conflict within the Allied camp. While the Poles, under heavy pressure from the British, grudgingly reestablished diplomatic relations with the Soviets on July 30, 1941, they had no intention of giving up the territories that the Soviets had annexed, and never imagined that the issue of Poland's eastern border was anything but a continuing battleground. The more realistic Polish leaders realized that they could scarcely hope to defend their territorial claims on their own. If Poland was to preserve its prewar eastern border, it would need diplomatic support from the other Allies, particularly from England and America.

Yet in the realm of international politics, the Poles were little more than a charity case. They had no real leverage with which to induce anyone to take their part. Under these circumstances, their only diplomatic weapon was whatever goodwill they could induce on the parts of their allies. But their ability to develop public goodwill depended almost entirely on their treatment in the mass media. As the Poles recognized that the Jews played a dominant role in the Anglo-American mass media, as well as in other aspects of the opinion-forming elite, they adopted the tactic of trying to curry Jewish favor.<sup>37</sup>

A second consideration that guided the policy of the Polish government towards the Jews was the role the Jews played in their own internal politics. The power of the London Poles was entirely dependent on the active hostility of the Polish people towards the German authorities. Recognizing that Germany's anti-Jewish policies in Poland were highly popular with the Polish masses, they saw the need for a policy designed to prevent the Germans from using German-Polish concord on the Jewish question to win the approval, or at least the acceptance, of the Polish masses. Karski himself explained the significance of this situation for the Poles very clearly<sup>38</sup> in a document written in early 1940, which was discovered and published by David Engel.<sup>39</sup> The document lays out in detail the reasons of internal politics that forced Polish leaders into a kind of alliance with the Jews. As Karski wrote:<sup>40</sup>

*"The attitude of the Jews toward the Poles and vice versa under German occupation is an extremely important and extremely complicated*

*problem, much more important and much more consequential than under the Bolshevik conquest.*

*The Germans are attempting at all costs to win over the Polish masses [...]*

*\*\* They are attempting to play upon the growing conflicts between the Polish police or other vestiges of the Polish civil service and the broad masses of society, almost always standing 'on the side of the people,' and in the end, 'the Germans, and the Germans alone, will help the Poles to settle accounts with the Jews. '\*\**

The danger of this situation, as Karski perceived it, was that the handling of the Jewish question provided an issue on which Germans and Poles could heartily agree, paving the way for a broader collaboration that would undermine the power of the government in exile.<sup>41</sup>

*"The solution of the 'Jewish Question' by the Germans – I must state this with a full sense of responsibility for what I am saying – is a serious and quite dangerous tool in the hands of the Germans, leading toward the 'moral pacification' of broad sections of Polish society.*

*[...] this question is creating something akin to a narrow bridge upon which the Germans and a large portion of Polish society are finding agreement."*

On the basis of this analysis, Karski suggested that it would be desirable to create a "common front" with the Jews and Bolsheviks against the "more powerful and deadly enemy," the Germans, while "leaving accounts to be settled with the other two later."<sup>42</sup>

The result of these two considerations was that the Poles were eager to criticize German policy towards the Jews, both in order to persuade their own people to distinguish German "atrocities" from their own intentions towards the Jews, and in order to butter up Anglo-American Jewry in hope of gaining their support on the issue of Poland's eastern borders. Because of this hope, the Poles were very pliable in their dealings with the Jews as long as their core interests were not affected. Polish appeasement of the Jews was to little avail; their relations are perhaps best summed up in Sikorski's comment "I am treating the Jews like a soft-boiled egg but to no avail."<sup>43</sup> Jewish organizations were well aware of the weakness of the Polish position and exploited it, organizing media campaigns against the Poles so as to force them to make more substantial concessions, while offering hopes of support but refraining from definite commitments. These tactics had their intended result of putting the Poles on the defensive. As a British Foreign Office official recognized, the Polish government was "al-

ways glad of an opportunity [...] to show that they are not anti-Semitic.”<sup>44</sup>

## 5. The Falsehoods in Karski’s Accounts

The next main goal of this paper is to understand the reason that Karski started out claiming to have gone to Belzec, then claimed to have visited a camp (not Belzec) some distance from Belzec, and then again claimed to have visited Belzec. Before we launch into this question, it’s worth stopping to analyze some simpler features of Karski’s accounts which have caused unnecessary controversy.

### False Dates

Raul Hilberg, Michael Tregenza, and Carlo Mattogno have argued against Karski’s visit to Belzec based on the assumption that it took place in October.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, Karski visited Belzec in September. However, the confusion is understandable, as Karski himself repeatedly gave the former date. Why did he do so?

One possible answer is that it was a simple mistake. This explanation, however, fails to explain the times that Karski claimed to have visited the Warsaw ghetto in January 1943 and left Poland the following month,<sup>46</sup> or claimed to have visited Belzec at the end of 1942 and traveled to London in early 1943.<sup>47</sup> In his meeting with President Roosevelt, Karski even claimed to have left Poland in March 1943.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, there was a broader effort among the Poles to falsify the date of Karski’s departure from Poland, and Karski was not the only one to report this falsely.<sup>49</sup>

Why did Karski give the original false date, of having departed Poland in late October? His biographers suggest that it was to make his information seem more fresh.<sup>50</sup> This was doubtless one reason, but when speaking to a Jewish audience, however, another factor entered the picture, namely the Poles’ desire to gain Jewish support for the Polish position on their eastern border by creating the impression that the Polish government was highly active and concerned on behalf of the Jews. By moving back the date of his departure from Poland, Karski gave the impression that he had hurried to carry the Jews’ news, sometimes even claiming that he had made the trip from Warsaw to London in record time. This story was in keeping with the impression the Poles wanted to make on a Jewish audience, while the reality – that he spent considerable time waiting around in Paris for the right moment to go to London – would not have.

## Death Trains

Karski's most attention-getting claim was that the Jews loaded onto the train at Belzec were killed on the trains with some kind of disinfectant, perhaps quicklime, which had been spread on the floor of the wagons.<sup>51</sup> As we will see below (Section 7), Karski freely admitted in postwar interviews that during the war he believed that Belzec was a transit camp from which Jews were taken for forced labor. He also accepted that the disinfectant was for the purpose of disinfection rather than extermination, thereby admitting that he had not truly believed in the extermination of the Jews by train, which was simply a piece of speculative atrocity propaganda.

## 6. Karski's Wartime Accounts of His Trip

Now we turn to our main question: where did Karski say he went? Why are there versions of his story that claim a visit to a "sorting point" fifty kilometers from Belzec?

Examining this question requires that we look at how the trip is described in all major wartime versions of Karski's story. They are:

- December 5, 1942 Schwarzbart telegram reporting on December 4 meeting with Karski. States that he went to Belzec.<sup>52</sup>
- March 1, 1943 story in *The Ghetto Speaks*, published by the American Representation of the General Jewish Workers Union of Poland (the Bund),<sup>53</sup> a slightly different version of which appeared in the March 1943 edition of *Voice of the Unconquered*,<sup>54</sup> the newsletter of the Jewish Labor Committee. Describes visiting a "sorting point" fifty kilometers from Belzec, at which some Jews are killed in "death trains" and others sent on to Belzec, where they are killed with poison gas or electricity.
- May 1943 story, written by Arthur Koestler<sup>55</sup> on the basis of discussions with Karski and later broadcast on the BBC.<sup>56</sup> Stated that Karski visited the camp of Belzec, which was located 15 kilometers south of the town of Belzec.
- Minutes of August 9, 1943 meeting in New York between Karski and Jewish organizations. Says that the camp Karski visited was 12 miles from Belzec, then says it was 12 kilometers from Belzec.<sup>57</sup>
- *Story of a Secret State*, published November 1944.<sup>58</sup> Reports traveling to Belzec, meeting his contact at a shop, and walking via an indirect route for 20 minutes or 1.5 miles to reach the Belzec camp.<sup>59</sup>

This series of accounts confirms what was noted above, that Karski's story developed from a trip to Belzec, to a trip to a camp some distance from

Belzec, then back again to a trip to Belzec. There are four texts which place Karski at a distance from Belzec: the pair of articles from March 1943, the Koestler broadcast, and the minutes taken by the Representation of Polish Jewry. On closer inspection, however, the March 1943 articles can be split off from the other two, as unlike the latter two, they explicitly distinguish Karski's destination from Belzec.

### The March 1943 Articles

The two March 1943 articles printed in Jewish publications in New York contain both the earliest published version of Karski's story, and the only version of his story which distinguished the camp he visited from the Belzec camp. They are clearly derived from a common text, but edited differently. These articles were not authored by Karski, although they do derive from his report. Even Karski's biographers recognize that parts of the story "appear to have been embellished for propaganda purposes or distorted for security reasons."<sup>60</sup>

The most characteristic feature of these stories is their attempt to distinguish the destination of Karski's trip from Belzec, and to reconcile the two within a common framework. They state that many of the deported Jews "die before they reach the 'sorting point', which is located about 50 kilometers from the city of Belzec,"<sup>61</sup> and claim in Karski's voice to have visited this location:<sup>62</sup>

*"In the uniform of a Polish policeman I visited the sorting camp near Belzec. It is a huge barrack only about half of which is covered with a roof. When I was there about 5,000 men and women were in the camp. However, every few hours new transports of Jews, men and women, young and old, would arrive for the last journey towards death."*

Karski himself never gave this version of the story. Nor did he ever claim to have visited the camp in *Polish* uniform. As he was acutely aware of the Poles' need to curry favor with Jewish groups by creating the impression that Polish-Jewish relations were more favorable than they actually were, it is extremely unlikely that Karski would ever have told a story involving a Polish death-camp guard.

The story adds an explicit reconciliation between Karski's story and the then standard account of Belzec:<sup>63</sup>

*"Because there are not enough cars to kill the Jews in this relatively inexpensive manner many of them are taken to nearby Belzec where they are murdered by poison gases or by the application of electric currents."*

*The corpses are burned near Belzec. Thus within an area of fifty kilometers huge stakes are burning Jewish corpses day and night.*"

Again, Karski never told this story himself. As Wood and Jankowski correctly deduced, the story, though derived from Karski's account, has been altered, although they were mistaken about *how* it was altered. The purpose of the alterations was to reconcile Karski's experience with the story, then current, of the Belzec electricity/gas extermination camp, as can be seen in the fact that the passages which make this reconciliation do not appear in any other source, and do not match any claim made by Karski himself. The editors, however, slipped up in leaving in a description of the camp as located "on the outskirts of Belzec." This description is incompatible with the description of the "sorting camp" located 50 kilometers from Belzec. A location 50 kilometers from London might perhaps be described as "on the outskirts of London," or a location 50 kilometers from New York as "on the outskirts of New York," but Belzec was only a small town. A location 50 kilometers from Belzec would no more be described as "on the outskirts of Belzec" than Austria would be described as "on the outskirts of Belgium." The same goes for the text's reference to the camp as being located "near Belzec," when Belzec was much too small a place to be the point of reference for a location 50 kilometers away. These passages clearly reflect an earlier version of the text, before it was altered to send Karski to a different location.

While the editing could have been done in New York, it seems more likely that the story had already been altered in London. Thanks to the British censors who intercepted and preserved Schwarzbart's telegram, we know that Karski came to London claiming to have entered the Belzec camp. Examining the context of his arrival will allow us to see how events likely proceeded. At the time of Karski's arrival in London in late November of 1942, the campaign which culminated in the Allied declaration of December 17, 1942 was already underway. Ignacy Schwarzbart, the author of the December 1942 telegram which is the first written record of Karski's visit to Belzec, played a key role in this campaign. Schwarzbart, whom Karski later remembered as "a professional politician and a bit of a manipulator,"<sup>64</sup> was at the time already involved in spreading the story of extermination at Belzec. According to *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, on November 15 he had declared:<sup>65</sup>

*"An electrocution station is installed at Belzec camp. Transports of settlers arrive at a siding, on the spot where the execution is to take place. The camp is policed by Ukrainians. The victims are ordered to strip na-*



*ked ostensibly to have a bath and are then led to a barracks with a metal plate for floor. The door is then locked, electric current passes through the victims and their death is almost instantaneous. The bodies are loaded on the wagons and taken to a mass grave some distance from the camp."*

A document containing the same language came to the British Foreign Office on November 26,<sup>66</sup> and the *New York Times* reported similar<sup>67</sup> remarks concerning electrocution at Belzec made by Schwarzbart on November 25.<sup>68</sup> Other reports circulating at the time, some of which had appeared in the Polish government organ *Polish Fortnightly Review* just days before Schwarzbart met with Karski,<sup>69</sup> also mentioned Belzec as a place of gassing or electrocution. It cannot have taken Schwarzbart very long to realize that Karski's story of Jews departing Belzec by train, even if only to be killed on the train, contradicted his story of the Jews arriving at Belzec all being electrocuted or gassed in the camp.

Karski, consequently, was a dangerous witness, whose story did not fit into the account being spread by the Poles and Jews at the time, and which was therefore not particularly wanted. Indeed, Karski's experience played no role whatsoever in the Polish activities that surrounded the Allied declaration of December 17, 1942, in spite of the fact that he was the *only* eyewitness to the Reinhardt camps on hand in any Allied country. In fact, the Polish government-in-exile carefully restricted Karski's contacts in London for months after his arrival,<sup>70</sup> and never arranged to have him inform the British about his experience in Belzec. Meanwhile the Allied declaration went forward with the pointed omission of any mention of the Reinhardt camps, which were relegated to the realms of print and broadcast propaganda, where they were covered without any input from Jan Karski, the only eyewitness on hand.

In short, Karski came to London with an account of his visit to Belzec that contradicted the preexisting propaganda about that camp. He told the Jewish members of the Polish National Council the story of his visit, but they were already engaged in advancing a different story about Belzec, one in which it was an extermination camp that killed with electricity or gas. In spite of the fact that their story was not supported by any eyewitness from within the camp, they continued with their campaign while keeping silent about Karski's information. They could not but realize the danger inherent in Karski's account of Belzec, which so dramatically contradicted the stories they were spreading. Naturally, they sought a way to defuse this danger, and came up with the solution of resolving the contradiction between the two stories by placing them at different locations. The articles in *The*

*Ghetto Speaks* and *Voice of the Unconquered* are the result. While the alterations to Karski's story were most likely made within Polish Jewish circles in London,<sup>71</sup> the articles were published not in London but in New York so as to avoid the possibility that Karski would read and contradict them. The expedient worked: as far as I have been able to discover, he remained completely unaware of them.

In light of this background, the odd fact that Schwarzbart's diary does not mention Karski until March 16, 1943, which caused David Engel to conclude that the two had not previously met, becomes perfectly understandable. Karski's story was a threat to the propaganda campaign which then occupied Schwarzbart's attention. Schwarzbart only felt comfortable mentioning Karski in his diary *after* the American Jewish publications *The Ghetto Speaks* and *Voice of the Unconquered* had published the latter's story in a form that explicitly reconciled it with the official version of Belzec by locating his visit in a "sorting camp near Belzec" rather than in Belzec itself and contrasting the "death train" method that Karski saw with the extermination "by poison gases or by the application of electric currents" that took place in Belzec. By that time, the Allied declaration and the wave of propaganda that surrounded it was a *fait accompli*, and the danger posed by Karski's information had been defused.

### The Distance Problem

While Karski was unaware of the two articles of March 1943, he was quite familiar with the next source, a story written by the Hungarian Jew Arthur Koestler at the suggestion of SOE chief Lord Selbourne, and on the basis of discussions with Karski himself. The piece clearly stated that Karski visited "the camp of Belzec."<sup>72</sup> However, it also stated that "[t]he camp of Belzec is situated about 15 kilometers south of the town of that name,"<sup>73</sup> a seriously excessive figure. Karski could not have so described a camp at that location thus, because following the railroad south for 15 kilometers from Belzec would have brought him to Rawa Ruska, a much larger city. Had Karski visited a camp at that location, he would not have described the camp as 15 kilometers south of Belzec, but as on the outskirts of Rawa Ruska.

The same kind of excessive reported distance occurs in the fourth and final "problematic" source, the minutes taken by the Representation of Polish Jewry of an August 9, 1943 meeting between Karski and Jewish organizations, which again did not differentiate the camp Karski visited from Belzec, but placed it first 12 miles and then 12 kilometers from the town.

These sources do not, however, originate directly from Karski, and when he gave his own account of his trip, he said that he walked for 20 minutes from his rendezvous point in the town of Belzec to get to the camp,<sup>74</sup> which is entirely realistic, particularly given that he avoided the main paths. This still leaves the question of why there are second-hand accounts giving an excessive distance. There are several possible explanations. One is that Karski simply did not have a head for distances. He would be far from the only person with this disability. This possibility is supported by the fact that he gave a hugely exaggerated estimate of the camp's size.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, he gave a much more realistic (though still overstated) estimate of the distance as 1.5 miles in his account of his Belzec trip,<sup>76</sup> which suggests that the authors of these two texts may have exaggerated for reasons of their own. While Koestler was in direct contact with Karski and consequently could not follow the New York publications in saying that the latter had visited some location other than the Belzec camp, he was still aware of all the different claims being made about extermination methods, and made sure to smooth over the contradictions, saying that the Jews were killed in Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka "by various methods, including gas, burning by steam, mass electrocution, and finally, by the method of the so-called 'death train'",<sup>77</sup> and putting an endorsement of the other accounts into Karski's mouth:<sup>78</sup>

*"I myself, have not witnessed the other methods of mass killing, such as electrocution, steaming, and so on, but I have heard firsthand eyewitness accounts, which describe them as equally horrible."*

Karski did not actually claim to have heard such first-hand accounts, but the remark served to ensure that all the different extermination methods could live happily together. Given Koestler's concern with ensuring this, it is possible that he altered Karski's description of the distances to set up the possibility that the conflicting reports about Belzec referred to different locations. The same applies to the Representation of Polish Jewry, which was actively involved in spreading stories of extermination and would have known perfectly well that Karski's account conflicted with the usual version of Belzec. Of course, this is mere speculation, but it serves to highlight why these second-hand sources do not give any real support to the thesis that Karski visited a location other than Belzec. The decisive factor is that Karski's first-hand accounts give the location of the camp more accurately.

Another feature to notice is that the texts which place the camp Karski visited somewhere beyond easy walking distance (12 or 15 kilometers, or

12 miles) from the town of Belzec never specify how he got there, or how he returned afterwards. In sharp contrast to this, the wartime texts Karski himself authored, as well as his postwar interviews, are very clear that he met his contact at a shop in the town of Belzec and walked a short distance to the Belzec camp.

Though it is a second-hand source, the Schwarzbart telegram also refutes the reports of excessive distances by placing Karski in Belzec itself. No one who knew the area as Karski did would describe a location 15 kilometers south of Belzec (or 12 miles or kilometers away) as being in the tiny town of Belzec. As this is the earliest source on Karski's trip, it refutes any notion that he first claimed to have gone to a camp quite some distance from Belzec but subsequently changed his story upon learning the true location of the Belzec camp.

In summary, we have shown that there is no warrant in the wartime sources to support the idea that Karski visited a camp other than Belzec. We have explained the two sources that make this claim as clumsy alterations of Karski's story meant to harmonize it with the required story of Belzec extermination camp. The two sources that simply place Karski's destination an excessive distance from the town of Belzec can be explained either in terms of an attempt at reconciling stories or by his poor sense of distances, and are trumped by the more accurate information about Belzec's location in his first-hand accounts.

## 7. Belzec in Karski's Postwar Interviews

Karski's postwar interviews gave him the chance to tell his story without the need to consider his role in Polish government-in-exile propaganda, and he showed a considerable willingness to correct elements of his story that had been presented falsely in his wartime writings. In describing his trip to Belzec, he admitted that his story of Jews being shot at Belzec was really based on guards shooting in the air to encourage the Jews to board the trains more hastily. He accepted that the disinfectant used in the trains was not aimed at extermination but at disinfection. Most important, he admitted that he had not believed in the stories he spread about Belzec being an extermination camp, but had thought it to be a transit camp.

Karski's interview with Claude Lanzmann for the movie *Shoah* is his first and his most detailed. Though Karski discussed Belzec at length, his account so unsettled Lanzmann that it was entirely omitted from *Shoah*, as well as from the 2010 documentary *Le Rapport Karski* which was cut from the same footage. The reason for Lanzmann's discomfort is easy to see.

When asked about his knowledge of Belzec at the time of his visit, Karski replied:<sup>79</sup>

*“I had heard about Belzec, I knew there was a camp. What I heard, by the way, at that time, even from some Jewish people, was that this was what was called at the time a ‘transitional’ camp.”*

Yet reports of Belzec as an extermination camp had circulated widely at that point in time, so this statement implies that members of the Polish underground in Karski’s circle did not believe the reports they were themselves spreading about the extermination of the Jews at Belzec, and that even some Jews had an awareness of Belzec as a transit camp.

When Karski attempted to explain his thoughts on Belzec, Lanzmann sought to change the subject, and even cut Karski off when he tried to return to his point. As Lanzmann attempted to reassert the official history of Belzec, Karski continued to go off script. He insisted that while Belzec might have functioned as a death camp at some other point in time, by the time of his visit it had been turned into a transit camp:<sup>80</sup>

*“Lanzmann: And Belzec started to be operational as a death camp in March 1942.*

*Karski: Yes, only at the moment I visited it, it became apparently truly transitional, which means the Jews were shifted somewhere. The Germans announced that they were going to forced labour, they were going to have good conditions...*

*Lanzmann: This was to the Jews.*

*Karski: They said this to the Jews, yes. The Germans always, if they could avoid open trouble, they wanted to avoid it. They wanted everything in as much order, of course, as humanly possible.”*

As Karski proceeded to describe his visit, the character of Belzec as transit camp became even clearer:<sup>81</sup>

*“Karski: [...] We entered the camp. As a matter of fact that camp, at the point where I entered it, had no wall. Wire was around it; barbed wire. Whether there were walls in other parts of it, I do not know, I spent in that camp probably no more than 20, 25 minutes – again, I could not take it. The difference between this camp and the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw was that here there was total confusion. The Jews, the population of it, were going somewhere. As I saw it at that time, from the station railroad, as I understood it, there were some rails leading to the camp. Rather primitive built, but I could recognise it, with some sort of a platform. And then the train, which consisted of some 40 cattle trucks. The train facing the camp would move two or three cars, and*

*stop again. From the gate I was standing and observing militiamen, Gestapo Germans – ‘Juden raus! Juden raus!’ – directing them to the tracks.*

*Lanzmann: You had to cross the camp before arriving at this place...?*

*Karski: Yes, I saw this from the camp.*

*Lanzmann: ...where you were able to see the loading of the rails.*

*Karski: Where I was able to see the loading of that primitive rail.*

*Lanzmann: Yes, but before this you had to cross the camp. Can you describe how you crossed it? What you saw at the time when you crossed it?*

*Karski: I did not go very deeply into it, because the guide, apparently, and the Estonian wanted to show me this scene. The train was facing that particular gate. We entered the gate, and then we stayed there observing what was happening.*

*Lanzmann: How long was it between the moment you entered the camp – through another gate – and this point? Was it a big camp?*

*Karski: I entered through the same gate. I did not wander in the camp. I did not go deeply in the camp. From the Belzec camp, my recollection was the shipment of the Jews from the camp to the trucks in the train. [...]*

*Lanzmann: The people who were loaded into the freight cars – according to you they were working inside the camp since a long time?... These people, these Jews – were they working inside the camp since a long time? How many days, how many hours?*

*Karski: I only saw total confusion. They did not look like inhabitants, they looked, as I interpreted it, as some sort of transitional camp. They brought Jews from somewhere, they are taking them somewhere. It did not look to me like an inhabited, regular... – At this point I was standing in the camp, it was total confusion. Shipment of the Jews to the train. What I understood at the time – where are they taking them? They were apparently taking the Jews for forced labour.”*

We may note in passing that this description is totally incompatible with the thesis of a visit to Izbica.

Walter Laqueur interviewed Karski in 1979, and included a summary – but not a transcript – of the interview in his book *The Terrible Secret*.<sup>82</sup> Absent the actual transcript the source is not particularly useful, but broadly speaking Laqueur’s version has Karski confirming what he said in other interviews. In particular, he mentions that “Karski says he learned only in later years that Belzec was not a transit but a death camp and that most of the victims were killed in gas chambers.”<sup>83</sup> In a 1987 interview

with Maciej Kozłowski, Karski confirmed this, stating:<sup>84</sup>

*“For many years I could not understand it. I thought Belzec was a transitory camp. It was after the war that I learned that it was a death camp.”*

### Karski’s attempts to interpret his trip to Belzec

Karski’s interviews consistently contain an attempt to understand the difference between what he saw at Belzec and what, on the received history, he should have seen. This does not appear in his interviews that mentioned his visit to Belzec only briefly or in passing,<sup>85</sup> but featured regularly in his more detailed interviews. The way Karski attempted to reconcile his experiences with received history was by hypothesizing that Belzec had functioned as a death camp, but that by the time of his visit it was in the process of being liquidated and therefore was functioning as a transit camp. This interpretation is already present in his interview with Lanzmann:<sup>87</sup>

*“As I understood after the war, at that time they were liquidating the camp as such. By November<sup>1861</sup> there was no longer a camp. Whatever the reason, I don’t know, but apparently the last shipment of Jews were taken out of Belzec and either shifted to Sobibor, which had become an extermination camp; or Jews who were taken from the Warsaw or other ghettos would be for some reason shifted to Belzec for a short time and again go somewhere else.”*

Although he admitted that he had been ignorant of exactly which of the Reinhardt camps the Jews from each particular ghetto were sent to, Karski stuck to his guns in the face of Lanzmann’s attempts to refute his story, and reiterated that “at the moment I visited [Belzec], it became apparently truly transitional, which means the Jews were shifted somewhere.”<sup>88</sup> In a June 1981 interview Karski repeated this interpretation, again suggesting that he had witnessed Belzec as a transit camp because it was then being liquidated.<sup>89</sup>

Karski’s interpretation derives from actual accounts of a transport being sent from Belzec to Sobibor during the liquidation of the former camp,<sup>90</sup> which he seized on as a solution to his conundrum of why he saw a transport departing Belzec if it was (as he was told after the war) an extermination camp.

Of course, the idea that Belzec was being liquidated at the time of Karski’s visit is incorrect. He must have been informed of this, since he subsequently stopped interpreting his experience in terms of the liquidation of the camp. While he again interpreted what he had seen at Belzec as a

transport of Jews being sent to Sobibor in a 1986 appearance on British television and in a 1987 interview with Maciej Kozłowski, he no longer tried to interpret what he had seen in terms of the liquidation of the camp. Whether from reading or from conversation, he had thought of a new explanation. Picking up on stories which reported that Belzec was an inefficiently run preliminary death camp – a point which Lanzmann had mentioned during their interview<sup>91</sup> – he suggested that the reason he had seen a transport departing Belzec was that Belzec's poor organization made it unable to absorb all of the transports sent there. As he put it in a 1986 television interview:<sup>92</sup>

*“For many years I wondered how it was that I did not see the Jews brought into the camp, but taken out from that camp. Then I discovered, sometimes too many Jews would come to Belzec [...]. The commandant, he was apparently negligent [...] and he couldn't absorb all the Jews sent to the camp; he would send them to Sobibor which was beautifully managed, efficient, and where, of course, the liquidation of the Jews would take place [...].”*

In his 1987 interview with Kozłowski, he said much the same thing:<sup>93</sup>

*“For many years I could not understand it. I thought Belzec was a transitory camp. It was after the war that I learned that it was a death camp. During the trials of the German war criminals in the late 1940s, some Polish railwaymen who cooperated with the underground were cross-examined as witnesses. They explained the scene I saw. By German standards, Belzec was run very inefficiently. In fact at that time its commander, SS Captain Gottlieb Hering, was on trial before an SS court. The extermination in Belzec was done by exhaust gases from engines salvaged from Soviet tanks. It was a very ineffective way of killing. The engines over-heated, and the whole process of killing lasted for a long time. Sometimes one transport had not been completed by the time a new one arrived. In such cases the new transport was directed to Sobibor, where the death machine was running much better. I witnessed such a scene.”*

This interpretation of Karski's is also untenable: the only attested transport from Belzec to Sobibor dates to the summer of 1943, and at the time of Karski's visit to Belzec the railway line to Sobibor was closed. Karski's interpretations are not of interest for reasons of accuracy, but because he made them at all. As he repeatedly stated, he was very puzzled at the fact that his experience at Belzec did not fit with the officially sanctioned ver-



sion. Faced with this confusion, he groped after whatever explanation he could find.

## 8. Why Believe That Karski's Trip Happened at All?

Revisionist writers may find in Karski's description of Belzec a fairly good picture of what the transit camp should have looked like while in operation. While his wartime accounts were elaborated for the purpose of propaganda, his postwar interviews help to correct this. In short, what he saw was this: there was a great concentration of Jews in Belzec, some of whom were housed in the camp's barracks but others of whom had to remain in the open. Some of them had died, either on the trains or while waiting in the camp, and the dead bodies had remained there while the Jews themselves did. He saw that the Germans loaded the (surviving) Jews onto a train, and that some forceful measures (shouted commands, shots fired in the air) were needed to accomplish this. He heard that the Jews were being transferred elsewhere for work. All of this is in keeping with the expected functioning of a transit camp. Even Karski's descriptions of seeing a considerable number of dead bodies in the camp fit with the documented history of Belzec. One of the rare surviving documents on Belzec records the high mortality on a large transport from Kolomea which arrived at Belzec on September 11, 1942 – almost exactly the same time as Karski's trip.<sup>94</sup> It is even possible that Karski saw this very transport's departure from Belzec, or if not that then perhaps another transport with similar (if less severe) elevated mortality.

While revisionists should be comfortable accepting Karski's story, traditionalist Holocaust believers face a different situation. Karski's account of Belzec is absolutely incompatible with the standard understanding that it was, at the time of Karski's visit, an extermination camp equipped with homicidal gas chambers, at which transports of Jews arrived but from which they never departed.<sup>95</sup> In light of the total non-viability of the Izbica thesis, it would be no surprise if traditionalist Holocaust historians should decide that Karski's story was a lie from beginning to end. On the face of things, such an argument might seem acceptable. To be sure, it would be politically awkward, given the degree to which Karski has been promoted as a hero, not to mention his key position in the Polish national mythology concerning Poland's relation to the Holocaust. When a man has been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for having "told the truth, all the way to President Roosevelt himself,"<sup>96</sup> it's a little awkward to turn around and argue that he was a persistent and determined liar. Neverthe-

less, the honest Holocaust believer has no choice but to do so.

One reason to be skeptical of this thesis is that as seen above, Karski was demonstrably very puzzled by the discrepancy between what he saw at Belzec and what he was told he should have seen. If his trip did not occur, he would have no reason for such perplexity. It would take a creative liar indeed to repeatedly fabricate such confusion, and to invent multiple explanations for said discrepancy merely so as to lend realism to a story of a trip that never happened.

A second reason telling against the thesis that Karski fabricated the story of his trip lies in the lack of motive. This is not to say that Karski could not have a motive for inventing a story about the extermination of the Jews – on the contrary. Rather, he had no motive for inventing the particular story that he did. As we have seen, Karski's story arrived in London as a dangerous embarrassment to the Polish-Jewish campaign of atrocity propaganda what was then ramping up, and was totally ignored in the ensuing rush of publicity. If Karski had wished to invent a story of a visit to Belzec death camp, he would not have come up with a story that directly contradicted the propaganda that the Polish government was circulating.

Of course, the uncertainty of human psychology means that the above two considerations cannot be totally conclusive. There is, however, a third and more decisive reason why Karski must have been an actual witness to Belzec. Like all of the Reinhardt camps, Belzec is agreed to have had a structure known as the “tube,” a narrow passageway down which Jews passed. This structure is consistently described throughout Karski's accounts of his trip to Belzec. The March 1943 articles in *The Ghetto Speaks* and *Voice of the Unconquered* describe a “specially constructed narrow passage” down which the Jews were driven as they headed out of the camp and onto the train.<sup>97</sup> The May 1943 account of Karski's trip written by Arthur Koestler describes “a narrow corridor about two yards in width, formed by a wooden palisade on either side” down which the Jews were forced en route to the departing train.<sup>98</sup> The minutes of an August 1943 meeting with Karski recount that “the Jews were led to a long passageway, built of wood and wire-lathes, and directed them [sic] into waiting freight trains.”<sup>99</sup> The tube is also described in *Story of a Secret State*,<sup>100</sup> and in a passage quoted above from Karski's interview with Claude Lanzmann.

Karski must have picked up his knowledge of the tube either from his visit to Belzec, or from some other source. But there are no earlier accounts of any such tube. It is not discussed in the April 1942 AK report on Belzec, nor in the July 10 report of the delegatura on Belzec,<sup>101</sup> nor in Ignacy Schwarzbart's statement of November 15 or 25, nor in any of the reports

on the Reinhardt camps that circulated in London in the run up to the Allied declaration of December 17. As the only eyewitness to Belzec accessible to the Allies, Karski was the first source to report on a tube. His knowledge of the tube cannot have derived from any other report, because there was no other report from which he could have learned of it.

## 9. Addressing the Arguments against Karski's Accounts

Karski is almost unique in having been attacked as a witness by both Holocaust revisionists and traditionalists. These critics have seized on inaccuracies in Karski's statements in order to argue that Karski never visited Belzec. We will now address the arguments in turn.

### Karski says that he saw Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in Belzec, but Jews were never deported from Warsaw to Belzec

Both Carlo Mattogno<sup>102</sup> and Raul Hilberg<sup>103</sup> comment on the fact that Karski asserts that the Jews he saw at Belzec were from the Warsaw ghetto,<sup>104</sup> while Jews deported from Warsaw actually went to Treblinka, not Belzec. But Karski never claimed to have talked to the Jews in the camp, or to have received any precise information about their place of origin. His statement that they were from the Warsaw ghetto was simply an understandable, though incorrect, inference on his part. He had been in Warsaw, where he had met with Jewish leaders who told him about the large-scale deportations from the Warsaw ghetto and the transport of the deported Jews to death camps. These Jewish leaders in Warsaw then arranged for him to visit one of these death camps, Belzec. Having received a briefing from Jewish leaders in Warsaw which centered on the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, it is entirely unsurprising that when he saw thousands of Jewish deportees in Belzec, whose origin he had no way of determining, he associated them with Warsaw. It is also worth noting that the reports sent by Jewish organizations in Warsaw to the Polish government in exile in London stated that the deportees from Warsaw were sent to Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka.<sup>105</sup> These reports, in particular the reports originating in Warsaw, had a strong tendency to equate the Warsaw ghetto with Polish Jewry as a whole.<sup>106</sup> Karski's incorrect assumption that the Jews he saw in Belzec were from the Warsaw ghetto is therefore entirely typical of his context.



*Figure 2: Belzec. Despite the slope, it is perfectly plausible that an observer would describe this location as a plain.*

Karski describes Belzec as being located on a plain, when in fact it is on a hillside

Carlo Mattogno observes that Karski locates Belzec “on a large, flat plain”<sup>107</sup> while it was in fact on a hillside.<sup>108</sup> But the slope of the hillside at Belzec is really quite insignificant.

In her book *Hitler’s Death Camps*, Konnilyn Feig describes visiting Belzec, and states that the camp “was located on a barren, flat plain.”<sup>109</sup> While this description may be imprecise, it is not grounds for doubting that she visited the camp. Likewise with Karski.

Karski reported entering Belzec disguised as a guard of Baltic nationality, but the non-German guards at Belzec were Ukrainian

Raul Hilberg points out that while Karski claimed to have entered Belzec disguised as a guard of Baltic nationality, most or all of the non-German guards were in fact Ukrainians.<sup>110</sup> Carlo Mattogno makes a similar argument, asserting that Estonian guards never served at Belzec.<sup>111</sup> Here Karski’s descriptions are simply the result of his concern for security, which caused him to modify the details of his experiences in order to protect his contacts and the contacts of his associates. As his biographers explained:<sup>112</sup>

*“At various times later in the war, Karski said he had worn Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian uniforms. He falsified the nationality for security and perhaps political reasons. ‘If I wrote Estonian,’ he explained in an interview, ‘certainly it couldn’t be Estonian. It would be idiotic of me to expose the [underground] Jews’ connections with the guards in that way.’”*

Karski’s paranoia over security was so strong that he was even known to alter the nationality he assumed at Belzec from one day to the next.<sup>113</sup>

Karski gave the location of Belzec imprecisely

Carlo Mattogno notes that Karski's description of the location of Belzec is inaccurate, stating:<sup>114</sup>

*“Karski did not even go to the trouble to check the location of Belzec. He places it at a distance some 160 km east of Warsaw, whereas in reality it is nearly 300 km to the south-east of the Polish capital.”*

The same error in location was noted by David Silberklang.<sup>115</sup> As mentioned above, Karski was in fact perfectly familiar with the location of Belzec, having seen an earlier camp there in late 1939, as recounted in his 1940 report. There are two possible explanations for the inaccuracy in location. The first is that Karski was again altering the details of his story in the hope of protecting sources, just as he altered the nationality of the guards. This thesis might be opposed on the grounds that such alterations would hardly be an effective measure of protecting sources. But Karski was clearly very into his role as a secret agent, to the point that when detained by the British on his arrival in London he did not even give his real name,<sup>116</sup> and continued to use pseudonyms even when dealing with government officials.<sup>117</sup> Clearly he was the kind of man who might alter details for security's sake without giving too much thought as to whether the alterations really did increase security.

The second possibility is that Karski simply did not bother to look at a map, or think it worthwhile to give locations precisely. The reports in question were written for a mass audience, which could not be presumed to be interested in the details of Polish geography. When writing for such an audience, why bother with the details of “east” versus “south-east”? As for the inaccurate distance, there is no real reason that Karski would have known the exact distances between even places with which he was familiar. After all, he was not driving between them, and when getting around by train exact distances play a much smaller role. Under these circumstances, whether a writer gets a distance right is more a matter of whether he checked a map than whether he visited a location.

Karski was supposedly gotten into Belzec by bribing one of the guards, but the guards were rich

Carlo Mattogno argues that “the very basis of [Karski's] story – that the camp guards could be bribed – is in flagrant contradiction to their being described, in the report of July 10, 1942, and others, as having “lots of stolen money and jewelry” and being able to pay 20 gold dollars for a bottle of vodka.”<sup>118</sup> This objection rests on the assumption that the newly wealthy

are insusceptible to bribery, which is hardly confirmed by experience. Indeed, one might even argue that increased riches increase the desires of their possessor,<sup>119</sup> and therefore that the newly found riches of the Belzec guards would make them more susceptible to bribery.

Karski could not have entered Belzec because the security was too tight

Raul Hilberg doubts that it would have been possible for Karski to enter Belzec, even in uniform.<sup>120</sup> This claim is contradicted by the results of Michael Tregenza's research with the villagers in the town of Belzec, which has established that security at Belzec was in fact extremely lax. Contrary to Hilberg's claim that a uniform and a helper among the Belzec guards would not suffice to get into Belzec, a uniform may not even have been necessary. Belzec's poor security was known to Jewish leaders, who assured Karski that "chaos, corruption, and panic prevailed" in Belzec, so that getting in would present no difficulty at all.<sup>121</sup>

Karski's description of the uniform he wore is contrary to the actual uniforms worn by guards at Belzec

While discussing the visit to Belzec, Claude Lanzmann asked Karski what color his uniform was. Karski replied "Yellow. With a kind of parity (? ) boots, black cap I remember." As it is sometimes claimed that the auxiliary guards at the Reinhardt camps wore all black uniforms, we might appear to have proof that Karski did not visit Belzec. More recent research has contradicted the claim that all guards at the Reinhardt camps wore black uniforms, and revealed that the uniforms worn by the guards at the Reinhardt camps varied considerably.<sup>122</sup> Karski's description of a "yellow" uniform should be understood as meaning some sort of khaki, or "butternut." Indeed, Michael Tregenza quotes the notes from a 1981 interview in which Karski described the uniform as consisting of "Khaki tunic, black trousers and boots."<sup>123</sup> This description does not conflict with what is known about the uniforms worn by the guards at the Reinhardt camps. In fact, former Treblinka prisoners testifying at the trial of Feodor Fedorenko at around the same time as Karski's interview with Lanzmann recalled the uniforms of the Ukrainian guards as greenish khaki,<sup>124</sup> brown khaki,<sup>125</sup> or some black and some khaki.<sup>126</sup> In view of the considerable variability of accounts of the uniforms of the Ukrainian guards given by individuals who saw these uniforms on a daily basis for months, Karski's description of the uniform that he wore for less than a day certainly cannot be used to discredit his account.

## 10. Summary

When he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Karski was credited with having “told the truth.” This praise was not entirely accurate, as his job as a propagandist active in seeking to win Jewish support for Poland’s cause caused him to embellish his reports with a propagandistic gloss. Yet beneath that finish lay the truth of an actual visit to the Belzec camp.

In his postwar interviews, Karski proved relatively willing to strip the layer of propaganda off the substance of his experiences. He readily conceded that the “death trains” story he had spread was false. He eagerly told everyone who would listen, and some who wouldn’t, that he had seen a transit camp at Belzec. He was puzzled by the contradiction between what he observed at Belzec and what the official history said, and attempted to reconcile the two.

Karski’s report of what he witnessed at Belzec contradicted the Belzec propaganda then circulating, and despite being the only available eyewitness account, his story was ignored in the great surge of publicity about the extermination of the Jews at the Reinhardt camps which began just prior to his arrival in London. His accounts posed such a threat to the officially promoted account of Belzec that they were circulated in a crudely altered form meant to reconcile the two. Holocaust historians threatened by the revelations about Belzec contained in Karski’s interviews then used these altered stories to support the thesis that Karski visited Izbica rather than Belzec, but this thesis is impossible on the basis of both geography and chronology. Thanks to the attentiveness of the British censors, we know that Karski talked about his visit to Belzec immediately upon his arrival in London, and it was not a late addition to his story. Because Karski’s reports contained accurate, previously unknown information about the interior layout of the Belzec camp, his story cannot have been fabricated on the basis of other reports of Belzec.

Jan Karski, therefore, was a genuine witness to the Belzec transit camp.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Doris Bergen, *War and Genocide: a Concise History of the Holocaust*. 2nd edition, 2009, p. 204.
- <sup>2</sup> Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State*. 1944. pp. 339-352.
- <sup>3</sup> Here Hilberg is basing his account on the book *Defeat in Victory* by Jan Ciechanowski, which claims that Karski told President Roosevelt that he had visited Belzec and Treblinka. Karski himself never claimed to have visited the latter camp.
- <sup>4</sup> Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*. p. 223.

- <sup>5</sup> E. Thomas Wood and Stanislaw Jankowski. *Karski: How One Man Tried to Stop the Holocaust*. p. 128.
- <sup>6</sup> Bergen, *War and Genocide*, p. 204; Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz*, p. 144.
- <sup>7</sup> Online: [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/23/president-obama-announces-jan-karski-recipient-presidential-medal-freedom/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/23/president-obama-announces-jan-karski-recipient-presidential-medal-freedom)
- <sup>8</sup> Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31; Raul Hilberg, *Sources of Holocaust Research*, pp. 182-3; Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*, p. 223.
- <sup>9</sup> Jan Karski interrogation, PRO WO 208/3692.
- <sup>10</sup> Foreign Office minute by F. Roberts, 27 November 1942. PRO FO 371/32231 W16085; Major K.G. Younger to J.G. Ward, 22 December 1942. PRO FO 371/32231 W17455.
- <sup>11</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, p. 354.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.
- <sup>13</sup> Wood & Jankowski, *Karski*, p. 286.
- <sup>14</sup> Michael Fleming, *Auschwitz, the Allies and Censorship of the Holocaust*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 150.
- <sup>15</sup> “Eye-Witness Report of the Annihilation of the Jews of Poland,” *The Ghetto Speaks*, March 1, 1943, p. 1.
- <sup>16</sup> Ignacy Schwarzbart to Jewish Congress, 5 December 1942. PRO FO 371/30924 C12313. The telegram gives its recipient as simply “Jewish Congress,” but the address corresponds to the headquarters of the American Jewish Congress. At the time, however, the World Jewish Congress shared office space in New York with the American Jewish Congress, and both organizations were headed by Rabbi Stephen Wise.
- <sup>17</sup> Michael Mills has questioned the story of Karski’s visit to the Warsaw ghetto on the basis of a description of the conditions in the Warsaw ghetto prior to the large deportation that appears in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, where it is attributed to Karski’s report. This passage is an expurgated version of one that appeared in *The Ghetto Speaks* and *Voice of the Unconquered* in March 1943. There, however, it is not presented as the result of Karski’s experience, but as part of a message he passed on from the Jewish leaders with whom he met. Therefore there is no contradiction between this passage and the date of late August for Karski’s visits to the Warsaw ghetto.
- <sup>18</sup> Wood & Jankowski. *Karski*, p. 128.
- <sup>19</sup> e.g. Robert Kuwalek, *Belzec*, p. 284. Kuwalek, however, confuses the March 1943 sources with the August 1943 account (see Section 6).
- <sup>20</sup> Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*. pp. 383, 390.
- <sup>21</sup> Online: <http://www.bildungswerk-ks.de/izbica/deportationen-von-und-nach-izbica-1>
- <sup>22</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, p. 10.
- <sup>23</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 340-44.
- <sup>24</sup> Robert Kuwalek, “Das Durchgangsghetto in Izbica.” *Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente*, 2003, pp. 321 – 351, here p. 331.



- <sup>25</sup> Thomas Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor*. Northwestern University Press, 1997, p. 7.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228 n. 8.
- <sup>27</sup> Kuwalek, "Das Durchgangsghetto in Izbica," p. 328.
- <sup>28</sup> quoted in Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, p. 350.
- <sup>29</sup> David Silberklang, "The Allies and the Holocaust: A Reappraisal." *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 24, 1994, p. 148.
- <sup>30</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup> David Engel, An Early Account of Polish Jewry under Nazi and Soviet Occupation Presented to the Polish Government-In-Exile, February 1940. *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1983, pp. 1-16, here p. 8.
- <sup>32</sup> "Ignacy Schwarzbart to American Jewish Congress," 5 December 1942. PRO FO 371/30924 C12313.
- <sup>33</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the telegram has been retained in the archives of its recipient, the American Jewish Congress.
- <sup>34</sup> Only late in the writing of this article did I come across the online paper *Poland and Her Jews 1941 – 1944* by Robin O'Neil, which mentions this telegram without giving a citation.
- <sup>35</sup> A number of writers have claimed that Karski met with both Zygelbojm and Schwarzbart on December 2nd. This telegram establishes that Karski in fact met with Schwarzbart on December 4th. In fact, in his interview with Claude Lanzmann Karski mentioned that he had been scheduled to meet with both Zygelbojm and Schwarzbart, but that Schwarzbart did not show, and he met with Zygelbojm alone. Apparently, Karski's meeting with Zygelbojm was on December 2nd, while he subsequently met with Schwarzbart on December 4th.
- <sup>36</sup> David Engel, "Jan Karski's Mission to the West, 1942-1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1990, pp. 363-380, here p. 365-66.
- <sup>37</sup> David Engel, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz: The Polish Government-in-Exile and the Jews, 1939-1942*. p. 147.
- <sup>38</sup> In fact, it was so clear in its portrayal of the lines of agreement between the Germans and the Polish masses that a second version was written, portraying the Polish people as much more favorably inclined towards the Jews.
- <sup>39</sup> David Engel, "An Early Account of Polish Jewry under Nazi and Soviet Occupation Presented to the Polish Government-In-Exile," February 1940. *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1983, pp. 1-16.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- <sup>43</sup> Engel, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 73.
- <sup>44</sup> Frank Roberts minute, 1 December 1942, PRO FO 371/30923 C11923.
- <sup>45</sup> Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*, p. 223; Michael Tregenza, *Only the Dead: Christian Wirth and SS-Sonderkommando Belzec*; Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>46</sup> Minutes of meeting of Representation of Polish Jewry, August 9, 1943, in *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 8, pp. 287-294, here p. 287. Also reproduced in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, p. 329.

- <sup>47</sup> Jan Karski, "Leadership from abroad: Poland and Germany," in *Builders of the World ahead: Report of the New York Herald Tribune Annual Forum on Current Problems*. p. 89.
- <sup>48</sup> Wood & Jankowski. *Karski*, p. 296.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.
- <sup>51</sup> Karski's accounts consistently include some kind of disinfectant scattered on the floor of the deportation train. It is identified as lime in *Voice of the Unconquered* and *The Ghetto Speaks*. By May 1943, in the account of Karski's experiences authored by Arthur Koestler, the disinfectant had become chlorinated lime (bleaching powder), which supposedly killed the Jews by releasing chlorine gas. In the minutes of an August 9, 1943 meeting with Jewish organizations, it became a mixture of quicklime and chloride, while in *Story of a Secret State* it became quicklime. In reality, Karski would not have been in a position to identify the disinfectant used, and all of these details are mere narrative decoration.
- <sup>52</sup> Ignacy Schwarzbart to American Jewish Congress, 5 December, 1942. PRO FO 371/30924 C12313.
- <sup>53</sup> "Eye-Witness Report of the Annihilation of the Jews of Poland," *The Ghetto Speaks*, March 1, 1943, pp. 1-5.
- <sup>54</sup> "Eye-Witness Report of a Secret Courier Fresh from Poland," *Voice of the Unconquered*, March 1943, pp. 5, 8. A selection from this article, containing the discussion of Belzec, was reprinted in the 1943 publication *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, pp. 135-38.
- <sup>55</sup> Maciej Kozłowski, "The Mission That Failed: A Polish Courier Who Tried to Help the Jews," *Dissent*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1987, pp. 326-334, here p. 332. Karski adds that the suggestion that Koestler write such a broadcast came from Lord Selbourne, head of the British Special Operations Executive. In other interviews, Karski stated that Lord Selbourne thought his story similar to the untrue stories spread in the first world war of the Germans bashing out the heads of Belgian babies, but supported such propaganda because it was good for public morale.
- <sup>56</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, pp. 9-11.
- <sup>57</sup> Minutes of meeting of Representation of Polish Jewry, August 9, 1943, in *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 8, pp. 287-294. Also reprinted in abridged form in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, pp. 329-332.
- <sup>58</sup> Karski, *Secret State*. On its composition, see Wood & Jankowski. *Karski*, p. 223ff.
- <sup>59</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 339-341.
- <sup>60</sup> Wood & Jankowski. *Karski*, p. 288.
- <sup>61</sup> "Eye-Witness Report of the Annihilation of the Jews of Poland," *The Ghetto Speaks*, March 1, 1943, p. 3.
- <sup>62</sup> "Eye-Witness Report of the Annihilation of the Jews of Poland," *The Ghetto Speaks*, March 1, 1943, p. 4; "Eye-Witness Report of a Secret Courier Fresh from Poland," *Voice of the Unconquered*, March 1943, p. 8.

- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>64</sup> Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, p. 236.
- <sup>65</sup> *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, p. 131.
- <sup>66</sup> “News is reaching the Polish government in London,” received by Alexander Easterman of the World Jewish Congress from an unnamed member of the Polish government in London (likely Ignacy Schwarzbart) on November 25, 1942 and passed on to the Foreign Office. PRO FO 371/30923 C11923.
- <sup>67</sup> Or perhaps identical, if we suppose that *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* mistakenly wrote 15 for 25.
- <sup>68</sup> “Slain Polish Jews Put at a Million,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1942, p. 16.
- <sup>69</sup> *Polish Fortnightly Review*, December 1, 1942.
- <sup>70</sup> Wood & Jankowski, *Karski*, pp. 148-49.
- <sup>71</sup> The Jewish members of the Polish National Council also worked closely with the World Jewish Congress in London.
- <sup>72</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, p. 9.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- <sup>74</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, p. 341.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.
- <sup>77</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, p. 11.
- <sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>79</sup> Lanzmann interview.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>82</sup> Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 229-237.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.
- <sup>84</sup> Maciej Kozłowski, “The Mission That Failed: A Polish Courier Who Tried to Help the Jews,” *Dissent*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1987, pp. 326-334, here p. 330.
- <sup>85</sup> Ken Adelman, “Seeing Too Much,” *The Washingtonian*, July 1988, pp. 61-67; Harry James Cargas, *Voices from the Holocaust*, pp. 56-65.
- <sup>86</sup> The interview proceeded on the basis of the widely circulated but incorrect chronology that pushed Karski’s departure from Poland back by over a month.
- <sup>87</sup> Lanzmann interview.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>89</sup> Michael Tregenza, *Only the Dead: Christian Wirth and SS-Sonderkommando Belzec*.
- <sup>90</sup> See, for instance, several such accounts in Miriam Novitch, *Sobibor: Martyrdom and Revolt*.
- <sup>91</sup> Lanzmann told Karski that the loading of the Jews onto the trains represented “a problem of Belzec. By the time you went to Belzec they had stopped the gas chambers. There were six gas chambers in Belzec, but they could not handle the corpses.”

- <sup>92</sup> quoted from Michael Tregenza, *Only the Dead: Christian Wirth and SS-Sonderkommando Belzec*.
- <sup>93</sup> Maciej Kozłowski, "The Mission That Failed: A Polish Courier Who Tried to Help the Jews," *Dissent*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1987, pp. 326-334, here p. 330.
- <sup>94</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 100.
- <sup>95</sup> The accounts of a transport of workers being sent from Belzec to Sobibor at some time in mid-1943 after having helped to liquidate the camp do not contradict this picture, for they apply to a period when Belzec's gas chambers are said to have been permanently shut down.
- <sup>96</sup> Online: [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/23/president-obama-announces-jan-karski-recipient-presidential-medal-freedom/](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/23/president-obama-announces-jan-karski-recipient-presidential-medal-freedom)
- <sup>97</sup> "Eye-Witness Report of the Annihilation of the Jews of Poland," *The Ghetto Speaks*, March 1, 1943, p. 4; "Eye-Witness Report of a Secret Courier Fresh from Poland," *Voice of the Unconquered*, March 1943, p. 8. The passage was also reprinted in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, p. 137.
- <sup>98</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, p. 10.
- <sup>99</sup> Minutes of meeting of Representation of Polish Jewry, August 9, 1943, in *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 8, pp. 287-294, here p. 290. Also in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, p. 332.
- <sup>100</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, pp. 345-48.
- <sup>101</sup> reprinted in *Polish Fortnightly Review*, 1 December 1942.
- <sup>102</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>103</sup> Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*, p. 223; Hilberg, *Sources of Holocaust Research*, p. 182.
- <sup>104</sup> Alexei Tolstoy, A Polish Underground Worker, and Thomas Mann. *Terror in Europe: The Fate of the Jews*. National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, 1943, p. 10; Karski, *Secret State*, p. 345; "Eye-Witness Report of a Secret Courier Fresh from Poland," *Voice of the Unconquered*, March 1943, p. 8.
- <sup>105</sup> World Jewish Congress (British Section). "Annihilation of European Jewry." Copy in PRO FO 371/30923 C12024; "News is reaching the Polish government in London," received by Alexander Easterman of the World Jewish Congress from an unnamed member of the Polish government in London on November 25, 1942 and passed on to the Foreign Office. PRO FO 371/30923 C11923. The claim that Warsaw Jews were sent to all three Reinhardt camps even made it into the December 10, 1942 note which Edward Raczynski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the London Polish government, sent to the Governments of the United Nations, which can be found in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs pamphlet *The Mass Extermination of the Jews in German Occupied Poland*. Other sources also reported this story, such as the message to London sent by General Rowecki and dated August 19, 1942 reporting that some of the Jews deported from the Warsaw ghetto were sent to Belzec. C.f. Dariusz Stola, "Early News of the Holocaust from Poland," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1997, pp. 1-27, here p. 12.

- <sup>106</sup> For a prominent example of this tendency, which also mentions Belzec as a destination of deportees from Warsaw, see *Polish Fortnightly Review*, December 1, 1942.
- <sup>107</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, p. 344.
- <sup>108</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>109</sup> Konnilyn Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, p. 275.
- <sup>110</sup> Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*, p. 223; Hilberg, *Sources of Holocaust Research*, p. 182.
- <sup>111</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>112</sup> Wood & Jankowski, *Karski*, p. 282.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- <sup>114</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>115</sup> David Silberklang, "The Allies and the Holocaust: A Reappraisal." *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 24, 1994, p. 148.
- <sup>116</sup> PRO FO 371/32231.
- <sup>117</sup> Record of conversation between Jan Karski and Frank Roberts, 3rd February 1943, PRO FO 371/34550 C1944.
- <sup>118</sup> Mattogno, *Belzec*, p. 31.
- <sup>119</sup> "crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia creuit" –Juvenal, *Satire XIV*.
- <sup>120</sup> Hilberg, *Sources of Holocaust Research*, p. 183 n. 98.
- <sup>121</sup> Karski, *Secret State*, p. 339.
- <sup>122</sup> Peter Black, "Foot Soldiers of the Final Solution: The Trawniki Training Camp and Operation Reinhard," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1-99, here p. 12.
- <sup>123</sup> Michael Tregenza, *Only the Dead: Christian Wirth and SS-Sonderkommando Belzec*.
- <sup>124</sup> Testimony of Eugen Turowski at the trial of Fedor Fedorenko, May 30, 1978, p. 133.
- <sup>125</sup> Testimony of Schalom Kohn at the trial of Fedor Fedorenko, May 31, 1978, p. 263.
- <sup>126</sup> Testimony of Pinchas Epstein at the trial of Fedor Fedorenko, June 6, 1978, pp. 1164-65.

## Setback to the Struggle for Free Speech on Race in Australia, Part 1

*Nigel Jackson*

*“I am well acquainted with all the arguments against freedom of thought and speech – the arguments which claim that it cannot exist, and the arguments which claim that it ought not to. I answer simply that they don’t convince me and that our civilization over a period of four hundred years has been founded on the opposite notion. [...] If I had to choose a text to justify myself, I should choose the line from Milton: ‘By the known rules of ancient liberty.’ The word ‘ancient’ emphasizes the fact that intellectual freedom is a deep-rooted tradition without which our characteristic Western culture could only doubtfully exist. [...] If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear.”*

—George Orwell, proposed but unpublished preface to *Animal Farm*<sup>1</sup>

### I

For two years in Australia there has been an intense “culture war” between those thoughtful citizens who seek, in the name of the freedom of speech, reform of the Racial Discrimination Act and those others, some idealistic, who have opposed such reform on the grounds that it would lessen what they claim are needed protections for vulnerable persons against racial vilification and racial hatred. In August 2012, in an address to the Institute of Public Affairs, the then leader of the federal Opposition, Tony Abbott, inaugurated debate by promising that, if the Liberal-National coalition which he led were to be elected to office at the next elections, it would legislate a partial repeal of the Act. Twenty-four months later, now the Prime Minister, Abbott suddenly announced that no reform would take place after all. A battle for free speech has been lost. This is the story of that battle, which has lessons for freedom-lovers the world over.

### II

The Racial Discrimination Act in its first form was a statute passed by the Australian Parliament during the Prime Ministership of Gough Whitlam, leader of the Australian Labor Party. Whitlam, whose party won the na-

tional elections in 1972 and 1974, introduced massive changes to the Australian political order which can broadly be summed up as internationalist rather than nationalist, left-wing rather than right-wing and socialist rather than liberal-conservative. As a result mainly of gross mismanagement, the Whitlam Government's mandate was terminated by the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, in November 1975 in lawful but controversial circumstances.

The Act was enabled by a questionable interpretation of the "external affairs" power contained in Section 51(xxix) of the Australian Constitution, an interpretation later upheld by the Australian High Court. The Act was legislated to conform to the authority of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, an article of the United Nations Organization.

Racial discrimination would occur under the Act when someone was treated less well than someone else in a similar situation because of his or her race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin. Racial discrimination could also be caught under the Act when a policy or rule appeared to treat everyone in the same way but actually had a deleterious effect on more people of a particular race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin than others.

It was henceforth against the law to racially discriminate against a person or persons in areas including employment, land, housing and accommodation, the provision of goods and services, and access to public places and facilities. The Act since then has been administered by the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, later renamed the Australian Human Rights Commission.

### III

In 1994 the ALP Government led by Paul Keating announced that it intended to introduce a new bill styled the Racial Hatred Act to extend the coverage of the Act so that people could complain to the Commission about racially offensive or abusive behavior. Supporters of the change presented it as an attempt to "strike a balance" between the right to communicate freely and the right to live free from vilification. This proposal led to an intense national debate.

The proposed bill had been preceded by a draft bill in 1992, which itself depended upon three earlier government-initiated or -supported inquiries. In introducing the 1994 bill in the House of Representatives, the Attorney-General (Mr. Lavarch, the member for Dickson) referred to these: "Three

major inquiries have found gaps in the protection provided by the Racial Discrimination Act. The National Inquiry into Racist Violence, the Australian Law Reform Commission Report into Multiculturalism and the Law, and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody all argued in favor of an extension of Australia's human rights regime to explicitly protect the victims of extreme racism."<sup>2</sup>

The Opposition's shadow attorney-general (Mr. Williams, member for Tangney) responded to this: "While these reports may have prompted a racial hatred bill, it is difficult to see how their recommendations are reflected in this bill. All three reports recommended against the creation of a criminal offense of incitement to racial hatred or hostility. This bill creates such an offense. [In the long run this did not become law.] The reports favored the creation of a civil offense of incitement to racial hatred where a high degree of serious conduct is involved. This bill establishes a civil offense with the significantly lower threshold of behavior which "offends, insults, humiliates or intimidates." These words clearly include the hurt feelings which the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission rejected as the basis for a civil offense, concerned that such a low standard could lead to a large number of trivial complaints."<sup>3</sup>

A more serious objection to the inquiries was mentioned by the man whose speech was, in my judgment, the best of all in the debate, that of Graham Campbell, ALP member for Kalgoorlie. Campbell, already a rebel within the parliamentary party's ranks, would soon afterwards be forced out of the ALP. For some time after that he continued to hold his seat of Kalgoorlie as an Independent, while endeavoring unsuccessfully to launch a new political party named Australia First. Campbell said: "It is clear in the texts that there was networking between the authors of these reports. [...] Only the report of Irene Moss [The National Inquiry into Racist Violence] supported criminal sanctions which were contained in the 1992 draft bill and are also contained in the 1994 bill. I would urge interested academics who still care about free speech to analyse this Moss report closely, because this document, which I believe to be intellectually corrupt, is the main justification for federal racial vilification legislation."<sup>4</sup>

He may have been correct on at least two scores in his charge of intellectual corruption. That inquiry, which had been set up by an earlier ALP government, was placed in the hands of two representatives of minority ethnic groups who were thus interested parties and should never have been invested with such a task, nor should they have presumed to undertake it. Such an inquiry should have been in the hands of clearly impartial as well as qualified persons, and there should have been a majority of persons



drawn from the majority British ethnic group, so that justice could be seen to be done as well as be done.

Secondly, it is plain from the text of the report that submissions made by individuals and groups holding views contrary to those of Ms Irene Moss (the Chinese wife of a Jew) and her assistant, Mr. Ron Castan QC (a Jew) were not fairly taken into account. This can be seen in the report's refusal to adequately define the key terms "race" and "racism" and also in its scandalous mistreatment of the Australian League of Rights.

Mr. Campbell had further pertinent remarks to make.<sup>5</sup>

*"In any consideration of the new Racial Hatred bill, the public consultations and the written public submissions on the 1992 draft bill should have been taken into account and the results, at the least, made public. I placed a question on notice about the bill and, among other things, asked about the results of the 1993 public consultations and submissions. The attorney-general took three months to answer and made it clear that he would not be making the results public. This was a typical display of arrogance.*

*A public submissions process was conducted, yet the public was not to be informed of the result. I strongly suspected that the reason for this was that the results were not what the attorney-general wanted to hear. And so it proved. Freedom-of-information documents revealed what I had expected. Written submissions ran almost seven to one against the bill and the attempt to stack the public consultations process had clearly failed. The attempt of the attorney-general to cover up the results is merely a measure of the misrepresentation, intellectual corruption and deceit which has marked the entire sorry history of the push for such legislation [...].*

*[...] the bulk of the media is quite happy to countenance a partisan like Irene Moss acting at one and the same time as advocate for supposed victims of racial intolerance and inquirer into such supposed intolerance. Not only that, but she was also to have administered the civil section of the legislation she called for, as her successor will do if the law before us is passed.*

*There is absolutely no understanding or appreciation of just how improper it is for the same person to be advocate, judge and jury in one. Those who rightly uphold the general principle of division of powers in our wider political context should be deeply concerned about the blurring of such responsibilities in quasi-judicial bodies like the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. [...] This is the sort of new class law we are evolving – a de facto judicial system in which an accu-*

*sation is taken as proof and the publicists are also the prosecutors and the judges. Not only that, but determinations of the commission can be registered in the Federal Court and become legally binding – a star chamber usurping the authority of a proper court.”*

Campbell made other very serious criticisms of the Government’s handling of the 1992 draft bill:<sup>6</sup>

*“[This bill] was supposed to lie on the table while people made submissions. A member of my staff asked the attorney-general’s office how people could obtain the bill and was told it could be obtained from government bookshops. He asked two people in two separate states to ring government bookshops and ask for the bill and no-one in either bookshop knew of the bill’s existence. He then wrote letters, published in *The Age* on 24 December and *The Australian Financial Review* on 31 December 1992, bringing attention to what was happening.*

*It was only at the very end of 1992 that the Attorney-General’s public affairs section was brought in to co-ordinate the selling of the bill to the media and to organize a public consultation process. There was no proper submission process in place until then. It was clearly an afterthought. Advertisements appeared in early January 1993 letting people know that a submission process on the bill would be conducted and offering to send people copies of the bill, the second reading speech and a fact sheet. The written submission process, however, was held over the holiday break when most people would be thinking about anything else but politics, or perhaps so it was hoped.*

*The Attorney-General’s Department also tried to fix the result of the travelling consultation process by holding meetings in venues of groups most likely to support the bill, such as ethnic affairs commissions and so on. It also sent out letters asking those organizations to mobilize their members – that is, likely supporters of the bill – to be at the meetings. The attempt to stack the meetings, however, seems to have been largely unsuccessful.”*

Twenty-six members spoke *after* Campbell and effectively ignored his thesis, which leads to the strong presumption that it was correct.

Others, however, rebuked the Government for its handling of the preparations for and mode of presentation of the bill. Mrs. Sullivan (the member for Moncrieff) commented on “the unseemly haste with which this bill is being pushed through this chamber.”<sup>7</sup> Ms. Worth (the member for Adelaide) added:<sup>8</sup>

*“The fact that the Coalition and the community have been given less than a week to discuss the [bill] is indicative of a government which has little regard left for the opinions of the wider community and the due process of the Parliament.”*

Mr. Cobb (the member for Parkes) stated:<sup>9</sup>

*“The previous speaker says that we have had plenty of time to look at it because we knew it was coming. Sure we knew it was coming, but we did not know which form it would take. [...] The Australian people have also not been largely consulted on it.”*

Several speakers from the Coalition argued strongly that there was no adequate evidence that the Australian people as a whole wanted any such bill. Mr. Nehl (the member for Cowper) reported:<sup>10</sup>

*“It is interesting, too, that when the government first brought in its bill, in 1992, it had community consultations right around Australia. There were 646 submissions on the bill received from the public, and 563 were opposed to the legislation. There were only 83 in favor of it.”*

Opposition speakers also claimed that the bill did not really have the support of ethnic minorities in the nation, it being seen as unnecessary and potentially divisive; Government speakers claimed otherwise.<sup>11</sup>

Overall, the unsatisfactory nature of the Government’s introduction of such legislation suggested that by subterfuge a piece of devious social engineering was being attempted. As Mr. Cadman (the member for Mitchell) said, it seemed that the ALP was “setting an agenda and a system of attitudes or values for Australia not sought out from the Australian people themselves.”<sup>12</sup>

#### IV

In the 1994 House of Representatives debate only five of the thirty-nine speakers tried specifically to define the key term “racism.” There were, however, implicit definitions in other speeches, as well as attempts to define associated terms such as “racial hatred” and “racial vilification.” Many speakers on both sides sought to distance themselves from racism. Two speakers warned about the misuse of such terms for ulterior and questionable purposes. Campbell said:<sup>13</sup>

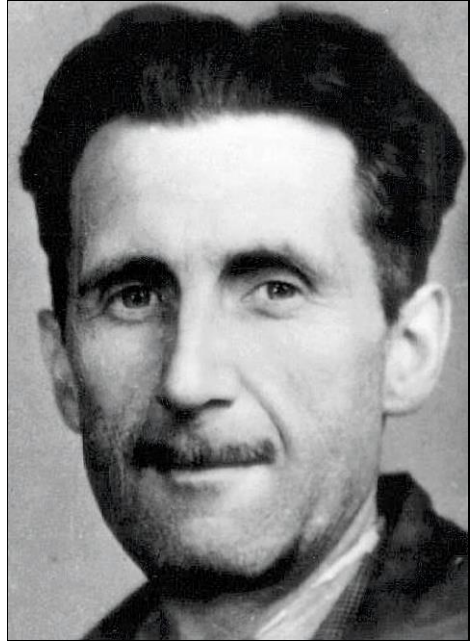
*“A racist today is anyone who wins an argument with a multiculturalist. [...] On key issues such as immigration, multiculturalism and Asianization we have a tyranny of the minorities and a disenfranchisement of the*

*majority. This bill is the starkest indicator of that process so far. The elites who have been pushing these policies realize that, even though they dominate the bureaucracies and academia, they are losing the intellectual argument. Their crude cries of 'racist' and 'racism' are proving less and less effective. Now they want a piece of legislation to complement the declining power of the social sanctions against speaking out."*

Mr. Cameron (the member for Stirling) said:<sup>15</sup>

*"Under political correctness law, however, there is no accepted definition of what constitutes racial hatred. [...] Some sections of the community, however, regard any statement against the perceived interests of a minority group as racist. For example, Tracker Tilmouth of the Central Land Council<sup>[14]</sup> reportedly claimed that the Greens and the Coalition were racist for daring to propose amendments to the land fund legislation. Those with extreme views are well represented in the race-guilt enforcement industry charged with responsibility for the civil side of the law."*

In general, Government speakers tended not to express concern about the terminology of the bill, but many Coalition speakers were very critical of alleged ambiguities. Several of these argued that international and overseas jurisdictions had avoided the term 'racial hatred' because of the difficulty of defining the word "hatred." Mr. Tuckey (the member for O'Connor) said:<sup>16</sup>



George Orwell (25 June 1903 – 21 January 1950) wrote in his unpublished Preface to *Animal Farm*, "If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear."

Source: By Branch of the National Union of Journalists (BNUJ). (<http://www.netcharles.com/orwell/>) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

*“In State v Klapprott, the Supreme Court of New Jersey held that a statute that made it an offense to utter any statement inciting hatred, abuse, violence or hostility against a group by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship, was void for uncertainty, because the terms ‘hatred’, ‘abuse’ and ‘hostility’ are abstract and indefinite.”*

Mr. Filing (the member for Moore) noted:<sup>17</sup>

*“The international instruments which form the constitutional support for this bill avoided reference to ‘incitement to racial hatred’, on the basis that ‘hatred’ is too subjective a term for a court to assess. In the USA and Canada, concern has also been expressed that the term is too uncertain a standard to include in penal legislation. [...] Chief Justice Brogan concluded that it is not possible to say when ill will becomes hatred. He noted that there is no norm to say when such an emotion comes into being, and that it cannot be made a legitimate standard for a penal statute.”*

Concern was also expressed by Opposition speakers about the vagueness used by the bill in its proposed amendment to provide for a civil prohibition (which in due course became the law). Mr. Ruddock (the member for Berowra) commented:<sup>18</sup>

*“The Commonwealth standard of ‘insult’ and ‘offend’ is both broad and vague in our view in that an extraordinary range of statements are likely to be included under this definition.”*

Mr. Nugent (the member for Aston) added:<sup>19</sup>

*“The problem with using terms such as ‘offend’, ‘insult’ and ‘humiliate’ is that they are largely subjective in nature. The courts in the UK have had trouble interpreting the word ‘insult’ in relation to public order legislation, and there have been similar problems in the USA.”*

Mr. Connolly (the member for Bradfield) complained:<sup>20</sup>

*“No other jurisdiction in Australia has civil standards comparable to those in this bill [...] where we find words such as ‘offend’, ‘insult’, ‘humiliate’ and ‘intimidate’ [...] all words closely associated with value judgments.”*

Oddly, the topic of race itself was almost totally ignored. It may be that the House collectively showed an ostrich-like attitude to the issue and indirectly encouraged a Lysenkoist attitude to the science of races. Traditional anthropology, before the changes and innovations most of all associated with Franz Boas (a Jew), did not accept the currently fashionable doctrine of racial equality. Some students of race still do not. William Gayley Simpson

provided a profound consideration of the topic in his book *Which Way Western Man?*<sup>21</sup> He wrote, inter alia:

*“A race is a major division of the human species. Its members, though differing from one another in many minor respects, are nevertheless, as a whole, distinguished by a particular combination of features, principally non-adaptive, which they have inherited from ancestors as alike as they are themselves. These distinguishing features are most apparent in body, where they are both structural and measurable, but manifest themselves also in ‘innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development’, temperament and character. With this we may compare Professor Bertil Lundman’s definition: ‘Race [...] is a term that can be applied only to a reasonably homogeneous human group that has preserved its hereditary characteristics almost unchanged through a long succession of generations.’*

*What then is a ‘racist’? For all of forty years there has been acute need of honest and fearless inquiry about what race is, and an atmosphere of free discussion out of which might have come something like a scientific consensus as to whether or not racial differences are real and, if so, how much attention they require. But ‘racist’ is a term of opprobrium that was invented by the equalitarians to prevent such investigation and discussion.”*

Simpson devoted four pages to listing thirty-three distinguished scientists who rejected the doctrine of racial equality. He provided details of each of them and of their careers.

An important short political study of the race question is *Race and Reason* by Carleton Putnam.<sup>22</sup> In the introduction by R. Ruggles Gates, Henry E. Garrett, R. Gayre of Gayre and Wesley C. George (four of the scientists listed by Simpson) these authorities made an important comment on the corruption of science by political ideology:<sup>23</sup>

*“We can also confirm Putnam’s estimate of the extent to which non-scientific, ideological pressures have harassed scientists in the last thirty years, often resulting in the suppression or distortion of truth [...] we have no hesitation in placing on record our disapproval of what has been all too commonly a trend since 1930. We do not believe that there is anything to be drawn from the sciences in which we work which supports the view that all races of men, all types of men, or all ethnic groups are equal and alike, or likely to become equal or alike in anything approaching the foreseeable future. We believe on the contrary that there are vast areas of difference within mankind not only in physi-*

*cal appearance, but in such matters as adaptability to varying environments, and in deep psychological and emotional qualities, as well as in mental ability and capacity for development. We are of the opinion that in ignoring these depths of difference modern man and his political representatives are likely to find themselves in serious difficulties sooner or later."*

Putnam argued that wide-scale dishonesty characterized American discussion of racial controversies. Commenting on the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 17 May 1954, he had this to say about "the patent partiality of the authorities cited in favor of integration".<sup>24</sup>

*"The majority of these appear either to belong to Negro or other minority groups or to have prepared their studies under the auspices of such groups. To expect these groups to present impartial reports on the subject of racial discrimination is like expecting a saloon-keeper to prepare an impartial study of prohibition. [...] Their point of view is important and deserves consideration. Many of them are brilliant and consecrated men. But to permit them to provide the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence is manifestly not justice."*

Putnam denied that there was virtual unanimity among scientists on the biological equality of the Negro with the other two major races:<sup>25</sup>

*"There is a strong northern clique of equalitarian social anthropologists under the hypnosis of the Boas school which [...] has captured important chairs in many leading northern and western universities. This clique, aided by equalitarians in government, the press, entertainment, and other fields, has dominated public opinion in these areas and has made it almost impossible for those who disagree with it to hold jobs. [...] The non-equalitarian scientists have been forced largely into the universities of the South where they are biding their time.*

*It is folly to talk of freedom, either of the press or of any other kind, when such a situation exists. [...] There is] a trilogy of conspiracy, fraud and intimidation: conspiracy to gain control of important citadels of learning and news dissemination, fraud in the teaching of false racial doctrines, and intimidation in suppressing those who would preach truth."*

Particularly germane to the present Australian situation is Putnam's analysis of political opportunism as a corrupting factor in party politics involving discussion of racial issues. Leaders of both major political parties in the USA, he said, close their eyes to the truths of race:<sup>26</sup>

*“Partly [it is] through ignorance of its scientific validity. But this ignorance they are inclined to cherish, and to avoid correcting, because of the balance of power held by Negro voters in certain key states. [...] The tragedy is that the great majority of Americans are dividing their votes on other issues in such a way as to give this issue into the hands of the minority. [...] Could the race question be isolated so that it could first be thoroughly debated and then voted on by itself alone, the minority would be swamped.”*

In a subsequent book, *Race and Reality*,<sup>27</sup> Putnam pointed out that racial discrimination is sometimes both scientifically and ethically justifiable (in answer to the question: “Isn’t it unfair to discriminate legally against the exceptional Negro on the basis of a racial average?”):<sup>28</sup>

*“We discriminate legally against exceptional minors by not allowing them to vote, though certain of them may be more intelligent than many adults. Discriminations of this sort are necessary to the practical administration of human affairs. [...] the Christian religion offers salvation to all true believers, but this has nothing to do with status. Status has to be earned, in religion as elsewhere, by merit. [...] Christ was a man of infinite compassion, but he was not a man of maudlin or undiscriminating sentimentality. Christ’s life, among other things, might well be called a study in firm discrimination.”*

Putnam supported the age-old love of kith and kin, “the natural impulse of men to group themselves around their own kind.”<sup>29</sup> He also stressed the importance of racial discrimination in those contexts where races must be considered as wholes, as opposed to contexts involving individuals of races:<sup>30</sup>

*“But there is nothing unchristian in facing the fact that, as individuals differ in merit, so averages differ among races in those attributes involving specific cultures. [...] when we are confronted with a situation where a race must be considered as a race, there is no alternative to building the system around the average. The minor handicap to the exceptional individual, if such there be, is negligible compared to the damage that would otherwise result to society as a whole.”*

Putnam defended the importance of the traditional meaning of the word “discrimination”:<sup>31</sup>

*“Is that man unjustified who marks a difference between right and wrong, between better and worse? It has become the vogue to condemn discrimination without asking what the reasons for the discrimination may be.”*



One of the greatest intellects of last century, the metaphysician and writer on sacred traditions, Frithjof Schuon, stressed the importance of true discourse on race:<sup>32</sup>

*“Race is a form. [...] It is not possible, however, to hold that race is something devoid of meaning apart from physical characteristics, for, if it be true that formal constraints have nothing absolute about them, forms must none the less have their own sufficient reason; [...] races [...] must [...] correspond to human differences of another order [...]. In order to understand the meaning of races one must first of all realize that they are derived from fundamental aspects of humanity and not from something fortuitous in nature. If racialism is something to be rejected, so is an anti-racialism which errs in the opposite direction by attributing racial difference to merely accidental causes and seeks to whittle away these differences by talking about inter-racial blood-groups, or in other words by mixing up things situated on different levels. [...] Racial mixtures may be good or detrimental according to the case.”*

An important recent study of the impact of ideology upon anthropological science can be found in Kevin MacDonald’s *The Culture of Critique*.<sup>33</sup> In a chapter on “The Boasian School of Anthropology and the Decline of Darwinism in the Social Sciences,” MacDonald concluded:<sup>34</sup>

*“A common thread of this chapter has been that scientific skepticism and what one might term ‘scientific obscurantism’ have been useful tools in combating scientific theories one dislikes for deeper reasons.”*

Ideological interference with the Australian political order in matters of race most of all was manifest some three decades earlier. Mr. Filing (the member for Moore) referred to the influx of Asians into the nation:<sup>35</sup>

*“It was Harold Holt’s Coalition government in March 1966 that abolished once and for all the White Australia policy – a decision which enabled the welcome inflow of so many people from such a wide range of ethnic and racial backgrounds, and since then including people from Asian nations particularly, especially China and Vietnam.”*

Former Prime Minister Bob Hawke (ALP) eventually admitted publicly that the termination of this policy had been brought about by a semi-secret agreement between the Coalition and the ALP, with the Australian people themselves not being asked in advance for a mandate for such momentous change through a referendum, since it was considered likely that they would vote No. This is one of the most significant historical developments

in Australian affairs to call in question the nation's habitual self-description as a "representative democracy."

In this context, the enthusiasm of several speakers for "education against racism"<sup>36</sup> sounded most suspect. It seemed that members from both political sides were equally eager to see in place a program that would constitute indoctrination into the ideology of racial equality rather than an academic inquiry into the nature of racial and ethnic differences and different ways of addressing these within nations.

## V

The argument over whether or not the proposed bill was a justifiable limitation of free speech was, in my view, clearly won by its opponents. In introducing it the attorney-general, Mr. Lavarch, asserted that in it "free speech has been balanced against the rights of Australians to live free of fear and racial harassment."<sup>37</sup> This smooth argument had for some years been advanced, notably, by Jewish spokespeople in the press and seems to have been devised to try to get over the otherwise embarrassing obstacle of the fervor with which British nations have traditionally defended free speech. The argument assumes that such a balance is necessary (false) and that the two goods being balanced are of equal worth (false). Implicit is the assumption that we cannot have a national climate reasonably free for all citizens from fear and from racial harassment and also have freedom of speech (false). In short, the argument is worthless casuistry.

Government speakers often pointed out that, as Mr. Tanner (the member for Melbourne) said, "freedom of speech is not an absolute." Many examples were given of laws that already qualified what could be legally expressed. These related to a wide range of subject matter, including (1) defamation and libel; (2) copyright; (3) obscenity, child pornography and censorship; (4) official secrecy, national security, the state and federal Crimes Acts; (5) contempt of court; (6) contempt of Parliament, rules for Parliamentary speakers that forbid attacks on the Royal Family or the financial probity of fellow members, the Parliamentary Privileges Act, the Public Order (Protection of Persons and Property Act of 1971) which enables protesters in the gallery to be dealt with, and penalties applying to people who display posters in the gallery; (7) consumer protection, the Trade Practices Act which imposes restrictions in order to ensure that business activity is conducted fairly and honestly, false advertising law, and fraud laws; (8) broadcasting regulations; and (9) criminal laws about the counselling of others to commit a crime. None of these constituted the *same degree* of

erosion of free speech that the bill did, for it broke new ground in striking at the freedom of each citizen to publicly make basic political comment and criticisms concerning major issues of national policy and direction.

Many important concerns were raised by the Coalition speakers. Mr. Ruddock (the member for Berowra) said:<sup>38</sup>

*“Our consultations have revealed that some people do have grave reservations about the fact that people can be jailed for what they say as distinct from what they do. [...] We do not think that a government should ever introduce or endorse legislation which will send people to jail for offenses that are not clearly defined in practical terms.”*

Mr. Filing (the member for Moore) enlarged on the Opposition’s objections to the proposed Section 60 (an amendment to the Crimes Act of 1914):<sup>39</sup>

*“There is a fundamental difference [...] between expressing an opinion, however odious, and threatening violence to personal property. [...] We on this side of the chamber will not support a criminal sanction for expressing a view and encouraging others to adopt it when you are not inciting people to damage property or persons.”*

Mr. Forrest (the member for Mallee) commented:<sup>40</sup>

*“I have got some concerns about how this bill basically neuters what I consider to be the reasonable expectation which all Australians have come to treasure – the right to free speech. That right preserves the capacity for people to speak out on a whole range of issues which they consider to be in the public interest. Sometimes these views may require comment in regard to ethnic origins, whether in respect of immigration, foreign policy or any other matter. I see legislation such as this, in the hands of fringe minority groups, being used to constrain such freedom. [...] Although the deliberate giving of offense may not be the purpose of such speech, it is sometimes amazing what people can be offended by.”*

Mr. Cameron (the member for Stirling) pointed to another serious implication of the bill:<sup>41</sup>

*“All laws restricting speech contain a penumbra, a twilight zone in which a person cannot be sure if his statements infringe the law, and therefore cause the prudent and the timid to refrain from making a much wider range of statements than the law intended to prohibit. Sanctions imposed by the courts will probably not be the major practical impediments to free speech.”*

*Those who control access to the forums for disseminating ideas – the publishing houses, the media and academia – will be forced to walk on egg shells when dealing with any issue touching on race. They will, most perhaps from a genuine desire to act lawfully – but some from a cynical desire to suppress debate – cite the law as a reason not to publish anything at variance with contemporary wisdom on multiculturalism.”*

Mr. Slipper (the member for Fisher) noted:<sup>42</sup>

*“By attempting to silence our opponents, we question our own commitment to the cause and acknowledge the strength of our opponent’s position. [...] We should all be concerned with a state which seeks to regulate opinions and which declares the truth and then seeks to suppress any deviation. [...] The thought police are to be let loose. This government will be setting up a type of offense which will see political prisoners created in Australia.”*

Government speakers clearly failed to rebut the free speech argument. Mr. Latham (the member for Werriwa) tried to set up an alternative ideal of “fair speech, consistent with tolerance and understanding.”<sup>43</sup> This ignores the fact that people have varying degrees of understanding, different ideas of what should be tolerated and different ideas about what is or is not fair speech. Ms. Henzell (the member for Capricornia) did not want the law “to permit disadvantaged or vulnerable groups to be seriously harmed by more powerful groups.”<sup>44</sup> However, the bill’s supporters as a group failed completely to produce evidence of such “serious harm” to ethnic minorities within Australia on a sizeable scale. Mr. Theophanous (the member for Calwell) stated that “there are limits to utterances when they promote racial hatred and undermine multicultural society.”<sup>45</sup> This ignored the fact that many Australians might want to argue in favor of a homogeneous, if not monocultural society, and that such a position in no way automatically indicates that they are racial haters. Later this speaker made a most significant interjection:<sup>46</sup>

*“It is to stop Nazis and others in Australia of their type that this bill has been organized!”*

He may inadvertently have pointed to a secret agenda behind the bill designed in the interests of one particular ethnic minority – Jews. Mrs. Easson (the member for Lowe) said:<sup>47</sup>

*“This bill [...] attacks the public tolerance of racist speech. If we declare our intolerance of racist speech, the social ethos will evolve over time away from racism.”*

This smacks more of social engineering than assistance of vulnerable persons. And Mr. Hollis (the member for Throsby) saw the bill as rejecting “the right of racists to go out and practice their craft.”<sup>48</sup> For him, perhaps, “racists” were any people who disagreed with himself on issues involving race. To sum up, the Government speakers were bent on censorship, proud of their moral virtue and unwilling or unable to countenance the existence of, and the expression of, a plurality of views on matters involving race – or the possibility that their own views might be to some extent erroneous.

## VI

A feature of the 1994 debate was the apparently complete obsequiousness of the Australian Parliament to the United Nations Organization. A number of speakers cited the UNO as having provided the constitutional basis for national legislation on racial issues.<sup>49</sup> Ms. Worth (the member for Adelaide) quoted the preamble to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as stating: “[...] any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous and. [...] there is no justification for racial discrimination.”<sup>50</sup> There is a dangerous odor of institutional infallibility about that article. It is also regrettable that it repudiates ‘racial discrimination’ *tout court* when, properly, it should only repudiate ‘unjust racial discrimination’. Such carelessness with terminology (or is it intended manipulation?) does not encourage confidence in the UNO. Putnam exposed the unscientific nature of a UNESCO Statement on Race published in 1950.<sup>51</sup> UNESCO was forced to first publish a modification and later a booklet rebutting both the initial statement and the modification by fourteen scientists of world standing. Putnam went on to show how the scientists’ correction was later ignored by the big battalions of media, politicians, the entertainment industry, scientific hierarchy and educational establishment.

Not one speaker in the debate was prepared to address the unreliability, if not outright mendacity, of the UNO, or to discuss whether it really was in Australia’s interest to be bound by any of its declarations – or to what extent Australia should co-operate with it. The UNO has been the subject of unfavorable scrutiny in a number of important books.<sup>52</sup> One of the great questions of our time is whether or not the UNO was deliberately established as the prototype of a future world government, the “New World Order,” which in fact would be a global tyranny of certain elite groups. Ms. Worth also referred to “the standards that the global community has agreed upon”; but it is doubtful that any such community can truly be said to exist,

let alone that it was properly consulted, with every adult person in every member state being well informed about the standards beforehand.

## VII

One explanation for the appearance of the 1994 Racial Hatred bill is that it formed part of a program to transform Australia from its original status as an essentially British nation into... something else. The key word used to describe that something else is one with a sliding range of possible meanings that easily enables deception and causes confusion. That word is *multiculturalism*. It is possible to make the idea of a ‘multicultural Australia’ sound rich and exciting, an example of the truth that variety is the spice of life. On the other hand, perhaps such an Australia might be easily made into a satrapy of the New World Order, in which a demoralized citizenry of quasi-slaves have no peoplehood left, no folk or kin group to protect them from the tyrants. Understandably, proponents of multiculturalism tend to be in favor of plenty of immigration and from as many different ethnic groups around the world as possible. This raises the question of whether the bill was seen partly as a means of inhibiting public expression of opposition to high levels of immigration and to multiculturalism.

Mr. Robert Brown (the member for Charlton) had this to say:<sup>53</sup>

*“I believe that in Australia we have developed and refined an important concept when we talk about a multicultural society. In the process of doing that, we have, in effect, adopted a positive and practical policy of national purpose and identity [...].*

*We have a society which consists, quite deliberately, of people from varied and diverse ethnic, racial and cultural backgrounds. [...] we have developed a country which has a great number of stimulating, exciting, diverse and interesting qualities [...].*

*I think it is one of the greatest social and inter-racial initiatives ever undertaken anywhere in the world. I believe that it represents a deliberate attempt to bring together people of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds on the basis of their simply being people. [...]*

*There can be little doubt that the vibrant culture that exists in Australia today is a welcome replacement of the narrow xenophobic Australia of the past. [...] we are a more successful, energetic, thoughtful, forward-looking and outward-looking society than we ever were in the past.”*

What identity? What qualities? What does “simply being people” mean? The speech is vague; the language turgid; it looks like politicians’ cant.

Notably, it involves slander of the past (the times of the pioneers, the explorers and the soldiers in two great wars) in order to flatter the present.

Mr. Latham (the member for Werriwa) remarked:<sup>54</sup>

*“This is indeed landmark legislation. It represents an important landmark in Australia’s transformation from an inward-looking, monocultural society to an outward-looking, tolerant, confident, multicultural society.”*

Was the British Australia of the recent past, which saw itself as part of a noble and magnificent empire of many peoples, “inward-looking”? It does not seem to have occurred to the speaker that *unity of culture, based upon unity of race, may also mean strength and profundity of culture*, while multiculturalism, like syncretism in religion, may mean disintegration and decadence. And how tolerant is this new society to be of those who criticize it? Not very, the bill suggested.

Putnam issued in 1961 a warning of the dangers of indiscriminating immigration policy:<sup>55</sup>

*“The immigration of many millions of people into the USA, particularly during the past eighty years, has brought together here the greatest assortment of ethnic stocks in the world and probably in history. If the lessons of European experience have any meaning, such a conglomeration of racial and ethnic elements renders a serious cultural decline inevitable. Symptoms of the decline are already apparent in the deteriorating state of some aspects of our culture, in the irresoluteness and confusion of our national leaders and in the virulence of frank anti-social behavior among our people far in excess of that encountered in West European countries, Canada and Australia. [...] Today, in excessive homicide, treason, juvenile delinquency and other crimes with their tremendous cost in suffering and treasure, we are paying the price for our reckless generosity to peoples of other lands.”*

Mr. Campbell (the member for Kalgoorlie) hit one nail right on the head:<sup>56</sup>

*“This bill [...] is clearly designed to stifle open debate on matters such as immigration and multiculturalism at a time when both are increasingly coming into public disrepute.”*

And two Coalition speakers pointed to anomalies in the bill. Mr. Cameron (the member for Stirling) supported the concept of “racially blind” legislation:<sup>57</sup>

*“This bill is analogous to the government prohibiting theft from migrants only. One wonders why the Government is extending a protec-*

*tion which all Australians should enjoy only to members of minority racial groups. The obvious, if cynical, answer is that the Government will not earn kudos from the multicultural lobby by passing a law with a general operation. The rest of us are entitled to feel discriminated against."*

Mr. Atkinson (the member for Isaacs) added:<sup>58</sup>

*"To me, of fundamental importance to this country is one set of laws for a group of people who choose to live in this country and call Australia home. [...] If we are going to bring people together in this country and develop an interest as Australians for Australians, we should not introduce legislation that enables racial qualifications to be placed in front of them."*

## VIII

The most important political pressure group in Australia to consistently challenge the doctrine of racial equality has been the Australian League of Rights. This organization, founded in 1960, grew out of the Social Credit movement of the 1930s. It has always supported the Christian and British ethos of the nation, it has tended to be wary of programs for Aboriginal "advancement" and "land rights" (seeing these as potentially divisive of the political order), it has tended to oppose non-European immigration and favor the maximum possible ties with Britain and the former British dominions of Canada and New Zealand, it has favored patriotic nationalism and been very wary of the UNO, and it has often been critical of Jewish influence within national and international politics (which it has seen as often hostile to its own ideals and policies). It has been easy for its political opponents to stigmatize it as "racist" and "anti-Semitic."

An important feature of the 1994 debate was what may be called the *slanderfest of the "extreme right,"* with the League as main target. For example, National Party Leader Tim Fischer (the member for Farrer) proudly stated:<sup>59</sup>

*"Members of this house will know that over the years I have been involved in many battles against what we call the Far Right, the League of Rights and other organizations from the extreme Right, some members of whom hold the sort of odious racist views that this bill is intended to address. From that experience, I have come to know that these people do not think rationally about such issues. They interpret the ac-*



*tions of others, governments in particular, in terms of the twisted international conspiracies they imagine.”*

Some might well see this sort of vague language as reckless vilification. Fischer went on to add:<sup>60</sup>

*“In this respect, as in my constant and unflinching opposition to the Far Right, my record stands me in good stead and provides a self-evident defense against those who would seek to place the racist tag on my back or on the back of any member of the parliamentary National Party.”*

Government spokesman Mr. Latham (the member for Werriwa) had this to say:<sup>61</sup>

*“Yet a small minority of racists and racist organizations do express and seek to incite racial intolerance and hatred. [...] We do have the League of Rights and we do have in election campaigns organizations such as Australians Against Further Immigration, which run their campaigns on a racist platform.”*

An impartial analysis of both the named groups might also find evidence of unjust vilification here too.

Mr. Snow (the member for Eden-Monaro) said:<sup>62</sup>

*“There is plenty of intolerance and bigotry about. For instance, the League of Rights has been mentioned in this debate. The League of Rights has a phobia about Zionism. [...] Zionism poses some ethereal threat, which I have never been able to perceive in spite of all the writings of those who are on the right, such as those in the League of Rights.”*

That was not an intellectually substantial rebuttal of the League’s commentaries on Zionist and Jewish influence in politics. It was vilification offered in defense of an anti-vilification bill!

At least seven other speakers participated in the slanderfest.<sup>63</sup> Not a single speaker in the whole debate sought to stem this avalanche of misinformation and defamation. A significant body of Australians was being demonized, leading to the strong presumption that the discussion was not the completely free exchange of views it might seem to be. What power within the political order could be so powerful that it was able to frighten both major political parties into such a dishonorable group attack?

## IX

It seems that Jewish influence played a large part in the formulation of the Racial Hatred bill of 1994. That is, if Graham Campbell is correct in claims made in his speech. Campbell said:<sup>64</sup>

*“Mr. Keating finally announced that the bill would definitely be introduced before the end of 1994 at the 36th biennial conference of the Zionist Federation of Australia. The outgoing president of the ZFA, Mark Leibler, was one of those who had most strongly pushed for this bill, with criminal sanctions. The choice of venue for the announcement underlined from where the major lobbying pressure for the introduction of such a bill had come. Of course, other ethnic groups and academics have been involved and Aborigines have been used as a stalking horse, but the main driving force has clearly been the Zionist lobby.”*

Mr. Campbell gave other examples of Jewish influence in Australia's national politics: (1) At the same conference Mr. Keating announced the formation of a multicultural advisory council to advise the Government on cultural diversity dimensions of the centenary of Federation and the Olympic Games – and nominated as first (and at that stage only) member a lobbyist from the ZFA; (2) The imposition on Australia in 1988 of a “costly and counter-productive war-crimes trials process” [purely set up to catch alleged Nazis]; (3) The sacking of the secretary and deputy-secretary to the Immigration Department in 1990 because they resisted opening up a separate immigration category for Soviet Jews; and (4) The achievement of changes to the immigration rules which “were used to block controversial historian David Irving from entering Australia.”

In dealing with the attempt by Jewish spokesman Jeremy Jones to deny the truth of the third of these charges (which had been exposed in the *Canberra Times* by journalist Verona Burgess), Campbell said:<sup>65</sup>

*“Neither the Zionist lobby nor anyone else has the right to use state authority to deny inconvenient facts of history and remain unchallenged. Nor should we attempt to suppress people who make such denials. [...] This is how we should approach those who deny the Holocaust. They should be met with the facts and arguments in open debate and not suppressed. [...] This bill is also designed to entrench one view of history as holy writ. All aspects of history, no matter how horrible and distressing to some people, should be open for critical examination and discussion. We cannot rule a line on the study of the past. I really believe that if we do not make a stand on this bill, then the authoritarian excesses will get worse.”*

Campbell raised these matters with an admirable mixture of directness and tact:<sup>66</sup>

*“I want to make it clear that in talking of the Zionist lobby, I am not talking about the great majority of Jews, many of whom, I know, are totally opposed to this bill. I am talking about a relatively small group in the Jewish community, disproportionately composed of authoritarian zealots who have crushed or silenced internal opposition. Due to a combination of money, position, relentless lobbying and the manipulation of their victim status, they have a very powerful influence, both in Australia and abroad.”*



*British historian David Irving*  
 Source: Photo taken from the Irving website that states: “These photographs are provided for use copyright free unless otherwise indicated” [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Although many other speakers referred to Jewish matters, most being sympathetic to Jewish interests,<sup>67</sup> none of the twenty-six who followed Campbell made any significant reference to his comments about the role of the Zionist lobby in promoting the bill and otherwise strongly influencing Australian political affairs. The natural presumption is that they knew they could not refute his thesis but did not wish to be associated with it.

## X

After being passed in the House of Representatives (the lower house of the Australian Parliament) on party lines 71-59 the bill was sent for consideration to the Australian Senate (the upper house), which arranged for its joint (all-party) Legal and Constitutional Committee to investigate it. As a result some public hearings were heard and I attended the one in Melbourne on 24th February 1995, having arranged in advance to be allowed to make a submission. What occurred there, I believe, casts considerable light on the nature of both the bill and its eventual acceptance by the Senate (after which in amended form it became law as part of the Racial Discrimination Act). After being invited to address the hearing by its chairman, ALP Sena-

tor Barney Cooney, I began by explaining that I appeared as a private citizen and representative of a long line of British and European writers who had defended free speech. I continued as follows:<sup>69</sup>

*“Within the last 24 hours, I have nearly completed a first reading of the transcript of the hearing held by this committee in Canberra a week ago on 17th February. This convinces me that there is still widespread confusion and error in many people about the nature of this bill and its implications. I remain convinced that the bill should be completely rejected at this stage, and that a new inquiry should be set up into relevant matters of society and race in this nation, an inquiry which is indisputably and manifestly impartial.*

*On page 276 of that transcript, we read that Senator Abetz said a week ago: ‘Let us say I was an outrageous revisionist of the academic view and said, ‘The Holocaust did not exist, did not happen.’ There are some people with that strange view of history.’ He indicated that he believed that such a view and the promotion thereof ‘would offend all Jewish people’ and would be done ‘because of the race.’ He added that ‘these revisionists say these things’ because they believe that ‘the Jews have perpetrated a fraud on society and got them to accept a version of history that was not true.’ Dr Sernack commented: ‘You may very well hold those beliefs in good faith but, nevertheless, it may not be reasonable in the circumstances to promulgate them.’ On page 280, Senator Abetz talked about a neo-Nazi and asked: ‘If there were a neo-Nazi meeting to which only neo-Nazis were invited to hear some revisionist history, would that be a public place?’*

*Later he referred to ‘this outrageous revisionist version of history.’ Later still he referred to the revisionist view of the Holocaust as ‘just diatribe.’ These and many other references throughout the transcript show that an inadequate background of knowledge is being brought to the public deliberations on this bill and that a crudeness and lack of subtlety of terminology are being employed, which means clearly that the nation is not yet ready to have legislation on such controversial matters of race and society framed, debated, legislated and enacted. A Miss Chung said, on page 302, ‘We can never wait for the perfect time.’ However, the present time, the present context, is grossly imperfect, so the voice of wisdom says, ‘Not yet, not yet.’*

*I end with a series of challenging assertions which I am prepared to defend to the best of my ability. The bill is too vaguely worded and offers insufficient safeguards for intellectual freedom. The terms ‘racist’ and ‘racism’ are too vague for adequate debate. They are unscientific in the*

*sense used by Professor Eric Voegelin of the term 'fascism' in his seminal work, The New Science of Politics, published by the University of Chicago Press in 1952 in America.<sup>68</sup> 'Denial of the Holocaust' and allied terms are prejudicial and seriously misleading. Revisionist historians, David Irving and the Australian League of Rights, as well as many other individuals and groups in the so-called far right spectrum, are honourable and decent people who deserve a fair hearing. Their exclusion from public debate on this bill by the major media is a national intellectual scandal. The member for Kalgoorlie in the House of Representatives, Mr Graeme Campbell, was correct to state that the major impetus for this bill has come from Jewish Zionist pressure groups and individuals, as he said in the House debate of 15th and 16th November. Jewish Zionist influence on our national politics has become excessive and needs to be curbed."*

The chairman in response suggested that there was no problem "under this bill in saying that the Holocaust did not occur" and likened such a claim to stating that Dresden was not bombed in World War Two, that the Kokoda Trail did not exist, that there was no Burma Railway built by the Japanese with prisoner of war labor, or that William III was a homosexual [that is, a series of obvious absurdities]. In response I said:

I think that is arguable. In any case, this bill needs to be seen in a context that goes far beyond that of Australia; a context that includes a number of other countries that have been mentioned in debate on this matter, such as Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Canada, America, where it is quite plain that there is what appears to be a worldwide campaign to inhibit as much as possible the expression of certain controversial views on various topics associated with race, of which the Holocaust and the degree of Jewish influence in national and international politics is one.

The chairman asked why I picked out the Holocaust. I replied:<sup>71</sup>

*"Mr. Chairman, I am a writer. I believe it is necessary, as [Joseph] Brodsky, one of the Nobel Prize winners for literature, said, to speak the whole truth fearlessly. It is necessary to go to the heart of the matter. This I believe is where the heart of the matter is. Moreover, when I look at the transcript of last week's hearing, I see that there is quite a significant number of references to Jewish matters, to Nazism, neo-Nazism, the Holocaust and so on. This is a very important aspect of this bill."*

The chairman repeated his question, and I replied:

*“Because I think this takes us straight to the heart of the socio-political context in which this bill has been presented to the parliament. I have referred to the writings of Ian Dallas. I have one of his books here – a magnificent piece of writing called The Ten Symphonies of Gorka Konig.<sup>[70]</sup> He is a Muslim sheikh. He is a man of an extraordinary range of knowledge and intellect and he would argue that I am doing just that, that I am going to the heart of the matter. The other matters you refer to may be important but they are not as important as the one I am referring to.”*

There now occurred an extraordinary intervention. It so happened that in this small room, containing some fifteen or so persons, one of them was none other than Mark Leibler, the very powerful and prominent Jewish activist and leader to whom Graeme Campbell had referred in his House of Representatives speech. Leibler now passionately intervened.<sup>72</sup>

*“Mr. Chairman, this is a new experience for me. I have never been before a Senate committee and listened to something which is really straight out of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Now that we are here, perhaps Mr. Jackson ought to be asked to explain. What he is obviously telling us is that all the ills of the world are attributable back to the Jews, that this is a worldwide conspiracy and the Jewish people are responsible for everything. I think it would be of interest to the committee if perhaps you asked Mr. Jackson to explain how all this happens, for example, how the Jews control the government here, how the Jews control the international community. Maybe you should invite him to explain.”*

Rather taken aback by this onslaught and its intellectual crudity, I had the feeling that Leibler was acting a role, a familiar role for him, in which a person or a group or a view was not to be so much discussed as rubbished and hissed off the stage.

He and the chairman for a few moments discussed implications of Holocaust denial and its relationship to the bill. Leibler likened such “denial” to saying “that the moon does not exist or the sun or the earth is square.”<sup>73</sup> He then renewed his attack on me:

*“But Mr. Chairman, we have been treated here to something which I have never heard but I have seen on TV. This is The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This gentleman is talking about a worldwide Jewish conspiracy controlling all governments, controlling the world. I would like to know how this is done. He should be asked to explain.”*

Fortunately, I was able to respond to these diatribes and the whole conversation is on the public record. I replied:<sup>74</sup>

*“It should be quite plain, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Leibler has grossly misrepresented what I said and given a superb example of what I was talking about when I talked about inadequate terminology and an inadequate background knowledge. I said nothing whatever about the Jews being responsible for “all the ills of the world.” I have not talked about a conspiracy engineered by the Jews. To suggest that reality of the sun and the moon is comparable to the reality of a controversial historical event is nonsense. I resent very strongly the imputations that this gentleman has made about me.”*

Leibler was plainly on the back foot now, as he had clearly ascribed to me views I had neither directly nor indirectly expressed, exaggerated statements I had made, and come up with a ludicrously stupid comparison. Leibler meanwhile continued in a very sarcastic voice:<sup>75</sup>

*“I got it wrong, Mr. Chairman. It was not the Jews; it was the Zionists. Correct?”*

It evidently did not occur to him that an apology was in order.

There now occurred another memorable exchange. The Chairman turned to a Mr. Pearce, a representative of the prestigious Victorian Council for Civil Liberties, and asked him:

*“Mr. Pearce, what do you say about that? Do you agree with what Mr. Jackson said?”*

Pearce replied:<sup>76</sup>

*“With virtually none of what he said.”*

It amazed and disappointed me that this man said *nothing* in support of my free speech position and *nothing* about the way in which Leibler had clearly misrepresented me. I had the conviction that foremost in his mind was the desire not to be associated in any way at all with what he regarded as “anti-Semitism.” And, if I am correct, that shows the degree to which a taboo has infected Australian society: an eleventh commandment – “Say no ill of the Jews.” Pearce went on to argue, effectively I thought, that Holocaust denial would become illegal if the bill was passed. Along the way he remarked:<sup>77</sup>

*“We are here to talk about this bill and not the international Zionist controversy.”*

I managed to get another important point made:<sup>78</sup>

*“No distinction has been made yet between the phrase ‘denial of the Holocaust’ and between revisionist historians of responsible and intellectual caliber who are not ‘denying the Holocaust’ but who are arguing that it has been exaggerated – something which any historian should be perfectly free to say about any particular historical event. Using the phrase ‘denial of the Holocaust’ constantly evades facing up to this question that it is not a matter of denial. It is a matter of questioning the extent of.”*

Soon the chairman was again comparing Holocaust denial to saying that no Australian troops were killed on the Burma Railway, and I was able to make an important point about that.<sup>79</sup>

*“I am not aware of any significant body of historians of academic and intellectual quality who are making any denials about the Australian activities in the Burma railroad et cetera and, therefore I am afraid that comparison is quite irrelevant. But there is such a body making these sorts of comments about the Holocaust. Some of them are in jail in certain countries and I feel that this legislation is at least a step in the direction of putting Australian intellectuals who are dissidents in gaol.”*

Mr. Leibler soon remarked:<sup>80</sup>

*“I could not really take this seriously. It is best that I say no more. I would hope that no-one else takes it any more seriously than I do.”*

I thought his tone petulant; and it occurred to me that he was used to saying publicly the sort of defamatory things he had been saying about me without being effectively challenged. The major media often published Jewish attacks on their opponents but rarely if ever opinion articles by writers of “the extreme right.” But now, all of a sudden, he had a capable debating opponent from that stable who was being given opportunity to reply to him – and it was all going onto the public record. It seemed that he had grasped that he had better not take the debate with me any further.

A representative from the Australian Civil Liberties Union<sup>81</sup>, Mr. Geoff Muirden, now uttered a word of support for me:<sup>82</sup>

*“I feel that matters raised by the revisionists should be a matter of open debate. If the Jews take exception to it, as they apparently do, they should be able to meet the revisionists in open debate. There should not be this attempt to suppress David Irving from entering Australia.”*

The conversation moved to the topic of combating racism by means of educational programs and, after several speakers had given their views, I was able to speak:



*“We tend to assume in public discussions in this country and in other Western countries that education is a great good. It is surprising, however, how much written material by top quality minds now exists to suggest that modern mass education has in many respects been a very harmful influence. I can quote simply one top writer, Frithjof Schuon, one of the Perennialists School. He is a Muslim writer but he has argued this in quite a number of essays.<sup>[83]</sup> I have been listening with interest to what has been said in the later part of this discussion and it convinces me that the education first needs to begin among the people in this room and others who speak the kind of language that they speak. For I say again that if you use words like ‘racist’ and ‘racism’ you are using unscientific terminology, as Professor Voegelin said.”*

In response to this, Leibler sneered: *“Mein Kampf.”*<sup>84</sup> He had been reduced to the schoolboy tactic of mindless derision. What on earth had my speech to do with Hitler?! I responded:

*“Despite Mr. Leibler’s recent sneering comment, this is a serious matter, as I say. The word ‘racism’ needs to be very carefully examined; it will be found that it is used in many contexts with many ranges of meanings.”*

The chairman tried to sweep aside my insistence on careful defining.<sup>85</sup> I replied:<sup>86</sup>

*“Still coming back to your question relating to racial hatred, incitement to it and so forth, can we afford as a nation to frame and pass in the parliament legislation that flies too much in the face of truth? I think that is a question that has not been adequately answered at all today. I agree with what Mr. Wakim has said in his colloquial language – if I may put it that way – that a hell of a lot of work has to be done in order to reverse stereotypes. I have been observing that just today, because although I have made a number of points which have certainly not been answered by anyone here, people have gone merrily along their way using the old stereotypes that I have queried.”*

The chairman tried to get Mr. Pearce to agree that legislation against racism is necessary in a multicultural society; but Pearce would not be drawn:<sup>87</sup>

*“We do not see that the conduct which this bill will proscribe threatens social or public order [...]. That is because there is no evidence that we have seen that the conduct which this legislation seeks to proscribe does threaten public and social order.”*

He was supported by Liberal Party Senator O'Chee:<sup>88</sup>

*"I think that what Mr. Pearce is saying is that in a tolerant society you have room for free speech, and he is saying that if you curtail that principle you strike at the very principle of tolerance itself and ultimately you undermine a multicultural society."*

Pearce went on to explain that there were only "two very discrete and small categories of conduct" which the bill proscribed that were not already proscribed by other laws: "hate speech" and "giving offense or insulting someone." He insisted:<sup>89</sup>

*"There is simply no evidence that I have seen which demonstrates that conduct of that kind in Australia in 1995 threatens social order."*

I had asked for definitions; Pearce had asked for evidence; neither of us had been satisfied in this hearing. I was allowed the final say by the chairman who kindly thanked me for 'a very good contribution this afternoon'. I said:<sup>90</sup>

*"Could I say something about the matter of conciliation which was raised? [...] It was suggested that the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission conciliators are neutral. I think that that is a questionable statement. I think that, in the social-political context in which that body was set up, and in which it operates, an individual Australian citizen may well be entitled not to have confidence that such neutrality exists. I would ask every senator who is present here... ["And who is a white Aryan Australian –," Leibler sneeringly interrupted...] I would like to ask every senator here to see what I have had to say about that in my short 9-page letter of late January because I made a very serious comment for the senators about just this matter of conciliation."*

Why did one of Australia's most prominent and powerful Jewish leaders feel a need twice to try to undermine my remarks by associating me, without any justification from my words, with Nazism and Hitler? I left the hearing strengthened in my conviction that Jewish will was a prime motivation behind the bill and that it was not at all benign towards those who would oppose it, no matter how decent they were as people, no matter how eloquent and logical they were in argument. I also felt that I had witnessed an all-too-typical timidity in others when confronted by manifestations of that will.

## XI

Three cases brought under the Racial Discrimination Act in its new form which became applicable in October 1995 (without including criminal sanctions for persons found guilty of inciting racial hatred, since the Australian Parliament had rejected that) aroused concern among supporters of free speech. In each case the defendant was found to have transgressed the Act and was accordingly punished. Two were bankrupted by lengthy legal processes which they had to some extent themselves initiated; these were Olga Scully, a Tasmanian woman of Russian ethnicity, and Dr. Fredrick Töben, a Victorian of German origins. The third defendant was a gun journalist from Melbourne's mass circulation newspaper, the *Herald Sun*, Andrew Bolt, of Dutch ethnicity; and his case became a *cause célèbre*. Indeed it is widely understood that the verdict in Bolt's case was what prompted Tony Abbott to promise reform of the Act in 2012 and to attempt this, unsuccessfully as it has turned out, after he became prime minister.

It appears that Scully had been making a practice of dropping unsolicited political pamphlets and videos in letter-boxes, as well as selling these and various books in a public marketplace. The record of proceedings states that some of these materials claimed that Germany did not engage in organized brutality during World War Two, and that Germans had been wrongly depicted as fiends. It was argued that the bodies of concentration camp victims were not burnt in gas ovens, but had ordinary cremation. The camp at Auschwitz had a swimming pool, school and theatre.<sup>91</sup>

It was also reported that Scully had distributed pamphlets alleging that the Holocaust was a lie, the *Talmud* encouraged pedophilia, Jews orchestrated the Port Arthur massacre<sup>92</sup>, communism was a Jewish plot and the world banks, media and pornography are under Jewish control.

Some of the material she placed in Launceston letter-boxes included *The Inadvertent Confession of a Jew*, *The Jewish Khazar Kingdom*, *Russian Jews Control Pornography*, *The Most Debated Question of our Time – Was There Really a Holocaust?*, and an untitled excerpt on which was written in longhand:

*“The white Christian nations are the true seed of Israel. ‘The synagogue of Satan’ – who say they are Judean – but are lying frauds, are trying to force the white race to mongrelize.”*

There was also a document entitled “MFP – What Are Japan's Motives?,” in which Scully had underlined the names of three individuals mentioned in the article, including that of Mr. David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan

Bank, and written in the margin next to their names “3 Jews.” On a photograph of Rockefeller she had written “Jew” across his forehead.<sup>93</sup>

Mr. Anthony Cavanough QC, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity commissioner, gave his decision on 21st September 2000. He found that Scully had breached Section 18C of the Act. Factors that contributed to his finding included the “stridently anti-Semitic” tone of her material and “the inflammatory tone of the publications.” He rejected a claim by Scully that she made a clear distinction between “Talmudic/Zionist/Communist Jews” and “good” Jews, pointing out that her leaflets for the most part made no such distinction, but attacked Jews generally.

Justice Cavanough explained why he did not believe that the exemptions allowed in Section 18D (which Scully had, in any case, failed to invoke) would have exonerated her. He felt that the leaflets did not bear “on their face the appearance of reasonableness, good faith and genuineness of purpose.” Rather, they appeared to be “intended to defame and injure Jews,” whether or not they had other purposes. He believed that “the extreme nature of the imputations made, the intemperate and inflammatory tone of the leaflets and the great variety of subject matter which have been made vehicles for the imputations against Jews” combined “to suggest a lack of the reasonableness and good faith required by Section 18D [...] and a lack of the requisite ‘genuineness’ of purpose.”

The judge further explained that he did not think the exemption of “in good faith” could have been successfully invoked by Scully just because she “honestly or sincerely” held her negative views about Jews.

As for the criterion of “reasonableness,” he felt she would not have succeeded with this either, as her material was “unverified and lacking in persuasiveness.” He evidently did not feel that Scully had taken care prior to publication to establish the truth of the assertions in the pamphlets, or checked them for accuracy, or that she possessed any “special knowledge” which would justify publication. Moreover, he did not believe that her activities were carried out for any “genuine academic, artistic or scientific purpose” (another criterion for exemption). Rather, he saw them as the spreading of “hate propaganda.” He did not regard the leaflets as “reports” or as touching on “a subject of public interest,” since their topics as a whole were too broad to fit the statutory concept. A “subject of public interest could not be some general abstraction unrelated to the conduct of particular individuals.” Finally, the judge did not regard the publications as “comment,” let alone “fair comment.”<sup>94</sup>

It is worth noting at this point some of the definitions contained in the “Guide to the Racial Hatred Act” published by the Australian Human

Rights Commission on its website. The phrase “in good faith” is stated to mean that “the act [of publication] must have been done without spite, ill-will or any other improper motive.” If there has been “a culpably reckless and callous indifference” to injury that a targeted person or group would be likely to experience, this also would establish a lack of good faith. Moreover, if publication was found to be “unpersuasive” and having “a main purpose to humiliate and denigrate” a person or group, the exemption would also not excuse it.

The AHRC claims that the test for “done reasonably” is objective:

*“Whether or not the publisher [...] thought the act was reasonable, it is the ordinary person whose assessment is relevant. The context of the act or publication, community standards of morality and ethics and the impact on the community, on the targeted person or group and on race relations are all relevant.”*

What is one to make of the significance of the Scully case? Was justice done? In my judgment Scully, despite her obviously genuine desire to witness to the truth and defend those she felt had been unfairly traduced, was considerably at fault. It seems to me that she had become fanatically obsessed with her political views, so that she relied on writings of unworthy quality, lost to some extent her sense of the humanity of those she was criticizing, lost the crucial awareness that there might be another side to the matter, lost the awareness that she herself might be in error to some extent, and failed to realize that dropping unsolicited material into letter-boxes is an invasion of privacy that is to be avoided if possible.

Her Jewish adversaries had grounds for complaint. Whether they were wise and compassionate in proceeding is a different issue. It is hard to believe that Scully’s activities constituted any seriously dangerous threat to the Jewish community. Perhaps it would have been nobler to ignore this case of a loner with “a bee in her bonnet.” Certainly her punishment of bankruptcy is excessive, but she partly brought this on herself by stubbornness and mismanagement of her case.

What is perhaps most important is the inevitable subjectivity that entered the judging of her case. The language of the Act itself is inevitably vague, ambiguous and capable of different interpretations by different observers. Some of Justice Cavanough’s opinions appear contestable. While there was error and crudity in some of Scully’s publications, there appears also to have been some truth in them, possibly dissident truth that deserves dissemination; and there is a danger that successful litigation in such a case has the effect of “throwing out the baby with the bath water.”

## XII

A more important, more sensational and better known case brought under the Racial Discrimination Act was that initiated against Dr. Fredrick Töben by Jeremy Jones and the committee members of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry in 1996, a matter that was to drag out until 2009. Töben had established a revisionist website under the name of the Adelaide Institute. The complaint was that Töben through his website had engaged in malicious anti-Jewish propaganda. He had denied the Nazi genocide of the Jews and blamed Jews for the crimes committed under Stalin. He had stated:<sup>95</sup>

*“[...] the well-connected Jewish lobby wants to signal for those who are aware of their various rackets and schemes, that, if you cross them as an individual or as a nation, then they will boycott, persecute and ultimately punish you, using Gentile government agencies and Gentile taxpayers’ money [...]. One day in the not too distant future the tables might well have turned and the aroused Gentile world will mete out justice and vengeance.”*

A hearing took place before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in 1998 and on 10th October 2000 the Commission ruled that Töben must remove from the Adelaide Institute website material considered to be hate speech and refrain from republishing such or similar material. This ruling was confirmed by Justice Branson in the Federal Court on 17th September 2002. The offending material included: (1) claims that there is serious doubt that the Holocaust occurred; (2) statements that it is unlikely that there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz; (3) an accusation that Jewish people who are offended by and challenge Holocaust denial are of limited intelligence; (4) claims that some Jewish people, for improper purposes, including financial gain, have exaggerated the number of Jews killed during World War Two and the circumstances in which they were killed; (5) a home-page statement headed “About the Adelaide Institute.”<sup>96</sup>

Like Scully, Töben had declined to make use of the exemptions allowable under Section 18D. In the Scully case Justice Hely had noted:<sup>97</sup>

*“The present proceedings were not concerned with the truth or falsity of what was distributed by the respondent; rather, it was concerned with whether her leaflets were reasonably likely to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate Jews in Australia. [...] The fact, if it be a fact, that assertions made in the leaflets may be wrong or inaccurate does not of itself establish a contravention of Section 18C. A true statement, or one*

*which might in some way be shown to be true, does not mean that the statement is incapable of being offensive.”*

Affronted by this situation, Scully and Töben preferred to refuse to participate in what they claimed were show trials in which truth was not a defense.

In the Töben case Justice Branson stated:

*“The applicant gave evidence that the Australian Jewish community has the highest percentage of survivors of the Holocaust of any Jewish community outside of Israel. Each of the first two of the imputations identified in [88] above thus challenges and denigrates a central aspect of the shared perception of Australian Jewry of its own modern history and the circumstances in which many of its members came to make their lives in Australia rather than in Europe. To the extent that the material conveys these imputations it is, in my view, more probable than not that it would engender feelings of hurt and pain in the living by reason of its challenge to deep seated belief as to the circumstances surrounding the deaths, or the displacement, of their parents or grandparents [...and that it] would engender in Jewish Australians a sense of being treated contemptuously, disrespectfully and offensively [...].*

*[...] it is more probable than not that the third and fourth of the imputations identified above, by reason of their calumnious nature, would offend, insult, hurt and wound members of Australian Jewry.*

*On these grounds the relevant publication was deemed to have been likely to ‘offend and insult’ (two of the four key criteria of Section 18C) Australian Jewry. Justice Branson then explained why the other two criteria (‘intimidate and humiliate’) were also applicable. Publication on such an easily accessed website was likely to ‘cause damage to the pride and self-respect of vulnerable members of the Australian Jewish community, such as, for example, the young and the impressionable. [...] Vulnerable members of the Jewish community [...] might well experience, whether consciously or unconsciously, pressure to renounce the cultural differences that identify them as part of the Jewish community.’ Other Australian Jews might ‘become fearful of accessing the World Wide Web to search for information touching on their Jewish culture because of the risk of insult.’”*

Justice Branson also mentioned that none of the material produced by Töben established that he had acted “in good faith.”<sup>98</sup>

In April 2009 Töben was found guilty of contempt of court for having breached a court order. He unreservedly apologized for this, but was never-

theless jailed for three months. Töben has now become the highest-profile Holocaust revisionist in Australia. The media have widely reported his imprisonment in 1998 in Mannheim Prison in Germany for having “defamed the dead,” his attendance at President Ahmadinejad’s conference on the Holocaust in Iran in 2006, and the unsuccessful attempt by Germany to extradite him from the UK on a European arrest warrant in 2008.

It is difficult to resist the impression that Töben has an excessively combative personality and that on occasion he has pursued what, for him, has become a veritable crusade in an inappropriate manner. Attitudes and language published on the Adelaide Institute, which still operates but now under a different director, have at times, one feels, been unnecessarily aggressive as well as intemperate. In short, as with Scully, the Jewish community may have had some legitimate grounds for concern. At the same time, as again with the Scully case, there is reason to fear that the Racial Discrimination Act, as invoked against Töben, led to an unjust rejection of dissident views, sincerely and seriously offered; and some of Justice Branson’s argument, quoted above, appears to be tenuous.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> First published in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 15 September 1972 and later included in the Penguin Books 1987 edition of the novel.
- <sup>2</sup> Hansard (record of the House of Representatives debate on 15th and 16th November 1994), pp. 3336-3337.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3359.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3385.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3387-3388.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3385.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3368.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3373.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3380.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3455.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3414 (Mr. Filing, the member for Moore), p. 3431 (Mr. Forrest, the member for Mallee), p. 3494 (Mr. Katter, the member for Kennedy), and p. 3499 (Mr. Slipper, the member for Fisher).
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3450.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3384.
- <sup>14</sup> Tilmouth is an Aboriginal rights activist. The Central Land Council is an Australian Government statutory authority covering an area of 750,000 square kilometres in the southern half of the Northern Territory.
- <sup>15</sup> Hansard, *op. cit.*, p. 3463.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3391.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3416.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3347.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3422.



- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3444.
- <sup>21</sup> Published by National Alliance, USA, 1978. See Section 3 ('Definitions') of Chapter XVIII ("The Everlasting Truth about Race"), p 491. Also see pp. 567-570. Simpson began his adult career as an idealistic believer in racial equality, but reported that his life experiences had taught him the untruth of it.
- <sup>22</sup> Published by Public Affairs Press, USA, 1961.
- <sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- <sup>27</sup> Published by Public Affairs Press, USA, 1967.
- <sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 64, 67.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- <sup>32</sup> Frithjof Schuon, "The Meaning of Race," in *Castes and Races* (Perennial Books, UK, 1982), pp. 37, 39.
- <sup>33</sup> Published by 1st Books, USA, 2002.
- <sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
- <sup>35</sup> Hansard, *op. cit.*, p 3414.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, passim – for example, Mr. Lavarch (Dickson) p. 3337, Mr. Ruddock (Berowra) pp. 3342, 3347, Mr. Tanner (Melbourne) p. 3358, Mr. Filing (Moore) pp. 3415-3416, Mr. Charles (La Trobe) p. 3436.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3337.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3344-3345.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3414-3415.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3429-3431.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3488.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3498-3500.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3411.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3418.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3435.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3455.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3447.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3461.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3339 (Mr. Lavarch, the member for Dickson), p. 3362 (Mr. Williams, the member for Tangney), pp. 3373-3374 (Ms. Worth, the member for Adelaide), p. 3409 (Mr. Latham, the member for Werriwa) and others.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3373-3374.
- <sup>51</sup> Putnam, *Race and Reality*, Public Affairs Press, USA, 1967, pp- 26-30.
- <sup>52</sup> See G. Edward Griffin, *The Fearful Master: a Second Look at the United Nations*, Western Islands, USA, 1965 and William F. Jasper, *Global Tyranny: Step by Step*, Western Islands, USA, 1992. Consider also the part played by the secret communist, Alger Hiss, in the setting up of the UNO after World War Two and the powerful attempts to protect him after Whittaker Chambers outed him.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3364-3365.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3409.

- <sup>55</sup> Carleton Putnam, *Race and Reason*, Public Affairs Press, USA, 1961, p. 85.
- <sup>56</sup> Hansard, *op. cit.*, p. 3388.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3462.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3510.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3353.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3354.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3410.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3457.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3369 (Mrs. Sullivan, the member for Moncrieff), p. 3371 (Mr. Holding, the member for Melbourne Ports), p. 3384 (Mr. Cobb, the member for Parkes), p. 3418 (Ms. Henzell, the member for Capricornia), pp. 3427-3428 (Mr. Ferguson, the member for Reid), p. 3439 (Mr. Charles, the member for La Trobe), p. 3441 (Mr. O'Connor, the member for Corio).
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3386.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3386, 3388.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3386.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3343 (Mr. Ruddock, the member for Berowra), p. 3350 (Mr. Gibson, the member for Moreton), p. 3372 (Mr. Holding, the member for Melbourne Ports), p. 3452 (Mr. Snowdon, the member for Northern Territory), p. 3368 (Mrs. Sullivan, the member for Moncrieff), p. 3389 (Mr. Tuckey, the member for O'Connor), p. 3356 (Mr. Tanner, the member for Melbourne), p. 3425 (Mr. Ferguson, the member for Reid), p. 3433 (Dr. Theophanous, the member for Calwell), p. 3457 (Mr. Snow, the member for Eden-Monaro), p. 3497 (Mr. Katter, the member for Kennedy).
- <sup>68</sup> See p. 30 of the 1966 Phoenix paperback edition: "A further symptom of such confusion is certain discussion habits. More than once in a discussion of a political topic it has happened that a student – and for that matter not always a student – would ask me how I defined fascism, or socialism, or some other ism of that order. And more than once I had to surprise the questioner – who apparently as part of a college education had picked up the idea that science was a warehouse of dictionary definitions – by my assurance that I did not feel obliged to indulge in such definitions, because movements of the suggested type, together with their symbolisms, were part of reality, that only concepts could be defined but not reality, and that it was highly doubtful whether the language symbols in question could be critically clarified to such a point that they were of any use in science."
- <sup>69</sup> Hansard, Senate – Legislation, Report of the Public Hearing of the Legal and Constitutional Committee of the Senate on Racial Discrimination and Racial Hatred, 24th February 1995, pp. 381-382.
- <sup>70</sup> Published by Kegan Paul International, London, 1989. Dallas is a Scotsman who converted to Islam in 1967 and adopted the title and name of Shaykh Abdalqadir as-Sufi. He is the leader of the Murabitun movement.
- <sup>71</sup> Hansard, Senate – Legislation, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-383.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

<sup>81</sup> The ACLU was founded by civil libertarian John Bennett after he had been expelled from the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties because of his support for free speech for historical revisionists.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>83</sup> Frithjof Schuon, *op. cit.*, p 29: “No doubt some will say that humanitarianism, far from being materialistic by definition, aims at reforming human nature by education and legislation; now it is contradictory to want to reform the human outside the divine since the latter is the essence of the former; to make the attempt is in the end to bring about miseries far worse than those from which one was trying to escape. Philosophical humanitarianism underestimates the immortal soul just because it overestimates the human animal; it compels people even to denigrate saints that they may the better be able to whitewash criminals; the one seems unable to go without the other. From this results oppression of those of contemplative bent from their most tender years: in the name of egalitarianism vocations are blurred and geniuses are worn down, by schools in particular and by official worldliness in general; every spiritual element is banished from professional and public life and this amounts to removing from life a great part of its content and condemning religion to a slow death. The modern levelling – which may call itself “democratic” – is the very opposite of the theocratic equality of the monotheistic religions, for it is founded, not on the theomorphism of man, but on his animality and his rebellion.”

<sup>84</sup> Hansard. Senate – Legislation, *op. cit.*, p 388.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.

<sup>91</sup> As reported in Melbourne’s newspaper *The Age* on 2nd May 2002.

<sup>92</sup> On 28th and 29th April 1996 a killing spree occurred in south-east Tasmania, mainly at the historic Port Arthur prison. 35 people were killed and 23 wounded. Martin Bryant, an intellectually disabled man, was found guilty and is serving life imprisonment. Shortly after this event the Australian Government introduced new legislation to restrict the private possession of firearms. Various conspiracy stories circulated after the massacre.

<sup>93</sup> As reported in the finding of Mr. Anthony Cavanough QC, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commissioner, dated 21st September 2000.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid passim.*

<sup>95</sup> Federal Court of Australia, *Jones v Töben* (2002 FCA 1150), in the Introduction by Justice Branson to ‘Reasons for Judgement’ (accessed on the website of the Australian Human Rights Commission, 29th August 2014).

<sup>96</sup> *Op. cit.*, see Justice Branson’s judgment.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted in ‘Olga Scully Update – 30 April 2003’ on the website of the Adelaide Institute, accessed 29th August 2014.

<sup>98</sup> Federal Court of Australia, *op. cit.*, see Sections 93, 94, 95, 96 and 101.

## The Origins of the Soviet Report on the “Next-Generation” Homicidal Gas Chamber at Sachsenhausen

*Friedrich Jansson*

According to the standard accounts of the camp, Sachsenhausen possessed a small homicidal gas chamber from 1943 to 1945, in which several thousand people were killed. This chamber, however, has received only a marginal treatment in the literature. One of the reasons for this marginality is that the technical operation of this chamber clashes with the standard overall portrayal of National-Socialist gassing technologies. The gassings did not take place with Zyklon B, as in the alleged homicidal gassings at Auschwitz and Majdanek, nor with engine exhaust, as is claimed took place at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, nor with pure carbon monoxide, as is stated for some euthanasia institutions and Majdanek. Rather, they took place with an elaborate gassing apparatus that used a gas in liquid form. This apparatus was given a detailed description, including diagrams, in a report authored by a Soviet team which was active in the camp from 10th to 22nd June, 1945. This report, together with the confirmatory statements which the Soviet investigators extracted from former Sachsenhausen workers in the context of the Berlin-Pankow Sachsenhausen trial, forms the foundation of the accepted account of the functioning of the Sachsenhausen homicidal gas chamber. The description of the gas chamber’s functioning contained in the Soviet technical report is not derived from any earlier source, nor is it confirmed by sources originating outside of Soviet aegis, which rarely offer any description of the gas chamber’s nature and, when they do, disagree with the Soviet technical report.

In perhaps the first revisionist article on the alleged Sachsenhausen gas chamber, Carlo Mattogno observed<sup>1</sup> that the system described in the Soviet technical report is unquestionably based on the DEGESCH *Kreislauf* system for Zyklon B gas chambers, without any indication of specialized killing technology. The *Kreislauf* system is *not* alleged to have been turned to homicidal use at other locations, but is supposed to have been used only for its intended (non-homicidal) purposes. The Soviet report, therefore, depicts a technical system that matches the apparatus accepted to have been used throughout the rest of Europe only for sanitary gassings, and does *not*

match any of the systems said to have been used for homicidal purposes. This raises the strong suspicion that the details of the gassing system described in the Soviet technical report on Sachsenhausen were filled in from an actual delousing-gas-chamber system rather than from any homicidal gas chamber.

In (implicitly) responding to this line of argument, Günter Morsch has, while offhandedly conceding a similarity to the DEGESCH *Kreislauf* system, emphasized the novelty of the Sachsenhausen gassing system<sup>2</sup> and even claimed that it represented a “new, more perfect killing technique.”<sup>3</sup> The claim of novelty for the Sachsenhausen system rests on the one significant difference between regular DEGESCH *Kreislauf* gas chambers and the installation described in the Soviet technical report, namely that the Soviet report describes a system that used a *bottled* gas rather than Zyklon B. The aim of this paper is to explain the origin of the Soviet technical report in a way that accounts for this discrepancy. We will see that there is in fact a well-documented explanation for this feature of the Soviet technical report, which places the Soviet-depicted Sachsenhausen gassing installation firmly within the history of sanitary gassings, and which excludes the homicidal interpretation.

## The Sachsenhausen Delousing Chambers and their Conversion to Areginal

At his trial, and in a pretrial interrogation, Bruno Tesch testified that in 1944 he had converted the gas chambers at Sachsenhausen from the Zyklon B system to the use of Areginal gas. During the third day of his trial, on 4th March 1946, he gave two pieces of testimony on this subject, although the matter was largely unrelated to the court’s interest. In the first piece of testimony, he explained the work he had done at Sachsenhausen:<sup>5</sup>

*“Q. What was the purpose of your visit to Sachsenhausen?”*

*A. I showed the disinfection chambers to the Minister of the interior and to a certain Mr. Seeling. I also paid a second visit to Sachsenhausen about July 1944 when I had a gas chamber altered from working on prussic acid to working on ‘Original.’<sup>4</sup>*

*Q. What was the gas chamber in Sachsenhausen being used for?*

*A. It was being used for the disinfection of persons’ clothing.*

*Q. Have you seen the gas chamber working?*

*A. Yes.”*

The topic recurred shortly thereafter:<sup>6</sup>

*“Q. Which gas was used to operate these [10-cubic-meter delousing] gas chambers?”*

*A. Blausaure, prussic acid, Zyklon.*

*Q. Has an experiment ever been made to use another gas for these gas chambers?”*

*A. Yes, in 1944 the main firm was burnt out and we tried to use ‘Original’ gas. [...]*

*Q. Has this ‘Original’ gas ever been used in concentration camps?”*

*A. Yes, it has been done in the concentration camp Sachsenhausen.”*

During an interrogation months earlier, Tesch had stated:<sup>7</sup>

*“Q. Did you yourself supervise the extermination of vermin in Sachsenhausen?”*

*A. No. They were 10 cubic metres chambers, which were placed four in a row.*

*Q. In what part of the camp?”*

*A. Through the first gate when I was stopped. Then through the second gate and about 500 metres further on, on the right hand side. [...]*

*Q. Did you give any instruction in the use of your gas to any personnel inside Sachsenhausen?”*

*A. There were people present when the plant was installed and I explained their use to them; they were prisoners. The same prisoners were also present when I visited the camp in 1944; they recognised me. Then the plant was redesigned.”*

Tesch’s account of the Sachsenhausen delousing chambers is supported by a number of other sources. In a December 1945 statement made in the context of Tesch’s trial, the managing director of DEGESCH, Dr. Gerhard Peters, confirmed Tesch’s statement that there were four 10-cubic-meter gas chambers at Sachsenhausen,<sup>8</sup> a statement he repeated in a 24 February 1947 affidavit.<sup>9</sup> More importantly, in an October 1947 interrogation, not only did Peters affirm that there were four (delousing) gas chambers at Sachsenhausen, but also was questioned about Areginal gas, and confirmed that due to the scarcity of Zyklon B, Areginal gas had been introduced for delousing at Sachsenhausen.<sup>10</sup> Still further support comes from an interrogation of Tesch and Stabenow employee Erika Rathcke, who mentioned that a doctor at the SS disinfestation school at Sachsenhausen had performed experiments with Areginal.<sup>11</sup>

Contemporary documents also confirm that conversions of Zyklon B gas chambers were underway in the summer of 1944. A letter from Auschwitz *Zentralbauleitung* chief Werner Jothann to Tesch & Stabenow



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H0403-0201-003  
Foto: e.Ang. 1 1036/1043 ca.

*Wilhelm Frick and Heinrich Himmler visit Sachsenhausen circa 1936.*  
 Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H0403-0201-003 / CC-BY-SA [CC-BY-SA-3.0-de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)],  
 via Wikimedia Commons

remarks:<sup>12</sup>

*“Our garrison surgeon informs us that, of late, Zyklon B gassing chambers are to be converted to ‘Areginal gassing.’ Garrison surgeon wanted to get in touch with you directly in connection with the corresponding modifications.”*

Tesch & Stabenow’s reply confirms that Areginal conversions were taking place, and that hardware had been manufactured for this purpose:<sup>13</sup>

*“We have noted that gassing chambers are to be arranged also for AREGINAL gassing. Your garrison surgeon has not yet approached us in this matter, but on 9 cr. we received instructions from Reichsarzt-SS und Polizei, the Top Hygienist, to include the additional AREGINAL equipment. No modifications of the gassing chambers are necessary, it is sufficient to install the AREGINAL gassing unit as well. You will receive an appropriate installation drawing when the AREGINAL units have been supplied by the manufacturer. For the sake of completeness, we inform you here that the price of the AREGINAL-unit amounts to RM 27.– and the steel requirements are 12 kilograms.”*



The project of converting delousing chambers to Areginal gas<sup>14</sup> has also been described in some detail in the standard monograph on Tesch and Stabenow.<sup>15</sup>

Areginal, unlike Zyklon B, was stored as a gas and accordingly was kept in bottles. Hence, the conversion of the Sachsenhausen delousing chambers to Areginal offers an explanation for the otherwise baffling Soviet technical report: it was inspired by the observation of a DEGESCH recirculation gas chamber that had been modified to use Areginal gas.

## The Errors in the Soviet Technical Report and Their Causes

The Soviet technical report, however, is clearly not a faithful and accurate account of the Sachsenhausen delousing plant. No matter how one interprets it, it is unquestionable that the report contains inaccuracies. For example, the technical report claimed that the system used Zyklon A, which (they said) contained 30% liquid hydrogen cyanide.<sup>16</sup> In fact, Zyklon A does not contain 30% liquid hydrogen cyanide, but 90% methyl cyanofornate and 10% methyl chlorofornate.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, as Carlo Mattogno has pointed out,<sup>18</sup> the system described in the Soviet technical report is not suitable for the dispersion of Zyklon A. In the light of such inaccuracies, it is no surprise that other aspects of the report would also be inaccurate.

Chief among the report's inaccuracies pertains to the location of the gas chamber, which was said to have been located in the crematorium. The apparatus the Soviets describe, however, was *not* found at that location. According to Morsch, it was found in the battery building of the *Industriehof*, apparently in a disassembled state,<sup>19</sup> whereas according to the 25th June 1945 report of the Soviet Forensic-Medical Commission under the leadership of Lt. Colonel F. I. Schkarawski, the apparatus was found in an "artesian well."<sup>20</sup> While the Soviets claimed that they could recognize that the gassing hardware matched the alleged gas chamber room in the crematorium, we have only their unsupported word on this, the relevant physical evidence having been destroyed by the East German authorities in the 1950s. The association of crematoria with homicidal gas chambers had been a common feature of Soviet propaganda for quite some time when the Sachsenhausen report was written, so it is no surprise that the report repeated this narrative element. The authors could also draw support for this story from camp rumor, which had picked up the idea of a gas chamber associated with the crematorium.<sup>21</sup> (On the other hand, the idea of a gas

chamber in the crematorium was a relatively *late* addition to the Sachsenhausen “Prisoners’ report,”<sup>22</sup> indicating that this rumor was not particularly strong.) Given this context, it is no surprise that the Soviet investigators couched their report in the framework of the crematorium/gas-chamber connection, but there is nothing to show that they found anything to support that narrative. On the contrary, the Areginal-adapted *Kreislauf* chambers which they described came from the delousing chambers, not from the crematorium. Clearly the Soviet investigators felt free to embellish their report for political purposes; after all, the authors of Soviet technical reports were not scrupulous about distorting the truth in order to tell a desired story.<sup>23</sup>

The Soviet report is also questionable in another respect, namely in the description of the usage of glass bottles to contain the gas, which were crushed in the process of gassing. Areginal, however, was normally stored in steel bottles.<sup>24</sup> It is conceivable that Areginal might at some point have been stored in glass bottles, perhaps because of the inconvenience involved in obtaining tightly-rationed steel.<sup>25</sup> Alternatively, the Soviets may have simply been confused by the various disorganized bits and pieces of hardware they found strewn about the abandoned camp, just as they were demonstrably confused about the respective natures of HCN and Zyklon A, and erred in their reconstruction of the gassing system.

## Conclusions

We have shown that the gassing technology described in the sources on the supposed homicidal gas chamber at Sachsenhausen, which orthodox Holocaust historians are forced to explain as a mysterious and inexplicable anomaly, has a natural and well-documented explanation in the context of the redesign of the Sachsenhausen delousing chambers. As this conversion took place in mid-1944, while the homicidal gas chamber is said to have come into operation in 1943 or earlier, the system described in the Soviet technical report cannot be that used in the alleged homicidal gas chamber.<sup>26</sup>

While the Soviet technical report is not a particularly accurate exposition of the functioning of a DEGESCH *Kreislauf* system adapted for Areginal gas, it retained enough accuracy in detail to show that Sachsenhausen’s supposed “[homicidal] gas chamber of the future”<sup>27</sup> was in fact designed for delousing and installed (in 1944) in the delousing facility.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Carlo Mattogno, KL Sachsenhausen: Stärkemeldungen und »Vernichtungsaktionen« 1940 bis 1945. *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 173-185.
- <sup>2</sup> Günter Morsch, 'Tötungen durch Giftgas im Konzentrationslager Sachsenhausen', in Günter Morsch and Betrand Perz (ed.), *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas: Historische Bedeutung, technische Entwicklung, revisionistische Leugnung*. Metropol, Berlin, 2011, p. 268.
- <sup>3</sup> Morsch & Perz, *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, p. 269.
- <sup>4</sup> The correct spelling is "Areginal." The trial transcript exists only in English, so the version we have is mediated by both the translator and the court reporter, which accounts for the misspelling.
- <sup>5</sup> Tesch trial day 3, p. 260, PRO WO 235/83.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- <sup>7</sup> Tesch interrogation of September 26, 1945, PRO WO 309/1603.
- <sup>8</sup> Deposition of Dr. Gerhard Peters, December 11, 1945, PRO WO 309/1603.
- <sup>9</sup> Affidavit of Dr. Gerhard Peters, February 24, 1947, copy at [http://nuremberg.law.harvard.edu/php/pflip.php?caseid=HLSL\\_NMT01&docnum=702&numpages=3&startpage=1&title=Affidavit.&color\\_setting=C](http://nuremberg.law.harvard.edu/php/pflip.php?caseid=HLSL_NMT01&docnum=702&numpages=3&startpage=1&title=Affidavit.&color_setting=C)
- <sup>10</sup> Peters interrogation of October 26, 1947, p. 26, online: <http://www.ifz-muenchen.de/archiv/zs/zs-1301.pdf>
- <sup>11</sup> Rathcke interrogation of October 18, 1945, PRO WO 309/1603. The stenographer misspelled the name of the gas as "Aniginal," but the meaning is clear from the context.
- <sup>12</sup> Letter from SS-Obersturmführer Werner Jothann to Tesch & Stabenow of 8th June, 1944. RGVA, 502-1-333, quoted in Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The Case for Sanity: A Historical and Technical Study of Jean-Claude Pressac's "Criminal Traces" and Robert Jan van Pelt's "Convergence of Evidence,"* The Barnes Review, Washington, 2010, p. 182.
- <sup>13</sup> Letter from Tesch & Stabenow to Auschwitz *Zentralbauleitung* of 13th June, 1944. RGVA, 502-1-333, quoted in Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The Case for Sanity*, pp. 183-84.
- <sup>14</sup> Incidentally, the reason for this project, namely the extreme shortage of Zyklon B, is itself extremely problematic for the traditional account of Auschwitz. As Bruno Tesch pointed out on being confronted with the claim that the Zyklon B he sold had been used for homicidal gassings, the Germans would not have been so foolish as to waste such a critically scarce material for the simple task of killing Jews, which after all could have been accomplished very easily in numerous other ways not involving the large-scale waste of an essential product whose supply already failed to meet demand.
- <sup>15</sup> Jürgen Kalthoff and Martin Werner, *Die Händler des Zyklon B: Tesch & Stabenow; eine Firmengeschichte zwischen Hamburg und Auschwitz*, VSA-Verlag, Hamburg, 1999, pp. 128-130.
- <sup>16</sup> GARF 7021-104-3, p. 4, quoted in Carlo Mattogno, "KL Sachsenhausen: Stärkemeldungen und 'Vernichtungsaktionen' 1940 bis 1945." *Viertel-*

- jahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 173-185, here p. 180.
- <sup>17</sup> Mario Sartori, *The War Gases: Chemistry and Analysis*, D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1939, p. 104.
- <sup>18</sup> Carlo Mattogno, "KL Sachsenhausen: Stärkemeldungen und 'Vernichtungsaktionen' 1940 bis 1945." *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Vol.7, No. 2, p. 173-185, here p. 180.
- <sup>19</sup> Morsch & Perz, *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, p. 275.
- <sup>20</sup> The author owes this fact to Klaus Schwensen.
- <sup>21</sup> See, for example, the rumors recorded in the diary of Odd Nansen.
- <sup>22</sup> Klaus Schwensen, "The "Report on Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen" (Prisoners' Report) of 12 June 1945," *Inconvenient History*, Vol. 6, No. 3, online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-report-on-concentration-camp-sachsenhausen/>
- <sup>23</sup> See, for instance, *The Truth about Katyn: Report of Special Commission for Ascertaining and Investigating the Circumstances of the Shooting of Polish Officer Prisoners by the German-Fascist Invaders in the Katyn Forest*, published as a supplement to *Soviet War News Weekly*, issue 107, 3rd February 1944.
- <sup>24</sup> Kalthoff & Werner, *Die Händler des Zyklon B*, p. 130.
- <sup>25</sup> Kalthoff and Werner claim that the limited available steel for bottles interfered with the adoption of Areginal. That glass bottles were substituted as a result is mere speculation, but it is certainly more plausible that relatively safe (to humans) Areginal could have been stored in glass than that the same would have been done with enormously dangerous HCN, as Morsch supposes.
- <sup>26</sup> One could, of course, postulate that the supposed homicidal gas chamber was, like the delousing chambers, redesigned (from what?) in 1944, but there appears to be no support whatsoever for such a hypothesis in either the testimony on Sachsenhausen homicidal gassings or in the testimony on the redesign of the delousing plant. Moreover, Areginal gas is not a particularly suitable means of killing humans.
- <sup>27</sup> Morsch & Perz, *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, p. 273.

## Quo Vadis, Revisionism?<sup>1</sup>

*Joseph P. Bellinger*

The late Joseph Bellinger had intended the current article to be a chapter in a book that remained unpublished at the time of his death, *The Prohibition of "Holocaust Denial."* – Ed.

---

Over the past twenty-five years, throughout much of the western world, historical revisionism has sustained ever-harsher assaults on freedom of conscience and expression aimed directly at it. Explicitly anti-Holocaust-denial criminal statutes impose the consequences: question the Holocaust, go to jail. Unrepentant revisionists convicted under these oppressive laws can expect to serve lengthy sentences and appeals in most cases are routinely denied.

As of October 2008, fourteen countries had enacted laws either specifically prohibiting and punishing "Holocaust denial" or expressions of "racism." These countries are Israel, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Spain, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

Penalties range from the draconian 20 years in Austria (in "severe" cases) to up to one year under Belgium's "Law against Racism." Moreover, courts have ordered the public display of the verdict and its publication in one or more newspapers at the expense of the offender, and/or the forfeiture of the offender's civil rights for up to 5 years.

In Austria, if the offense is considered to be a minor infringement, a specified administrative fine is applicable.

In the Czech Republic, denial of communist genocides and crimes against humanity are equally punishable under Article 261a, Penal Code. Poland's Article 55 Law of the Institute of National Remembrance is similar to that of the Czech Republic and concerns National-Socialist or communist crimes perpetrated between September 1, 1939 and December 31, 1989 against Poles or Polish citizens.

Denmark's "Anti-Racism" law is not applied to "Holocaust denial" cases, while in the Netherlands, cases relative to "Holocaust denial" are routinely applied by the courts under Articles 137c and 137e of the Penal Code.

In Luxembourg the court may order the forfeiture of the convict's civil rights and a ban on all teaching activities, for 5 to 10 years.

## Holocaust Heresy

On November 1, 2000, French historian and sociologist Serge Thion, fifty-eight years of age and father of three was summarily dismissed from the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* [CNRS] without salary or severance pay as a result of his scholarly revisionist writings.

Five days later, the University of Lyons II instituted dismissal proceedings against revisionist scholar and publisher Jean Plantin to revoke his advanced studies degree. The final decision in the matter was left to France's Jewish Education Minister, Jack Lang. Lang also happens to be a major figure in the French Socialist Party. The University shamelessly joined in the fray and announced that they hoped to strip Plantin of his master's degree.

Similarly, in 2000, Jean-Louis Berger, 53, a French literature instructor at Lemberg High school in eastern France, was sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment and a fine of \$20,000 for merely telling his class of 15-year-olds "Concentration camps were in fact labor camps. Gas chambers were used only to kill lice. There were no six million dead in the camps but only one million."

Berger's defense was that he had spoken as a "free man." The fact that he had innocently attended a revisionist meeting in Paris earlier that year was used as a basis to secure conviction, and proves that the government went to great lengths to spy on him. The proceeds from his fine were doled out to the voracious LICRA and the family of one of his students who complained.<sup>2</sup>

Heeding perhaps the call of sanity, justice and reason in the midst of such madness, Swiss Justice Minister Christoph Blocher announced his determination on October 6, 2006 to revise Switzerland's anti-racism law. "I want people to be able to express themselves in Switzerland," the minister stated, "even if their opinion doesn't appeal to everyone."<sup>3</sup>

During the course of a recent visit to Turkey, the justice minister had remarked that the 1994 anti-racism law, including sections aimed at squelching revisionist opinions, "gave him a headache." The minister's avowed intention unleashed a torrent of adverse criticism, prompting Pascal Couchepin, Swiss Minister of the Interior, to remark that the minister's comments were "unacceptable." Couchepin offered no intelligent reasons in support of that opinion.

The enlightened Swiss minister enunciated his profound belief that freedom of expression is more important than protecting the sensibilities of hostile minority groups, and that Swiss law should serve as a beacon to

other nations. The minister said, "I do not want that an opinion cannot be uttered only because someone will be offended by it," and added that the definition of genocide is a question which must be decided by historians.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, opposition to such enlightened views is becoming increasingly more apparent, even in Switzerland, and to date no resolution has yet been adopted by either the Swiss parliament or via referendum that would repeal or revise the oppressive law.

Similarly, in Hungary Ibolya David, Hungary's Justice Minister, rejected a proposal from the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities in May 2001 for a law that would make Holocaust denial illegal. "Such a law would be unconstitutional," the minister stated, basing her decision on "numerous professional opinions" within the Justice Ministry.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the Jewish community vowed to press the matter further.

The voice of sanity reigned again in Denmark, when on July 15, 2002 the Socialist People's Party MP, Pernille Frahm, refused to acquiesce in a law outlawing Holocaust denial throughout the European Union, commenting that "One should be very careful about outlawing political matters that have nothing to do with racism."<sup>6</sup>

The proposed European Union law against Holocaust denial was based upon the following criteria:

*"Offenses concerning racism and xenophobia.*

*Public incitement to violence or hatred for a racist or xenophobic purpose or to any other racist or xenophobic behavior which may cause substantial damage to individuals or groups concerned;*

*Public insults or threats towards individuals or groups for a racist or xenophobic purpose;*

*Public condoning for a racist or xenophobic purpose of crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes as defined in Articles 6, 7 and 8 of the Statute of the International Criminal court;*

*Public denial or trivialization of the crimes defined in Article 6 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal appended to the London Agreement of 8 April 1945 in a manner liable to disturb the public peace;*

*Public dissemination or distribution of tracts, pictures or other material containing expressions of racism and xenophobia;*

*Directing, supporting of, or participating in the activities of a racist or xenophobic group, with the intention of contributing to the organization's criminal activities."*

In January 2000, British Home Office Minister Michael O'Brien informed reporters that the British government rejected plans to enact Holocaust denial legislation supported by Prime Minister Tony Blair. Jewish groups reacted with dismay and dissatisfaction, complaining that the country's "anti-racism" laws failed to result in a sufficient number of prosecutions and convictions.<sup>7</sup>

Operating on the dictum that the "squeaky wheel gets the grease," a number of Jewish organizations have repeatedly urged and subsequently applauded the successful suppression and prosecution of "deniers."

Deborah Lipstadt, who was hired to teach Holocaust history at the Jesuit Pontifical Gregorian University closely affiliated with the Vatican, candidly wrote, "David Irving's arrest and three-year jail sentence for having denied the Holocaust has been met with a chorus of cheers in the Jewish community."<sup>8</sup>

Deborah Lipstadt was right. Jewish organizations do generally applaud the prosecution of people who express dissident opinions concerning the Holocaust. For example, Shimon Samuels, the international relations director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, expressed his satisfaction that the rising prosecutions of revisionists were part of an overall trend in Europe to try and atone for the Holocaust.

Shimon's approbation, however, hardly addresses the issue of how the prosecution of "deniers" offers effective atonement for what did or did not occur during the Holocaust. Shimon stressed the point of view that "Unlike in America, there is not much difference in Europe between hate speech and hate crime. And there seems to be a new willingness to use those laws when it comes to Holocaust denial."<sup>9</sup>

## International Thought Crime

Israel may have assumed the lead in enacting Holocaust denial legislation when the nation enacted a "Global Holocaust Deniers" bill in the Knesset on July 20, 2004. This unprecedented law outlawed "Holocaust denial" even if committed overseas or outside of Israeli territory and was passed by unanimous vote. In theory, the law would enable the state of Israel to demand the extradition of any individual overseas for "Holocaust denial."

The bill was drafted by Knesset member Aryeh Eldad of the National Union party as a counterthrust against former Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas for a doctoral dissertation he had authored twenty years prior in which he estimated that less than one million Jews had perished at the hands of the Nazis.<sup>10</sup>



In effect, the bill provides for any Holocaust denier to be prosecuted in Israel. Eldad has reasoned, “What I want is that if a Holocaust denier publishes a book in England, he will be considered a criminal in Israel.” Apparently there will be no amnesty for such deniers even if they should change their opinions. “Once a denier, always a denier.”<sup>11</sup>

Justice Minister Tommy Lapid seconded that denying the Holocaust “is a neo-Nazi crime. Anyone involved in this belongs to the group of criminals whom our arm must reach anywhere in the world [...]. We will not hunt them, but they should know that they are on our list of criminals. I am very satisfied and happy that this will be entering our law books.”<sup>12</sup>

French National Front leader Bruno Gollnisch, who serves as a professor of Japanese civilization and Japanese law at Lyons University III, faced similar travails as Jean Le Pen when he remarked that the existence of Nazi gas chambers was a matter of legitimate debate for historians. Gollnisch stated, “There isn’t a serious historian around who totally sticks by the conclusions of the Nuremberg Trials. I’m not questioning the existence of concentration camps, but on the number of deaths, historians can discuss it. As to whether gas chambers existed, that’s up to the historians to determine.”<sup>13</sup>

*The Jewish Press* reported that the simple remarks “could see Gollnisch removed from his post as a professor at the University of Lyon III, while the European Parliament could sanction Gollnisch, who is also a member of the legislative body.”

The article went on to report that the University “provided shelter for a far-right kernel,” of academics among its staff, apparently supporting the notion that left or far-left academics are the only people who should be



*A heretic of an earlier time, Galileo Galilei was forced by the Inquisition in 1633 to retract his belief that the Earth moves around the Sun – or face a sentence of death.*

*Source: Ottavio Leoni [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

employed at universities.

Serge Cwajgenbaum, secretary-general of the European Jewish Congress, opined that Gollnisch's comments proved that "this man, who calls himself a scholar, is totally ignorant of history," alleging without proof that Gollnisch's comments were "not academic, but politically and ideologically based."<sup>14</sup>

Joining the campaign to stifle Gollnisch, the Paris-based International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism, [LICRA] demanded that the European Parliament take action against Gollnisch. In a letter to Josep Borrell, parliament president, LICRA President Patrick Graubert urged the parliament to enforce sanctions against Gollnisch "for his revisionist comments which place in doubt the historical veracity of the existence of the gas chambers."<sup>15</sup>

Borrell hardly needed encouragement, and quickly joined in with the chorus of those demanding Gollnisch be held legally liable for his statements. Borrell grunted, "I hope you will be held accountable for your slanders by the courts."<sup>16</sup>

In 1991, Gollnisch had already aroused the ire of the left when he publicly called for "respect for freedom of expression for educators who exercise a critical perspective towards the history of the Second World War."<sup>17</sup>

The so-called "far-right-harboring University of Lyons III" took pains to distance itself from Gollnisch's remarks and called upon France's minister of education to initiate disciplinary proceedings.

Upon being informed of these facts, Gollnisch commented, "I don't know if I am going to be chased out of my chair in Japanese civilization and law or even put in prison for this phrase, but I assume responsibility for it." Gollnisch adamantly refused to issue an apology for his statements and criticized the "thought police and the considerable interests who want to prevent this debate," adding that "It was in the interests of the State of Israel to have endless discussions about reparations."<sup>18</sup>

## Genocide Envy

A recent trend has emerged in which various ethnic groups seek equal status and recognition under laws prohibiting the denial of genocide. Jewish groups such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) registered their displeasure over such attempts based upon their belief that such recognition will "diminish the uniqueness of the Holocaust."

A controversy was ignited in the United States in August 2007 when the ADL voiced its opposition to a Congressional resolution put forward by

Representative Adam Schiff of California to officially recognize the Armenian genocide. The ADL had consistently lobbied against adoption of the resolution.

Abraham Foxman, then director of the ADL, referred to the resolution as “counterproductive” and expressed concerns as to the possible negative effect the legislation would have on Jews living in Turkey.<sup>19</sup>

Rather ironically, leading representatives of the Armenian community in Boston accused the ADL of “genocide denial.”<sup>20</sup> Armenian National Committee representative Grace Kehetian Kulegian lambasted the ADL for preaching “tolerance” while practicing “divisiveness and denial.”<sup>21</sup>

John Walsh, a commentator for *Counterpunch* Magazine, was even more explicit in his criticisms of the ADL and its controversial director, writing:<sup>22</sup>

*“[...] the ADL has long denied that the Turkish massacre of 1.5 million Armenians from 1915 to 1923 amounted to genocide. Turkey is of course an ally and arms purchaser of Israel’s, but the denial antedates this alliance. A good friend of mine, an Israeli expatriate, tells me that when he went to school in Israel, mention of the Armenian genocide was verboten so as not to detract from the “uniqueness” of the Jewish genocide under the Nazis and to maintain a “monopoly on suffering,” as he puts it. Shoah business does not like the competition.”*

In an effort to defuse the situation and maintain cordial relations with Turkey, the Israeli embassy in Ankara proffered that the Jewish state acknowledges the “horrible events” and the “terrible suffering” the Armenians endured, but urged Jews not to take sides.<sup>23</sup>

Israeli President Shimon Peres phoned Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan to assure him of Israel’s desire to maintain close bilateral ties.

Within days, Mr. Foxman and the ADL reconsidered their position and called upon the mediation of Elie Wiesel to smooth over the dispute. According to John Walsh:<sup>24</sup>

*“Upon reflection and with the help of that great humanitarian, Elie Wiesel, who seems to be acting as a kind of Jewish Billy Graham and who has never acknowledged the injustice done the Palestinians, Foxman [now] thinks that it was a genocide after all. (Of course according to their newspaper ad of several days back this means that the national ADL is now abandoning Turkish Jewry to a horrible fate.)”*

Elie Wiesel had momentarily saved the day.

Nearly a year earlier, on October 12, 2006, France passed the “Armeni-

an Genocide Law” – an act that was strongly denounced by the Turkish government. This legislation now makes it a crime in France to deny that the Ottoman Turks massacred an estimated 1.2 million Armenian Christians during the years 1915-1917.

The five-hundred-thousand-strong Armenian community in France had pressed for the bill. Patrick Devedijian, an Armenian politician in France, appealed to the “Holocaust” to justify the imposition of the law, remarking, “Imagine for a second that Germany today denied the Holocaust. It is totally unacceptable.”<sup>25</sup>

Jewish groups tend to concur with such analogies, since they lend legitimacy to their own position. This fact was not lost on legal minds including Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz, who, in unison with Massachusetts State Representative Rachel Kaprielian, used the controversy as an opportunity to bolster the foundations of “the Holocaust Industry.” Dershowitz and Kaprielian wrote:<sup>26</sup>

*“For any organization or official to believe that there are differing sides to the Armenian Genocide is as much an outrage as it would be for Germany to say that the work of Jewish scholars, witnesses, and victim testimonies represented merely the ‘Jewish side’ of the Holocaust.”*

In a rather amazing admission, Jonathan Sarna, a professor of Jewish history at Brandeis University, proclaimed, “There’s a huge irony here. The Armenian community is using all the strategies we invented to deal with Holocaust denial.”<sup>27</sup>

Highly critical of the passage of this new law was Timothy Garton Ash of the *Guardian*, who wrote:<sup>28</sup>

*“What a magnificent blow for truth, justice and humanity the French national assembly has struck... Vive la France! But let this be only a beginning in a brave new chapter of European history. Let the British parliament now make it a crime to deny that it was Russians who murdered Polish officers at Katyn in 1940. Let the Turkish parliament make it a crime to deny that France used torture against insurgents in Algeria [...]. No one can legislate historical truth. In so far as historical truth can be established at all, it must be found by unfettered historical research, with historians arguing over the evidence and the facts, testing and disputing each other’s claims, without fear of prosecution or persecution.*

*Far from creating new legally enforced taboos about history, national identity and religion, we should be dismantling those that still remain on our statute books. Those European countries that have them should*

*repeal not only their blasphemy laws but also their laws on Holocaust denial. Otherwise the charge of double standards is impossible to refute. What's sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander."*

Ash was likewise critical of French-Jewish philosopher Bernard-Henri Lévi, whom he charged with having gone "through some impressive intellectual contortions to explain why he opposed any laws restricting criticism of religion but supported those on Holocaust denial. It was one thing, he argued, to question a religious belief, quite another to deny a historical fact. But this won't wash. Historical facts are established precisely by their being disputed and tested against the evidence. Without the process of contention – up to and including the revisionist extreme of outright denial – we would never discover which facts are truly hard [...]. Only when we are prepared to allow our own most sacred cows to be poked in the eye can we credibly demand that Islamists, Turks and others do the same. This is a time not for erecting taboos but for dismantling them. We must practice what we preach."<sup>29</sup>

Ironically, some European nations today practice and preach a message radically different from Mr. Ash's enlightened point of view. Few countries evince more energy in prosecuting "deniers" than France. Sadly, today's France is no longer the France of Voltaire, who famously wrote:<sup>30</sup>

*"One man cannot say to another: 'Believe what I believe, and what you can not believe, or you shall perish [...]. Believe, or I detest thee; believe or I shall do thee all the harm I can [...]. Monster, you do not share my beliefs, you shall be a thing of horror to your neighbors, your city, and your province.'"*

## Limiting Free Speech

The number of prominent individuals prosecuted for thought crime is steadily increasing. On January 3, 2006, Georges Theil, 65 years old and a former elected official from the British National Front, was found guilty of "Crimes against humanity for denying the Holocaust," (!) under the Fabius-Gayssot Act of July 13, 1990. Theil had dared to publicly question the existence and operation of Nazi gas chambers when, during the course of a television program, he referred to Nazi gas chambers as "a fantasy." Theil was subsequently sentenced to six months' imprisonment without parole, saddled with the substantial costs of publishing the verdict in two newspapers, and ordered to pay a \$12,000 fine along with a remittance of \$4,800 to each of the eleven plaintiffs who lodged a complaint against him. An

additional remittance of \$4,800 to each of the plaintiffs to recover their court costs, and a payment of €90 to cover procedural fees was also imposed by the court.<sup>31</sup>

In July 2006, Robert Faurisson stood trial for comments he made on Iranian television early in 2005. Judgment was rendered three months later, when Faurisson was sentenced to three months' suspended imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of €7500. In addition he was ordered to pay €1 in damages and €1500 in legal expenses to each of the three organizations that brought charges against him. Such organizations routinely abuse the justice system by filing harassing lawsuits designed to exhaust and financially cripple their perceived opponents.

Arguments advanced in support of enacting Holocaust denial laws are invariably weak and unconvincing. For example, Robert A. Kahn, author of the book *Holocaust Denial and the Law: A Comparative Study*, advanced the following arguments in defense of Holocaust denial laws, proclaiming that even in the United States, "freedom of speech is not unlimited." According to Kahn:

*"One of the most important restrictions on speech applies to what the Supreme Court refers to as 'true threats.' This category includes acts such as threatening the life of the president, as well as burning a cross with intent to intimidate another."*

Kahn argues that "both of these policies are relevant to the Holocaust denial context." Seeking to provide a rational argument for Germany's rigid prosecution of "deniers," he writes,

*"Just as Americans view a threat on the president's life as a serious national security matter, Germans view Holocaust denial as a veiled attempt to rehabilitate the Nazis, a serious concern given the country's past. This is why Germans ban not only Holocaust denial but also the swastika, the Nazi salute and the singing of the first verse of 'Deutschland über alles.'"*

Kahn's argument is poorly reasoned and emotive, for Germany's national anthem dates back to 1841 and was not adopted as the anthem of the NSDAP.<sup>32</sup>

Kahn asserts that nations are sensitive about "speech that denies crimes committed in its name," but the crimes of the Zionist government are blatantly omitted from Kahn's thesis, and one is tempted to suspect that Kahn may very well "deny" them.

Specifically referring to "deniers," Kahn claims that revisionist arguments and scientific evidence are "insulting to groups," yet the purpose of

historical inquiry is not based upon concerning itself with people's feelings and sensitivities, but what can be historically and scientifically documented and proved. The psychiatrist's couch remains the best venue for addressing people's feelings and emotional hurts.

Kahn proclaims "when the Germans or French (Kahn omits all mention of Israel) decide to ban Holocaust denial, they do so in the context of a history of restricting speech that insults groups. This tradition stretches back to the early 20th century when it was illegal to insult the military, judges and large property owners."

Kahn raises issues that contradict each other and are ultimately irrelevant. By the same token, one may also argue that it constitutes a grievous insult to the German people and their descendants if they are wrongfully accused of heinous crimes, which they in fact never committed or approved of. Thus, Kahn's points may be argued either way.

Kahn cites the case of *Beauharnais v. Illinois* [1952] as proof that the United States Supreme Court held that group-libel laws were constitutional. The case in question was a rather late decision of the Supreme Court in 1952 under Felix Frankfurter.

The Court upheld an Illinois law making it illegal to publish or exhibit any writing or picture portraying the "depravity, criminality, unchastity, or lack of virtue of a class of citizens of any race, color, creed or religion." In rendering his opinion, Frankfurter argued that the speech conducted by the defendant breached libel, which he reasoned to be outside the protection of the 1st and 14th Amendments.

However, Kahn fails to supply the evidence in support of the suggestion that revisionists are willfully libeling anyone. Moreover, the criterion obviously does not apply to revisionist historians and application of the law would appear to be one-sided, as revisionists are libeled, smeared and lumped in the same group as "anti-Semites" or "hate mongers," and no one protests in their defense. Thus, it may be argued that revisionists are denied equal standing under the law.

Kahn appears to be more concerned with the "symbolic" or deterrent or psychological effect Holocaust denial laws may have in dissuading prospective revisionists from publicly airing their views. Thus, the objective in such a case would serve to intimidate individuals from freely expressing their opinions because they are objectionable to specific parties.

In fact, Kahn applauds the Soviet-style show trials and the rough justice directed against revisionists in Europe, and lauds the news blackout with respect to the trials.

One is also struck by the author's repeated polemical attacks upon the

“right wing.” By way of contrast, one will search in vain for any similar criticism of the left. This leaves the reader with the impression that a social stigma ought to be attached to right-wing ideologues. Thus, one can easily arrive at the distinct conclusion that the right wing is being singled out as a criminal enterprise or conspiracy against the rest of mankind. Such absolutes nearly always constitute an imminent danger to our basic human rights and civil liberties in general.

Kahn triumphantly proclaims that “Holocaust denial laws” are a “signal that society has taken a stand against hate” and “does not depend on imprisoning deniers.”

Yet, if Holocaust denial laws do not “depend on imprisoning deniers,” Kahn must explain why so many individuals are languishing behind bars throughout Europe for precisely that reason. Even granting the possibility that Kahn is correct, what practical difference does it make whether the accused are imprisoned, calumniated, slandered, libeled, mischaracterized and dehumanized? All characterizations inevitably lead to the same inevitable denouement: contempt for the offender and ostracism from mainstream society.

Kahn wisely sidesteps the issue of whether the United States ought to adopt laws proscribing Holocaust denial, but it is clear that he has no solid objections to upholding the status quo in those countries that do.<sup>33</sup>

In fact, the media frequently and irresponsibly refers to historical revisionists as “neo-Nazis.” In 2003, a Belgian court convicted Siegfried Verbeke of minimizing the Holocaust after distributing pamphlets. Stripped of his civil rights for 10 years and sentenced to a one-year suspended prison term, Verbeke, a 63-year-old Belgian of German extraction, remained unrepentant and confirmed to the press that he stuck “one hundred percent” to his views. “Three centuries ago people were burned at the stake, so a one year prison sentence is not that bad,” he asserted.

The Belgian court asserted that Verbeke had shown no respect for the victims of the Nazi extermination of six million European Jews.

Attorney Paul Quirijnen, an attorney representing Belgium’s official “anti-racism” center, which had instituted proceedings against Verbeke under a law banning Holocaust denial, grumbled, “There is a limit, which I call tolerance,” adding that “the historical truth” could not be denied.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, if the Holocaust believed in by Paul Quirijnen is “the truth,” why does it require punitive laws to compel belief? What historical “truth” is so sacred that it cannot ever be called into question or revised? What sort of “truth” necessitates harsh punishments in cases of non-compliance?

Ernst Zündel’s appeal was rejected by the German Federal Court in



Mannheim on September 12, 2007. The appeals court upheld trial judge Ulrich Meinerzhagen, who in rendering his judgment declared:

*“It is of absolutely no relevance whether the Holocaust happened or not. Denying it is a punishable offense. That is the only thing that matters to the court.”*

In the fallout following the Zündel trial, the Mannheim state attorney’s office filed charges against Zündel’s defense team, notably Juergen Rieger and Sylvia Stoltz for “incitement of the masses.” According to a statement issued by the prosecutor’s office, Zündel’s attorneys repeatedly disputed and played down the alleged genocide of Jews in World War Two. The state attorney’s office is seeking their disbarment.

In April 2007, after six years of discussion and negotiations, the European Union approved criminal measures against “Holocaust denial.” Representatives from the 27-nation bloc agreed to impose jail sentences upon those who deny or trivialize the Holocaust.

The controversial proposal calls for the courts to impose a sentence of three years’ imprisonment for those who “deny genocide.”

Supporters of the legislation proclaimed that the rules would “aim to penalize anyone who incited to hatred or violence, and anyone who publicly condoned, denied or grossly trivialized crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.”

Naturally, revisionists of other histories are exempt from the list of those who might be exposed to public hatred and contempt. When a number of Baltic nations demanded that those who denied major Soviet atrocities should be included on the list, their proposal was rejected. Thus, the alleged genocide of the Jews during the Second World War is the only genocide referred to under the new rules, which will still require the ratification of national parliaments as well as the European Parliament.<sup>35</sup>

In Australia, revisionist Frederick Töben, director of the Adelaide Institute, faced troubles of a legal nature after being denounced by Jeremy Jones, the former president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. Newspapers gloated that Töben was unable to find a lawyer to defend him against allegations that he has “raised serious doubt about the Holocaust.”<sup>36</sup>

During the course of a night hearing, Jones importuned the Federal Court to jail Dr. Töben for allegedly breaching a four-year-old court order because his website suggested “it is unlikely that there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz.”<sup>37</sup>

Dr. Töben had previously spent seven months in a German prison in 1999 on a bogus charge of “inciting racism.”

Dr. Töben had served as one of the keynote speakers at the so-called “Holocaust denial” conference hosted by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in Tehran in 2006.

On its website, the United States White House issued a statement condemning the conference:<sup>38</sup>

*“The United States condemns the conference on the Holocaust convoked by the Iranian regime on Monday in Tehran. While people around the world mark International Human Rights Week and renew the solemn pledges of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, which was drafted in the wake of the atrocities of World War II, the Iranian regime perversely seeks to call the historical fact of those atrocities into question and provide a platform for hatred. The gathering of Holocaust deniers in Tehran is an affront to the entire civilized world, as well as to the traditional Iranian values of tolerance and mutual respect. The United States will continue to support those in Iran and elsewhere who seek to promote human rights and dignity, and will stand with them in their efforts to overcome oppression, injustice, and tyranny.”*

The White House’s platitudinous statement betrayed a smugness and air of moral superiority vis-à-vis hypocritical references to “tolerance, mutual respect” and “human rights and dignity” while seeking to deny these rights to the attendees of the conference.

Neither does the White House statement nor the sentiments expressed therein accord with the disgraceful manner in which the President of Iran was treated during his recent visit to Columbia University, where he was characterized by University President Lee Bollinger as a “petty and cruel dictator, [...] brazenly provocative or astonishingly uneducated.”<sup>39</sup>

In response to these gibes, the Iranian President stated:<sup>40</sup>

*“In Iran, tradition requires when you invite a person to be a speaker, we actually respect our students enough to allow them to make their own judgment and don’t think it’s necessary before the speech is even given to come in with a series of complaints to provide vaccination to the students and faculty.”*

The subject of the Holocaust was naturally raised by Bollinger, who remarked,

*“[...] you held a two-day conference of Holocaust deniers. For the illiterate and ignorant, this is dangerous propaganda. This makes you, quite simply, ridiculous.”*

Bollinger's comments imply that "dangerous propaganda," in the form of "Holocaust heresy," ought to be suppressed and President Ahmadinejad receive public censure for upholding the democratic principle whereby all people should be allowed an opportunity to freely express their opinions without fear of retribution by the government.

Particularly discomfiting to critics of the Tehran Conference was the fact that a number of Orthodox Jews also participated at the function. Austrian Rabbi Moishe Ayra Friedman used the occasion to lament the fact that the Holocaust was being used to legitimize the suffering of other peoples and that he wanted to break the taboo on discussing it. The enlightened Rabbi remarked that the main thing "was not Jewish suffering in the past but the use of the Holocaust as a "tool of commercial, military and media power."<sup>41</sup>

The spirit of intolerance that today characterizes much of Europe has seeped by steady increments into mainstream academic institutions in the United States. For example, DePaul University recently said "Sayonara, Professor" to Norman Finkelstein, the controversial author of *The Holocaust Industry* and a consistent critic of Zionist policies.

In an astounding statement loaded with irony and hypocrisy, Dean Chuck Suchar attempted to justify Finkelstein's dismissal on grounds that his teachings conflict with "DePaul's Vincentian Values," which include *respect for the opinions of others* [...].<sup>42</sup>

Finkelstein, who is Jewish, has long criticized the way Jews have handled the Holocaust and has called leaders of American-Jewish groups "Holocaust mongers." His views led the university to cancel Finkelstein's only course, "Equality in Social Justice," a week before fall classes began. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Dean Chuck Suchar found Finkelstein's teachings to be conflicting with "DePaul's Vincentian Values" which include respect for the opinions of others – leading us to wonder why the university doesn't respect his.<sup>43</sup>

Another flagrant example of intolerance occurred at Georgetown University in 2007, when Bruce Leichy, an immigration lawyer who has defended Ernst Zündel, was escorted off campus by security guards for passing out leaflets to members of the German Lawyers Association.<sup>44</sup>

A thought-provoking article penned by Gerard Alexander, a scholar from the American Enterprise Institute, identified a specific methodology at work in Europe, which he perceived as the "greatest erosion of democratic practice in the world's advanced democracies since 1945."<sup>45</sup>

Citing three disturbing trends used to stifle free speech, Alexander notes that archaic anti-Nazi laws are being adopted in nations where no threat of

Nazism is present. Moreover, cleverly formulated laws provide provisions to sanction any speech determined by the powers that be to “incite hatred” against groups based upon religion, race or ethnicity. Third, the laws themselves are interpreted “so loosely that they chill not just extremist views but mainstream ones too.”<sup>46</sup>

Alexander underscores the fact that since 1945, the extremely marginalized right wing has never posed any serious threat to Germany or Austria, and has never garnered more than five percent of the popular vote in regional elections.

Nevertheless, anti-Nazi legislation in Germany and Austria has dramatically increased – a fact that Alexander describes as “unfortunate,” because “anti-Nazi laws gradually expanded to cover other historical events.”

Alexander cites the case of the eminent Princeton historian of the Middle East, Bernard Lewis, who was asked in an interview with *Le Monde* about the mass murder of Armenians in Turkey during World War I. While conceding that terrible massacres had indeed occurred, Lewis questioned whether genocide was really intended as part of a preconceived plan undertaken by the Turkish government.

Lewis’s comments fell foul of France’s controversial genocide laws, which prohibit denial of “crimes against humanity.” Several activist groups filed a formal complaint against Lewis, who was subsequently found guilty of not being “objective enough” in regard to historical events that the European parliament had officially certified as genocide.

Thus, the State arrogates to itself the authority to dictate compulsion of belief on pain of punishment, presuming to dictate to individuals what they may or may not believe on the basis of pre-approved “politically correct” content. Genocide laws are being used as a deterrent to compel historians to parrot the politically correct interpretation of certain historical events or else suffer dire consequences.

Alexander notes with evident alarm:<sup>47</sup>

*[...] a stream of rules now prohibits the broadcast, including online, of any program or ad that incites ‘hatred based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation’ or – crucially – is offensive to religious or political beliefs.”*

These rules are frequently employed by governments to disband political parties of which they disapprove.

In the context of modern society, it is no longer the provenance of any Church or religion to punish “blasphemy” and “heresy”; it is now up to the State.

Much of the responsibility for this sordid state of affairs appears to rest with organizations referred to by Alexander as the “antiracism industry,” which would include such organizations as LICRA or MRAP [Movement against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples in France, and the Muslim Union of Italy, which routinely file complaints and suits and often serve as the direct beneficiaries when fines are imposed.

Alexander asserts “the real danger posed by Europe’s speech laws is not so much guilty verdicts, as an insidious chilling of political debate, as people censor themselves in order to avoid legal charges and the stigma and expense they bring.”

Europe’s speech laws are written and applied in ways that leave activists on the political left free to whitewash the crimes of leftist regimes while inciting contempt and hatred against the usual *betes noires* of the left.

Alexander notes with some degree of concern that “Socialist and extreme-left political parties have played central roles in the design of free speech laws and sends an important signal to the broader culture when Hitler is the symbol of evil while Stalin and Mao are given a pass, and when, in effect, Pat Buchanan’s ideas risk indictment while Michael Moore’s are protected.”<sup>48</sup>

The perceived ultimate targets of such laws are religious bodies, moderates and conservatives, who are with increasing frequency denounced and reviled as “bigoted” and/or “racist.”

In underlining the inherent danger in such laws and policies, Alexander writes:<sup>49</sup>

*“Laws against any speech that causes ‘offense’ are biased because they have the insidious effect of conflating bigoted speech and constructive criticism, two kinds of speech that should be sharply distinguished from each other. The result is the stigmatization of certain kinds of thinking about social problems and public policy that American conservatives, moderates, and even many liberals recognize as a legitimate part of serious debate. These speech laws will not ultimately silence extremists – whose careers will not end if they are called bigots and who often seek out controversy – but they can silence reasonable people who do not want that label and do not want a scandal.”*

These laws are in fact the fruits of a deliberately cultivated policy designed to suppress a human being’s most inalienable possession and right: our reason and the right to freely express our opinions without fear of government repression.

Alexander supports the suggestion adopted by Human Rights Watch, which “insists that governments should ban speech only when it ‘constitutes imminent incitement’ to violence and other unlawful acts and urges reform of these laws, including repeal of Holocaust denial laws.”

As laws restricting freedom of speech continue to proliferate, it is only inevitable that a backlash must ensue as enlightened individuals question the authority and disinterestedness of the State, even while recognizing that the true value of a democracy does not lie in extending the right of expression to government-approved opinions but in granting the same right of expression to all citizens – especially those who express unpopular or controversial opinions.

Where is revisionism going? Perhaps this question can best be answered by recalling the case of Galileo Galilei, who was forced by the Inquisition in 1633 to retract his heretical belief that the Earth moves around the Sun – or face a sentence of death. On the occasion of his recantation, Galileo is said to have muttered the words:

*“Eppur si muove!”*

In a similar manner, revisionists, the heretics of our modern age, may recite in unison with the spirit of Galileo,

*“Still, it moves.”*

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Latin: “Where are you going?” A well-known religious usage of this phrase comes from the apocryphal “Acts of Peter.” Peter is fleeing Rome where he faces likely crucifixion. Along the way, he meets a risen Jesus. Peter asks Jesus “*Quo vadis?*,” to which Jesus replies, “*Romam vado iterum crucifigi*” (“I am going to Rome to be crucified again”). Peter thereby gains the courage to continue his ministry and return to Rome where he is martyred by being crucified upside-down; Ed.
- <sup>2</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, June 6, 2000.
- <sup>3</sup> “Blocher insists on revised anti-racism law,” *Swissinfo*, October 6, 2006.
- <sup>4</sup> “Swiss Minister wants to legalize Genocide deniers,” *European Jewish Press*, October 10, 2007.
- <sup>5</sup> “Hungarian Jews Vow to Pursue Law Criminalizing Holocaust Denial.” *JTA*. May 10, 2001. Online at: <http://www.jta.org/2001/05/10/archive/hungarian-jews-vow-to-pursue-law-criminalizing-holocaust-denial>
- <sup>6</sup> Once at [www.cphpost.periskop.dk/default.asp?id=23060](http://www.cphpost.periskop.dk/default.asp?id=23060), now removed; ed.
- <sup>7</sup> “Holocaust Denial Law Rejected by Home Office,” *Forward*, January 28, 2000, page 2.
- <sup>8</sup> “History – not censorship, is the greatest weapon,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, Volume 58, No. 22, February 24, 2006.

- <sup>9</sup> “Europe Seen Cracking Down on Holocaust Revisionists,” Marc Perelman, *Jewish Forward*, New York, November 25, 2005, online: <http://forward.com/articles/2320/europe-seen-cracking-down-on-holocaust-revisionist/>
- <sup>10</sup> “Global Holocaust-deniers bill passed in Knesset,” *The Jerusalem Post*, Tuesday, July 20, 2004.
- <sup>11,12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> “French Politico: Gas Chambers Debatable,” *The Jewish Press*, Friday, October 22, 2004.
- <sup>14-18</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> “ADL Local Leader Fired on Armenian Issue,” *Boston Globe*, August 18, 2007.
- <sup>20</sup> “Boston Armenians: ADL guilty of genocide denial,” *The Jerusalem Post*, September 2, 2007.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> “Abe Foxman’s Genocidal Denial Road Show,” *Counterpunch*, August 22, 2007.
- <sup>23</sup> “US Jewish Group retracts stance on Armenian Genocide,” *European Jewish Press*, August 25, 2007.
- <sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*: “Abe Foxman’s Genocidal Road Show.”
- <sup>25</sup> “US Jewish group retracts stance on Armenian genocide.” <http://npfdarchive.blogspot.com/2007/10/0825-ejp-us-jewish-group-retracts.html>
- <sup>26</sup> “Under Pressure, ADL admits: Turks’ Armenian Massacre Was Genocide,” *Haaretz*, August 27, 2007. <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/896179.html>
- <sup>27</sup> “Armenian Genocide Debate Exposes Rifts at ADL,” *Jewish Daily Forward*, August 22, 2007.
- <sup>28</sup> “This is the moment for Europe to dismantle taboos, not erect them [...]. Far from criminalizing denial of the Armenian genocide, we should decriminalize denial of the Holocaust.,” *The Guardian*, October 19, 2006.
- <sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.* “This is the moment for Europe to Dismantle Taboos.” *The Guardian*, October 19, 2006.
- <sup>30</sup> Voltaire, “Essay on Tolerance.” Online: <http://files.libertyfund.org/pll/quotes/90.html>
- <sup>31</sup> Jewish Telegraphic Agency, *Forward*, Jan. 6, 2006, p. 8.
- <sup>32</sup> The anthem of the National-Socialist Party was the “Horst Wessel Lied.”
- <sup>33</sup> Robert A. Kahn, *Jewish Week*, “Why Europeans Criminalize Holocaust Denial,” March 3, 2006.
- <sup>34</sup> “Belgian Court Convicts Holocaust Denier.” *Haaretz*. September 9, 2003. Online at <http://www.haaretz.com/news/belgian-court-convicts-holocaust-denier-1.99614>
- <sup>35</sup> “German Academics: Stop treating Israel as special.” *Ynet News* Nov. 16, 2006; Online at <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3328858,00.html>
- <sup>36</sup> “Holocaust disputer can’t find a lawyer.” *The Australian*, Jan 17, 2007, All-round Country edition, p. 6; <http://www.theaustraliannews.com.au/stiry/0.20867.21072034-5006787.00.html>

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> “Statement on Holocaust Denial Conference Sponsored by Iranian Regime,” <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/12/20061212.html>

<sup>39</sup> “Facing Scorn, President of Iran Is Defiant to His Critics,” *The New York Times*, September 24, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> “Why Are Jews at the Holocaust Denial Conference?,” *BBC News*, December 16, 2006.

<sup>42</sup> “Editorial – Professor Fired for Controversial Views,” *The Pitt News*, August 29, 2007.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Bruce Leichty, “Angry Germans Oust Zundel Lawyer from Georgetown Law School Campus.” Online: [www.zundel.org/assets/001404.html](http://www.zundel.org/assets/001404.html)

<sup>45</sup> Gerard Alexander. “Illiberal Europe,” American Enterprise Institute. Apr. 10, 2006. Online at: <http://www.aei.org/publication/illiberal-europe/>

<sup>46-49</sup> *Ibid.*



## Tinseltown Goes to War

*Ralph Raico*

I've just watched for about the third time the 1962 film, *The Longest Day*, a great action movie on the Allied invasion of Normandy. Among its several pluses: an all-star male cast, including a young Sean Connery, as well as a brief segment starring a seriously good-looking woman bearing a strong resemblance to Sophia Loren.

*The Longest Day* is filmed in black and white, adding, I think, to the authenticity. Remarkably, the many Germans actually speak their own language among themselves, instead of a heavily German-accented English. Curt Jürgens gives an excellent performance as a German officer bitterly skeptical of the Führer's leadership. His is the "good German" character popular in American movies around the time that West Germany was being integrated into NATO. The joshing Catholic padre, another stock figure in World War II films of the time, makes an appearance.

For me, a spine-tingling scene shows another German officer patrolling the Normandy coast with his beautiful German shepherd dog. He's passing his Zeiss binoculars (the best ever made) over the incoming waters of the English Channel when he stops and freezes. Then he starts screaming, *Die Invasion! Es ist die Invasion!* What he's seeing before him is the greatest assemblage of naval power in the history of the world. Of course, his superiors at headquarters don't believe his telephoned report until it's too late and the Allies – Yanks, Brits, Canadians, and Gaullist French – have consolidated their beachhead.

I would argue that another merit lies in the contrast to the way Hollywood portrayed the Japanese in the war. The best, or worst, example is the 1944 movie, *The Purple Heart*, loosely based on the Doolittle raid over Tokyo. A group of American airmen is captured hiding in China and put on trial for war crimes. (Since the men had engaged in the indiscriminate bombing of civilians, they were clearly guilty.) The movie recounts this fictional trial.

*The Purple Heart* offers some heartwarming clichés. The airmen include a Lt. Canelli, a Sgt. Skvoznik, and a Sgt. Greenbaum, a smart, brash Jewish lawyer from Brooklyn – persons previously known to their fellow countrymen as wops, polacks, and kikes. But now, every last one of us was needed to build that world of love and laughter and peace ever after, with bluebirds over the White Cliffs of Dover. Just you wait and see. Tomor-



*Paul Hartmann (left) and Curt Jurgens (stage name) in The Longest Day (1962)*

*Source: By trailer screenshot (20th Century Fox) (The Longest Day trailer) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

row. When the World is Free.

The Japanese want to know the location of the aircraft carrier the Americans flew from, and the interrogator is a General Mitsubi, played by Richard Loo. Loo, though actually a Chinese, assumed the role of the evil, smirking Japanese officer in lots of Hollywood offerings. Here he deals out insults, threats, and harsh treatment to the Americans. Skvoznik, when he appears again in court, is mute, catatonic, constantly twitching: he's been beaten and crippled. His buddies are aghast, while the German war correspondent smiles.

The leader of the Americans, handsome Dana Andrews, the quintessential fighting hero in those days, delivers a fire-breathing speech of defiance at the end. Curiously, he concludes by spitting out the promise that the U.S. air force will burn the cities of Japan to the ground – thus confessing to a major war crime, that was subsequently in fact committed, in advance.

At one point, the judge – no poster boy for judicial impartiality – starts yelling, Corregidor has fallen! Corregidor has fallen! With the fortress in Japanese hands, Manila is theirs. The spectators fall into a frenzy, and in the eeriest footage the navy and army men draw their swords and engage in grim-faced, clanging sword play, dramatically highlighted. The Yanks stare, stunned by the utterly alien scene being enacted before their eyes. For the movie audience, a perfect setup for an Orwellian Two-Minute Hate.

The revisionist historian James Martin once wrote that during the war there were probably millions of Americans who thought that, with the little yellow men, we were literally fighting a species of sub-humans. That illusion was created by films like this one and many others, including *Across the Pacific*, with Humphrey Bogart and the great Sidney Greenstreet, the fat man in the white suit, as a Jap-loving professor of sociology at the University of Manila (!). They were aided by the rest of the media, as in *Life* magazine's notorious depiction of the Japanese as hordes of devouring rats. At least the Germans, though wrong-headed, robotic followers of their mad Leader out to conquer the world, were not usually shown as alien sub-humans.

There were a number of anti-Nazi films during and even before U.S. entry into the war. But the attitude of the motion picture community to Communism and the Soviet Union was quite different. *The Boy from Stalingrad* (1943), *Song of Russia* (1944), and other productions informed Americans of the happy life led by the citizens of the Marxist utopia and of their death-defying resistance to the German invaders. Two films of this genre stand out.

The script for *North Star* (1943) was written by Lillian Hellman, who later lied under oath in denying that she had ever been a member of the CPUSA. It starred Dana Andrews (again), Walter Huston, and Anne Baxter, music was by Aaron Copland, lyrics by Ira Gershwin – the entertainment industry's royalty. It was nominated for six Academy Awards (naturally). There's no doubt that the current consensus is correct: *North Star* is unabashedly pro-Soviet propaganda.

*Mission to Moscow* (1943) is based on the memoirs of the US ambassador, Joseph E. Davies. It features music by the preeminent Hollywood composer, Max Steiner. Again, we see Russian workers and collective-farm members, cheerfully toiling their hearts out for the Motherland under the benevolent, all-seeing eye of the *Vozhd*. *Mission to Moscow* was promoted by FDR himself, and lavishly praised by the country's most important film reviewer, Bosley Crowther of the *New York Times*.

A rightwing nut-job might complain that this steady stream of Red rubbish by owners, producers, and directors revealed something rotten, even sinister, about the culture and ruling elite of Hollywood. But who cares what he might say? He is, after all, just a rightwing nut-job.

Now, finally, back to *The Longest Day* and its many serious minuses. The French civilians of Normandy are portrayed as jubilant at getting their homes blown up. Yet, the historical truth is that they were scared out of their wits. With reason, since more French civilians, at Le Havre and else-

where, were killed by Allied bombs than English killed by the Germans in the Battle of Britain. The death of their compatriots remained a sore point with the French survivors for years afterwards.

The GI warriors always rush into battle bravely, eager and clear-eyed, often with a humorous quip. There's not the slightest allusion to all the cowed conscripts, wetting and soiling themselves in terror of their impending death, blindness, or loss of legs and arms. In Hollywood's version of the war, they never existed.

But the worst demerit of the movie is that it continues and exemplifies what my friend and libertarian scholar, Joseph Stromberg, has called the seven centuries of Anglo-Saxon self-congratulation. *The Longest Day* gives the impression to the easily impressionable and historically clueless (the vast majority) that the Second World War was won on the western front, principally by the United States and Britain. It never gives the viewer an inkling that in the west the Wehrmacht was mostly composed of older men and raw recruits. The best German divisions, 175 of them, were fighting on the eastern front, against Stalin. It was there that the Second World War was won, and lost. Won not by the Anglo-Saxons but by the Russians, and lost by the Germans. Then followed the Red Army's orgy of rape and murder. Hundreds of thousands of German females were raped, from little girls to old women, most of them gang-raped, many raped to death. Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet propagandist, publicly urged on the conquering rapists, and that loathsome gay man, Christopher Isherwood, publicly praised them for their robust virility. Today, all of this has been expunged from the historical record – it never even existed in Hollywood's version – just another one of the forgotten episodes from “the Last Good War.”

## REVIEWS

---

## Lab 257: The Disturbing Story of the Government's Secret Germ Laboratory

*reviewed by Richard A. Widmann*

*Lab 257: The Disturbing Story of the Government's Secret Germ Laboratory*, by Michael Christopher Carroll, Harper, New York, 2004, 301 pp.

---

**L**ab 257 examines the history of the US Government's Animal Disease Center on Plum Island, New York. Plum Island is a small island (3 miles long and 1 mile wide) situated off the eastern end of the North Fork coast of Long Island. It is about 85 miles from New York City and less than 10 miles from Old Lyme, Connecticut.

Author Michael Christopher Carroll details a web of government cover-ups, secret germ warfare, environmental contamination, virus outbreaks, Nazi scientists, Al Qaeda terrorists, the Department of Homeland Security, Lyme Disease, and the West Nile Virus.

While *Lab 257* appears to be a well-researched book that undoubtedly reveals various inconvenient truths about the facilities on Plum Island, it is at times sensationalistic, and its most important arguments are often circumstantial. Carroll also avoids addressing or debunking even-more-outlandish theories about what was actually happening on Plum Island and the laboratories operating there.

A quick Google search on "Plum Island" produces extraordinary claims like the AIDS virus was man-made by Nazi scientists working in Plum Island's labs. There is even a website dedicated entirely to the "Montauk Monster" a creature that is described as looking like a "dead dog" or a "dead sea-otter" that some say originated from experiments on Plum Island. On an episode of his TV show "Conspiracy Theory," pro-wrestler-turned-Minnesota-governor Jesse Ventura reported on happenings at the facility. Ventura too tells a tale of Nazi scientists, the invention and ultimate outbreak of Lyme disease, and, yes, even the Montauk Monster.

Carroll's narrative is much more "sober" than Ventura's but still he walks a fine line between history, investigative reporting, and tabloid sensationalism. While Carroll eschews the AIDS conspiracy, he provides similar evidence for the invention or weaponization of Lyme Disease (with the

involvement of a Nazi scientist.) What makes one tale more credible than the other?

At its best, *Lab 257* tells the history of the Plum Island Animal Disease Center (PIADC), which was established by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 1954 on the site of the former US military installation Fort Terry.

Carroll begins his book, however, with a discussion of virus outbreaks arguably associated with Plum Island before relaying the history of its sixty years of operation (up to the publication of the book). In fact the first chapter of the book attempts to build a connection to the first significant outbreak of Lyme Disease in the US in 1975; the second chapter draws connections to the 1999 outbreak of West Nile Virus and the third recounts the events surrounding the 1967 outbreak of Dutch Duck Plague (duck virus enteritis).

The possibility that any of these diseases originated from the work on Plum Island and their outbreaks resulted from unsafe work conditions provides the intrigue – the reason to read, and perhaps write, the book. This



*The Plum Island Animal Disease Center.*  
Source: Photo by Keith Weller (K6086-7). Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.

conspiratorial plotline, complete with suggestions of cover-ups, draws in readers who might otherwise have little interest in the history of a USDA facility. But Carroll's research fails to persuade. In fact, for all his hard work the evidence remains circumstantial at best. He summarizes his argument in this way:

*“Three infectious germs, Bb [Borrelia burgdorferi is the predominant causative agent of Lyme Disease – Ed.], West Nile virus, and duck enteritis virus – all foreign germs – have infiltrated the American landscape. All three emerged from the same geographic locus. All three occurred in the vicinity of a high-hazard, high-containment foreign germ laboratory with demonstrably faulty facilities and pitiable biological safety practices – flaws that caused proven germ outbreaks in the past, and infections among its employees. The public is asked to accept that none of these three outbreaks is connected to Plum Island.”*

Lyme Disease gets the first position among these three outbreaks, not because of its chronology related to West Nile or Dutch Duck Plague but likely because of the growing number of people afflicted with the disease, the challenges and controversies surrounding “Chronic Lyme Disease,” and the outspokenness of various Lyme Disease advocates and activists.

Carroll recounts briefly the outbreak in 1975 that afflicted 39 children and 12 adults, which was initially misdiagnosed as “juvenile rheumatoid arthritis.” Within two years, it was understood that this ailment, by then dubbed “Lyme Arthritis” was the result of a bite from a deer tick. By 1981 based on the research of Dr. Wally Burgdorfer it was understood that a new spirochete immersed in the fluid of the deer tick was to blame. From this point forward, “Lyme Arthritis” would be known as “Lyme Disease.” While this period does mark the first modern outbreak in the US and the naming of the disease, researchers have since identified the existence of Lyme Disease dating back over 5,000 years. So what does this all have to do with Lab 257 on Plum Island? Here Carroll brings us back to the closing days of World War Two.

Carroll retells the story of Project [Operation] Paperclip, in which the US Office of Strategic Services (OSS) arranged to recruit over 1,500 German scientists, technicians and engineers from defeated Nazi Germany and bring them to the US. Best known among these were Wernher von Braun and Arthur Rudolph, both of whom were instrumental in the US space program.

Among the lesser-known scientists involved in this program was Dr. Erich Traub. Traub was apparently lab chief at Insel Riems, a National-

Socialist biological-warfare laboratory on an island in the Baltic Sea. Carroll asserts that Traub worked directly for *SS Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler. While this sounds impressive or important to the uninformed, Traub did not work directly for Himmler. Rather the Institute was administered by the *Innenministerium* (Ministry of the Interior), which Himmler took over in 1943. The chain of command was Himmler, Dr. Leonardo Conti (Reich Health Leader), Kurt Blome, Otto Waldmann, and then Traub.

According to Carroll, Traub packaged weaponized foot-and-mouth disease virus “which was dispersed from a Luftwaffe bomber onto cattle and reindeer in occupied Russia.” Attempting to inflate Traub’s importance, Carroll asserts that he was also a member of the *NSKK* (*Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps*) (National-Socialist Motor Corps), which he describes as “a powerful Nazi organization that ranked directly behind the SA (Storm Troopers) and the SS (Elite Corps).” While such a description of NS hierarchy is unrecognizable to anyone familiar with the subject, the reality of the *NSKK* is likely not common knowledge. The *NSKK* was condemned during the Nuremberg Trials (little surprise) but not found to be a criminal organization. Even Wikipedia readily admits,

*“The primary aim of the NSKK was to educate its members in motoring skills. They were mainly trained in the operation and maintenance of high performance motorcycles and automobiles. In the mid-1930s, the NSKK also served as a roadside assistance group, comparable to the modern-day American Automobile Association or the British Automobile Association.”*

Carroll stretches the connection to Plum Island by commenting that Traub was also a member of the *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund* (German American Bund), which he erroneously claims was “also known as Camp Sigfried [sic].” Carroll goes on to call Camp Siegfried “the national headquarters of the American Nazi movement” and highlights that Camp Siegfried was just thirty miles west of Plum Island in Yaphank, Long Island. The Bund, which was primarily formed to promote a favorable view of NS Germany, had many camps throughout the US of which Camp Siegfried was one. Its proximity to Plum Island is irrelevant to the narrative.

While Traub did visit Plum Island, and was even there during the opening ceremony in 1956, his activities were very limited. Carroll builds the entire foundation for his theory around Traub, but admits that there is only evidence that Traub visited Plum Island on three occasions. While the USDA did offer Traub the “top scientist” job at Plum Island twice, Traub turned them down, preferring to work at the West German virus facility in



Tübingen.

While there is evidence that tick experiments were conducted on Plum Island, the sinister connection to Dr. Traub is implausible and proof that the Lyme Disease outbreak of the 1970s originated on Plum Island is purely circumstantial. For his most interesting assertions, Carroll depends on anonymous and secondary source material including the book *The Belarus Secret* by John Loftus, whose thesis was described as “overzealous” by the *New York Times*. Carroll might have done well to give more credence to former Plum Island director Dr. Jerry Callis, who asserted, “Not now or ever had we anything to do with Lyme Disease.”

Carroll’s exaggerations and loose talk about Dr. Traub play well to a receptive but otherwise ill-informed public schooled on Holocaust lore. Such a public is quick to believe anything sinister and evil about NS Germany; a regime that could commit genocide could certainly have invented Lyme Disease. A careful reader, however, must become suspicious of the balance of the story that he tells.

This is unfortunate for Carroll’s thesis. For once he begins to tell the history of labs on Plum Island from 1956 on, he has a sober and chilling tale to tell. His exposé about the flushing of contaminated sewage into area waters, infected workers, violation of OSHA standards and the general failure to properly maintain a facility that houses dangerous viruses in a geographic area prone to storms and hurricanes is worth noting. In our post 9/11 world, the suggestion that Al-Qaeda may have targeted the facility, which was transferred to the Department of Homeland Security, is also worth noting.

United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced a final “Record of Decision (ROD): Public Sale of Plum Island, New York.” This may be best for all involved.

Moving the facility and a full-scale clean-up of the island would allow it, over time, to return to being a natural habitat for various forms of wild-life, and eliminate any threat to neighboring New York and Connecticut. Such a move would also allow fantastic stories of the US Government working nefariously with Nazi scientists to create Lyme Disease, the AIDS virus, and even horrific sea monsters to be relegated to the dustbin of Twentieth-Century conspiracy theories.

## Inside the Gas Chambers

*reviewed by Ezra MacVie*

*Inside the Gas Chambers: The Extermination of Mainstream Holocaust Historiography*, by Carlo Mattogno. The Barnes Review, Washington, DC, 267 pp. \$25

---

The “Holocaust debate” is, at least for the defenders of the regnant account, something of a kabuki dance. The tiny, furious cadre of revisionists dances impotently around the lumbering bulk of the defenders, throwing vicious punch after punch and landing them solidly with practically no visible effect on the immovable monolith. The monolith, for its part, contents itself mostly with the occasional utterance of epithets like “denier,” “conspiracy theories,” “anti-Semitic,” “neo-Nazi,” or just plain “Nazi.” But now and then, the holders of the impregnable heights deign to go through the motions of refuting or even opposing the fulminations of the indefatigable corporal’s guard that presumes to attack its iron grip on opinion and information. Even these feigned responses to “denial” or – on a good day – “revisionism” are but listless shadow-boxing, in which well-paid hacks gather for colloquia in expensive venues, there mostly to ignore the particulars so stridently proclaimed by the revisionists, never to address any of them by name, and for the most part to pass off mere repetitions of their own observations as vigorous counterattack. This suffices for their benefactors, and insults and infuriates the revisionists who seek at least counterargument, if not explicit acknowledgement of their personal existences.

From this process, a good deal of what might be called “literature” has arisen from the higher (funded) side of this exercise, and a somewhat lesser volume of impassioned, strenuous, even tedious and at the same time inspired counterattack from the revisionists in their forever unrequited quest for engagement with the behemoth that outweighs them a hundredfold. The three musketeers intrepidly parrying and thrusting with their foils at a column of Merkava tanks.

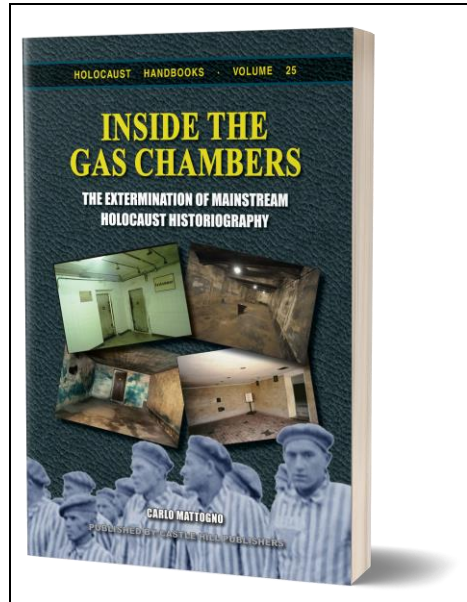
The defenders’ broadsides are duly purchased in hardcover and proudly displayed on the shelves of bookcases in homes and offices. The attackers’ fusillades, if not downloaded free from websites, are sparsely bought in economical paperback form, and kept out of places where the opinions they imply will not catch the eye of any of those many who would swiftly

develop a jaundiced view of their owners. Neither, it turns out, is much read by their possessors, who are in any case most of them in a state of carefully preserved ignorance as to just what the other side is going on about lately.

Carlo Mattogno, *il maestro massimo* of Holocaust arcana, has expended on a recent initiative of the Holocaust industry, a quantum of energy and insight that for an average person (this reviewer, for one) would represent the greater part of a life's work. For Sig. Mattogno, compared with the massive work he has already done and published on the revisionist side, however, it seems the effort might be closer to that exerted by a cow brushing pesky flies off her back with her tail. I

have not perused the work(s – two of them actually, in succession) that our *maestro* demolishes in *Inside the Gas Chambers*, but the numerous quotations he makes from them leave me with the impression that his exhaustive, scrupulous attentions are not even quite deserved by the insipid scrivenering that constitutes the great bulk of the works he flatters with his opprobrium.

The unfortunate objects of his withering attentions are two books, published in 1986 and 2011, that together form something between a prequel/sequel and a series, as their titles imply: first, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (*National-Socialist Mass Killing with Poison Gas*) and 25 years later, *Neue Studien zu Nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas: historische Bedeutung, technische Entwicklung, revisionistische Leugnung* (*New Studies in National-Socialist Mass Killing with Poison Gas: Historical Meaning, Technical Development, Revisionist Denial*). The titles almost rhyme, sort of. As Mattogno repeatedly points out, the authors of the later book, while going through the motions of updating or merely extending their own side of the argument, fail conspicuously (and, it is suspected, deliberately) to update or extend their



Inside the Gas Chambers: The Extermination of Mainstream Holocaust Historiography by Carlo Mattogno. Get it at <https://armreg.co.uk>

recognition of the “denialist” oeuvre that they pretend to debunk. Fortunately for those who don’t, as Mattogno does, read German, the earlier of these two books was published in 1994 in an English translation as *Nazi Mass Murders*. The latter work, it appears, has not been translated to the most-widely spoken Western language, at least not yet.

But Mattogno’s masterful riposte, fortunately, has been translated to English from its original Italian and, I have learned, also to German, which version in fact constituted the source for the (English) version reviewed here. Thus, the present work is a translation of a translation, though I have been assured that Mattogno himself has vetted the English translation as faithful to his original (Mattogno reads English, but wisely does not author in any other than his native language).

The English translation is credited to one Henry Gardner, and of his work here reviewed, I must say that he (together with those working with him) must be a master of the translation craft. The end result, unlike so many translations I have had the misfortune to read, is a coherent, eminently readable, not to say persuasive, presentation of rather intricate, technically challenging material. Nowhere did I experience that nasty feeling I have come to expect of mediocre translations where the text just sort of trails off into inchoate nonsense (well, maybe *one* place, but that’s an incredibly high score for material of this kind, and is as likely due to my sometimes-too-close reading as to any deficiency in the end product). I make these remarks as one who has himself undertaken translation of comparable material, and been most thoroughly humbled in the process.

Speaking of translation, Mattogno has written a critique of a work that as yet has seen the light of day only in German (an English translation would seem to be expectable). But for the numerous (translated) quotations, this critique could be meaningless, at least to someone who did not have, or was not able to read, the German-language “target.” There is, of course, the earlier (1986) work, which *is* available in English, but the quotations are (translated from) the later work. So... to a cynic, the kabuki dance would seem to be layered still one level deeper.

Regardless, this book affords a tour of the “heavy lifting” of revisionism, something in which its author has long held a leading position. It amounts to a study in demolition – here, of course, of the flaccid assertions of paid hacks who deliver a simulacrum of refutation of the ineluctably growing body of revisionist criticism of the petrified propaganda that is the legally enforced account of wartime National-Socialist dealings with Jews and other opponents. As such, it is a volume for “enthusiasts” – those who “can’t get enough” of the revisionist riposte to the ubiquitous lies that to-

day provide cover for Israel's territorial aggrandizement, oppression of non-Jews within its control, obscene claims to being a "light unto the nations," and all the rest of the transparent posturing that today undergirds the hijacking of America's priceless legacy and irresistible power into the service of Jewish agendas.

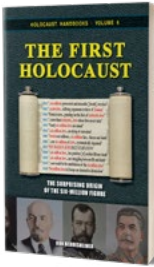
When, if, and as the "*Neue Studien*" comes out in English, this work will gain considerable value for those whose interests and abilities don't lead them to delve into German-language disquisitions by the centurions of the Holocaust Legend. In the meantime, it is something to "lay in" against that day, and to peruse with close attention for those whose interests center on the weakness of the defense of the Holocaust Legend through junket-colloquia in the former capital of the Third Reich.

# HOLOCAUST HANDBOOKS

This ambitious, growing series addresses various aspects of the “Holocaust” of the WWII era. Most of them are based on decades of research from archives all over the world. They are heavily referenced. In contrast to most other works on this issue, the tomes of this series approach its topic with profound academic scrutiny and a critical attitude. Any Holocaust researcher ignoring this series will remain oblivious to some of the most important research in the field. These books are designed to both convince the common reader as well as academics. The following books have appeared so far, or are about to be released.

## SECTION ONE: General Overviews of the Holocaust

**The First Holocaust. The Surprising Origin of the Six-Million Figure.** By Don Heddesheimer. This compact but substantive study documents



propaganda spread prior to, during and after the FIRST World War that claimed East European Jewry was on the brink of annihilation. The magic number of suffering and dying Jews was 6 million back then as well. The book details how these Jewish fundraising operations in America raised vast sums in the name of feeding suffering Polish and Russian Jews but actually funneled much of the money to Zionist and Communist groups. 6th ed., 206 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#6)

**Lectures on the Holocaust. Controversial Issues Cross Examined.** By Germar Rudolf. This book first explains why “the Holocaust” is an important topic, and that it is essential to keep an open mind about it. It then tells how many mainstream scholars expressed doubts and subsequently fell from grace. Next, the physical traces and documents about the various claimed crime scenes and murder weapons are discussed. After that, the reliability of witness testimony is examined. Finally, the author argues for a free

exchange of ideas on this topic. This book gives the most-comprehensive and up-to-date overview of the critical research into the Holocaust. With its dialogue style, it is easy to read, and it can even be used as an encyclopedic compendium. 4th ed., 597 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#15)

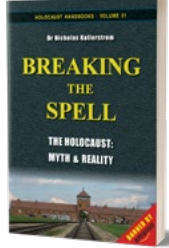
**Breaking the Spell. The Holocaust, Myth & Reality.** By Nicholas Kollerstrom. In 1941, British Intelligence analysts cracked the German “Enigma” code. Hence, in 1942 and 1943, encrypted radio communications between German concentration camps and the Berlin headquarters were decrypted. The intercepted data



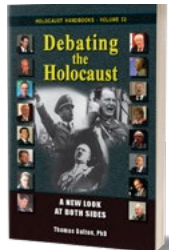
Pictured above are the first 52 volumes of scientific studies that comprise the series *Holocaust Handbooks*. More volumes and new editions are constantly in the works. Check [www.HolocaustHandbooks.com](http://www.HolocaustHandbooks.com) for updates.

refutes the orthodox “Holocaust” narrative. It reveals that the Germans were desperate to reduce the death rate in their labor camps, which was caused by catastrophic typhus epidemics.

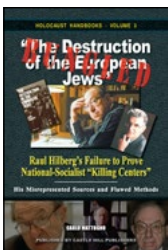
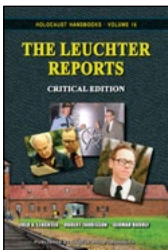
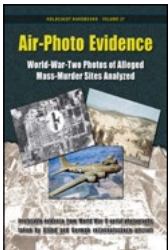
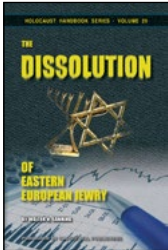
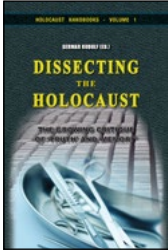
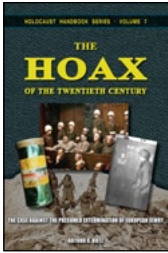
Dr. Kollerstrom, a science historian, has taken these intercepts and a wide array of mostly unchallenged corroborating evidence to show that “witness statements” supporting the human gas chamber narrative clearly clash with the available scientific data. Kollerstrom concludes that the history of the Nazi “Holocaust” has been written by the victors with ulterior motives. It is distorted, exaggerated and largely wrong. With a foreword by Prof. Dr. James Fetzner. 7th ed., 286 pages, b&w ill., bibl., index. (#31)



**Debating the Holocaust. A New Look at Both Sides.** By Thomas Dalton. Mainstream historians insist that there cannot be, may not be, any debate about the Holocaust. But ignoring it does not make this controversy go away. Traditional scholars admit that there was neither a budget, a plan, nor an order for the Holocaust; that the key camps have all but vanished, and so have any human remains; that material and unequivocal documentary evidence is absent; and that there are serious problems with survivor testimonies. Dalton juxtaposes the traditional Holocaust narrative with revisionist challenges and then analyzes the mainstream’s responses to them. He reveals the weaknesses of both sides, while declaring revisionism the winner of the current state of the debate.







4th ed., 342 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#32)

**The Hoax of the Twentieth Century. The Case against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry.** By Arthur R. Butz. The first writer to analyze the entire Holocaust complex in a precise scientific manner. This book exhibits the overwhelming force of arguments accumulated by the mid-1970s. Butz's two main arguments are: 1. All major entities hostile to Germany must have known what was happening to the Jews under German authority. They acted during the war as if no mass slaughter was occurring. 2. All the evidence adduced to prove any mass slaughter has a dual interpretation, while only the innocuous one can be proven to be correct. This book continues to be a major historical reference work, frequently cited by prominent personalities. This edition has numerous supplements with new information gathered over the last 48 years. 5th ed., 572 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#7)

**Dissecting the Holocaust. The Growing Critique of 'Truth' and 'Memory.'** Edited by Germar Rudolf. *Dissecting the Holocaust* applies state-of-the-art scientific techniques and classic methods of detection to investigate the alleged murder of millions of Jews by Germans during World War II. In 22 contributions—each of some 30 pages—the 17 authors dissect generally accepted paradigms of the “Holocaust.” It reads as excitingly as a crime novel: so many lies, forgeries and deceptions by politicians, historians and scientists are proven. This is the intellectual adventure of the 21st Century. Be part of it! 4th ed., 611 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#1)

**The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry.** By Walter N. Sanning. Six Million Jews died in the Holocaust. Sanning did not take that number at face value, but thoroughly explored European population developments and shifts mainly caused by emigration as well as deportations and evacuations conducted by both Nazis and the Soviets, among other things. The book is based mainly on Jewish, Zionist and mainstream sources. It concludes that a sizeable share of the Jews found missing during local censuses after the Second World War, which were so far counted as “Holocaust victims,” had either emigrated (mainly to Israel or the U.S.) or had been deported by Stalin to Siberian labor camps. 3rd ed., foreword by A.R. Butz, epilogue by Germar Rudolf, and an update by the author containing new insights; 264

pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography (#29).

**Air-Photo Evidence: World-War-Two Photos of Alleged Mass-Murder Sites Analyzed.** By Germar Rudolf (editor). During World War Two both German and Allied reconnaissance aircraft took countless air photos of places of tactical and strategic interest in Europe. These photos are prime evidence for the investigation of the Holocaust. Air photos of locations like Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, Babi Yar etc. permit an insight into what did or did not happen there. The author has unearthed many pertinent photos and has thoroughly analyzed them. This book is full of air-photo reproductions and schematic drawings explaining them. According to the author, these images refute many of the atrocity claims made by witnesses in connection with events in the German sphere of influence. 6th edition; with a contribution by Carlo Mattogno. 167 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index (#27).

**The Leuchter Reports: Critical Edition.** By Fred Leuchter, Robert Faurisson and Germar Rudolf. Between 1988 and 1991, U.S. expert on execution technologies Fred Leuchter wrote four reports on whether the Third Reich operated homicidal gas chambers. The first on Auschwitz and Majdanek became world-famous. Based on various arguments, Leuchter concluded that the locations investigated could never have been “utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.” The second report deals with gas-chamber claims for the camps Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim, while the third reviews design criteria and operation procedures of execution gas chambers in the U.S. The fourth report reviews Pressac's 1989 tome about Auschwitz. 4th ed., 252 pages, b&w illustrations. (#16)

**Bungled: "The Destruction of the European Jews". Raul Hilberg's Failure to Prove National-Socialist "Killing Centers."** By Carlo Mattogno. Raul Hilberg's magnum opus *The Destruction of the European Jews* is an orthodox standard work on the Holocaust. But how does Hilberg support his thesis that Jews were murdered *en masse*? He rips documents out of their context, distorts their content, misinterprets their meaning, and ignores entire archives. He only refers to “useful” witnesses, quotes fragments out of context, and conceals the fact that his witnesses are lying through their teeth. Lies and deceptions permeate Hil-

berg's book, 302 pages, bibliography, index. (#3)

**Jewish Emigration from the Third Reich.** By Ingrid Weckert. Current historical writings about the Third Reich claim state it was difficult for Jews to flee from Nazi persecution. The truth is that Jewish emigration was welcomed by the German authorities. Emigration was not some kind of wild flight, but rather a lawfully determined and regulated matter. Weckert's booklet elucidates the emigration process in law and policy. She shows that German and Jewish authorities worked closely together. Jews interested in emigrating received detailed advice and offers of help from both sides. 2nd ed., 130 pages, index. (#12)

**Inside the Gas Chambers: The Extermination of Mainstream Holocaust Historiography.** By Carlo Mattogno. Neither increased media propaganda or political pressure nor judicial persecution can stifle revisionism. Hence, in early 2011, the Holocaust Orthodoxy published a 400-page book (in German) claiming to refute "revisionist propaganda," trying again to prove "once and for all" that there were homicidal gas chambers at the camps of Dachau, Natzweiler, Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück, Neuengamme, Stutthof... you name them. Mattogno shows with his detailed analysis of this work of propaganda that mainstream Holocaust historiography is beating around the bush rather than addressing revisionist research results. He exposes their myths, distortions and lies. 2nd ed., 280 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#25)

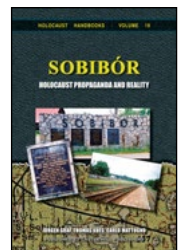
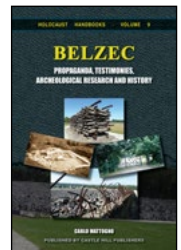
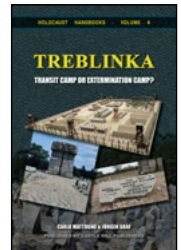
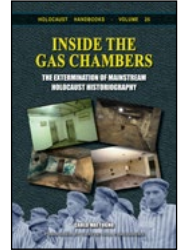
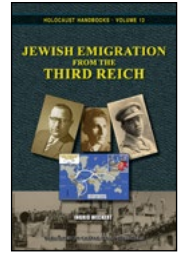
## SECTION TWO: Specific non-Auschwitz Studies

**The Dachau Gas Chamber.** By Carlo Mattogno. This study investigates whether the alleged homicidal gas chamber at the infamous Dachau Camp could have been operational. Could these gas chambers have fulfilled their alleged function to kill people as assumed by mainstream historians? Or does the evidence point to an entirely different purpose? This study reviews witness reports and finds that many claims are nonsense or technically impossible. As many layers of confounding misunderstandings and misrepresentations are peeled away, we discover the core of what the truth was concerning the existence of these gas chambers. 154 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#49)

**Treblinka: Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?** By Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf. It is alleged that at Treblinka in East Poland between 700,000 and 3,000,000 persons were murdered in 1942 and 1943. The weapons used were said to have been stationary and/or mobile gas chambers, fast-acting or slow-acting poison gas, unslaked lime, superheated steam, electricity, Diesel-exhaust fumes etc. Holocaust historians alleged that bodies were piled as high as multi-storied buildings and burned without a trace, using little or no fuel at all. Graf and Mattogno have now analyzed the origins, logic and technical feasibility of the official version of Treblinka. On the basis of numerous documents they reveal Treblinka's true identity as a mere transit camp. 3rd ed., 384 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#8)

**Belzec: Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History.** By Carlo Mattogno. Witnesses report that between 600,000 and 3 million Jews were murdered in the Belzec Camp, located in Poland. Various murder weapons are claimed to have been used: Diesel-exhaust gas; unslaked lime in trains; high voltage; vacuum chambers; etc. The corpses were incinerated on huge pyres without leaving a trace. For those who know the stories about Treblinka this sounds familiar. Thus, the author has restricted this study to the aspects which are new compared to Treblinka. In contrast to Treblinka, forensic drillings and excavations were performed at Belzec, the results of which are critically reviewed. 142 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#9)

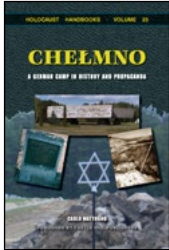
**Sobibor: Holocaust Propaganda and Reality.** By Jürgen Graf, Thomas Kues and Carlo Mattogno. Between 25,000 and 2 million Jews are said to have been killed in gas chambers in the Sobibór camp in Poland. The corpses were allegedly buried in mass graves and later incinerated on pyres. This book investigates these claims and shows that they are based on the selective use of contradictory eyewitness testimony. Archeological surveys of the camp are analyzed that started in 2000-2001 and carried on until 2018. The book also documents the general National-Socialist policy toward Jews, which never included a genocidal "final solution." In conclusion, Sobibór emerges not as a "pure extermination camp", but as a transit camp from where Jews were deported to the occupied eastern territories. 2nd ed., 460 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#19)



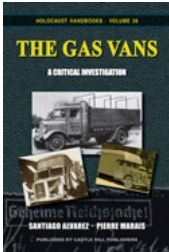




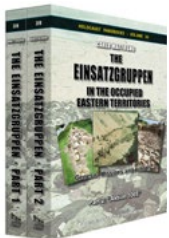
**The “Operation Reinhardt” Camps Treblinka, Sobibór, Belzec.** By Carlo Mattogno. This study has its first focus on witness testimonies recorded during World War II and the immediate post-war era, many of them discussed here for the first time, thus demonstrating how the myth of the “extermination camps” was created. The second part of this book brings us up to speed with the various archeological efforts made by mainstream scholars in their attempt to prove that the myth is true. The third part compares the findings of the second part with what we ought to expect, and reveals the chasm between facts and myth. 402 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. (#28)



**Chelmno: A Camp in History & Propaganda.** By Carlo Mattogno. At Chelmno, huge masses of Jewish prisoners are said to have been gassed in “gas vans” or shot (claims vary from 10,000 to 1.3 million victims). This study covers the subject from every angle, undermining the orthodox claims about the camp with an overwhelmingly effective body of evidence. Eyewitness statements, gas wagons as extermination weapons, forensics reports and excavations, German documents – all come under Mattogno’s scrutiny. Here are the uncensored facts about Chelmno, not the propaganda. This is a complementary volume to the book on *The Gas Vans* (#26). 2nd ed., 188 pages, indexed, illustrated, bibliography. (#23)

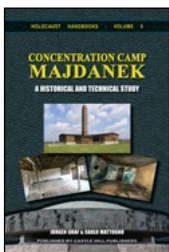


**The Gas Vans: A Critical Investigation.** By Santiago Alvarez and Pierre Marais. Did the Nazis use mobile gas chambers to exterminate 700,000 people? Are witness statements believable? Are documents genuine? Where are the murder weapons? Could they have operated as claimed? Where are the corpses? In order to get to the truth of the matter, Alvarez has scrutinized all known wartime documents and photos about this topic; he has analyzed a huge amount of witness statements as published in the literature and as presented in more than 30 trials held over the decades in Germany, Poland and Israel; and he has examined the claims made in the pertinent mainstream literature. The result of his research is mind-boggling. Note: This book and Mattogno’s book on Chelmno were edited in parallel to make sure they are consistent and not repetitive. 2nd ed., 412 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#26)

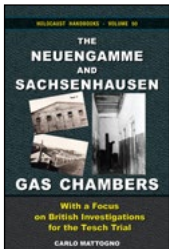


**The Einsatzgruppen in the Occupied Eastern Territories: Genesis, Missions and Actions.** By C. Mattogno. Before invading the Soviet Union, the German authorities set up special units meant to secure the area behind the German front. Orthodox historians claim that these units called *Einsatzgruppen* primarily engaged in rounding up and mass-murdering Jews. This study sheds a critical light onto this topic by reviewing all the pertinent sources as well as material traces. It reveals on the one hand that original war-time documents do not fully support the orthodox genocidal narrative, and on the other that most post-“liberation” sources such as testimonies and forensic reports are steeped in Soviet atrocity propaganda and are thus utterly unreliable. In addition, material traces of the claimed massacres are rare due to an attitude of collusion by governments and Jewish lobby groups. 2nd ed., 2 vols., 864 pp., b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#39)

**Concentration Camp Majdanek. A Historical and Technical Study.** By Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf. At war’s end, the Soviets claimed that up to two million Jews were murdered at the Majdanek Camp in seven gas chambers. Over the decades, however, the Majdanek Museum reduced the death toll three times to currently 78,000, and admitted that there were “only” two gas chambers. By exhaustively researching primary sources, the authors expertly dissect and repudiate the myth of homicidal gas chambers at that camp. They also critically investigated the legend of mass executions of Jews in tank trenches and prove it groundless. Again they have produced a standard work of methodical investigation which authentic historiography cannot ignore. 3rd ed., 358 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#5)



**The Neuengamme and Sachsenhausen Gas Chambers.** By Carlo Mattogno and Friedrich Jansson. The Neuengamme Camp near Hamburg, and the Sachsenhausen Camp north of Berlin allegedly had homicidal gas chambers for the mass gassing of inmates. The evaluation of many postwar interrogation protocols on this topic exposes inconsistencies, discrepancies and contradictions. British interrogating techniques are revealed as manipulative, threatening and mendacious. Finally, technical absurdities of gas-chambers and mass-gassing claims unmask these tales as a mere regurgitation of hearsay stories from other



camp, among them foremost Auschwitz. 2nd ed., 238 pages, b&w ill., bibliography, index. (#50)

**Concentration Camp Stutthof and Its Function in National Socialist Jewish Policy.** By Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf. Orthodox historians claim that the Stutthof Camp near Danzig, East Prussia, served as a “makeshift” extermination camp in 1944, where inmates were killed in a gas chamber. Based mainly on archival resources, this study thoroughly debunks this view and shows that Stutthof was in fact a center for the organization of German forced labor toward the end of World War II. The claimed gas chamber was a mere delousing facility. 4th ed., 170 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#4)

### SECTION THREE: Auschwitz Studies

**The Making of the Auschwitz Myth: Auschwitz in British Intercepts, Polish Underground Reports and Postwar Testimonies (1941-1947).** By Carlo Mattogno. Using messages sent by the Polish underground to London, SS radio messages sent to and from Auschwitz that were intercepted and decrypted by the British, and a plethora of witness statements made during the war and in the immediate postwar period, the author shows how exactly the myth of mass murder in Auschwitz gas chambers was created, and how it was turned subsequently into “history” by intellectually corrupt scholars who cherry-picked claims that fit into their agenda and ignored or actively covered up literally thousands of lies of “witnesses” to make their narrative look credible. 2nd edition, 514 pp., b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#41)

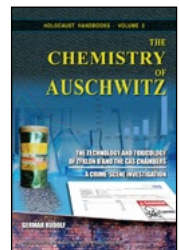
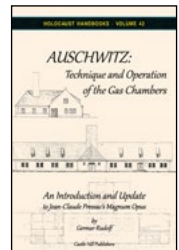
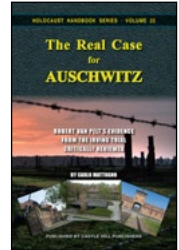
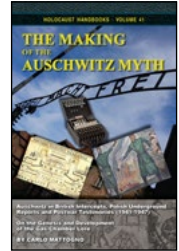
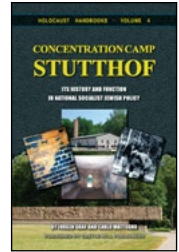
**The Real Case of Auschwitz: Robert van Pelt's Evidence from the Irving Trial Critically Reviewed.** By Carlo Mattogno. Prof. Robert van Pelt, a mainstream expert on Auschwitz, became famous when appearing as an expert during the London libel trial of David Irving against Deborah Lipstadt. From it resulted a book titled *The Case for Auschwitz*, in which van Pelt laid out his case for the existence of homicidal gas chambers at that camp. This book is a scholarly response to Prof. van Pelt—and Jean-Claude Pressac, upon whose books van Pelt's study is largely based. Mattogno lists all the evidence van Pelt adduces, and shows one by one that van Pelt misrepresented and misinterpreted every single one of them.

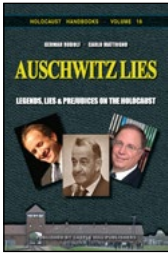
This is a book of prime political and scholarly importance to those looking for the truth about Auschwitz. 3rd ed., 692 pages, b&w illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. (#22)

**Auschwitz: Plain Facts: A Response to Jean-Claude Pressac.** Edited by Germar Rudolf, with contributions by Serge Thion, Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno. French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac tried to refute revisionist findings with the “technical” method. For this he was praised by the mainstream, and they proclaimed victory over the “revisionists.” In his book, Pressac's works and claims are shown to be unscientific in nature, as he never substantiates what he claims, and historically false, because he systematically misrepresents, misinterprets and misunderstands German wartime documents. 2nd ed., 226 pages, b&w illustrations, glossary bibliography, index. (#14)

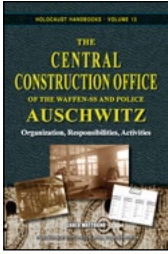
**Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers: An Introduction and Update.** By Germar Rudolf. Pressac's 1989 oversize book of the same title was a trail blazer. Its many document reprints are valuable, but Pressac's annotations are now outdated. This book summarizes the most pertinent research results on Auschwitz gained during the past 30 years. With many references to Pressac's epic tome, it serves as an update and correction to it, whether you own an original hard copy of it, read it online, borrow it from a library, purchase a reprint, or are just interested in such a summary in general. 144 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography. (#42)

**The Chemistry of Auschwitz: The Technology and Toxicology of Zyklon B and the Gas Chambers – A Crime-Scene Investigation.** By Germar Rudolf. This study documents forensic research on Auschwitz, where material traces reign supreme. Most of the claimed crime scenes – the claimed homicidal gas chambers – are still accessible to forensic examination to some degree. This book addresses questions such as: How were these gas chambers configured? How did they operate? In addition, the infamous Zyklon B is examined in detail. What exactly was it? How did it kill? Did it leave traces in masonry that can be found still today? Indeed, it should have, the author concludes, but several sets of analyses show no trace of it. The author also discusses in depth similar forensic research conducted by other scholars. 4th ed., 454 pages, more than 120 color and over 100 b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#2)

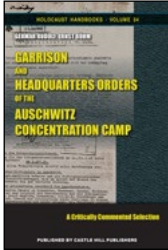




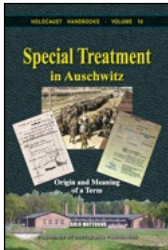
**Auschwitz Lies: Legends, Lies and Prejudices on the Holocaust.** By Carlo Mattogno and Germar Rudolf. The fallacious research and alleged “refutation” of revisionist scholars by French biochemist G. Wellers (attacking Leuchter’s famous report, #16), Polish chemist Dr. J. Markiewicz and U.S. chemist Dr. Richard Green (taking on Rudolf’s chemical research), Dr. John Zimmerman (tackling Mattogno on cremation issues), Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman (trying to prove it all), as well as researchers Keren, McCarthy and Mazal (who turned cracks into architectural features), are exposed for what they are: blatant and easily exposed political lies created to ostracize dissident historians. 4th ed., 420 pages, b&w illustrations, index. (#18)



**Auschwitz: The Central Construction Office.** By Carlo Mattogno. When Russian authorities granted access to their archives in the early 1990s, the files of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office, stored in Moscow, attracted the attention of scholars researching the history of this camp. This important office was responsible for the planning and construction of the Auschwitz camp complex, including the crematories which are said to have contained the “gas chambers.” This study sheds light into this hitherto hidden aspect of this camp’s history, but also provides a deep understanding of the organization, tasks, and procedures of this office. 2nd ed., 188 pages, b&w illustrations, glossary, index. (#13)



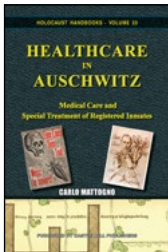
**Garrison and Headquarters Orders of the Auschwitz Camp.** By Germar Rudolf and Ernst Böhm. A large number of the orders issued by the various commanders of the Auschwitz Camp have been preserved. They reveal the true nature of the camp with all its daily events. There is not a trace in them pointing at anything sinister going on. Quite to the contrary, many orders are in insurmountable contradiction to claims that prisoners were mass murdered, such as the children of SS men playing with inmates, SS men taking friends for a sight-seeing tour through the camp, or having a romantic stroll with their lovers around the camp grounds. This is a selection of the most pertinent of these orders together with comments putting them into their proper historical context. 185 pages, b&w ill., bibl., index (#34)



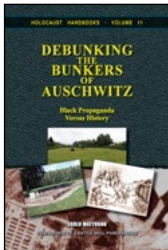
**Special Treatment in Auschwitz: Origin and Meaning of a Term.** By Carlo Mattogno. When appearing in German wartime documents, terms like

“special treatment,” “special action,” and others have been interpreted as code words for mass murder. But that is not always true. This study focuses on documents about Auschwitz, showing that, while “special” had many different meanings, not a single one meant “execution.” Hence the practice of deciphering an alleged “code language” by assigning homicidal meaning to harmless documents – a key component of mainstream historiography – is untenable. 2nd ed., 166 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#10)

**Healthcare at Auschwitz.** By Carlo Mattogno. In extension of the above study on *Special Treatment in Auschwitz*, this study proves the extent to which the German authorities at Auschwitz tried to provide health care for the inmates. Part 1 of this book analyzes the inmates’ living conditions and the various sanitary and medical measures implemented. It documents the vast construction efforts to build a huge inmate hospital inside the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp. Part 2 explores what happened to registered inmates who were “selected” or subject to “special treatment” while disabled or sick. This study shows that a lot was tried to cure these inmates, especially under the aegis of Garrison Physician Dr. Wirths. Part 3 is dedicated to this very Dr. Wirths. The reality of this caring philanthropist refutes the current stereotype of SS officers. 398 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#33)



**Debunking the Bunkers of Auschwitz: Black Propaganda vs. History.** By Carlo Mattogno. The “bunkers” at Auschwitz-Birkenau, two former farmhouses just outside the camp’s perimeter, are claimed to have been the first homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz specifically equipped for this purpose. They supposedly went into operation during the first half of 1942, with thousands of Jews sent straight from deportation trains to these “gas chambers.” However, documents clearly show that all inmates sent to Auschwitz during that time were properly admitted to the camp. No mass murder on arrival can have happened. With the help of other wartime files as well as air photos taken by Allied reconnaissance aircraft in 1944, this study shows that these homicidal “bunkers” never existed, how the rumors about them evolved as black propaganda created by resistance groups in the camp, and how this propaganda was transformed into a false reality by “historians.” 2nd ed.,





292 pages, b&w ill., bibliography, index. (#11)

**Auschwitz: The First Gassing. Rumor and Reality.** By Carlo Mattogno. The first gassing in Auschwitz is claimed to have occurred on Sept. 3, 1941 in a basement. The accounts reporting it are the archetypes for all later gassing accounts. This study analyzes all available sources about this alleged event. It shows that these sources contradict each other about the event's location, date, the kind of victims and their number, and many more aspects, which makes it impossible to extract a consistent story. Original wartime documents inflict a final blow to this legend and prove without a shadow of a doubt that this legendary event never happened. 4th ed., 262 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#20)

**Auschwitz: Crematorium I and the Alleged Homicidal Gassings.** By Carlo Mattogno. The morgue of Crematorium I in Auschwitz is said to be the first homicidal gas chamber there. This study analyzes witness statements and hundreds of wartime documents to accurately write a history of that building. Where witnesses speak of gassings, they are either very vague or, if specific, contradict one another and are refuted by documented and material facts. The author also exposes the fraudulent attempts of mainstream historians to convert the witnesses' black propaganda into "truth" by means of selective quotes, omissions, and distortions. Mattogno proves that this building's morgue was never a homicidal gas chamber, nor could it have worked as such. 2nd ed., 152 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#21)

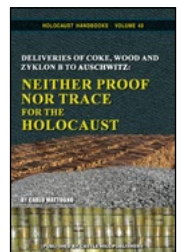
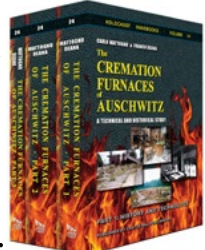
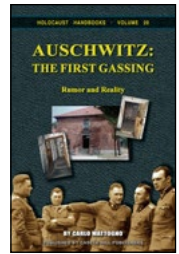
**Auschwitz: Open-Air Incinerations.** By Carlo Mattogno. In 1944, 400,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz and allegedly murdered in gas chambers. The camp crematoria were unable to cope with so many corpses. Therefore, every single day thousands of corpses are claimed to have been incinerated on huge pyres lit in trenches. The sky was filled with thick smoke, if we believe witnesses. This book examines many testimonies regarding these incinerations and establishes whether these claims were even possible. Using air photos, physical evidence and wartime documents, the author shows that these claims are fiction. A new Appendix contains 3 papers on groundwater levels and cattle mass burnings. 2nd ed., 202 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#17)

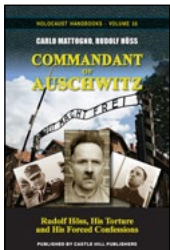
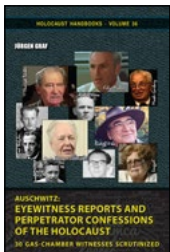
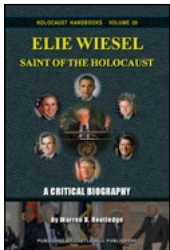
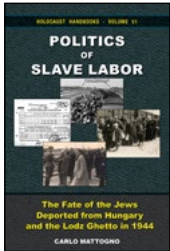
**The Cremation Furnaces of Auschwitz.** By Carlo Mattogno & Franco Deana. An exhaustive study of the early history and technology of cremation in general and of the cremation furnaces of Auschwitz in particular. On a vast base of technical literature, extant wartime documents and material traces, the authors establish the nature and capacity of these cremation furnaces, showing that these devices were inferior makeshift versions, and that their capacity was lower than normal. The Auschwitz crematoria were not facilities of mass destruction, but installations barely managing to handle the victims among the inmates who died of various epidemics. 2nd ed., 3 vols., 1201 pages, b&w and color illustrations (vols 2 & 3), bibliography, index, glossary. (#24)

**Curated Lies: The Auschwitz Museum's Misrepresentations, Distortions and Deceptions.** By Carlo Mattogno. Revisionist research results have put the Polish Auschwitz Museum under enormous pressure to answer this challenge. They've answered. This book analyzes their answer. It first exposes the many tricks and lies used by the museum to bamboozle millions of visitors every year regarding its most valued asset, the "gas chamber" in the Main Camp. Next, it reveals how the museum's historians mislead and lie through their teeth about documents in their archives. A long string of completely innocuous documents is mistranslated and misrepresented to make it look like they prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers. 2nd ed., 259 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#38)

**Deliveries of Coke, Wood and Zyklon B to Auschwitz: Neither Proof Nor Trace for the Holocaust.** By Carlo Mattogno. Researchers from the Auschwitz Museum tried to prove the reality of mass extermination by pointing to documents about deliveries of wood and coke as well as Zyklon B to the Auschwitz Camp. If put into the actual historical and technical context, however, as is done by this study, these documents prove the exact opposite of what those orthodox researchers claim. This study exposes the mendacious tricks with which these museum officials once more deceive the trusting public. 184 pages, b&w illust., bibl., index. (#40)

**Mis-Chronicling Auschwitz. Danuta Czech's Flawed Methods, Lies and Deceptions in Her "Auschwitz Chronicle".** By Carlo Mattogno. The *Auschwitz Chronicle* is a reference book for the history of the Auschwitz





Camp. It was published in 1990 by Danuta Czech, one of the Auschwitz Museum's most prolific and impactful historians. Analyzing this almost 1,000-page long tome one entry at a time, Mattogno has compiled a long list of misrepresentations, outright lies and deceptions contained in it. They all aim at creating the otherwise unsubstantiated claim that homicidal gas chambers and lethal injections were used at Auschwitz for mass-murdering inmates. This literary mega-fraud needs to be retired from the ranks of Auschwitz sources. 324 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#47)

**The Real Auschwitz Chronicle.** By Carlo Mattogno. Nagging is easy. We actually did a better job! That which is missing in Czech's *Chronicle* is included here: day after day of the camp's history, documents are presented showing that it could not have been an extermination camp: tens of thousands of sick and injured inmates were cared for medically with huge efforts, and the camp authorities tried hard to improve the initially catastrophic hygienic conditions. Part Two contains data on transports, camp occupancy and mortality figures. For the first time, we find out what this camp's real death toll was. 2 vols., 906 pp., b&w illustrations (Vol. 2), bibliography, index. (#48)

**Politics of Slave Labor: The Fate of the Jews Deported from Hungary and the Lodz Ghetto in 1944.** By Carlo Mattogno. The deportation of the Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz in May-July 1944 is said to have been the pinnacle of this camp's extermination frenzy, topped off in August of that year by the extermination of Jews deported from the Lodz Ghetto. This book gathers and explains all the evidence available on both events. In painstaking research, the author proves almost on a person-by-person level what the fate was of many of the Jews deported from Hungary or the Lodz Ghetto. He demonstrates that these Jews were deported to serve as slave laborers in the Third Reich's collapsing war economy. There is no trace of any extermination of any of these Jews. 338 pp., b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#51)

## SECTION FOUR: Witness Critique

**Elie Wiesel, Saint of the Holocaust: A Critical Biography.** By Warren B. Rudledge. This book analyzes several of Wiesel's texts, foremost his

camp autobiography *Night*. The author proves that much of what Wiesel claims can never have happened. It shows how Zionist control has allowed Wiesel and his fellow extremists to force leaders of many nations, the U.N. and even popes to genuflect before Wiesel as symbolic acts of subordination to World Jewry, while at the same time forcing school children to submit to Holocaust brainwashing. This study also shows how parallel to this abuse of power, critical reactions to it also increased: Holocaust revisionism. While Catholics jumped on the Holocaust band wagon, the number of Jews rejecting certain aspect of the Holocaust narrative and its abuse grew as well. This first unauthorized biography of Wiesel exposes both his personal deceptions and the whole myth of "the six million." 3rd ed., 458 pages, b&w illustration, bibliography, index. (#30)

**Auschwitz: Eyewitness Reports and Perpetrator Confessions.** By Jürgen Graf. The traditional narrative of what transpired at the infamous Auschwitz camp during WWII rests almost exclusively on witness testimony from former inmates as well as erstwhile camp officials. This study critically scrutinizes the 30 most important of these witness statements by checking them for internal coherence, and by comparing them with one another as well as with other evidence such as wartime documents, air photos, forensic research results, and material traces. The result is devastating for the traditional narrative. 372 pages, b&w illust., bibl., index. (#36)

**Commandant of Auschwitz: Rudolf Höss, His Torture and His Forced Confessions.** By Carlo Mattogno & Rudolf Höss. From 1940 to 1943, Rudolf Höss was the commandant of the infamous Auschwitz Camp. After the war, he was captured by the British. In the following 13 months until his execution, he made 85 depositions of various kinds in which he confessed his involvement in the "Holocaust." This study first reveals how the British tortured him to extract various "confessions." Next, all of Höss's depositions are analyzed by checking his claims for internal consistency and comparing them with established historical facts. The results are eye-opening... 2nd ed., 411 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#35)

**An Auschwitz Doctor's Eyewitness Account: The Tall Tales of Dr. Mengele's Assistant Analyzed.** By Miklos Nyiszli & Carlo Mattogno.

Nyiszli, a Hungarian physician, ended up at Auschwitz in 1944 as Dr. Mengele's assistant. After the war he wrote a book and several other writings describing what he claimed to have experienced. To this day some traditional historians take his accounts seriously, while others reject them as grotesque lies and exaggerations. This study presents and analyzes Nyiszli's writings and skillfully separates truth from fabulous fabrication. 2nd ed., 484 pages, b&w illustrations, bibliography, index. (#37)

**Rudolf Reder versus Kurt Gerstein: Two False Testimonies on the Belzec Camp Analyzed.** By Carlo Mattogno. Only two witnesses have ever testified substantially about the alleged Belzec Extermination Camp: The survivor Rudolf Reder and the SS officer Kurt Gerstein. Gerstein's testimonies have been a hotspot of revisionist critique for decades. It is now discredited even among orthodox historians. They use Reder's testimony to fill the void, yet his testimonies are just as absurd. This study thoroughly scrutinizes Reder's various statements, critically revisits Gerstein's various depositions, and then compares these two testimonies which are at once similar in some respects, but incompatible in others. 216 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#43)

**Sonderkommando Auschwitz I: Nine Eyewitness Testimonies Analyzed.** By Carlo Mattogno. The 1979 book *Auschwitz Inferno* by alleged former Auschwitz "Sonderkommando" member Filip Müller has a great influence on the perception of Auschwitz by the public and by historians. This book critically analyzes Müller's various post-war statements, which are full of exaggerations, falsehoods and plagiarized text passages. Also scrutinized are the testimonies of eight other claimed former *Sonderkommando* members: D. Paisikovic, S. Jankowski, H. Mandelbaum, L. Nagraba, J. Rosenblum, A. Pilo, D. Fliamenbaum and S. Karolinskij. 304 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#44)

**Sonderkommando Auschwitz II: The False Testimonies by Henryk Tauber and Szlama Dragon.** By Carlo Mattogno. Auschwitz survivor and former member of the so-called "Sonderkommando" Henryk Tauber is one of the most important witnesses about the alleged gas chambers inside the crematoria at Auschwitz, because right at the war's end, he made several extremely detailed depositions about it. The same is true for Szlama Dragon, only he claims to have worked at the so-called "bunkers" of Birkenau, two makeshift gas chambers just outside the camp perimeter. This study thoroughly scrutinizes these two key testimonies. 254 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#45)

**Sonderkommando Auschwitz III: They Wept Crocodile Tears. A Critical Analysis of Late Witness Testimonies.** By Carlo Mattogno. This book focuses on the critical analysis of witness testimonies on the alleged Auschwitz gas chambers recorded or published in the 1990s and early 2000s, such as J. Sackar, A. Dragon, J. Gabai, S. Chasan, L. Cohen and S. Venezia, among others. 232 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#46)

**Auschwitz Engineers in Moscow: The Soviet Postwar Interrogations of the Auschwitz Cremation-Furnace Engineers.** By Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf. After the war, the Soviets arrested four leading engineers of the Topf Company. Among other things, they had planned and supervised the construction of the Auschwitz cremation furnaces and the ventilation systems of the rooms said to have served as homicidal gas chambers. Between 1946 and 1948, Soviet officials conducted numerous interrogations with them. This work analyzes them by putting them into the context of the vast documentation on these and related facilities. The appendix contains all translated interrogation protocols. 254 pages, b&w illust., bibliography, index. (#52)



For current prices and availability, and to learn more, go to [www.HolocaustHandbooks.com](http://www.HolocaustHandbooks.com) – for example by simply scanning the QR code on the right.

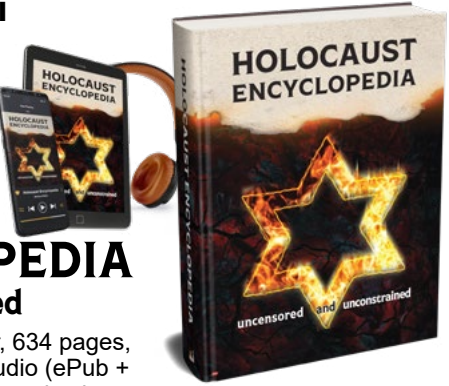




**Three decades of unflagging archival and forensic research by the world's most knowledgeable, courageous and prodigious Holocaust scholars have finally coalesced into a reference book that makes all this knowledge readily accessible to everyone:**

## **HOLOCAUST ENCYCLOPEDIA** **uncensored and unconstrained**

Available as paperback or hardcover, b&w or color, 634 pages, 8.5"×11"; as eBook (ePub or PDF) and eBook + audio (ePub + mp3); more than 350 illustrations in 579 entries; introduction, bibliography, index. **Online at [www.NukeBook.org](http://www.NukeBook.org)**



We all know the basics of “The Holocaust.” But what about the details? Websites and printed encyclopedias can help us there. Take the 4-volume encyclopedia by Israel’s Yad Vashem Center: *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990). For every significant crime scene, it presents a condensed narrative of Israel’s finest Holocaust scholars. However, it contains not one entry about witnesses and their stories, even though they are the foundation of our knowledge. When a murder is committed, the murder weapon and the crime’s traces are of crucial importance. Yet Yad Vashem’s encyclopedia has no entries explaining scientific findings on these matters – not one.

This is where the present encyclopedia steps in. It not only summarizes and explains the many pieces that make up the larger Holocaust picture. It also reveals the evidence that confirms or contradicts certain notions. Nearly 300 entries present the essence of important witness accounts, and they are subjected to source criticism. This enables us to decide which witness claims are credible.

For all major crime scenes, the sometimes-conflicting claims are presented. We learn how our knowledge has changed over time, and what evidence shores up the currently valid

narrative of places such as Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Dachau and Bergen-Belsen and many more.

Other entries discuss tools and mechanisms allegedly used for the mass murders, and how the crimes’ traces were erased, if at all. A few entries discuss toxicological issues surrounding the various lethal gases claimed to have been used.

This encyclopedia has multiple entries on some common claims about aspects of the Holocaust, including a list of “Who said it?” This way we can quickly find proof for these claims.

Finally, several entries address factors that have influenced the creation of the Holocaust narrative, and how we perceive it today. This includes entries on psychological warfare and wartime propaganda; on conditions prevailing during investigations and trials of alleged Holocaust perpetrators; on censorship against historical dissidents; on the religious dimension of the Holocaust narrative; and on motives of all sides involved in creating and spreading their diverse Holocaust narratives.

In this important volume, now with 579 entries, you will discover many astounding aspects of the Holocaust narrative that you did not even know exist.

# BOOKS ON HISTORY, THE HOLOCAUST AND FREE SPEECH

On the next six pages, we list some of the books available from ARMREG that are not part of the series *Holocaust Handbooks*. For our current range of products, visit our web store at [www.ARMREG.co.uk](http://www.ARMREG.co.uk).

**Inconvenient History, Annual Volumes 1 through 15.** For more than 15 years now, the revisionist online journal *Inconvenient History* has been the main publishing platform for authors of the revisionist school of historical thought. *Inconvenient History* seeks to maintain the true spirit of the historical revisionist movement; a movement that was established primarily to foster peace through an objective understanding of the causes of modern warfare. After a long absence from the print-book market, we are finally putting all volumes back in print. Various page ranges, pb, 6"×9", illustrated.

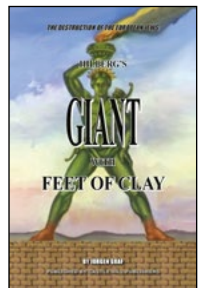
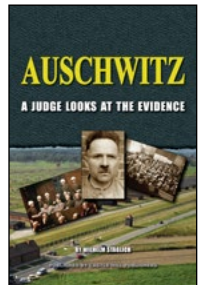
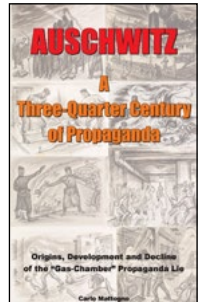
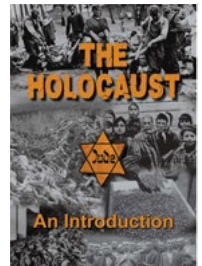
**The Holocaust: An Introduction.** By Thomas Dalton. The Holocaust was perhaps the greatest crime of the 20th Century. Six million Jews, we are told, died by gassing, shooting, and deprivation. But: Where did the six-million figure come from? How, exactly, did the gas chambers work? Why do we have so little physical evidence from major death camps? Why haven't we found even a fraction of the six million bodies, or their ashes? Why has there been so much media suppression and governmental censorship on this topic? In a sense, the Holocaust is the greatest murder mystery in history. It is a topic of greatest importance for the present day. Let's explore the evidence, and see where it leads. 128 pp. pb, 6"×9", ill., bibl., index.

**Auschwitz: A Three-Quarter Century of Propaganda: Origins, Development and Decline of the "Gas Chamber" Propaganda Lie.** By Carlo Mattogno. Wild rumors were circulating about Auschwitz during WWII: Germans testing war gases; mass murder in electrocution chambers, with gas showers or pneumatic hammers; living people sent on conveyor belts into furnaces; grease and soap made of the victims. Nothing of it was true. When the Soviets captured Auschwitz in early 1945, they reported that 4 million inmates were killed on electrocution conveyor belts discharging their load directly into furnaces. That wasn't true either. After the war, "witnesses" and "experts" added more claims: mass

murder with gas bombs, gas chambers made of canvas; crematoria burning 400 million victims... Again, none of it was true. This book gives an overview of the many rumors and lies about Auschwitz today rejected as untrue, and exposes the ridiculous methods that turned some claims into "history," although they are just as untrue. 125 pp. pb, 6"×9", ill., bibl., index, b&w ill.

**Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence.** By Wilhelm Stäglich. Auschwitz is the epicenter of the Holocaust, where more people are said to have been murdered than anywhere else. The most important evidence for this claim was presented during two trials: the International Military Tribunal of 1945/46, and the German Auschwitz Trial of 1963-1965. In this book, Wilhelm Stäglich, a former German judge, reveals the incredibly scandalous way in which Allied victors and German courts bent and broke the law in order to come to politically foregone conclusions. Stäglich also exposes the superficial way in which historians are dealing with the many incongruities and discrepancies of the historical record. 3rd edition 2015, 422 pp. pb, 6"×9", b&w ill.

**Hilberg's Giant with Feet of Clay.** By Jürgen Graf. Raul Hilberg's major work *The Destruction of the European Jews* is generally considered the standard work on the Holocaust. The critical reader might ask: what evidence does Hilberg provide to back his thesis that there was a German plan to exterminate Jews, to be carried out in the legendary gas chambers? And what evidence supports his estimate of 5.1 million Jewish victims? Jürgen Graf applies the methods of critical analysis to Hilberg's evidence, and examines the results in the light of revisionist historiography. The results of Graf's critical analysis are devastating for Hilberg. Graf's analysis is the first comprehensive and systematic examination of the leading spokes-





person for the orthodox version of the Jewish fate during the Third Reich. 3rd edition 2022, 182 pp. pb, 6"×9", b&w ill.

**Exactitude: Festschrift for Prof. Dr. Robert Faurisson.** By R.H. Countess, C. Lindtner, G. Rudolf (eds.) Faurisson probably deserves the title of the most-courageous intellectual of the 20th and the early 21st Century. With bravery and steadfastness, he challenged the dark forces of historical and political fraud with his unrelenting exposure of their lies and hoaxes surrounding the orthodox Holocaust narrative. This book describes and celebrates the man and his work dedicated to accuracy and marked by in-submission. 146 pp. pb, 6"×9", b&w ill.

**Auschwitz – Forensically Examined.** By Cyrus Cox. Modern forensic crime-scene investigations can reveal a lot about the Holocaust. There are many big tomes about this. But if you want it all in a nutshell, read this booklet. It condenses the most-important findings of Auschwitz forensics into a quick and easy read. In the first section, the forensic investigations conducted so far are reviewed. In the second section, the most-important results of these studies are summarized. The main arguments focus on two topics. The first centers around the poison allegedly used at Auschwitz for mass murder: Zyklon B. Did it leave any traces in masonry where it was used? Can it be detected to this day? The second topic deals with mass cremations. Did the crematoria of Auschwitz have the claimed huge capacity? Do air photos taken during the war confirm witness statements on huge smoking pyres? This book gives the answers, together with many references to source material and further reading. The third section reports on how the establishment has reacted to these research results. 2nd ed., 128 pp. pb., b&w ill., bibl., index.

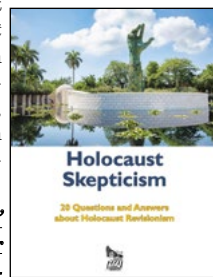
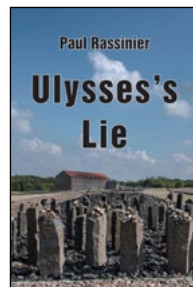
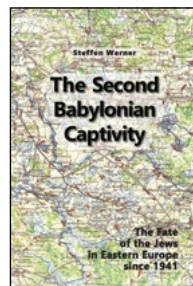
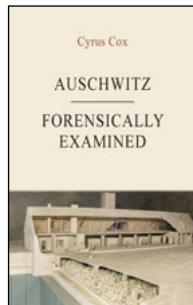
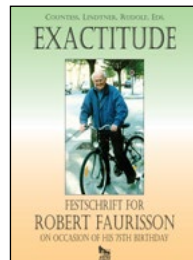
**Ulysses's Lie.** By Paul Rassiner. Holocaust revisionism began with this book: Frenchman Rassiner, a pacifist and socialist, was sent first to Buchenwald Camp in 1944, then to Dora-Mittelbau. Here he reports from his own experience how the prisoners turned each other's imprisonment into hell without being forced to do so. In the second part, Rassiner analyzes the

books of former fellow prisoners, and shows how they lied and distorted in order to hide their complicity. First complete English edition, including Rassiner's prologue, Albert Paraz's preface, and press reviews. 270 pp. 6"×9" pb, bibl, index.

**The Second Babylonian Captivity: The Fate of the Jews in Eastern Europe since 1941.** By Steffen Werner. "But if they were not murdered, where did the six million deported Jews end up?" This objection demands a well-founded response. While researching an entirely different topic, Werner stumbled upon peculiar demographic data of Belorussia. Years of research subsequently revealed more evidence which eventually allowed him to propose: The Third Reich did indeed deport many of the Jews of Europe to Eastern Europe in order to settle them there "in the swamp." This book shows what really happened to the Jews deported to the East by the National Socialists, how they have fared since. It provides context for hitherto-obscure historical events and obviates extreme claims such as genocide and gas chambers. With a preface by Germar Rudolf. 190 pp. pb, 6"×9", b&w ill., bibl., index

**Holocaust Skepticism: 20 Questions and Answers about Holocaust Revisionism.** By Germar Rudolf. This 15-page brochure introduces the novice to the concept of Holocaust revisionism, and answers 20 tough questions, among them: What does Holocaust revisionism claim? Why should I take Holocaust revisionism more seriously than the claim that the earth is flat? How about the testimonies by survivors and confessions by perpetrators? What about the pictures of corpse piles in the camps? Why does it matter how many Jews were killed by the Nazis, since even 1,000 would have been too many? ... Glossy full-color brochure. PDF file free of charge available at [www.armreg.co.uk](http://www.armreg.co.uk). This item is *not* copyright-protected. Hence, you can do with it whatever you want: download, post, email, print, multiply, hand out, sell, drop it accidentally in a bookstore... 19 pp., 8.5"×11", full-color throughout.

**Bungled: "Denying the Holocaust" How Deborah Lipstadt Botched Her Attempt to Demonstrate the Grow-**



**ing Assault on Truth and Memory.** By Germar Rudolf. With her book *Denying the Holocaust*, Deborah Lipstadt tried to show the flawed methods and extremist motives of “Holocaust deniers.” This book demonstrates that Dr. Lipstadt clearly has neither understood the principles of science and scholarship, nor has she any clue about the historical topics she is writing about. She misquotes, mistranslates, misrepresents, misinterprets, and makes a plethora of wild claims without backing them up with anything. Rather than dealing thoroughly with factual arguments, Lipstadt’s book is full of *ad hominem* attacks on her opponents. It is an exercise in anti-intellectual pseudo-scientific arguments, an exhibition of ideological radicalism that rejects anything which contradicts its preset conclusions. **F for FAIL.** 2nd ed., 224 pp. pb, 6”x9”, bibl., index, b&w ill.

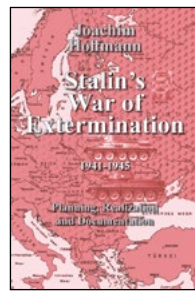
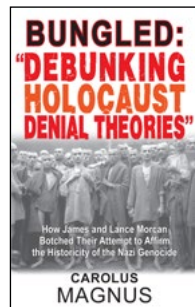
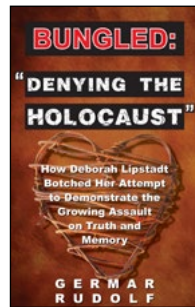
**Bungled: “Denying History”. How M. Shermer and A. Grobman Botched Their Attempt to Refute Those Who Say the Holocaust Never Happened.** By Carolus Magnus (C. Mattogno). *Skeptic Magazine* editor Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman from the Simon Wiesenthal Center wrote a book claiming to be “a thorough and thoughtful answer to all the claims of the Holocaust deniers.” As this book shows, however, Shermer and Grobman completely ignored almost all the “claims” made in the more than 10,000 pages of more-recent cutting-edge revisionist archival and forensic research. Furthermore, they piled up a heap of falsifications, contortions, omissions and fallacious interpretations of the evidence. Finally, what the authors claim to have demolished is not revisionism but a ridiculous parody of it. They ignored the known unreliability of their cherry-picked selection of evidence, utilized unverified and incestuous sources, and obscured the massive body of research and all the evidence that dooms their project to failure. 162 pp. pb, 6”x9”, bibl., index, b&w ill.

**Bungled: “Debunking Holocaust Denial Theories”. How James and Lance Morcan Botched Their Attempt to Affirm the Historicity of the Nazi Genocide.** By Carolus Magnus. The novelists and movie-makers James and

Lance Morcan have produced a book “to end [Holocaust] denial once and for all” by disproving “the various arguments Holocaust deniers use to try to discredit wartime records.” It’s a lie. First, the Morcans completely ignored the vast amount of recent scholarly studies published by revisionists; they don’t even mention them. Instead, they engage in shadowboxing, creating some imaginary, bogus “revisionist” scarecrow which they then tear to pieces. In addition, their knowledge even of their own side’s source material is dismal, and the way they back up their misleading or false claims is pitifully inadequate. 144 pp. pb, 6”x9”, bibl., index, b&w ill.

**Stalin’s War of Extermination 1941-1945.** By Joachim Hoffmann. A German government historian documents Stalin’s murderous war against the German army and the German people. Based on the author’s lifelong study of German and Russian military records, this book reveals the Red Army’s grisly record of atrocities against soldiers and civilians, as ordered by Stalin. Since the 1920s, Stalin planned to invade Western Europe to initiate the “World Revolution.” He prepared an attack which was unparalleled in history. The Germans noticed Stalin’s aggressive intentions, but they underestimated the strength of the Red Army. What unfolded was the cruelest war in history. This book shows how Stalin and his Bolshevik henchman used unimaginable violence and atrocities to break any resistance in the Red Army and to force their unwilling soldiers to fight against the Germans. The book explains how Soviet propagandists incited their soldiers to unlimited hatred against everything German, and he gives the reader a short but extremely unpleasant glimpse into what happened when these Soviet soldiers finally reached German soil in 1945: A gigantic wave of looting, arson, rape, torture, and mass murder... **428 pp. pb, 6”x9”, bibl., index, b&w ill.**

**Who Started World War II: Truth for a War-Torn World.** By Udo Walendy. For seven decades, mainstream historians have insisted that Germany was the main, if not the sole culprit for unleashing World War II in Europe. In the present book this myth is refuted. There is available to the



public today a great number of documents on the foreign policies of the Great Powers before September 1939 as well as a wealth of literature in the form of memoirs of the persons directly involved in the decisions that led to the outbreak of World War II. Together, they made possible Walendy's present mosaic-like reconstruction of the events before the outbreak of the war in 1939. This book has been published only after an intensive study of sources, taking the greatest care to minimize speculation and inference. The present edition has been translated completely anew from the German original and has been slightly revised. 500 pp. pb, 6"×9", index, bibl., b&w ill.

**The Day Amazon Murdered Free Speech.** By Germar Rudolf. Amazon is the world's biggest book retailer. They dominate the U.S. and several foreign markets. Pursuant to the 1998 declaration of Amazon's founder Jeff Bezos to offer "the good, the bad and the ugly," customers once could buy every title that was in print and was legal to sell. However, in early 2017, a series of anonymous bomb threats against Jewish community centers occurred in the U.S., fueling a campaign by Jewish groups to coax Amazon into banning revisionist writings. On March 6, 2017, Amazon caved in and banned more than 100 books with dissenting viewpoints on the Holocaust. In April 2017, an Israeli Jew was arrested for having placed the fake bomb threats. But Amazon kept its new censorship policy: They next culled any literature critical of Jews or Judaism; then they enforced these bans at all its subsidiaries, such as AbeBooks and The Book Depository; then they banned books other pressure groups don't like; finally, they bullied Ingram, who has a book-distribution monopoly in the US, to enforce the same rules by banning from the entire world-wide book market all books Amazon doesn't like... 3rd ed., 158 pp. pb, 6"×9", bibl., color illustrations throughout.

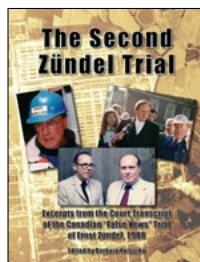
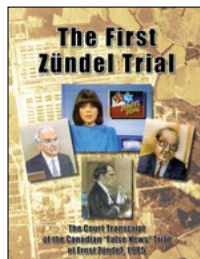
**The First Zündel Trial: The Transcript.** In the early 1980s, Ernst Zündel, a German living in Toronto, was indicted for allegedly spreading "false news" by selling copies of Harwood's brochure *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which challenged the accuracy of the orthodox Holocaust narrative. When

the case went to court in 1985, so-called Holocaust experts and "eyewitnesses" of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz were cross-examined for the first time in history by a competent and skeptical legal team. The results were absolutely devastating for the Holocaust orthodoxy. For decades, these mind-boggling trial transcripts were hidden from public view. Now, for the first time, they have been published in print in this new book – unabridged and unedited. 820 pp. pb, 8.5"×11"

**The Holocaust on Trial: The Second Trial against Ernst Zündel 1988.** By Ernst Zündel. In 1988, the appeal trial of Ernst Zündel for "knowingly spreading false news about the Holocaust" took place in Toronto. This book is introduced by a brief autobiographic summary of Zündel's early life, and an overview of the evidence introduced during the First Zündel Trial. This is followed by a detailed summary of the testimonies of all the witnesses who testified during the Second Zündel Trial. This was the most-comprehensive and -competent argument ever fought in a court of law over the Holocaust. The arguments presented have fueled revisionism like no other event before, in particular Fred Leuchter's expert report on the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Majdanek, and the testimony of British historian David Irving. Critically annotated edition with a foreword by Germar Rudolf. 410 pp. pb, 6"×9", index.

**The Second Zündel Trial: Excerpts from the Transcript.** By Barbara Kulaszka (ed.). In contrast to Ernst Zündel's book *The Holocaust on Trial* (see earlier description), this book focuses entirely on the Second Zündel Trial by exclusively quoting, paraphrasing and summarizing the entire trial transcript... 498 pp. pb, 8.5"×11", bibl., index, b&w ill.

**Resistance Is Obligatory!** By Germar Rudolf. In 2005, Rudolf, dissident publisher of revisionist literature, was kidnapped by the U.S. government and deported to Germany. There a show trial was staged. Rudolf was not permitted to defend his historical opinions. Yet he defended himself anyway: Rudolf gave a 7-day speech-proving that only the revisionists are scholarly in their approach, whereas





the Holocaust orthodoxy is merely pseudo-scientific. He then explained why it is everyone's obligation to resist, without violence, a government which throws peaceful dissidents into dungeons. When Rudolf tried to publish his defence speech as a book, the public prosecutor initiated a new criminal investigation against him. After his probation time ended in 2011, he dared publish this speech anyway... 2nd ed. 2016, 378 pp. pb, 6"x9", b&w ill.

**Hunting Gernar Rudolf: Essays on a Modern-Day Witch Hunt.** By Gernar Rudolf. German-born revisionist activist, author and publisher Gernar Rudolf describes which events made him convert from a Holocaust believer to a Holocaust skeptic, quickly rising to a leading personality within the revisionist movement. This in turn unleashed a tsunami of persecution against him: lost his job, denied his PhD exam, destruction of his family, driven into exile, slandered by the mass media, literally hunted, caught, put on a show trial where filing motions to introduce evidence is illegal under the threat of further prosecution, and finally locked up in prison for years for nothing else than his peaceful yet controversial scholarly writings. In several essays, Rudolf takes the reader on a journey through an absurd world of government and societal persecution which most of us could never even fathom actually exists in a "Western democracy"... 304 pp. pb, 6"x9", bibl., index, b&w ill.

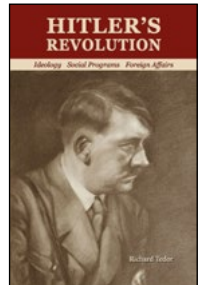
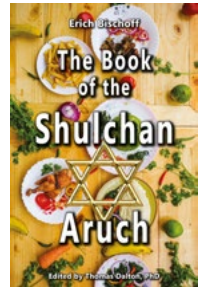
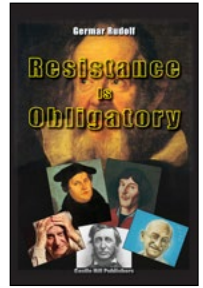
**The Book of the Shulchan Aruch.** By Erich Bischoff. Most people have heard of the Talmud-that compendium of Jewish laws. The Talmud, however, is vast and largely inscrutable. Fortunately, back in the mid-1500s, a Jewish rabbi created a condensed version of it: the Shulchan Aruch. A fair number of passages in it discuss non-Jews. The laws of Judaism hold Gentiles in very low regard; they can be cheated, lied to, abused, even killed, if it serves Jewish interests. Bischoff, an expert in Jewish religious law, wrote a summary and analysis of this book. He shows us many dark corners of the Jewish religion. 152 pp. pb, 6"x9".

**Hitler's Revolution: Ideology, Social Programs, Foreign Affairs.** By Richard Tedor. Defying all boycotts, Adolf

Hitler transformed Germany from a bankrupt state to the powerhouse of Europe within just four years, thus becoming Germany's most popular leader ever. How was this possible? This study tears apart the dense web of calumny surrounding this controversial figure. It draws on nearly 200 published German sources, many from the Nazi era, as well as documents from British, U.S., and Soviet archives that describe not only what Hitler did but, more importantly, why he did it. These sources also reveal the true war objectives of the democracies – a taboo subject for orthodox historians – and the resulting world war against Germany. This book is aimed at anyone who feels that something is missing from conventional accounts. 2nd ed., 309 pp. pb, 6"x9", index, bibl.

**Hitler on the Jews.** By Thomas Dalton. That Adolf Hitler spoke out against the Jews is beyond obvious. But of the thousands of books and articles written on Hitler, virtually none quotes Hitler's exact words on the Jews. The reason for this is clear: Those in positions of influence have incentives to present a simplistic picture of Hitler as a blood-thirsty tyrant. However, Hitler's take on the Jews is far more complex and sophisticated. In this book, for the first time, you can make up your own mind by reading nearly every idea that Hitler put forth about the Jews, in considerable detail and in full context. This is the first book ever to compile his remarks on the Jews. As you will discover, Hitler's analysis of the Jews, though hostile, is erudite, detailed, and – surprise, surprise – largely aligns with events of recent decades. There are many lessons here for the modern-day world to learn. 200 pp. pb, 6"x9", index, bibl.

**Goebbels on the Jews.** By Thomas Dalton. From the age of 26 until his death in 1945, Joseph Goebbels kept a near-daily diary. It gives us a detailed look at the attitudes of one of the highest-ranking men in Nazi Germany. Goebbels shared Hitler's dislike of the Jews, and likewise wanted them removed from the Reich. Ultimately, Goebbels and others sought to remove the Jews completely from Europe—perhaps to the island of Madagascar. This would be the "final solution" to the Jewish Question. Nowhere in the



diary does Goebbels discuss any Hitler order to kill the Jews, nor is there any reference to extermination camps, gas chambers, or any methods of systematic mass-murder. Goebbels acknowledges that Jews did indeed die by the thousands; but the range and scope of killings evidently fall far short of the claimed figure of 6 million. This book contains, for the first time, every significant diary entry relating to the Jews or Jewish policy. Also included are partial or full transcripts of 10 major essays by Goebbels on the Jews. 274 pp. pb, 6"×9", index, bibl.

**The Jewish Hand in the World Wars.** By Thomas Dalton. For many centuries, Jews have had a negative reputation in many countries. The reasons given are plentiful, but less-well-known is their involvement in war. When we examine the causal factors for wars, and look at their primary beneficiaries, we repeatedly find a Jewish presence. Throughout history, Jews have played an exceptionally active role in promoting and inciting wars. With their long-notorious influence in government, we find recurrent instances of Jews promoting hard-line stances, being uncompromising, and actively inciting people to hatred. Jewish misanthropy, rooted in Old Testament mandates, and combined with a ruthless materialism, has led them, time and again, to instigate warfare if it served their larger interests. This fact explains much about the present-day world. In this book, Thomas Dalton examines in detail the Jewish hand in the two world wars. Along the way, he dissects Jewish motives and Jewish strategies for maximizing gain amidst warfare, reaching back centuries. 2nd ed., 231 pp. pb, 6"×9", index, bibl.

**Eternal Strangers: Critical Views of Jews and Judaism through the Ages.** By Thomas Dalton. It is common

knowledge that Jews have been disliked for centuries. But why? Our best hope for understanding this recurrent 'anti-Semitism' is to study the history: to look at the actual words written by prominent critics of the Jews, in context, and with an eye to any common patterns that might emerge. Such a study reveals strikingly consistent observations: Jews are seen in very negative, yet always similar terms. The persistence of such comments is remarkable and strongly suggests that the cause for such animosity resides in the Jews themselves—in their attitudes, their values, their ethnic traits and their beliefs.. This book addresses the modern-day "Jewish problem" in all its depth—something which is arguably at the root of many of the world's social, political and economic problems. 186 pp. pb, 6"×9", index, bibl.

**Streicher, Rosenberg, and the Jews: The Nuremberg Transcripts.** By Thomas Dalton. Who, apart from Hitler, contrived the Nazi view on the Jews? And what were these master ideologues thinking? During the post-war International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, the most-interesting men on trial regarding this question were two with a special connection to the "Jewish Question": Alfred Rosenberg and Julius Streicher. The cases against them, and their personal testimonies, examined for the first time nearly all major aspects of the Holocaust story: the "extermination" thesis, the gas chambers, the gas vans, the shootings in the East, and the "6 million." The truth of the Holocaust has been badly distorted for decades by the powers that be. Here we have the rare opportunity to hear firsthand from two prominent figures in Nazi Germany. Their voices, and their verbatim transcripts from the IMT, lend some much-needed clarity to the situation. 330 pp. pb, 6"×9", index, bibl.

