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VOLUME 7 · NUMBER 1 · 2015

EDITORIAL

The Milgram Experiments: Cloning the Holocaust*Jett Rucker*

Born in Brooklyn in 1933 to recent Jewish immigrants from Europe, Stanley Milgram was haunted most of his life by the Holocaust he narrowly missed. By the time he had gained his Ph.D. from Harvard and joined the faculty of Yale in 1960, he conceived a way to recreate at least what he supposed was the psychological milieu of the Holocaust: following orders to kill (or torture) strangers. It was, he revealed outside his formal publications, what SS guards must have done and felt – or not felt – as they herded crowds of innocent Jews to their deaths in gas chambers.

The experiment was fiendish enough in its own right, though it never physically harmed anyone. It involved a subject, the experimenter (often Milgram himself), and an “object” – a person realistically faking reactions to things the subject did at the behest of Milgram. Milgram instructed the subject to hurt the object by pressing numbered buttons that ostensibly administered electrical shocks at voltages shown by the numbers. The top button was labelled 450, and when it was pressed, the object portrayed utter agony, to the consternation of many of the subjects, most of whom nonetheless carried out instructions to press that button as well as the others labelled with lower, less “painful” voltages.

Most of the subjects, as it turned out, obeyed Milgram’s instructions to administer apparently painful shocks to the object, even repeatedly, as Milgram reassured them that the experiment was “for science,” which it quite arguably was. The experiments and their results, which ultimately formed the subject of a book¹ by Milgram, made his name famous even to the present day. Other books² on the scientist and his experiments have argued for their infamy, pointing out that some of the subjects sustained lasting psychological damage from their experience in the experiments.

Milgram’s original inspiration, and the objective he initially gave for the experiments, was to gauge the willingness of people to follow “orders,” or authoritative requests, to harm strangers, something he felt Germans – or those Germans involved in the famed “crimes against humanity,” at any

rate – surpassed other people in, including of course the random Americans he recruited to serve as the subjects of his experiment.

It didn't turn out that way, as a recent article* in the *Aeon* webzine details. The subjects turned out, to an utterly appalling extent, to be willing, whatever their private reservations, to inflict shocks that seemed nearly lethal upon strangers whom they could clearly see and hear, merely at the instigation of a “researcher” who was conducting an experiment. The indictment that this levelled at the ostensibly random sample of subjects and the population they were drawn from was so horrific that the author of the article states that Milgram's plans for subsequently testing a group of Germans were abandoned for being “pointless.”

This change of plans, which the author does not explicitly attribute to Milgram's own thinking, illustrates the inherent weakness of all human inquiry, be it into psychology, history, crimes or even the physical sciences: inquiry is always preceded by a hypothesis (e.g., “Germans are mindless automatons who will commit any heinous crime they are ordered to.”), and tests of the experiment (with Americans, the group ready to hand around Yale) either support the methodology or, as in this case, leave hardly any room for Germans to be worse than the group on whom the methodology was test-run.

Does this make it pointless to go ahead and test the Germans? It does if you stick to the original hypothesis (Germans are worse than others). But if you have the imagination – and the disposition – to *change* the hypothesis to something like, “Germans are *better* – at least, better than the Americans so far tested – at resisting immoral orders,” a very good point remains for going on with the rest of the plan. Such seems not have been the disposition of the “scientist” involved, nor of the author of the article, who mentions his own descent from Jews in the article. Perhaps the proposition would even encounter difficulty in getting funded – funders prefer to finance inquiries that promise to yield conclusions pleasing to the funders.

Oddly, my inquiry into the long and vigorous life of what I'll dub the Milgram Industry (Milgram himself died in 1984) did not turn up any study in which different groups were compared for their susceptibility to following criminal orders, even though the *Aeon* article mentions that Milgram-type experiments were conducted in many places, including “West Germany.”

* Now at <https://web.archive.org/web/20141007101653/http://aeon.co/magazine/psychology/why-do-we-keep-repeating-the-milgram-experiments/>

Milgram was inspired in designing his namesake experiments by his notions of what the Holocaust entailed – people (Germans) consciously administering pain and death to presumably innocent strangers (Jews and others, who in fact outnumbered the Jews). Of course, in wars such as the one in which the worst parts of the Holocaust occurred, people are consciously administering pain, death and destruction to strangers who have

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*Advertisement for the recruiting of the Milgram
experiment subjects. By Olivier Hammam (public
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given no previous offense, though from the cockpit of a bomber twenty thousand feet above “the target,” interaction with the victims is absent by quite a distance. And in World War II, the Germans manifestly failed to gain first place in the deadly competition of killing and maiming “the enemy.”

People out to prove something gruesome about the Holocaust, or innately evil about the Germans often run into a buzz-saw, and they always contrive exquisite machinations for recovering from the misadventure, even as Milgram himself seems to have papered over and otherwise misrepresented forms of the experiments he conducted that forcefully contradicted the initial, sensational results with which he managed to propel himself to fame³. An example of this was Jan Karski, who in 1943 was sent to the Belzec “extermination camp” only to discover, and report to his superiors, that he found no evidence of killing there, but only of transfer of the inmates to other, unknown destinations. That fiasco was memorably chronicled by Friedrich Jansson in the Winter 2014 issue of INCONVENIENT HISTORY.

Milgram’s initial goal of delineating the inherent bestiality of Germans was ultimately derailed, but the silver lining on that cloud far outshone any darkness cast by the failure of his long-forgotten thesis. How much better to show the world so graphically that *we’re all Nazis!* At the present juncture, critical studies of Milgram’s actual methods, along with evidence of portions of his findings that he suppressed or misrepresented, are casting into doubt his conclusions as to what we all (inextricably including those Nazis, I should hope) really *are* like.

But also at this juncture, there is growing reason to question not just what we (and you-know-who) are all really like, but as well, Milgram’s grotesque misapprehension of just *what* the National Socialists really did to their “victims,” and *why*, and even *how*. In keeping with the dominant mythology, Milgram envisioned that, at the very least, the implementers of the Final Solution were soulless zombies whose very constitutions prevented them from having the faintest glimmer of empathy for their prey.

But between the Germans’ amply documented preference to remove Jews *from* their midst and *to* other places, and the eventual desperate reversal of that impulse that caused the Germans to bring thousands of Jews *back into* Germany as the war turned against them, Milgram’s original phantasmagoria of SS guards banally inflicting genocidal pain and death upon an entire race begins to fade away into the mists that enshroud B-

grade horror movies. It's not, of course, that no such thing ever *did* happen – it most certainly did.

It is, rather, that it is not *what* happened. Milgram seems to have demonstrated precious little interest in these truths, which in any case were neither known nor suspected in the circles in which he traveled. So, Milgram's experiments, their incredible results, their unexpected conclusions, and the manipulations performed by Milgram in publicizing them, all were based on a myth.

Not just a myth about what Germans are *like*, but beneath that one, still another, about what they *did*.

Notes

- ¹ Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View* (New York: Harpercollins, 1974).
- ² Thomas Blass, *The Man Who Shocked the World: The Life and Legacy of Stanley Milgram* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).
- ³ One good analysis is by Gina Perry. *Behind the Shock Machine: The Untold Story behind the Notorious Milgram Psychology Experiments*. The New Press, New York, 2012.

PAPERS

Harry Truman and the Atomic Bomb

Ralph Raico

The most spectacular episode of Harry Truman's presidency will never be forgotten but will be forever linked to his name: the atomic bombings of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and of Nagasaki three days later. Probably around two hundred thousand persons were killed in the attacks and through radiation poisoning; the vast majority were civilians, including several thousand Korean workers. Twelve US Navy fliers incarcerated in a Hiroshima jail were also among the dead.¹

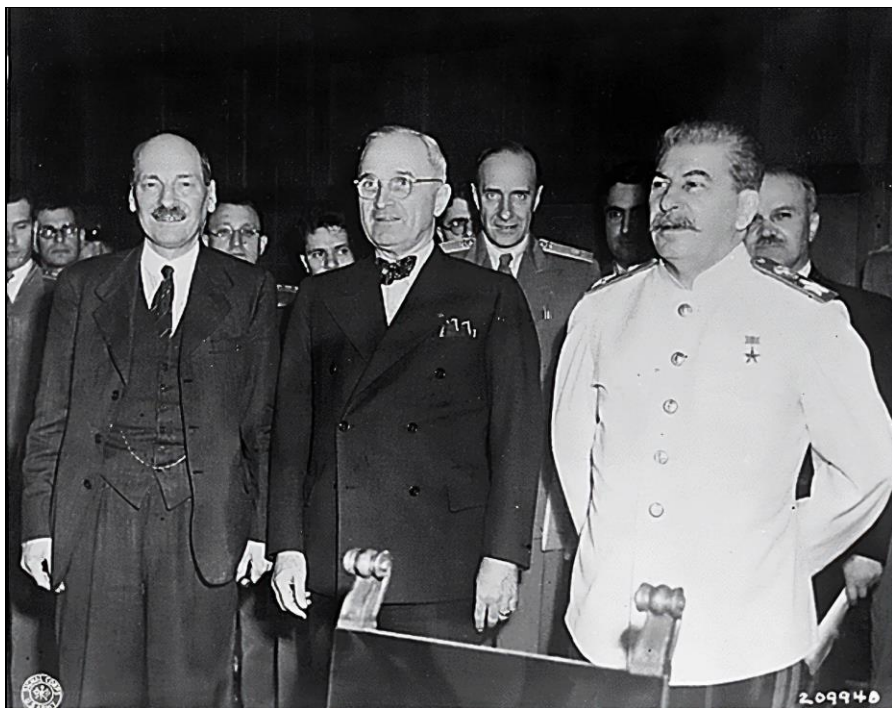
Great controversy has always surrounded the bombings. One thing Truman insisted on from the start was that the decision to use the bombs, and the responsibility it entailed, was his. Over the years, he gave different, and contradictory, grounds for his decision. Sometimes he implied that he had acted simply out of revenge. To a clergyman who criticized him, Truman responded testily:²

"Nobody is more disturbed over the use of Atomic bombs than I am but I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war. The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them."

Such reasoning will not impress anyone who fails to see how the brutality of the Japanese military could justify deadly retaliation against innocent men, women, and children. Truman doubtless was aware of this, so from time to time he advanced other pretexts. On August 9, 1945, he stated:³

"The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

This, however, is absurd. *Pearl Harbor* was a military base. Hiroshima was a city, inhabited by some three hundred thousand people, which contained military elements. In any case, since the harbor was mined and the US Navy and Air Force were in control of the waters around Japan, whatever troops were stationed in Hiroshima had been effectively neutralized.



From left to right. British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, American President Harry S. Truman and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference in 1945.

By US Government [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

On other occasions, Truman claimed that Hiroshima was bombed because it was an industrial center. But, as noted in the US Strategic Bombing Survey, “all major factories in Hiroshima were on the periphery of the city – and escaped serious damage.”⁴ The target was the center of the city. That Truman realized the kind of victims the bombs consumed is evident from his comment to his cabinet on August 10, explaining his reluctance to drop a third bomb: “The thought of wiping out another 100,000 people was too horrible,” he said; he didn’t like the idea of killing “all those kids.”⁵ *Wiping out another one hundred thousand people... all those kids.*

Moreover, the notion that Hiroshima was a major military or industrial center is implausible on the face of it. The city had remained untouched through years of devastating air attacks on the Japanese home islands, and never figured in Bomber Command’s list of the 33 primary targets.⁶

Thus, the rationale for the atomic bombings has come to rest on a single colossal fabrication, which has gained surprising currency – that they were necessary in order to save a half-million or more American lives. These,

supposedly, are the lives that would have been lost in the planned invasion of Kyushu in December, then in the all-out invasion of Honshu the next year, if that had been needed. But the worst-case scenario for a full-scale invasion of the Japanese home islands was forty-six thousand American lives lost.⁷ The ridiculously inflated figure of a half-million for the potential death toll – nearly twice the total of US dead in all theaters in the Second World War – is now routinely repeated in high-school and college textbooks and bandied about by ignorant commentators. Unsurprisingly the prize for sheer fatuousness on this score goes to President George H.W. Bush, who claimed in 1991 that dropping the bomb “spared millions of American lives.”⁸

Still, Truman’s multiple deceptions and self-deceptions are understandable, considering the horror he unleashed. It is equally understandable that the US occupation authorities censored reports from the shattered cities and did not permit films and photographs of the thousands of corpses and the frightfully mutilated survivors to reach the public.⁹ Otherwise, Americans – and the rest of the world – might have drawn disturbing comparisons to scenes then coming to light from the Nazi concentration camps.

The bombings were condemned as barbaric and unnecessary by high American military officers, including Eisenhower and MacArthur.¹⁰ The view of Admiral William D. Leahy, Truman’s own chief of staff, was typical:¹¹

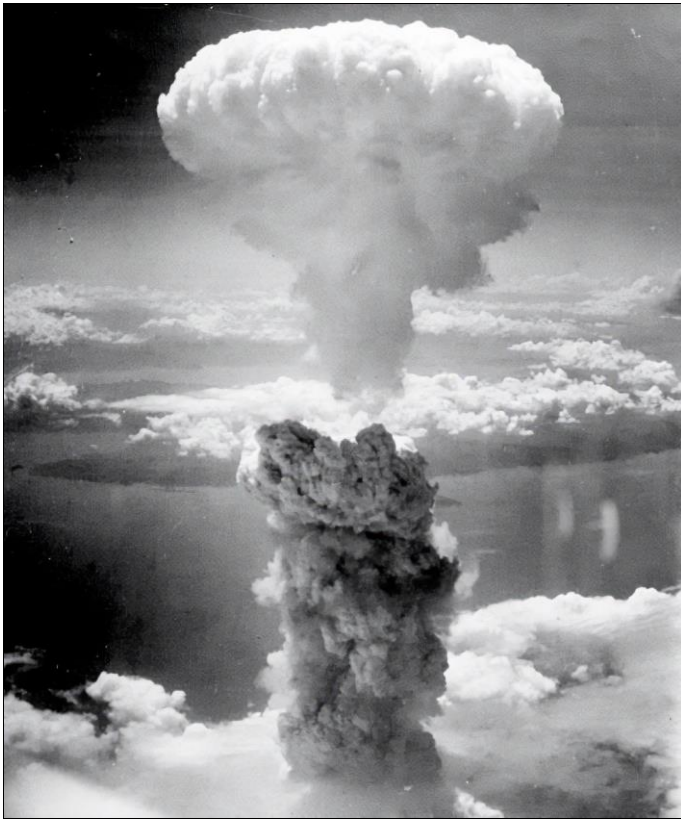
“the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. [...] My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make wars in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.”

The political elite implicated in the atomic bombings feared a backlash that would aid and abet the rebirth of horrid prewar “isolationism.” Apologias were rushed into print, lest public disgust at the sickening war crime result in erosion of enthusiasm for the globalist project.¹² No need to worry. A sea change had taken place in the attitudes of the American people. Then and ever after, all surveys have shown that the great majority supported Truman, believing that the bombs were required to end the war and save hundreds of thousands of American lives, or, more likely, not really caring one way or the other.

Those who may still be troubled by such a grisly exercise in cost-benefit analysis – innocent Japanese lives balanced against the lives of Allied

servicemen – might reflect on the judgment of the Catholic philosopher G.E.M. Anscombe, who insisted on the supremacy of moral rules.¹³ When, in June 1956, Truman was awarded an honorary degree by her university, Oxford, Anscombe protested.¹⁴ Truman was a war criminal, she contended, for what is the difference between the US government massacring civilians from the air, as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Nazis wiping out the inhabitants of some Czech or Polish village?

Anscombe's point is worth following up. Suppose that, when we invaded Germany in early 1945, our leaders had believed that executing all the inhabitants of Aachen, or Trier, or some other Rhineland city would finally break the will of the Germans and lead them to surrender. In this way, the war might have ended quickly, saving the lives of many Allied soldiers. Would that then have justified shooting tens of thousands of German civil-



Atomic bombing of Nagasaki on August 9, 1945.

*The Official CTBTO Photostream [CC BY 2.0
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Wikimedia Commons*

ians, including women and children? Yet how is that different from the atomic bombings?

By early summer 1945, the Japanese fully realized that they were beaten. Why did they nonetheless fight on? As Anscombe wrote:¹⁵

“It was the insistence on unconditional surrender that was the root of all evil.”

That mad formula was coined by Roosevelt at the Casablanca conference, and, with Churchill’s enthusiastic concurrence, it became the Allied shibboleth. After prolonging the war in Europe, it did its work in the Pacific. At the Potsdam Conference, in July 1945, Truman issued a proclamation to the Japanese, threatening them with the “utter devastation” of their homeland unless they surrendered unconditionally. Among the Allied terms, to which “there are no alternatives,” was that there be “eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest [sic].” “Stern justice,” the proclamation warned, “would be meted out to all war criminals.”¹⁶

To the Japanese, this meant that the emperor – regarded by them to be divine, the direct descendent of the goddess of the sun – would certainly be dethroned and probably put on trial as a war criminal and hanged, perhaps in front of his palace.¹⁷ It was not, in fact, the US intention to dethrone or punish the emperor. But this implicit modification of unconditional surrender was never communicated to the Japanese. In the end, after Nagasaki, Washington acceded to the Japanese desire to keep the dynasty and even to retain Hirohito as emperor.

For months before, Truman had been pressed to clarify the US position by many high officials within the administration, and outside of it, as well. In May 1945, at the president’s request, Herbert Hoover prepared a memorandum stressing the urgent need to end the war as soon as possible. The Japanese should be informed that we would in no way interfere with the emperor or their chosen form of government. He even raised the possibility that, as part of the terms, Japan might be allowed to hold on to Formosa (Taiwan) and Korea. After meeting with Truman, Hoover dined with Taft and other Republican leaders, and outlined his proposals.¹⁸

Establishment writers on World War II often like to deal in lurid speculations. For instance, if the United States had not entered the war, then Hitler would have “conquered the world” (a sad undervaluation of the Red Army, it would appear; moreover, wasn’t it Japan that was trying to “conquer the world”?) and killed untold millions. Now, applying conjectural history in this case, assume that the Pacific war had ended in the way wars

customarily do – through negotiation of the terms of surrender. And assume the worst – that the Japanese had adamantly insisted on preserving part of their empire, say, Korea and Formosa, even Manchuria. In that event, it is quite possible that Japan would have been in a position to prevent the Communists from coming to power in China. And that could have meant that the 30 or 40 million deaths now attributed to the Maoist regime would not have occurred.

But even remaining within the limits of feasible diplomacy in 1945, it is clear that Truman in no way exhausted the possibilities of ending the war without recourse to the atomic bomb. The Japanese were not informed that they would be the victims of by far the most lethal weapon ever invented (one with “more than two thousand times the blast power of the British ‘Grand Slam,’ which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare,” as Truman boasted in his announcement of the Hiroshima attack). Nor were they told that the Soviet Union was set to declare war on Japan, an event that shocked some in Tokyo more than the bombings.¹⁹ Pleas by some of the scientists involved in the project to demonstrate the power of the bomb in some uninhabited or evacuated area were rebuffed. All that mattered was to formally preserve the unconditional-surrender formula and save the servicemen’s lives that might have been lost in the effort to enforce it. Yet, as Major General J.F.C. Fuller, one of the century’s great military historians, wrote in connection with the atomic bombings:²⁰

“Though to save life is laudable, it in no way justifies the employment of means which run counter to every precept of humanity and the customs of war. Should it do so, then, on the pretext of shortening a war and of saving lives, every imaginable atrocity can be justified.”

Isn’t this obviously true? And isn’t this the reason that rational and humane men, over generations, developed rules of warfare in the first place?

While the mass media parroted the government line in praising the atomic incinerations, prominent conservatives denounced them as unspeakable war crimes. Felix Morley, constitutional scholar and one of the founders of *Human Events*, drew attention to the horror of Hiroshima, including the “thousands of children trapped in the thirty-three schools that were destroyed.” He called on his compatriots to atone for what had been done in their name, and proposed that groups of Americans be sent to Hiroshima, as Germans were sent to witness what had been done in the Nazi camps.

The Paulist priest, Father James Gillis, editor of *The Catholic World* and another stalwart of the Old Right, castigated the bombings as “the most powerful blow ever delivered against Christian civilization and the moral law.” David Lawrence, conservative owner of *US News and World Report*, continued to denounce them for years.²¹ The distinguished conservative philosopher Richard Weaver was revolted by

“the spectacle of young boys fresh out of Kansas and Texas turning nonmilitary Dresden into a holocaust [...] pulverizing ancient shrines like Monte Cassino and Nuremberg, and bringing atomic annihilation to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.”

Weaver considered such atrocities as deeply “inimical to the foundations on which civilization is built.”²²

Today, self-styled conservatives slander as “anti-American” anyone who is in the least troubled by Truman’s massacre of so many tens of thousands of Japanese innocents from the air. This shows as well as anything the difference between today’s “conservatives” and those who once deserved the name.

Leo Szilard was the world-renowned physicist who drafted the original letter to Roosevelt that Einstein signed, instigating the Manhattan Project. In 1960, shortly before his death, Szilard stated another obvious truth:²³

“If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them.”

The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a war crime worse than any that Japanese generals were executed for in Tokyo and Manila. If Harry Truman was not a war criminal, then no one ever was.

Notes

¹ On the atomic bombings, see Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (New York: Knopf, 1995); and *Ibid.*, “Was Harry Truman a Revisionist on Hiroshima?” *Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Newsletter* 29, no. 2 (June 1998); also Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance* (New York: Vintage, 1977); and Dennis D. Wainstock, *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996).

² Alperovitz, *Decision*, p. 563. Truman added: “When you deal with a beast you have to treat him as a beast. It is most regrettable but nevertheless true.” For similar statements by Truman, see *ibid.*, p. 564. Alperovitz’s monumental work

is the end-product of four decades of study of the atomic bombings and is indispensable for comprehending the often complex argumentation on the issue.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 521.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

⁵ Barton J. Bernstein, "Understanding the Atomic Bomb and the Japanese Surrender: Missed Opportunities, Little-Known Near Disasters, and Modern Memory," *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 257. General Carl Spaatz, commander of US strategic bombing operations in the Pacific, was so shaken by the destruction at Hiroshima that he telephoned his superiors in Washington, proposing that the next bomb be dropped on a less populated area, so that it "would not be as devastating to the city and the people." His suggestion was rejected. Ronald Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War 2* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 147–48.

⁶ This is true also of Nagasaki.

⁷ See Barton J. Bernstein, "A Post-War Myth: 500,000 US Lives Saved," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 42, no. 6 (June/July 1986): pp. 38–40; and *Ibid.*, "Wrong Numbers," *The Independent Monthly* (July 1995): pp. 41–44.

⁸ J. Samuel Walker, "History, Collective Memory, and the Decision to Use the Bomb," *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1995): pp. 320, 323–25. Walker details the frantic evasions of Truman's biographer, David McCullough, when confronted with the unambiguous record.

⁹ Paul Boyer, "Exotic Resonances: Hiroshima in American Memory," *Diplomatic History* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1995): pp. 299. On the fate of the bombings' victims and the public's restricted knowledge of them, see John W. Dower, "The Bombed: Hiroshimas and Nagasakis in Japanese Memory," in *ibid.*, pp. 275–95.

¹⁰ Alperovitz, *Decision*, pp. 320–65. On MacArthur and Eisenhower, see *ibid.*, pp. 352 and 355–56.

¹¹ William D. Leahy, *I Was There* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), p. 441.

Leahy compared the use of the atomic bomb to the treatment of civilians by Genghis Khan, and termed it "not worthy of Christian man." *Ibid.*, p. 442. Curiously, Truman himself supplied the foreword to Leahy's book. In a private letter written just before he left the White House, Truman referred to the use of the atomic bomb as "murder," stating that the bomb "is far worse than gas and biological warfare because it affects the civilian population and murders them wholesale." Barton J. Bernstein, "Origins of the US Biological Warfare Program," *Preventing a Biological Arms Race*, Susan Wright, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), p. 9.

¹² Barton J. Bernstein, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History: Stimson, Conant, and Their Allies Explain the Decision to Use the Bomb," *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1993): pp. 35–72.

¹³ One writer in no way troubled by the sacrifice of innocent Japanese to save Allied servicemen – indeed, just to save him – is Paul Fussell; see his *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (New York: Summit, 1988). The reason for Fussell's little *Te Deum* is, as he states, that he was among those scheduled to take part in the invasion of Japan, and might very well have been killed. It is a mystery why Fussell takes out his easily understandable terror, rather unchiv-

alously, on Japanese women and children instead of on the men in Washington who conscripted him to fight in the Pacific in the first place.

- ¹⁴ G.E.M. Anscombe, "Mr. Truman's Degree," in *Ibid.*, *Collected Philosophical Papers*, vol. 3, *Ethics, Religion and Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 62–71.
- ¹⁵ Anscombe, "Mr. Truman's Degree," p. 62.
- ¹⁶ Hans Adolf Jacobsen and Arthur S. Smith, Jr., eds., *World War II: Policy and Strategy. Selected Documents with Commentary* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1979), pp. 345–46.
- ¹⁷ For some Japanese leaders, another reason for keeping the emperor was as a bulwark against a possible postwar communist takeover. See also Sherwin, *A World Destroyed*, p. 236: "the [Potsdam] proclamation offered the military diehards in the Japanese government more ammunition to continue the war than it offered their opponents to end it."
- ¹⁸ Alperovitz, *Decision*, pp. 44–45.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Bernstein, "Understanding the Atomic Bomb," p. 254: "it does seem very likely, though certainly not definite, that a synergistic combination of guaranteeing the emperor, awaiting Soviet entry, and continuing the siege strategy would have ended the war in time to avoid the November invasion." Bernstein, an excellent and scrupulously objective scholar, nonetheless disagrees with Alperovitz and the revisionist school on several key points.
- ²⁰ J.F.C. Fuller, *The Second World War, 1939–45: A Strategic and Tactical History* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1948), p. 392. Fuller, who was similarly scathing on the terror-bombing of the German cities, characterized the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as "a type of war that would have disgraced Tamerlane." Cf. Barton J. Bernstein, who concludes, in "Understanding the Atomic Bomb," p. 235:
- ²¹ In 1945, American leaders were not seeking to avoid the use of the A-bomb. Its use did not create ethical or political problems for them. Thus, they easily rejected or never considered most of the so-called alternatives to the bomb.
- ²² Felix Morley, "The Return to Nothingness," *Human Events* (August 29, 1945) reprinted in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz, eds. (Stony Creek, Conn.: Pamphleteer's Press, 1998), pp. 272–74; James Martin Gillis, "Nothing But Nihilism," *The Catholic World*, September 1945, reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 278–80; Alperovitz, *Decision*, pp. 438–40.
- ²³ Richard M. Weaver, "'A Dialectic on Total War,'" in *Ibid.*, *Visions of Order: The Cultural Crisis of Our Time* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), pp. 98–99.
- ²⁴ Wainstock, *Decision*, p. 122.

Outdoor Incineration of Livestock Carcasses

Heinrich Köchel

In assessing the reported cremation of huge numbers of human corpses in German concentration, labor, transit and/or extermination camps during the Second World War, the capacities of the respective facilities – crematories, outdoor cremation pits and pyres, as well as mass graves – are an important factor. Literature on the pertinent crematories is plentiful and technically well documented, especially by Pressac's and Matogno's works. In particular the Auschwitz camp was well equipped with crematoria. The other camps established in eastern Poland (Treblinka, Sobibór and Belzec) did not have such sophisticated facilities, so that many corpses had to be burned outdoors. Some two million Holocaust victim deaths are traditionally ascribed to these camps. Using current knowledge about the open-air cremation of large amounts of livestock carcasses, the author of the present study investigates under which circumstances the disposal of so many human corpses would have been feasible, if at all.

1. Reports on Corpse Cremations in German World War II Camps

In his work *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka*, Yitzak Arad explains that the victims in these camps were killed in homicidal gas chambers using carbon monoxide gas from engine exhaust between fall 1942 and early 1943. Most were initially buried in mass graves. Due to the threat of groundwater contamination but also concerns about a possible later discovery of this evidence of mass murder, these corpses are said to have been disinterred in the first half of 1943 and burned over a period of several months.

Apart from impressive descriptions of these fires regarding their blazing flames, intense heat, acrid smoke and unbearable stench, little precise data can be found about them. Some witnesses stated that even living people died in these fires, either because they were forced to jump into them or because loads of victims were dumped into them from trucks. This is not very credible, though, as such huge fires would have been dangerous even for the perpetrators and for any vehicle getting too close to them.

In the above-mentioned book, Yitzak Arad describes these open-air incinerations at Treblinka and Belzec as follows:

“[Treblinka:] The cremation structure consisted of a roaster made from five or six railroad rails laid on top of three rows of concrete pillars each 70 cm high. The facility was 30 m wide.[...].

[...] SS Oberscharführer Heinrich Matthes, the commander of the ‘extermination area’ in Treblinka, testified:

‘[...] The corpses were piled on these rails. Brushwood was put under the rails. The wood was doused with petrol.’” (p. 174)

“[...] another special team, called the ‘burning group’ (Feuerkolonne), removed the corpses from the stretchers and arranged them in layers on the roaster to a height of 2 meters. Between 2,000 and 2,500 bodies – sometimes up to 3,000 – would be piled on the roaster. When all was ready, dry wood and branches, which had been laid under the roaster, were ignited. The entire construction, with the bodies, was quickly engulfed in fire. The railings would glow from the heat, and the flames would reach a height of up to 10 meters.

At first an inflammable liquid was poured onto the bodies to help them burn, but later this was considered unnecessary; the SS men in charge of the cremation became convinced that the corpses burned well enough without extra fuel.

Yechiel Reichman, a member of the ‘burning group,’ writes:

The SS ‘expert’ on bodyburning ordered us to put women, particularly fat women, on the first layer on the grill, face down. The second layer could consist of whatever was brought [...]. Then the ‘expert’ ordered us to lay dry branches under the grill and to light them. Within a few minutes the fire would take so it was difficult to approach the crematorium from as far as 50 meters away.” (p. 175)

“The body-burning went on day and night. The corpses were transferred and arranged on the roasters during the day; at night-fall they were lit, and they burned throughout the night. When the fire went out, there were only skeletons or scattered bones on the roasters, and piles of ashes underneath.” (p. 176)



Smoke and fumes as far as one can see: typical for low-temperature fires.

(All photos taken from
www.whale.to/m/fmd70.html)

“In Belzec, all 600,000 victims had been buried already when the cremation started. During a period of four to five months they had to be unearthed and burned.” (p. 177)

“At Belzec and Treblinka, [...] a system had to be found to cremate 150,000 to 200,000 corpses within one month and 5,000 to 7,000 in one day. By [...] operating simply built, huge, open-spaced crematoria, [...] the Operation Reinhard staff was able to complete its mission of cremation and the erasure of their despicable crimes.” (p. 178)

Arad's book contains some information about the size and layout of these camps, and even though these data do not fully agree with other sources, it gives an impression of the surface areas available for the respective “zones of death” for the claimed extermination facilities, mass graves and subsequent incinerations:

Camp	Size of “Death Zone”	Surface Area	Arad's Data
Belzec:	275 m × 90 m	≈ 24,750 m ² (6.1 acres)	map (p. 437) in conj. with total size of camp (p. 27: ca. 275 m × 275 m)
Treblinka:	250 m × 200 m	≈ 50,000 m ² (12.4 acres)	p. 41*
Sobibór:	150 m × 100 m	≈ 15,000 m ² (3.7 acres)	map (p. 35) in conj. with total size of camp (p. 30: 600 m × 400 m)

*An official Polish source based on a 1945 survey of the camp claims a surface area of merely 14,000 m² (3.45 acres) for the Treblinka “death zone,” see Graf/Mattogno, pp. 91, 321.

According to eyewitness claims, thousands of bodies, some of them even frozen, were incinerated within a day with a minimal amount of fuel on pyres, which according to Arad had a surface area of 1,000 m² (Treblinka) and 1,500 m² (Belzec and Sobibór). At the end of this process, only ashes and small bone fragments are said to have been left behind. The latter could easily be crushed to dust with stampers. As incredible as such claims may sound, they have been considered to be true so far and were accepted as evidence by various courts of law.

A more recent study of the cremation pyres by Michael Tregenza (2000, p. 253) went a step farther. During a German penal trial against former SS guards, witnesses testified that the pyres used in the Belzec camp measured 5 m × 5 m and that up to five of them existed, although the defendants insisted that only two of them had existed. Tregenza extrapolated the information about the death toll hitherto attributed to this camp and stated:

“There is much disagreement on the subject of the number of pyres at Belzec. Witnesses from the village state that up to five pyres were in use, whereas SS personnel spoke of two pyres during the judicial pro-

ceedings in Munich in 1963/1964. According to their indications, at least 500,000 people were burned on those pyres. Assuming that a minimum of 500,000 corpses were burned on two pyres, one has to assume, for five pyres, a much higher figure – possibly twice as high – than the 600,000 persons officially assumed so far.”

Such calculations merely highlight how shaky the evidentiary basis is to this very day. Tregenza’s uncritical acceptance of the size claimed of these pyres is interesting, though, as it demonstrates how little he knows about the problems of cremating corpses, or cares about the factuality of these testimonies.

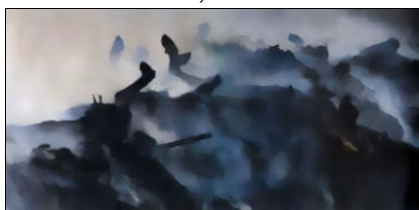
2. Cremating Animal Cadavers during the 2001 Hoof-and-Mouth Epidemic

During the year 2001 Europe and in particular Great Britain were afflicted by a major outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease. This permits us to investigate in more detail the challenge of incinerating large amounts of human corpses outdoors, since the media gave this process considerable coverage. The various reports of carcass incineration by government authorities give us detailed information as to the procedures used, in particular regarding the amount of fuel needed, the size of the pyres, the duration of the incineration, and also the manpower and man-hours needed as well as the time it took to set up the pyres, etc.

The table at the end of this paper lists the information gathered from various newspaper articles reporting on eight actual events (some of which were mentioned by several sources) as well as two typical instruction manuals specifically compiled to advise on setting up and operating such open-air mass cremations. Although these sources all relate to the incineration of animal carcasses – cattle, pigs, sheep – they can be extended to human corpses, since their consistency is very similar regarding the amount of fat, protein and water they contain. The instruction manuals quoted moreover expressly support



Carbonation, not cremation



their application to other animal species (not including humans).

An analysis of the data listed in the below table yields the following results:

2.1. Type and Amount of Fuel

All pyres are basically very similar regarding the fuels used. Coal is the main type of fuel, but since large wooden logs like railway sleepers are an essential element for constructing a pyre, they contribute a considerable amount of energy. Other types of fuels are also used, as for instance wooden skids, tires, straw bales soaked with diesel oil (to start the blaze), and finally at times thermite to ignite the fire.

Veterinary instructions indicate that processes for different species of livestock can be converted one to another for the purpose of calculating the required size of a cremation pyre. According to this, one cattle carcass corresponds to either four pigs, four shorn or three unshorn sheep. When converting the energy contents of each type of fuel into equivalents of wood, the various sources yield between 125 and 875 kg of dry wood per pig-equivalent, with an average of 310 kg. Considering the large variation of the data, it seems advisable to exclude the two extreme values, which yields a corrected average of some 270 kg of dry wood per pig-equivalent.

If looking at human corpses in this manner, it is possible to make the conservative estimate that two human bodies correspond to one pig carcass, or eight human bodies to one cattle carcass. This yields an average required amount of some 135 kg of dry wood for the incineration of one human corpse. Depending on the type of wood, this corresponds to 0.2 to 0.3 cubic meters of dry (!) wood.

2.2. Design of the Pyres

The sources agree that – at a given load – a narrow but long pyre is preferred to one of a more-square shape. That seems obvious, as feeding the pyre with air is essential for an efficient, *i.e.* hot and swift, cremation. The longer the distance from the edge to the center of the pyre, the higher the risk that the burning mass located there cannot burn efficiently, merely sinking down and smoldering rather than burning. Moreover, in case of need it is exceedingly difficult to add additional fuel to spots more distant from the edge of the pyre.



fireproof garments

The sources state in general that pyres should not be wider than some 2.5 m, which is the length of railway sleepers. This size is also conducive to constructing and loading such pyres from the long edges, as the workers can work simultaneously from both sides of the pyre. Photographs and schematic drawings show that cattle are usually placed in a single layer upon the bed of fuel, while sheep and pigs can be loaded in several layers. The total height does not exceed some 1.8 to 2 m, though. If loading is done manually, it is impossible to work at higher heights anyway. If stacked higher, the risk that the pile topples over increases considerably, for instance in case the pyre burns down unevenly or in case any frozen ground melts and thus gives way unevenly. The described design results in a trapezoidal cross section of the pyre with an area of some 3 to 4 m² and a volume respectively of some 3 to 4 m³ for each meter of the pyre.

If the location does not allow the construction of a single long pyre, it is of course possible to build several pyres next to each other. In that case a minimum distance between individual pyres needs to be kept for safety reasons, in particular if the pyres are not lit at the same time, in which case they are each at different stages of being prepared, burning down or being cleared out. For the pyres used during the 2001 outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease, a minimum distance of 250 m between pyres was recommended. One witness of the German wartime camps mentioned a distance of 50 m around the pyres which was too hot and/or smoky to enter (Arad, p. 175). The same is also true for other artificial or natural blazes like burning houses or forest fires.

Based upon the data from the 2001 hoof-and-mouth epidemic it can be calculated that, in case of a single pyre of 1,000 m length and 250 m safety distance around it, an area of 500 m × 1,000 m would be required, plus a safety zone at both ends of the pyre (2 semi-circles of 250 m radius), which amounts to a little more than 50 hectares (124 acres). If that pyre were to be split up into four of 250 m length each, this number would increase to almost 100 hectares (1 km² or 0.4 square mile).

2.3 Duration of the Incineration

The sources quoted give different values for the time it takes for a pyre to burn down completely, ranging from “at least 24 hours” to “one to two weeks.” The shorter times probably refer to the dying down of perceptible flames, the longer values to the time it takes for the pyres to cool down.

2.4 Labor Effort and Other Considerations

The report about the incineration of 800 sheep in France (see below) by 100 soldiers deployed for this task also mentions a fleet of trucks (and presumably other equipment) used during the event.

3. The Cremation of Bodies Outdoors in German Wartime Camps in the Light of These Data

The disposal of corpses in German wartime camps was different than the combustion of livestock carcasses in several regards:

- The human corpses had to be almost completely reduced to ashes so that no identifiable remnants would be left behind. The literature on this topic states that any bone fragments left over were even manually ground to powder. This would have been possible only after the pyres had cooled down sufficiently.
- Judging by the witness testimony available, it may be assumed that mainly wood rather than coal was used for the fires, since moderately sized pieces of wood can be transported by hand, whereas the transportation of coal or coke requires at least a modicum of mechanical devices (shovels, wheelbarrows etc.) never referred to in any witness account.
- Since wood has a much lower energy value per unit of mass than coal and coke, and also has a much lower density, such wood-fired pyres are inexorably more voluminous than those made mainly of coal/coke; this means that fewer corpses per surface area can be loaded onto wood pyres than onto coal/coke pyres.
- Wood fires generally burn at lower temperatures than coal/coke fires, which makes it more difficult to reduce corpses completely to ashes this way.
- It may be surmised that any firewood used stemmed from freshly-logged wood taken from surrounding forests. Since green, moist wood has only roughly half the net caloric yield of dried wood, this would double the amount of wood needed, lengthen the time the pyres burned, and reduce even more the average temperature of such pyres, hence complicating the entire process.

Based upon the above elaboration it can be deduced that the cremation of a human corpse outdoors requires at least 0.2 to 0.3 cubic meters of dry wood (or 0.4 to 0.6 cubic meters of fresh wood). Together with the corpse itself and the gaps required for an efficient cremation, a typical pyre could possibly accommodate two corpses per cubic meter of pyre for dry wood (and one corpse for fresh wood). The optimally designed pyre for small livestock carcasses as discussed earlier could thus be loaded with some 8 to

10 human corpses per running meter (or 4 to 5 for a sub-optimal pyre using fresh wood). In practice the conditions were most certainly not ideal, meaning that the actual pyres could probably accommodate less than that.

To achieve a daily capacity of some 5,000 to 7,000 corpses, as had to be cremated in those camps if we follow the traditional narrative, dry-wood pyres of 2.5 m width would have been required which were at least some 500 to 700 m long (or 1,000 to 1,400 m in case of moist wood).

After the pyres had been built and ignited, they would have burned for between one and two days, as was reported for the pyres of the 2001 hoof-and-mouth epidemic. Experience with large piles of hot ashes shows that such piles remain hot for numerous days up to a week after the fire was started. After this the piles had to be sifted in search of larger bone fragments in order to grind them down, which would have required probably more than a day. It is therefore realistic to assume that each load of a pyre was being processed for up to ten days before a new pyre could be erected for a new load of corpses.

For the cremation capacity mentioned or implied in the literature of up to 7,000 bodies, ten outdoor cremation sites of the above size had to exist at the same time – all in various stages of the process. If assuming a distance of only 100 m between each such site and around the periphery of all pyres, the total surface area needed for that kind of operation of some 1,000 m × 1,000 m results for dry wood (and twice that for fresh wood).



Outdoor livestock carcass cremation seen from the air. The pyres which allegedly burned at Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka would have dwarfed fires like this and would have blanketed the entire area in smoke. Nothing of that kind can be seen on any of the air photos of Auschwitz.

Such a surface area exceeds by far the sizes described in the literature of these camps; and in fact, it exceeds by far the size of every one of these camps taken in their entirety, hence not just the part of the camps where these activities are said to have unfolded.

The availability of fuel is of course indispensable. The traditional literature does not even raise that issue, let alone discuss it. As a matter of fact, it is even claimed that very little if any fuel was required. Assuming that dry wood was the main fuel, we arrive at a requirement of 1,400 to

2,100 cubic meters of wood (dry and sawn) which had to be delivered into the camp every day for cremating 7,000 corpses daily. That corresponds to 200 truckloads or 70 to 100 mid-size freight cars via railway, and this every single day for several months. Considering the unreliable transport situation during the war, it would also have been advisable to have a minimum reserve of two to three days' supplies, which means to store some 3,000 to 6,000 cubic meters of wood. If such logs of 2.5 m in length are piled up 3 m high, the resulting wood pile would be 400 to 800 m long, and the surface area required would amount to some 1,000 to 2,000 m² – plus additional space to access the piles, many meters wide on either side of the piles. This easily amounts to another hectare (2.5 acres) of surface area. This area alone amounts to a considerable portion of the area which Arad describes as these camps' "zone of death" (see above). If, however, freshly-logged wood was used instead, the numbers would again double. In that case, logging that many trees, transporting them into the camp, and de-branching and cutting them up would pose its own logistic challenge, which shall not be investigated here in detail.

Concerning the labor effort required for the cremations themselves we may assume due to the shortage of labor during the war that mainly forced labor (slave labor) was resorted to and that assisting mechanical devices were hardly available. The excavator depicted in Arad's book (p. 95), which is said to have been inoperable at times, could not have done more than lift the corpses out of the mass graves and put them at the workers' feet.



Outdoor livestock carcass cremation seen from the air. Pit, excavated soil, massive destruction of vegetation and top soil around the pits – nothing of that kind can be seen on any of the air photos of Auschwitz.

In the present paper it is not possible to thoroughly describe the workflow, but one needs to keep in mind that the vast area needed for these cremations (if it was available to begin with) would have required that the workers had to travel long distances to bring corpses from the mass graves and fuel from the wood storage area to the pyres – distances of up to a kilometer and more each way are realistic.

The orthodox literature mentions in passing that a narrow-gauge railway had been constructed. Due to the described ideal design of the pyres, this is not a practical solution, though, because the railway spur would have to run close to the pyre and would have to be relocated to another cremation pyre once one pyre was ready to be set ablaze and the work crew moved to the next cremation site – plus it would have to be a double-track line. It would have been impossible to place the tracks near a burning pyre, because the heat would have compromised both rails and sleepers. It is worth noting that a considerable number of rolling stock would have been almost indispensable for the transportation of 7,000 corpses and 1,400 to 2,100 metric tons of dry wood (or 2,800 to 4,200 tons of green wood) every single day.

4. Conclusions

The statements about the extermination camps made in the orthodox literature contradict the insights gained in connection with the 2001 outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease to such a degree that it is impossible to accept the claims of the orthodox literature, according to which for several months, thousands of human corpses were cremated every day within the confines of the Treblinka, Sobibór and Belzec camps. These camps probably had facilities permitting the cremation of corpses, but most likely on a much smaller scale than claimed. A generous calculation using the surface areas actually available according to the orthodox literature (1,000 to 1,500 m² for each camp) results in pyres of a size permitting the cremation of maybe some 1,500 corpses per week, but not several tens of thousands, as is usually claimed.

If following the data given by M. Tregenza for the claimed pyres (4, possibly 5 “grills,” each of 5 m × 5 m, *i.e.* some 100 to 125 m²), the estimates shrink even further by almost an order of magnitude to a few hundred corpses which could have been disposed of within a week. In any case, the claims that fuel wood was needed only to start the fires are outside of the realm of documented experiences and must therefore be reject-

ed. All reports about actual pyres during the 2001 hoof-and-mouth epidemic as well as instructions for the construction of such pyres emphasize the substantial fuel requirement.

This paper does *not* conclude that no such cremations took place at all in these camps. Crimes against humanity do not depend on a set number of victims. Legal and moral decisions follow different guidelines than technical issues. But we should reconcile ourselves to the thought that the two million victims attributed to these camps are a gross exaggeration. Considering the verifiable information about these camps and the experiences with outdoor mass cremations during livestock epidemics, we can safely assume that not more than 3,000 to 5,000 corpses could have been disposed of weekly in these camps. Applying this to the total time span during which such cremations are said to have occurred in the context of the “Aktion Reinhardt,” that is to say a four- to six-month period, no more than 80,000 to 125,000 corpses could possibly have been disposed of in that manner. The actual numbers are likely to be much lower than these, though.

5. Recommended Reading

Revisionists have dealt with the above problem in a number of their books. The results are similar to the present study, although the ways the authors arrived at them are much more complex. The present study has the advantage that it is based on real, properly documented cases of open-air mass cremations which are similar in style, scope and scale to the ones claimed for the alleged extermination camps of “Aktion Reinhardt.” The so-inclined reader may compare the present result to those obtained in these studies, of which the first three are concise while the last one is exhaustive to the point of being excessive:

- Jürgen Graf, Thomas Kues, Carlo Mattogno, *Sobibór: Holocaust Propaganda and Reality*, The Barnes Review, Washington, D.C., 2010, pp. 130-148
- Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research, and History*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2004, pp. 82-87.
- Carlo Mattogno, Jürgen Graf, *Treblinka: Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?*, reprint of 2nd ed., The Barnes Review, Washington, D.C., 2010, pp. 145-152
- Carlo Mattogno, Thomas Kues, Jürgen Graf, *The “Extermination Camps” of “Aktion Reinhardt”: An Analysis and Refutation of Factitious “Evidence,” Deceptions and Flawed Argumentation of the “Holocaust Controversies” Bloggers*, Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK, October 2013, vol. 2, pp. 1169-1332.

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- Carlo Mattogno, *The Cremation Furnaces of Auschwitz*, Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield 2015
- Jean-Claude Pressac, *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989
- Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, Munich, 1994
- Michael Tregenza, “Das vergessene Lager des Holocaust,” in Irmutrud Wojak, Peter Hayes (eds.), “*Arisierung*” im Nationalsozialismus: *Volksgemeinschaft, Raub und Gedächtnis*, Campus, Frankfurt/Main 2000

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- ⁶ *Village Tidings*, ISSN 1353 2243, c/o Ferryhouse, Bolton Abbey, Skipton, N Yorks, BD23 6HB; e-mail: vtontheweb@planetall.com, vol. 39, summer 2001 (this pyre, as pyre no. 7, was operated during the hoof-and-mouth epidemic of 1968).
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ William A. Geering, Mary-Louise Penrith, David Nyakahuma, *Manual on procedures for disease eradication by stamping out...*, FAO Animal Health Manual No. 12, FAO, Rome 2001; www.fao.org/docrep/004/Y0660E/Y0660E02.htm; last accessed on Sept. 21, 2016; this is almost identical to a French government source of that time: Direction générale de l'alimentation, Sous-direction de la santé et de la protection animales, Bureaux: Santé animale, *Note de service DGAL/SDSPA/SDSSA/N2003-8050; Annexe 3: L'incineration des cadavres*, Paris, March 10, 2003.
- ⁹ Department of Health, UK, www.doh.gov.uk/fmdguidance/disposalriskassessmentannexes.pdf; last accessed in 2005, now removed.
- ^{9a} Other, newer sources give similar data; see e.g. Curtis Kastner *et al.*, *Carcass Disposal: A Comprehensive Review*, National Agricultural Biosecurity Center Consortium, Carcass Disposal Working Group, March 2004, Part 1, ch. 2, p. 9; online e.g. at <http://amarillo.tamu.edu/files/2011/01/draftreport.pdf>; numbers are based on S.N. Smith, R. Southall, T.L. Taylor, *APHIS Carcass Disposal Manual*, operational guidelines (15th Draft, 2/22/02), United States Department of Agriculture, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Washington, D.C., 2002; and C. McDonald, *Report to Dumfries and Galloway Council: Air monitoring of carcass pyre at Whithorn*. Glasgow, Glasgow Scientific Services, 2001. See also *National Animal Health Emergency Management System Guidelines: Operational Guidelines: Disposal*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, April 2005, p. 11-13; www.aphis.usda.gov/emergency_response/tools/on-site/htdocs/images/nahems_disposal.pdf.
- ¹⁰ *La Voix du Nord*, 6 March 2001, “Un bûcher de 100 m de long pour 600 moutons.”

Amount of Fuel Required during Hoof-and-Mouth Epidemic

reference # location/authority	Description of actual outdoor mass cremations of livestock and instructions to construct pertinent pyres									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	9a
Heddon-on-the-Wall		Caldbeck	Shadwick	Burdon	Epynt	Oswestry	Oswestry	FAO	DOH	APHIS
Cattle	75	500	401	200	300	68	45 cows, 10 calves	1	1	1
pigs	850					450		or 4		or 5
sheep				730		115	90	or 4 shorn or 3 un-shorn		or 5
pig equivalents	1150	2000	1604	1770	1200	860	320	4	(4)	5
railway sleepers	250	3800	700	800	380	200	150	1	3	3×8 sq ft
coal [t]	75	700	200	290	175	30	25	0.2	1	0.23
wood		900 skids		29 t	250 skids	4 truckloads 200 tires	2 truckloads 100 tires	35 kg	40 kg	23 kg
diesel oil [l]		7600		3000	2800	150	150	5		3.8
straw	2 truckloads	60 t		20 t	4 t	350 bales	250 bales	1 bale	1 bale	3 bales
length [m]	150			250? 350?	250? 500?	60	45			0.9/cattle
wood equivalents [t]	185	1750	450	677	400	110	75	0.5	2.3	0.87
wood/pig [kg]	160	875	280	360	330	130	235	425	575	174

average: 310 kg; corr. average: 270 kg (values struck through not considered) wood/pig [kg]

For this study the caloric value of each type of fuel is expressed as wood equivalents. Some basic value can be found here: <http://www.brennholz-killat.de/abc/Heizwerttabelle.pdf>, from which I took “Heizöl EL” for diesel, “Brennholz (Mittel)” for average wood, “Steinkohle” for coal, “Stroh (in Ballen)” for bales of straw with 0.25 m³ and 35kg per bale. Considering the frequent uncertainty of the data given (skids, truckloads etc.) some calculations had to be based on educated guesses. However, in every case the contribution of coal and wood was always the decisive value. Unless indicated otherwise, a railway sleeper was calculated as a piece of wood of 2.5 m × 0.3 m × 0.2 m with a specific density of 0.5 t/m³.

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Aspects of the Tesch Trial

Friedrich Jansson

"I do not feel guilty. I did my duty working from morning 'til night for my country, just as the English would work for their country."

—Bruno Tesch, interrogation of September 26, 1945

"It is an official duty of humanity to exterminate vermin."

—Bruno Tesch, interrogation of September 26, 1945

In March 1946, Bruno Tesch, the head of the firm Tesch & Stabenow (often abbreviated as TESTA), was put on trial along with his *Prokurist* Karl Weinbacher and the gassing (i.e. fumigation) technician Joachim Drosihn, on the charge that they "did supply poison gas used for the extermination of allied nationals interned in concentration camps well knowing that the said gas was to be so used."¹ Tesch had been brought to the attention of British authorities by former employee Emil Sehm, who had claimed that while working at the company he had seen a travel report in which Tesch had agreed to provide technical assistance with exterminating the Jews with poison gas. After seven days of proceedings, Tesch and Weinbacher were convicted and sentenced to death, while Drosihn was acquitted.

The trial received early revisionist attention from chemist William Lindsey, who wrote a substantial (if somewhat intemperate) 1983 article outlining its course,² and has also been criticized from the orthodox side, notably by Jean-Claude Pressac, who wrote that "In 1946, simple malicious gossip could easily lead to someone being hung. I do not know whether the 'trip report' was produced before the Tribunal,³ but if it was not then, this trial was a masquerade."⁴ In the only significant orthodox account of the trial, Angelika Ebbinghaus focuses on background information, offering little on the details of the trial.⁵ Some aspects of the trial have also been covered in a history of Tesch & Stabenow.⁶

For their information on the Tesch case, the works cited above relied almost exclusively on the trial transcript. This paper aims to deepen understanding of the trial through the materials available in the investigation files. These files offer insight into both the specific case against Tesch, as well as the conduct of postwar investigations in general. An additional benefit is that the investigation files contain a number of sources of inde-

pendent interest. This paper will not address the witnesses concerning homicidal gassings who appeared at the trial (notably C.S. Bendel and Pery Broad), first, because they are better considered in a broader context, and second, because their statements have already been discussed in the revisionist literature. We are not aiming at a treatment of all aspects of the trial, and will be content to pass over topics we consider unenlightening or which have already been adequately covered by other authors. Though in principle self-contained, this paper is not structured as an introduction to the Tesch trial, and the reader may find it useful to first familiarize himself with the case by reading Lindsey's article. The published summary of the case⁷ may also serve as a useful introduction. When quoting from the investigation materials, we have always used the original English translation when one was available, while sometimes noting discrepancies from the original German. Where there was no original English version, the translation is the author's.

1. The Investigation

The investigation of Bruno Tesch and TESTA began with a letter from the former TESTA bookkeeper Emil Sehm to British authorities on June 29, 1945. Sehm wrote:⁸

"According to my estimation I am able to supply very important information that means fresh evidence to commit war criminals for trial. The war crime I am referring to concerns an official discussion which took place between a businessman of an IG Farben sister concern with leading men of the OKW [Army High Command], about the application of the hydrocyanic acid process to kill human beings. Further the training of SS men to apply this process.

My profession gave me the opportunity to see top secret files and that is where my knowledge results from."

As his first letter received no response, Sehm sent another letter on August 24. He wrote:¹⁰

"In my capacity as accountant and later in special cases dealing with the correspondence I got acquainted with a few top-secret documents. When dealing with a particular file, I was instructed by Dr. TESCH about the secrecy which had to be kept about this particular file. The contents of this file was a report and I can very well remember it. It had the meaning as follows:

Dr. TESCH reported about an invitation he received to a conference at the OKW BERLIN. He stated to which members he was introduced and in which way and form. About the subject of the conference he wrote that the speaker explained that the execution of the Jews by shooting has developed in a mass execution and furthermore it is very unhygienic. Dr. TESCH was asked to submit any suggestion, whether and how Jews could be exterminated by using hydrocyanic acid. Afterwards technical points about the application of hydrocyanic acid were discussed and amongst other suggestions one way was suggested that all Jews detailed for extermination should be taken into a barracks previously prepared (gas-tight). During the night a trained man (using a respirator) should enter the barracks and place hydrocyanic acid plates in the rooms. In future, instead of getting buried, dead bodies will be cremated. Dr. TESCH offered himself to SS men who will be selected by the OKW and put at his disposal to train on courses for this purpose (using hydrocyanic acid).

In fact there were some SS men trained by him and his fellow worker. The book-keeping disclosed further that the firm has supplied hydrocyanic acid called 'T' Gas^[9] to the OKW and SS offices (Dienststellen).

I copied this report and showed it to one of my reliable friends. Later I told it as well to Herr Frahm, Lorenzenstrasse 10. This copy was burnt immediately as I realized that it would have been useless to take any further steps for the time being to stop the crime. [...]

On this conference according to the report of Dr. TESCH no high ranking SS were present, but the highest authorities of the OKW were leading this discussion. [...]

As an economical adviser, I was convinced from the beginning that NSDAP means only war and destruction of the economy and it gives me a satisfaction to write this statement.

Through the knowledge of all these happenings my eyes were opened and I was fully convinced that the German nation has criminals as leaders and it will be the tragedy of the German people to be made responsible for the crimes inflicted on the human race."

To recapitulate: Sehm claimed to have seen one of Tesch's travel reports in which it was specified that (1) the method of killing Jews and disposing of their corpses was to be switched from shooting+burial to HCN+cremation, (2) the reason for this transition was hygiene, (3) the planning for gassing Jews was handled by the OKW, and (4) the killing with HCN was to take place by having a gassing technician enter the barracks in which Jews resided during the night, when the Jews would presumably be asleep, and

carry out a disinfection. This gassing method is so absurd that it is difficult to believe that Sehm was taken seriously – but he was. That September, British investigators visited TESTA with Sehm in tow and arrested Tesch. The date of the visit is a little uncertain. The investigative team's report on the case says that it took place "on or about the 18th September 1945."¹¹ Authors relying on the trial transcript have stated that Tesch was arrested on September 3,¹² as the prosecutor Gerald Draper stated in his introductory speech.¹³ However, the dates of September 19 and September 12 were also given during the trial.¹⁴ As the arrest is described in a statement dated September 18, the date of the 19th would at least seem to be excluded. In the aforementioned statement, Sehm wrote that "the filing room in which I believed the file which would incriminate Dr. Tesch to be, was burned out [...] during Mar 1944, after an air attack." He detailed his confrontation with Dr. Tesch:¹⁶

"I stated to him: I have knowledge of a Traveling Report compiled by you. According to this you have negotiated with leading persons of the OKW. It was submitted to you that the shooting of Jews had increased to such an extent that this could no longer be justified from the hygienic point of view. It was proposed to employ the prussic acid process for the 'liquidation' of the Jews. You were asked for your opinion in the matter. Furthermore, the single phases of the operation were explained in the report.

Interrupting my statement, Dr. Tesch said that I^[15] knew perfectly well that the firm was only carrying out gassing of vermin, etc; only after being repeatedly questioned did he deny to know of such a Travel Report. The female stenographers, Miss Radtke and Miss Knickrehm were also questioned as to whether they could remember that this Travel Report was dictated to them by Dr. Tesch. Both denied it."

In his statement of October 10, Sehm stated that these events took place on September 18.¹⁷

Tesch was interrogated by Captain Gerald Draper and Captain Frank on September 26. The interrogation is available only in English. He was told that five million people had been gassed at Auschwitz, and replied that this was news to him – he had first heard of homicidal gasings in the press and radio. He did not believe that the gas he had supplied had been used for mass killing. He saw little sense in the description he was given of fake showers being used as gas chambers, and absolutely denied Sehm's story about the travel report. While in many cases he was deferential to the interrogators on matters outside his direct experience ("If you say so, gentle-

men, perhaps it is true; you may have better evidence”), he was very definite about the travel report (“It does not exist”). Sehm, he said, had always been a “book of seven seals” to him, and may have borne a grudge against him because of their past differences regarding pay and because of Sehm’s dismissal from the firm.¹⁸ The interrogators, however, told him that Sehm’s statement could be confirmed, because Sehm’s friend Frahm (mentioned in Sehm’s letter of August 24) had also seen the travel report:¹⁹

“Q. In a secret file there was a report about an invitation to a conference in Berlin, was there not?”

A. The only invitation received was to a conference with the Army and SS, the Reichs Ministry of Food and the Reichs Ministry of Interior.

Q. It is useless for you to say that is not so, as Sehm has seen the file. Is it possible there were files in the offices which were so secret that they could be seen by Sehm and not by you?

A. It is possible.

Q. And you are the head of the business?

A. I was away for more than half the year. I was away often, and whilst I was away secret papers arrived.

Q. Do you remember going to a very big conference in Berlin, with many high-ups?

A. No, I cannot recollect.

Q. Is it possible?

A. No, I do not think so. I did participate in conferences with the Reichs Ministry of Food and representatives from the three Services were present, but not high-ups.

Q. What were the ranks of the senior members?

A. Senior Staff Medical Officers.

Q. Do you remember a conference at which they talked about methods of doing away with the Jews?

A. No.

Q. Is it not unfortunate that Sehm read about it in one of your files?

A. I cannot imagine what he read.

Q. But someone else also saw the file – Frahm?

A. I have not met him.

Q. He is a friend of Sehm, and he also saw the file?

A. I do not understand, I cannot understand how a stranger could see a business file.

Q. Because Sehm showed him it.

A. I cannot credit Sehm with such a breach of confidence. He was not entitled to show such things to strangers, but if he did so he must have

known what he was doing. I have absolutely no recollections of what Sehm could be thinking about.

Q. Sehm extracted the report from the file and showed the report from the file to his friend Frahm. It is easy to find out whether Sehm is lying, because we can ask Frahm."

Indeed, one could and did ask Frahm. Two weeks later, Frahm gave a statement. Unfortunately for the investigators, Frahm did not confirm that Sehm had shown him such a document. Rather, Frahm stated that Sehm had shown him the letter he had written to the British in the summer of 1945:²⁰

"I have not worked for the firm of TESCH and STABENOW but a friend of mine, Herr Emil SEHM, worked for this firm as bookkeeper. He told me one night that he did not want to work for TESCH and STABENOW any more but he did not tell me why.

One day in July or August 1945 Emil SEHM told me the following: 'Now I can tell you why I wanted to leave the firm of TESCH and STABENOW.' He showed me a letter that he had written to the British Military Authorities. It said that Dr TESCH had been in BERLIN with the Commander of the Wehrmacht and Dr TESCH had been told by the Commander of the WEHRMACHT that he or a member of his firm would have to instruct 30 SS men in how to use BLAUSAUERE-GAS [sic]. These SS men, when they had been instructed in the use of this gas, had to wear gas masks and go into the barrack rooms in the concentration camps and put tablets of the gas in the corners of the room and go out and shut the door.

Emil SEHM also told me that he had seen in a file in Dr TESCH's office that the Ober-Commander of the Wehrmacht told Dr TESCH to instruct the 30 SS men in the use of BLAUSAUERE-GAS [sic]."

Frank and Draper's seeming belief that Frahm had seen the file is inexplicable in terms of the available documents. The reader may verify that in the passages quoted above, Sehm did not make this claim. There are several possibilities for explaining this: Frank and Draper may have been lying in order to intimidate Tesch, they may have misunderstood the documents, Sehm may have verbally told them something along these lines which was not put down in writing, or the available versions of Sehm's early statements may have been altered in order to remove contradictions from the prosecution's narrative. In light of the numerous cases of dishonesty on the part of the investigative team which will be proved below, the last possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand, given that the available versions are

not originals, but copies in English translation. That said, there is nothing to prove that this was the case.

Emil Sehm also gave a statement on October 10. He explained that he had found the alleged travel report filed under "Wehrmacht," and that it was not marked as secret or confidential. He then quoted from the alleged travel report as follows:²¹

"Mr. (Name of the Wehrmacht representative missing) explained to me that the shooting of Jews became a Mass Shooting and it proved to be unhygienic. He thought this could be improved by gassing the Jews with BLAUSÄUREGAS and burn the corpses afterwards. He asked me to supply him with suitable propositions. I suggested to carry out the extermination of the Jews by the usual method of gassing. After they have been put into the Barracks (the Jews) which were made airtight, a BLAUSÄURE expert proceeds to the rooms at night for the purpose of laying BLAUSÄUREGAS tablets. The corpses could be disposed of in the morning."

In case his previous statements had left any doubt in the matter, he reiterated that "With regard to the travel report I want to mention again that according to the report the negotiations were not carried out by the higher SS leaders but with the leading personalities of the Army High Command."

While Sehm's statement did not say that he showed the documents to Frahm, as the British interrogators claimed, it did state that he had told Frahm about his reason for leaving TESTA. In denying that Sehm had told him this ("he did not tell me why"), and claiming that Sehm had said after the war that he was finally able to inform him of this reason ("Emil SEHM told me the following: 'Now I can tell you why I wanted to leave the firm'"), Frahm directly contradicted Sehm's assertions.

Had Frahm's statement been taken earlier, and had the investigators been more clearheaded, that might have been the end of the case. But by October 10, the case could no longer be easily stopped. On September 28, the firm had been visited again. The report on this visit written by Sergeant D. Ellwood complained that Weinbacher "could not or would not give all the information sought." Ellwood spoke to two gassing technicians, Marczinkowski²² and Pietsch^{23; 24}

"Both stated that they knew nothing about Gas Chambers, but had been engaged in 'delousing' only. It is practically certain that they had been 'briefed' in what they should say when questioned, as they both professed ignorance of the simplest things. It was only after having been spoken to sharply that the above was wormed out of them."

Ellwood's report was forwarded along with a note that underscored how the investigators sought to interpret normal delousing facilities as homicidal:²⁵

"It will be noticed that the 'delousing' apparatus referred to is in fact a gas chamber installation as pictured in the pamphlet herewith entitled 'Die kleine TESTA-FIBEL über Normal-Gaskammern'. These chambers [10-cubic-meter delousing chambers. -FJ] are certainly large enough to have been used for the purpose of annihilation of human beings. [...] The firm has asked if they can have the enclosed file back!"

On October 2nd, after reading Ellwood's report, Tesch's interrogation, and a report (presumably Sehm's) on the confrontation between Sehm and Tesch,²⁶ Group Captain A.G. Somerhough wrote that he was "by no means satisfied that [Tesch] was not well aware of the purposes for which he was supplying this cyanide and that he did not only act as a technical advisor on the question of its use for the purpose of exterminating human beings."²⁷ Because of Tesch's connection to Sachsenhausen, Somerhough suggested handing him over to the Russians for interrogation "if they think they can get any more out of him, bearing in mind that they are in possession of some actual lethal chamber apparatus,"²⁸ proposed "to turn a War Crimes Investigation Team on to this case,"²⁹ and suggested that Tesch, Weinbacher, Drosihn, and twelve TESTA gassing technicians be arrested.³⁰

In the meantime, Tesch had been released. Like so many things about the investigation, the date of his release is uncertain. The investigative team stated that it took place on October 1st,³¹ a claim which was repeated at the trial.³² The same date was also claimed by A.W. Freud³³ during his interrogation of Drosihn, but the latter remembered that Tesch returned on a Saturday,³⁴ which would necessarily have been Saturday September 29.

Once on the case, War Crimes Investigation Team [WCIT] Number 2 carried out arrests on a scale even broader than intended by Somerhough, rounding up and arresting all available employees of TESTA, secretaries and accountants along with gassing technicians. Weinbacher was arrested on October 6th, and Tesch and Drosihn the next day.³⁵ According to the investigative team's report, nine employees were arrested on the 6th, three on the 7th, three on the 8th, one on the 9th, two on the 19th, and two on the 20th.³⁶

Thus, by the time Frahm gave his statement of the 10th of October, the authorities had already committed to the Tesch case by ordering and carrying out the mass arrest of TESTA personnel. Given this commitment, the case could not be given up lightly. Although Sehm was the only witness

against Tesch, and his statements had been directly contradicted by his friend Frahm, the case had to go ahead. On October 22, another version of Frahm's statement was made, which attempted to remove these contradictions. The text then read:³⁷

"I have not worked for the firm of TESCH and STABENOW but a friend of mine, Herr Emil SEHM, worked for this firm as a bookkeeper. He told me one night in the early part of 1943 that he did not want to work any more for the firm of TESCH and STABENOW because his principles did not agree with those of Dr TESCH, and he might also have told me of the gassing operations of TESCH and STABENOW at concentration camps, but I am not certain now.

In August or July 1945 Emil Sehm showed me a letter that he had written to the British Military Authorities. It said that Dr TESCH had been in BERLIN with the Commander of the Wehrmacht and Dr TESCH had been told [...remainder of letter follows the version of October 10]."

The reader should compare this to Frahm's statement of October 10th, and will readily see that the changes were *exactly* the removal of the two contradictions between Sehm's story and Frahm's.

1.1 The Interrogations of Drosihn and Weinbacher

The interrogation transcripts for Drosihn and Weinbacher, unlike those of Tesch, exist in full in both German and English. Neither knew anything about Sehm's travel report, or about the gassing of humans. Their interrogations are particularly interesting, however, in that they give us a look into the operating procedures and ethical standards of the British War Crimes Investigation Team. The interrogations, in fact, exist in two different versions each in both German and English: an original transcript of the interrogations, which took place on October 17 in Drosihn's case and October 16 in Weinbacher's, and a doctored version.³⁸ The doctored versions have had certain passages embarrassing to the prosecution removed, *but are still signed and certified as accurate transcripts* by Captain Freud and the stenotypist. Altogether, then, there exist (1) a German original, with the passages to be removed indicated in pen, (2) an English translation of the German original, (3) a sanitized German copy with the offending passages removed, and (4) an English translation of the sanitized German copy.

What kinds of passages were thought worth removing? To start, the very beginning of Weinbacher's interview was removed:

*"Q. Take your hands out of your pockets if you come in here.
A. Yes, I have done it already,*

(Owing to the obstinate behaviour of the prisoner Captain FREUD ordered the presence of an armed guard)."

What was this obstinate behavior? In the report on the case, it is stated that Weinbacher was "so insolent" during his interrogation that "special steps" had to be taken.³⁹ Another excised passage from the interrogation gives a sample of this "insolence." After having first claimed that Dr. Tesch had bribed Weinbacher, something Weinbacher indignantly denied (the entire exchange being later excised from the transcripts), Capt. Freud then claimed that Dr. Tesch had given the members of the firm instructions about what to tell investigators. Weinbacher denied this, and in the exchange that followed (which was cut from the transcript) showed more of his "insolence":

"Q. Don't lie.

A. No. As sure as I am standing here, there was no question about it. You are under a misconception.

Q. Don't shout at me.

A. I am speaking in the same voice as you are talking to me.

Q. Don't become insolent. What did you get from Dr TESCH?

Q. I didn't get anything. I can only say that you do not appreciate Dr TESCH" (German original reads: "*daß Sie Dr. Tesch falsch beurteilen.*")

When Weinbacher denied that TESTA had specially secured files,⁴⁰ he was threatened by the interrogator, but the exchange was later removed from the transcript:

"Q. How do you like the prison? Apparently too well. We shall send you to a working camp [Arbeitslager] if you don't want to speak the truth.

A. I can only tell the truth and nothing more. I can't say anything but the truth."

Dr. Drosihn's October 17 interrogation experienced similar expurgations. As in Weinbacher's interrogation, a passage to do with the disparagement of Tesch's character was removed. (The first two lines of the following quotation were not removed; they are included here to provide the proper context.)

"Q. What did Dr. Tesch say when such an enormous order came?

A. 'Good; that is a beautiful order.'

Q. He did not say: 'Good, another 100,000 Poles or Russians dead'?

A. No, he never did say that. In my opinion, he would always have been against that.

Q. I am very much disappointed with you. I thought you would speak more openly.

A. I did so.

Q. No you did not. You did not say anything about the gassing of men.

A. I don't know anything about it."

In another removed passage Captain Freud expounded on the converted shower theory that dominated thinking about gas chambers at the time.⁴¹ (He also made such a sketch and description of gassing showers during the interrogation of TESTA employee Johann Holst.⁴²)

"Q. We will show you how we found the gas chambers. (Captain FREUD makes a sketch). I show you the chambers of RIGA. These rooms had once been shower baths. The SS was standing armed on the roof, the people were driven into the yard, then the doors were locked and the SS pushed the people into the rooms, allegedly to take a shower bath. They were told that, then the doors were locked and the ZYKLON gas was sprinkled through the holes in the ceiling. After ten minutes the people could be brought to the incinerator, How many of these installations did you see?

A. Not a single one. In RIGA I only saw the normal installation."

The questioning of Drosihn on Sehm's travel report story was also cut, with the following text being removed:

"Q. I will tell you what records we have found. At the end of 1941 Dr Tesch was in BERLIN and had conferences with the highest officials of the Wehrmacht and the SS. And in the course of these conferences it was said literally: 'Because the shooting of Jews is unhygienic it is suggested that BLAUSAEURE GAS should be used.' That is to be read in black and white in a letter from the High Command. I am rather sure that you, too, took some part in this. What do you know about the destruction of men? But this time I don't want to hear the same lies, but the truth.

A. I state once again that I heard of it only after the occupation.

Q. That is impossible for the shower baths were only camouflaged; there was no water there.

A. I assume that they were perhaps hot air chambers, but it is not allowed to build them like that, for that is not permitted by the law, that chambers must stand quite apart.

Q. It was a barrack standing alone. Didn't you supply anything for it?

A. No, nothing. That is not the expert way and cannot be brought in accordance with the laws relating to BLAUSAEURE."

As in Weinbacher's interrogation, threats were removed from the edited version of Drosihn's interrogation. First to go was a threat to hand him over to the Russians to be tortured:

"Q. I see, Dr DROSIHN. We won't get anywhere like that. I had thought you would like to speak, but as you are not doing that, we must proceed differently with you; for we want to know what the firm had to do with the gassing of men. You know the firm's position today, as well as yours, and that of the other gentlemen, Dr TESCH and WEINBACHER? Your sphere of activity was mostly in the East, such as AUSCHWITZ, RIGA, LUBLIN, ORANIENBURG, and all those places are now under Russian authority. We shall be forced to pass you on to the Russians who now deal with such cases and probably employ other methods to make you speak.

A. I cannot make any other statements. I can only assure you that my tongue has been loosened and that I will tell you everything.

Q. Until now you have not told us anything.

A. I must adhere to my statement that only after your victory did I hear that men had been gassed in the concentration camps."

Also removed was a veiled threat against Drosihn's wife:

"Shall we first hear [verhören, translation should be 'interrogate'] your wife about [what Drosihn had heard about Auschwitz]? We want to spare her this."

Figures 1 and 2 show pages from the original German transcripts of the interrogations, with the passages to be excised marked in pen.

The revelation of this procedure of sanitizing interrogation transcripts has significant implications, and raises the question of how far this practice extended to other similar cases of the time. Certainly, one must suspect similar alterations to Tesch's interrogations, neither of which exists in a true original (meaning the copy actually taken down during the interrogation). However, there is also a strong possibility that similar acts took place in other British and American interrogations. In one similar case, there was testimony in the Congressional investigation of the Malmedy trial that the investigators engaged in extensive rewriting of interrogation-derived statements.⁴³ Interrogation materials are often not available in the original typed version, as seen in Figures 1 and 2 (with characteristic lack of formatting), but only in better-formatted, retyped versions. In light of the

modifications demonstrated here, scholars cannot deny the very real possibility that they are dealing with doctored materials – “the interrogation as it should have been.” Though this is not the time to treat the subject thoroughly, one must remark that when using interrogation and trial materials, holocaust scholars have not shown adequate sensitivity towards the type of evidence with which they were dealing. It is no surprise that reading the prosecution’s file makes the accused look guilty: the prosecution was aiming for that effect, and often was not being particularly honest in the process. On the theme of caution with interrogation-derived statements, one should also note the penchant of prosecutors to use their own statements in the deposition of a witness. In simplified and somewhat caricatured form, the process looks like this: one begins with an interrogation as follows:

“INTERROGATOR: Statement 1 is true, right?”

WITNESS: Yes.

INTERROGATOR: Statement 2 is true, right?”

WITNESS: I guess so.

INTERROGATOR: Statement 3 is true, right?”

WITNESS: No, definitely not.

INTERROGATOR: Statement 4 is true, right?”

WITNESS: I don’t think so.

INTERROGATOR: Is it impossible?”

WITNESS: Well, I guess I can’t prove it didn’t happen.”

Through the magic of the prosecution’s rewriting, this becomes:

“DEPOSITION OF WITNESS: Statement 1. Statement 2. It is quite possible that Statement 4.”

In this way, the witness simply becomes the mouthpiece for as much of the prosecution’s case as he will assent to, or at least not explicitly deny. The appearance of voluntary or spontaneous admissions in the resulting statements makes them much more convincing evidence than the interrogation transcript itself would have been. This, of course, was intentional on the prosecution’s part. To give a simple example from the Tesch case, consider the following exchange during Drosihn’s interrogation:⁴⁴

“Q. What was your impression of Dr TESCH as a man?”

A. Dr TESCH could be very inconsiderate.

Q. He would step over corpses if it helped his business?”

A. I don’t know whether I can express it that way. It is true he neglected my salary.

Q. It astonishes me that you still protect him thus, for now he will not have an opportunity to employ people. I want to know your real opinion of him.

A. I have already stated at the beginning that I had several quarrels with Dr TESCH. Besides, he was very correct and tried not to come into conflict with the law.

Q. Did Dr TESCH tell you about the conference in BERLIN?

A. No.

Q. Where did he keep secret records?

A. I don't know. I only know that he wrote a secret letter about me. I don't know what was in it. He put it into a blue, closed envelope and laid it in the upper shelf of the cupboard.

Q. Perhaps he wanted to bring you to a concentration camp?

A. That is possible. [Das kann sein.]

Q. Then you would perhaps have been gassed and experienced the matter from the other side?

A. Yes; possible. [Ja, möglich.]”

In his statement, this became:⁴⁵

“I also know that Dr TESCH kept a sealed envelope which probably contained my criticisms of the State in order to be able to blackmail me.”

1.2 Tesch's Second Interrogation

On October 24, Tesch was interrogated by Anton Freud. This second interrogation does exist in German, but in a fragmentary form, severed into 31 numbered chunks. While the interrogation contains some particulars that are of interest in connection with specific points, some of which are cited elsewhere in this paper, the interrogation as a whole offered little new. Mainly, Freud took the opportunity to vent his anger and frustration over the weakness of the evidence the WCIT had gathered, accusing Tesch of engineering a coverup with his employees, and of burning key documents. At the time, there was still a realistic possibility that Tesch would be turned over to the Russians,⁴⁶ and Freud took the opportunity to threaten that because of the 4.5 million people he had killed, the Russians would rip out Tesch's [finger and toe] nails.⁴⁷ Faced with Freud's threats and name-calling, Tesch mostly confined himself to repeating his previous statements.

2. The Trial

The Tesch trial lasted from March 1 to 8, 1946. The Judge Advocate was C.L. Stirling, who had also presided at the Belsen trial. Major Gerald Draper started things off, reminding everyone what the trial concerned:⁴⁸

“Zyklon B was going in vast quantities to the largest concentration camps in Germany east of the Elbe, and in those same concentration camps the SS Totenkopfverbunden were systematically exterminating human beings from 1942 to 1945 in an estimated total of six million human beings, of which four and a half million human beings were exterminated by the use of Zyklon B in one camp alone known as Auschwitz/Birkenau.”

The trial was conducted in English, and its transcript records only the English language versions of statements. The quality of the translation varied. A letter from Major Peter E. Forest, sent the day after the trial concluded, described the four interpreters. Captain Sempel received top marks, with Sergeant Rees a step behind. Sergeant Cunningham’s English was inadequate for the job, his translations incorrect, his manners poor. (“The Court was most displeased with his remark ‘Shut up’ to the Defending Counsel.”) Corporal Jacobson was too nervous and distracted to perform up to standard.⁴⁹ Certain problems of translation are evident in the transcript, for instance when the gassing of “mules” is mentioned (a mistranslation of *Mühlen*, the German word for “mills”).⁵⁰

The main fact which the prosecution attempted to prove was that the defendants had known that the gas they provided was used for extermination. While witnesses for the gassings did appear, they were not the focus of the trial, and the “fact” of mass extermination with gas in concentration camps was largely taken as known, having already been “proven” at the Belsen trial. In establishing the defendant’s “guilty knowledge,” the vital witnesses were the trio Sehm-Frahm-Pook, as well as the TESTA secretaries Biagini and Uenzelmann. We will focus on the evidence which these witnesses presented at the trial, how it compares to their previous statements, and the pretrial machinations concerning how the case would be presented.

2.1 Sehm, Frahm, Pook

Sehm was the first witness to appear. He made a number of mistakes that damaged his credibility, such as alleging that TESTA had delivered gas to Dachau and Belsen,⁵¹ and stating that “it was well known in the firm that Dr. Tesch was not a chemist, but a Doctor of Philosophy and interest only privately in the chemical science [sic].”⁵² Sehm’s presentation of his story

concerning the crucial travel report was consistent with his pretrial statements. With respect to the contentious question of what he had told Frahm, he stated that in the spring of 1943 he had told Frahm all about the travel report, and Frahm, a “very temperamental person,” had “behaved in a rather violently anti-national socialist way.”⁵³ With respect to Wilhelm Pook, he stated that the latter “came back to Hamburg in October or November 1945 and we have been having discussions since.”⁵⁴

Frahm was the next witness to appear, and contradicted Sehm’s account:⁵⁵

“Q. Did [Sehm] tell you why he wanted to leave [TESTA]?”

A. He indicated that things were going on at that firm with which his conscience could not agree.

Q. Did he particularise what those things were?”

A. No. He did not give me any particular details because at that time to talk about such things was quite impossible.”

Wilhelm Pook and his wife Kate Pook did not appear until Day 3 of the trial. On direct examination Wilhelm Pook was not asked about the Sehm travel report, but did give an account of what Sehm had told him during the war:⁵⁶

“Sehm told me that he was working at Tesch & Stabenow and that that firm supplied prussic acid for the territories in the east and that it was mainly a question of the killing of Jews and that Dr. Tesch undertook journeys there to give instruction about the manner of using that poison, and I know that Tesch & Stabenow furnished themselves this poison gas.”

Only on cross examination was he asked about the travel report. He confirmed Sehm’s story insofar as he stated that Sehm had told him about finding the travel report, read notes he had taken from it, and that he, Pook, had advised Sehm that it was dangerous to carry such a paper.⁵⁷ He did not, however, remember Sehm’s story about burning the note in an ashtray on the table:⁵⁸

“Q. Did anything happen with this copy made by Sehm in your presence?”

A. I cannot remember any more if he put it again in his pocket or what happened.”

Far more important than whether Pook could confirm Sehm’s bizarre tale of the travel report outlining the OKW’s plan to gas Jews at night in their barracks, however, was a fact revealed by Tesch’s lawyer Zippel. The

reader may have noticed that Pook's pretrial statements have not been mentioned. This is for good reason: they are not present in the files. While cross examining Pook, Zippel revealed that pretrial statements were taken from both of the Pooks. He pressed Pook on the discrepancy between his earlier statement and his trial testimony:⁶⁰

"Q. Why did you not mention [the travel report] whilst you have been interrogated by Captain Lee, the British Interrogation Officer?

A. In the meantime I could think about it.

Q. Have you in the meantime spoken to Sehm about it?

A. Yes, we did, but we did not gain any new facts.

Q. When did you speak with Sehm about it?

A. Last week.

Q. Have you spoken to Sehm after Sehm appeared as a witness before this court?

A. Last week.^[59]

Q. Did Sehm tell you what was the evidence given before this court?

A. It was only repetitions of what he had said before.

Q. Please answer my question now. Did he tell you what he gave as evidence before this court?

A. Yes he did – what was printed in the newspaper.

[...]

Q. Whilst interrogated by the British Interrogation Officer you could not remember that Sehm did show you a paper and yet now, months later, you can remember what was in this document.

A. We talked over this happening just as I gave the evidence a few moments before."

Wilhelm Pook was followed on the witness stand by his wife, Kate Pook, who delivered similar testimony, with a few notable differences. First, she claimed that she had thought at first that the document Sehm brought with him was an original document but only later realized that it was a copy – a story which clashes with Sehm's claim that it was just his own handwritten and fragmentary notes.⁶¹ Second, unlike her husband, she managed to remember Sehm's story about burning the note in an ashtray, although she was forced to admit that she might have merely been "reminded" of this by Sehm when he visited.⁶² Third, in her original statement to the British interrogating officer, she had apparently mentioned something about Sehm showing her one of Tesch's letters (rather than Sehm's notes on a travel report, as she claimed at the trial), and she stated that she only remembered about the document after her initial statement.⁶³

It is not entirely clear how Zippel acquired a copy of the pretrial Pook statements, or why they are not preserved in the records of the investigation and trial. Indeed, the casual reader of the Tesch investigation files could be forgiven for not noticing (either) Pook's existence. From a few traces, however, we can reconstruct the events of the investigation involving Pook.

Sehm had alluded to Pook without mentioning him by name in his August 24, 1945 letter. His September 18 description of his confrontation with Tesch named Pook for the first time, giving a lengthy description. Sehm repeated his description of Pook in his October 10 statement. Pook, however, was located in the American zone, and was consequently not the easiest witness for the Hamburg-based team to get at.

On October 27, Ashton Hill, the commanding officer of the No. 2 WCIT, requested that a statement be taken from Pook:⁶⁴

"It is requested that a statement be obtained from POOK who is now in the American zone, in order to corroborate the evidence of the chief informant Emil SEHM, who has made a statement on the lines set out below." (Hill then quotes four paragraphs from Sehm's statement.)

Making mention of this request, the investigative team's report on the case notes:⁶⁵

"In its present form there is very strong indirect evidence against all three accused but only weak direct evidence against Dr TESCH and no direct evidence at all against Herr WEINBACHER and Dr DROSIHN. The direct evidence against Dr TESCH can be strengthened slightly if a corroborative statement is obtained from Wilhelm POOK."

Referencing the report, a November 9 letter stated that Pook was being searched for.⁶⁶ Eventually, No. 2 War Crimes Investigation Team received a message informing them that Pook had arrived in Hamburg on November 23:⁶⁷

"RESTRICTED. CONFIRMING TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BENTHAM GREEN/ASHTON HILL RE GIFTGAS CASE AND DOCTOR TESCH. WILHELM POOK NOW REPORTED ARRIVED HAMBURG 23 NOV ADDRESS ALTONA STRESEMANNSTRASSE 71 BEI FAMILY MEYER. PLEASE ARRANGE IMMEDIATELY INVESTIGATION FOR CORROBORATION OF EVIDENCE OF EMIL SEHM AND REPORT ACCORDINGLY"

This message is dated only "02," as in "the second day of the month," at 1800 hours. The position in the file, however, indicates that the month was

January. We will trace through the chronology of the pretrial period to see where Pook came back into the story. The report on the case, dating to early November, mentions only that a statement should be taken from Pook. A November 28 advisory report by Brigadier H. Shapcott recommended charges against Tesch only, suggesting that the cases of Weinbacher and Drosihn be left for a later date.⁶⁸ Though it listed all witnesses and other evidence to be brought, the report made no mention of Frahm or Pook. These two were also omitted from a December 12 list of witnesses to be called.⁶⁹

On December 21, however, the charge was altered to include three defendants rather than Tesch alone. At this time, Frahm was added to the list of witnesses, but Pook still went unmentioned.⁷⁰ On January 3, referencing a telephone conversation between Smithers and Ashton Hill, Pook's arrival was noted:⁷¹

"It has been reported that Wilhelm POOK has left the American zone and is at HAMBURG-ALTONA, Stresemannstrasse 71 by Family Mayer. An immediate interrogation has been ordered by this Branch to be conducted by a member of No. 2 WCIT, and the result will be notified to you accordingly if it is intended to call POOK as a witness."

On January 19 both Pooks were on the witness list, but with a handwritten note that they were "not to be produced."⁷² Wilhelm Pook's statement was acknowledged as received by 8 Corps District on January 31,⁷³ and eight further copies were sent on February 2.⁷⁴ On February 7, the originals of both Pook statements were passed on, along with copies.⁷⁵

I have narrated these events in such detail to show the compelling evidence that statements from the Pooks were first taken at some point during January. It is important to establish this clearly because there is an intriguing circumstantial argument to the contrary. Here we return to the theme of the manipulation of witness statements by the WCIT. In addition to the Sehm statement of October 10 cited above, a second version of Sehm's statement was prepared and is included in a set of copies of exhibits to be used at trial.⁷⁶ This version, which is given the same date, is identical to the normal statement, with one exception: Sehm's discussion of his friend Pook, to whom he showed a copy of the mysterious travel report, is omitted.

The existence of this version of Sehm's statement would appear, on first glance, to be linked with another case of document manipulation, namely that alluded to in the above mentioned November 28 advisory report, which states that Sehm should be presented as a witness "in accordance

with Sehm's statement as amended by this office."⁷⁷ The question arises whether the Pook-less version of Sehm's statement is that amended version. If so, it would be tempting to suggest that the Pooks' failure to confirm Sehm's story caused the British authorities to create a new, Pook-less statement. This would require the hypothesis of an additional, earlier, undocumented meeting between Pook and War Crimes investigators. The chronology of events related to Pook was given in such detail in order to show that such a hypothesis is untenable. The documentary record is too clear to allow for such speculation.

If the Pook-less Sehm statement is identical with "Sehm's statement as amended by this office," then the amendment was done prior to taking a statement from Pook, presumably having been performed in order to conceal Pook's existence from the defense, since at the time his evidence remained a wild card. If the Pook-less Sehm statement is not identical with "Sehm's statement as amended by this office," then the latter was either for some reason not preserved in the Tesch trial files, or is nothing other than the *standard* version of Sehm's statement, the true original not having been preserved. Whichever of these options one prefers, it's clear that a great deal of document manipulation went on in the preparation for the Tesch trial.

2.2 Biagini and Uenzelmann

Aside from the trio Sehm-Frahm-Pook, the only witnesses offering evidence that Tesch and his fellow defendants had known that their gas was used to kill humans were two secretaries, Erna Elisa Biagini⁷⁸ and Anna Uenzelmann.⁷⁹ Neither of these witnesses told such a spectacular tale as Sehm, but they were seen at the trial as providing confirmation. Of the two, Biagini is the more interesting, in that she completely changed her story between her pretrial and trial statements.

In her interrogation, Biagini stated that she had not seen written materials concerning homicidal gassing, but mentioned that rumors on this subject had circulated at TESTA. These rumors, which she first heard in winter 1942, were not given any credence.⁸⁰ The same story is given in her statement⁸¹ and in the report on the case.⁸² Her statements to this effect may well be true. Rumors concerning the gassing of humans did circulate in Germany during the war. It would not be surprising if some typists at a gassing firm gossiped about them. That said, Biagini claimed that she had heard the rumors from her fellow typist Erika Rathcke, which Rathcke denied in her interrogation, asking to be confronted with the witness who

claimed this. She maintained this denial in the face of a threatening interrogation (“I tell you that you don’t speak the truth. That rumor was circulated in the office and you must know. I shall let you sit here for years if you don’t speak up.”). She had heard rumors about “idiots” being put to sleep (the euthanasia program), and knew of an institutionalized family member who had died shortly after a transfer, causing suspicion. She had not, however, heard anything about the use of gas for this purpose.⁸³

At the trial, however, Biagini’s testimony was completely different. She first denied having heard rumors, but then told a new story about seeing a travel report:⁸⁴

“Q. Did you ever hear any rumours about Zyklon B whilst you were with Tesch & Stabenow?”

A. No rumours. What sort of rumours?”

Q. Were there rumours about Zyklon B whilst you were with Tesch & Stabenow?”

A. No rumours.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE: When you were working with the firm, were there any rumours going about as to what Zyklon B was being used for?”

A. I do not know for certain.

Q. Have you understood the question?”

A. Yes.

Q. Let the court have an answer. It is a very simple question.

A. That the gas was used in concentration camps for disinfection.

MAJOR DRAPER: Did you ever hear that they were using the gas for any other purpose than for disinfecting vermin?”

A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us the circumstances and what you heard?”

A. I was working at a document; I have read it – that it might be used for human beings as well.

Q. Do you say you read that yourself?”

A. Yes.

Q. Having read that, did you mention it to any of your co-employees?”

A. Yes.

Q. To whom and in what circumstances?”

A. To Fraulein Rathcke. [...]

Q. Did you learn anything else about Zyklon B being used for exterminating human beings whilst you were in that firm?”

A. No, nothing else.”

Under cross examination, she stated that this report was one of Dr. Tesch's travel reports, but did not remember anything about the context of the document. She could testify only to having read in a travel report something concerning the possibility that Zyklon could be used against humans.⁸⁵ When questioned about the matter, Tesch thought that Biagini's new story might be based in fact, and offered the hypothesis that a student in one of his courses might have asked him about the effect of Zyklon on humans, and he might have taken note of this in a travel report. When challenged on this he emphasized that he indeed did frequently write down students' questions in the travel reports from his courses, that he could prove this, and that students did indeed ask such questions at his courses.⁸⁶ Rathcke, for her part, denied that Biagini had told her about this document.⁸⁷

The prosecution clearly did not know Biagini's new story before the case went to trial, as can be seen from the fact that Major Draper mentioned her old story in his opening speech.⁸⁸ Her reasons for changing her story are not apparent. Like her old story, her new story is perfectly plausible and not at all incriminating, despite the prosecution's insinuations. Her new story certainly *cannot* be interpreted as confirmation of Sehm's travel-report story.⁸⁹ While both stories involve a travel report, the two descriptions of that travel report are quite different, as Tesch himself noted at the trial.⁹⁰

The other TESTA secretary to offer evidence that Tesch had known of gassings was Anna Uenzelmann. Unlike Biagini, she stuck to her pretrial statements: at some point in 1942, after returning from Berlin, Dr. Tesch had said something to the effect that he had heard that there were plans to use Zyklon to kill humans, but had not given any details whatsoever.⁹¹ Tesch denied that there was any truth to Uenzelmann's story, and noted that "Frau Unzelmann is well known in the business as a very confused person," and suggested she may have become confused during the years since the event and made a mistake.⁹²

2.3 Excess Zyklon Supply?

It would be difficult to overstate how much emphasis was placed on the size of the Zyklon supply to Auschwitz during the Tesch investigation and trial. According to the prosecution, the supply was so large that Tesch must have known that the gas was used for extermination. TESTA's employees, under arrest at the time, were pressured to provide support for this argument. Meanwhile, in his first interrogation, Tesch had indicated skepticism towards this line of argument:⁹³

“Q. I am going to tell you something instead of asking the questions. 5 Million people died from gassing in Auschwitz. What do you understand from that?”

A. It is news to me.

Q. Tonight you are learning something, are you not? You are astounded, are you not? So some of the gas which went in did not kill merely bugs, did it?

A. I do not know; there were a lot of bugs in Auschwitz.”

In one case, the investigation team managed to secure a sort of endorsement for the excess Zyklon supply [hereafter EZS] argument, but only based on the assumption that Auschwitz was much smaller than it in fact was: a statement taken from the gassing technician Gustav Kock⁹⁴ stated that he would be “astonished” at Zyklon orders of one ton monthly for two years from a camp the size of Neuengamme.⁹⁵ He repeated this statement at the trial.⁹⁶ Auschwitz, which had ordered 19 tons in two years, was meant, and the interrogator had suggested to Kock that Auschwitz was the size of Neuengamme or Gross Rosen. In another case, the British interrogating agent explicitly stated that Auschwitz was a normal sized camp, and was smaller than Sachsenhausen.⁹⁷ The confusion about the size of Auschwitz was compounded by the statements of the gassing technician August Marcinkowski, who recounted an early trip to the camp:⁹⁸

“In March 1940 I carried out a gassing in AUSCHWITZ. This was just before it was due to become a concentration camp. At this time AUSCHWITZ consisted of seven to eight one-storeyed [einstöckigen] stone houses and we used about 120 kilograms of ZYKLON gas to gas it.”

Marcinkowski was called at the trial and repeated the story, stating this time that 120 to 130 kg of Zyklon had been used.⁹⁹ Captain Anton Freud, in turn, repeated this claim while interrogating Tesch, in order to prove that the Zyklon supply to Auschwitz was excessive:¹⁰⁰

“Q Not conspicuous! Do you know what people have said about you? If a camp ordered 1 ton of gas a month, throughout 2 years, and you didn’t notice it, then you are either moronic or you don’t want to know it. You know that the entire Auschwitz camp can be gassed with 120 kg.

A. One barrack?

Q. No, the entire Auschwitz camp.”

The possibility that the Auschwitz for which Tesch supplied gas might have been somewhat larger than the Auschwitz which Marcinkowski gassed in early 1940 seems not to have occurred to Freud. Indeed, it was

taken for granted by the investigating team that the quantity of Zyklon supplied to Auschwitz was so immense as to be sufficient to prove that large scale extermination of humans occurred at the camp. An entire segment of Tesch's October 24 interrogation is devoted to Anton Freud's rant against Tesch's claim that the quantity supplied was not surprisingly large.¹⁰¹

"Q. There aren't enough insects in all of Germany that one needs 1 ton Zyklon per month. If a camp ordered that much, you must have been aware that it wasn't only used against insects. Do you know what your people have said about that? That you are an idiot or you didn't want to know what the gas was used for."

Here Freud was alluding to Gustav Kock's statements mentioned above, originally made during his interrogation of October 20.¹⁰²

At the trial, the prosecution strenuously objected to Tesch's statement that Auschwitz's demand for a larger supply of Zyklon was unsurprising due to the fact that Auschwitz was a larger camp.¹⁰³ Their plan for the EZS argument was to claim, based on inaccurate statements from Drosihn, that the SS could not carry out disinfection of barracks without the help of TESTA technicians, but could only perform gassings in gas chambers. Therefore all Zyklon sent to Auschwitz had to be used in (delousing) gas chambers or for homicidal purposes. As the quantities ordered were in excess of those needed by delousing chambers, therefore Tesch had to know that Zyklon was being used for mass extermination of humans at Auschwitz. Tesch rejected these arguments as well:¹⁰⁴

"Q. Do you know how many delousing chambers there were in Auschwitz in 1942?"

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know how many you supplied to this concentration camp.

A. Yes

Q. How many, roughly?

A. As far as I know we did not supply any.

Q. You would agree, would you not, that seven thousand kilograms of Zyklon B gas is unlikely to have been used for the purposes of delousing chambers?

A. On the contrary, I even now today am of the opinion that even a bigger amount could have been used.

Q. And you say the same about twelve thousand kilograms in 1943?

A. Yes, that means 1,000 kilograms a month and that is not exaggerated for a big camp."

Despite the prosecution's best efforts, the EZS argument consistently failed to persuade competent observers. The gassing technicians to whom it was put invariably rejected it, the only exceptions being in those cases where the technicians were given erroneous information concerning the size of Auschwitz.¹⁰⁵ Tesch rejected it, as did Weinbacher¹⁰⁶ and Drosihn, the latter even under the assumption that the Zyklon sent to Auschwitz cannot have been used for disinfecting barracks, but only in gas chambers or homicidally.¹⁰⁷

"Q. If it is so from the books of the firm that 7000 kgs. [of Zyklon-B] went to Auschwitz alone [in 1942], would that strike you as the proper quantity for disinfecting only in gas chambers?"

A. I do not know the conditions in Auschwitz, but I think it may be possible. [...]

Q. Auschwitz took in 1943 12000 kgs. of the gas. Would you have been surprised if you had heard that?

A. I knew that Auschwitz was a very big camp. "

The prosecution also put the argument before Karl Schwarz, Professor emeritus at the (Hamburg?) Institute of Hygiene, who declined to endorse it.¹⁰⁸

Despite its consistent rejection by everyone with expertise in gassing, the EZS argument remained the prosecution's favorite, and went on make the rounds with holocaust historians. For example, in a well known anthology on the alleged National Socialist gassings, the size of the Zyklon deliveries to Majdanek was held to be proof that they were intended for homicidal use.¹⁰⁹ While the EZS argument was repudiated by Jean-Claude Pressac,¹¹⁰ it was resurrected by Robert Jan van Pelt in connection with the Irving-Lipstadt trial.¹¹¹ Van Pelt's shoddy arguments need not concern us beyond a few brief remarks.¹¹²

Van Pelt uses Zyklon delivery quantities from Tesch trial documents, but these numbers are not complete and hence not suitable for comparisons of the sort van Pelt wants to draw.¹¹³ The quantities van Pelt quotes do not include the gassings that TESTA carried out themselves in the camps,¹¹⁴ notably in Sachsenhausen and Neuengamme, where these quantities are large enough to dramatically alter the results of van Pelt's calculations for 1942.¹¹⁵ TESTA's books record that in that year it gassed a total of 334,720 cubic meters at Sachsenhausen and 112,260 cubic meters at Neuengamme. At 15 grams per cubic meter, the standard concentration for gassing barracks,¹¹⁶ this means the use of 5,020.8 and 1,683.9 kg of Zyklon, respectively. These quantities dwarf van Pelt's annual totals of 1,438 and

180 kg for these two camps. When the two sets of figures are added together, it appears that the quantities of Zyklon going to Sachsenhausen and Neuengamme in 1942 were, if anything, excessive in comparison with the quantity going to Auschwitz, perhaps as a result of German fear that epidemics in these camps might spread and affect the nearby urban areas.

Further, van Pelt assumes that the Zyklon supply to camps other than Auschwitz, Neuengamme for example, was adequate on a per-prisoner basis, while in reality Neuengamme prisoners complained that delousing was scarcely ever done, and blamed the camp administration for this omission, which was the result of a shortage of Zyklon.¹¹⁷ Moreover, citing the Nuremberg document NI-9912 (of little direct relevance to Auschwitz), van Pelt assumes that the Auschwitz delousing chambers would have used a concentration of 8 grams per cubic meter. The concentration normally recommended by TESTA, however, was 10 grams per cubic meter (Type 'D'). Even worse, van Pelt assumes a concentration of 5-8 grams per cubic meter for the delousing of barracks. TESTA's recommendation for the gassing of barracks was 15 grams per cubic meter (Type 'E').¹¹⁸ Correcting this last figure alone suffices to overturn van Pelt's analysis.

Van Pelt compounds his errors by assuming that all camps require the same amount of Zyklon per prisoner, without considering regional differences in hygienic conditions. This allows us to return to the arguments made at the Tesch trial. In his first interrogation, Tesch remarked on the regional difference in the need for disinfestation, stating that "Eastern territories were particularly in danger of spotted fever," although this was not said in the context of the EZS argument.¹¹⁹ In his second surviving interrogation he made this point as well, this time in the EZS context, responding to the suggestion that the deliveries to the concentration camps were "a little strange" with a reference to the great danger of louse infestation in the east.¹²⁰

Tesch elaborated on this point at his trial, noting that there was a greater infestation problem in the east than in the west,¹²¹ and stating that among the reasons he was not astonished by the quantity of Zyklon supplied to Auschwitz was that "Upper Silesia was a much infested province of Germany, and because I experienced in Poland a sort of infestation with insects and vermin as I had not thought possible."¹²² When the prosecution expressed incredulity that Tesch should not have thought it strange to see Auschwitz order four times as much gas as Sachsenhausen over a certain period,¹²³ Tesch observed yet again that "one is a territory which is infected by vermin." He explained that this was both general knowledge ("We

knew that the whole of Poland and Upper Silesia were territories which were very badly infested”) and something he knew on the basis of his own experience.¹²⁴

The prosecution also knew Tesch’s statement to be true. Their own trial Exhibit DB, a travel report dated March 20, 1941, reporting on Tesch’s experiences in Upper Silesia from 7-11 March, contained a discussion of the poor sanitary situation in Upper Silesia, including the remark that while the disinfestation plan was not yet definite, all were agreed that “something radical must take place.”¹²⁵

Finally, in his attempt to obtain an upper bound for the amount of Zyklon that could have been put to “ordinary” use, van Pelt assumes that the entire supply of that product delivered to the Auschwitz complex had to be used in either the *Stammlager* or in Birkenau. He gives no justification for the assumption that the other Auschwitz subcamps never required Zyklon. The need to supply subcamps was repeatedly mentioned at the Tesch trial.¹²⁶ As van Pelt cites the trial transcript, it is unclear how he remained ignorant of this fact; the most charitable interpretation is that while he found it a fine thing to cite the trial transcript in support of his arguments, he did not feel obligated to go the trouble of *reading* it.

2.4 Sentence, Appeal, and Execution

Tesch and Weinbacher were found guilty and sentenced to death,¹²⁷ while Drosihn’s groveling earned him an acquittal. On March 19, Tesch submitted a petition against the judgment, as did Weinbacher the next day. Both men referred to the written appeals of their lawyers.¹²⁸ Tesch’s lawyer Dr. Zippel wrote a lengthy appeal which addressed a number of issues which had looked bad for Tesch during the trial. Chief among these was the issue of large gas chambers. Tesch had made various denials concerning his ignorance of large size gas chambers. At the trial, the prosecution sought to destroy his credibility by showing that these were lies. Drosihn wrote a statement on appeal concerning these large gassing facilities:¹³⁰

“I hereby declare under oath that the small 10 cbm. normal gas-chambers, which were used for quick delousing of clothing and simultaneous bodily delousing of the wearers of this clothing, f.i.^[129] in barracks, are unsuitable for the delousing of winter clothing for the troops, which is returned from the front in large quantities during the spring and summer months by car, lorry, or truck loads for repair, because this material was continually brought to the collecting stations of the Army Clothing Departments, and had then to be taken in hand. For this pur-

pose I therefore considered the employment of large gassing rooms more practical than the corresponding number of small chambers. The places known to me indeed all only used large rooms for gassing, but did not install typical gas chambers. As instances I would enumerate the clothing department of the Heeresgruppe Nord

1) in Riga – Mühlgraben

1 gassing room of 1500 cbm.

2) in Pleskau

1 gassing room of abt. 150 cbm.

furthermore the Field Clothing Department of the air force Riga

3) in Riga – Ilgeziem

1 gassing room of abt. 180 cbm.

Big rooms have the advantage of a considerable saving in building material for the construction of inner walls, and that instead of many equipments only one is required and the handling of the clothes (taking and handing out) is quicker and simpler. By extending the time to 8 – 24 hours for the gas to take effect in comparison to the gassing duration of not quite one hour with simultaneous personal (bodily) de-lousing, the gyratory equipment could be dispensed with altogether.

In the repair workshop of the Reichsbahn in Posen finally whole trains with military winter-clothing were regularly deloused by means of Zyklon in truck loads with afore-mentioned Pintsch Tunnel. This disinfecting establishment of abt. 500 cbm. was not only arranged to be operated with heat but also for the production of sub-pressure, so that quick time for the gas to take its effect and high outputs could be attained. The tunnel in Posen is illustrated on the page before last of the Testa-Fibel regarding Zyklon.”

This confusion appears to have resulted in part from the prosecution’s use of the term *Gaskammer* to designate all kinds of gassing spaces, even the kind that gassing professionals would call generally a *Gasraum*, and in part from the prosecutors’ failure to consistently distinguish between equipment that TESTA themselves supplied and equipment that they had merely heard of. Thus in his interrogation, Drosihn says that he has never heard of large *Gaskammern* one minute, and immediately afterwards discusses an immense gassing facility in Riga.¹³¹ This is clearly not an attempt to deceive, but rather proof that he did not classify the Riga facility as a *Gas-kammer*. The fact that the term *Gaskammer* was assumed to have a somewhat restricted usage is also supported by the interrogation of Gustav Kock, who distinguished an improvised *Gasraum* from a *Gaskammer*.¹³²

Thus, the prosecution's belief that Tesch was lying in his statements concerning large gas chambers is simply the result of their failure to understand the usage of the relevant specialized vocabulary.

Tesch's lawyer also sought to call for the testimony of additional scientists as character witnesses, including the Nobel laureate Otto Hahn.¹³³ Such gambits were tried by any number of accused Germans, and rarely did much good. A highly favorable personal letter from Léon Blum did nothing to prevent Dr. Schiedlausky from being sentenced to death at the British Ravensbrück trial.¹³⁴ British agent Sigismund Payne Best's highly sympathetic account of Sachsenhausen commandant Anton Kaindl¹³⁵ did nothing to prevent the British from transferring Kaindl to Russian hands and to his death in imprisonment. Even more futile was Kurt Eccarius's wife's attempt to aid her husband by providing his former prisoner Martin Niemöller as a witness to his character: by the time she wrote, he had already been turned over to the Russians.¹³⁶

Attempted help came from outside as well, as Fritz Kiessig, who had worked with Tesch's company on disinfection in the east, wrote to offer his services in their defense. His letter reads:¹³⁷

"Dear Sirs,

On the evening of 2nd. March I heard from a British wireless station that three gentlemen of your firm had been arrested for having participated in gassing operations in the East.

Whilst I was in the O.K.H.B of the Adm.Amt V2 during 1942/43 I also had to do among other matters with the entire de-contamination problem and collaborated a great deal with your good firm or respectively with one of your directors in this question. This matter is therefore not unknown to me and as far as it concerns the section 'Army' of our forces the happenings in 'gassings' as indicated in the British radio are entirely new to me.

If you should have any interest in my evidence I will gladly hold myself at your disposal, as the practices of the firms occupying themselves in the east with de-contamination are known to me from personal experience.

Yours faithfully

(signed) Fritz Kiessig

Oberfeldintendant a.D."

The letter was received only after the trial had finished. In his appeal, Zipfel informed the authorities of the letter, and requested "that arrangements be made to cross-examine this witness" in order to confirm or refute

Sehm's claims.¹³⁸ This was not done. In a memorandum recommending confirmation of the sentences, Brigadier H. Scott-Barrett claimed that the appeals "do not disclose any substantially new matter."¹³⁹ The sentences were duly confirmed. The death warrants were signed on April 26 and executed on May 16.¹⁴⁰

Several weeks later, Tesch and Weinbacher's lawyers filed a protest, noting that neither they nor the families of the victims had been informed that the execution had been scheduled or even that it had taken place. Their complaint was forwarded to the headquarters of the British Army of the Rhine, with the observation that "It would appear unnatural that the nearest relatives of a man about to be executed are not advised of the forthcoming execution," and the question, "Are relatives entitled to receive the body for interment?"¹⁴¹ The reply was negative, and read:¹⁴²

"Accused sentenced to death are not notified that their sentences have been confirmed until the evening before execution. It is undesirable that there should be any demonstrations in connection with executions and it is therefore necessary to withhold any information relating to the dates of execution until they have been carried out. In this latter connection, the question of notifying next of Kin that death sentences have been carried out and giving notice of confirmation of prison sentences, is at present being considered [...] It has been decided that bodies of executed persons will not be handed over to next of kin, or their place of burial made known."

2.5 The Theft of Tesch's Property

In the absence of substantial direct proof of Tesch's guilt, a large portion of the prosecution's strategy fixed on portraying him as a liar. The report on the case gave a list of his alleged lies, and those of his co-defendants.¹⁴³ One of Tesch's alleged lies was the claim that when a British agent left the room on October 23, he had not exchanged whispers with head bookkeeper Zaun. The prosecution laid out their view of the incident:¹⁴⁴

"Arrangements were made for the firm to be allowed to continue business after the release from prison of all its members except Dr TESCH, Dr DROSIHN and Herr WEINBACHER. Military Government appointed Alfred ZAUN, the former Chief of Accounts, to act as manager in the absence of Dr TESCH. In order to obtain the necessary written authorities, Herr ZAUN applied for a personal interview with Dr TESCH, which was granted and arranged for 23rd October. The opportunity was taken to lay a trap in the form of a microphone in the office in

which the interview was conducted, and a German stenographer was detailed to record the conversation.

As a cover, in order not to rouse the suspicions of either Dr TESCH or Herr ZAUN, an interpreter of this Team was initially ordered to remain in the room, being summoned out by a bogus telephone call. Immediately he had left the room Dr TESCH and Herr ZAUN's conversation dropped to a whisper which could not be understood; but certain passages were recorded which revealed that Dr TESCH had handed over to ZAUN his wallet containing RM 3,700 and certain personal possessions to be given to Frau TESCH. The failure of this ruse to obtain any concrete evidence, owing to the fact that the microphone apparatus was not sufficiently tuned for whispers, was unfortunate. However, there is little doubt that quite a considerable amount of whispering was interspersed between normal conversation, and great suspicion fell upon both these persons. At the subsequent interrogation of both of them, done independently, they both strongly denied that any whispering took place. The possibility of ZAUN being re-imprisoned was seriously considered, but it was felt that he still was blameless as regards the main crime that was being investigated; further, he would be of less value to the Team in the conduct of the investigation if in prison than he would be at large."

During that period, Tesch had given Zaun valuables to pass on to Tesch's wife. Resentful at the failure of their ploy, the British confronted Tesch during his October 24 interrogation, claiming that he had tried to bribe Zaun:¹⁴⁵

"Q. Herr Zaun is very sorry that he could not bring your things to your wife, but he found that RM 4,000 was too small a bribe.

A. That was not a bribe.

Q. You want to deny that you gave Herr Zaun money?

A. No, I gave Herr Zaun RM 3,700, which was not supposed to be a bribe; he was supposed to deliver it to my wife.

Q. Did you have permission for that? Herr Zaun told us all the secrets that you shared with him there, and as a bribe you gave him money.

A. I can only say that we shared no secrets, and he was supposed to give the money to my wife.

Q. What else was he supposed to give your wife?

A. My fountain pen, my watch, my rings.

Q. What else?

A. I don't know.

Q. What else? Penholder, perhaps a tie pin?

A. Yes, that also.

Q. And letters to your wife?

A. No.

Q. Tasks for your wife?

A. No, I did not say that to Herr Zaun. I only said that he should give the money to my wife.

Q. No tasks for your wife? Herr Zaun has informed us otherwise.

A. I only said that he should bring the gold securely to my wife."

It should be mentioned that the investigation team was already accusing Zaun of being bribed a week before the meeting,¹⁴⁶ and that they made such accusations very freely. The questioning of Tesch continued to address alleged whispering:¹⁴⁷

"Q. What did you whisper yesterday with Herr Zaun?

A. Nothing, we did not whisper anything. I spoke to him only on points due to business affairs.

Q. What did you whisper?

A. No, we did not...

Q. You did not whisper. It did not occur to you at all to lower your voice. You continued to speak normally when we were outside?

A. Yes, I did not whisper."

Tesch reiterated this version of events in his statement.¹⁴⁸ According to the description of the incident quoted above, Zaun was also interrogated about the alleged whispering on October 24th, but the statement taken from Zaun on that same day contains no mention of the meeting with Tesch, or of whispers, or of bribes,¹⁴⁹ and the transcript of the interrogation is not present in the case files.

As for the property which Tesch had tried to pass on to his wife, it was confiscated by the British. On January 23, 1946 – three months after this incident – WCIT No. 2 transferred the property of Tesch, Weinbacher, and Drosihn to Property Control. The receipt included some of the items taken from Zaun (fountain pen, pocket watch, tie pin) along with other items, but not Tesch's rings, and it included only 3,500 marks, rather than the 3,700 Tesch had given to Zaun.¹⁵⁰ More precisely, they *claimed* to have handed over the property. The property was not returned (just as the families were not informed of the executions). Eventually, a custodian was appointed by the British military government to look for the property. He wrote to the war crimes investigation section of the military government.¹⁵¹

"According to information received from Mr. Alfred Zaun, a bookkeeper in the firm of the deceased, the following objects were taken from Dr. Tesch on 23 October 1945 in the course of an interrogation held after his arrest in the War Crimes Enclosure in Hamburg [...]."

Lt. Col. R.A. Nightingale's reply noted that the gold wedding ring and gold diamond ring were not contained on the receipt.¹⁵² Property Control Section, however, reported:¹⁵³

"No trace of this property could be found in Hamburg nor is the name of Capt. H.B. Bursar, S.O. III P.C., who is supposed to have signed the receipt, known at this HQ."

While there is no certainty here, it appears that someone in the war crimes investigation team invented H.B. Bursar (note the name!) and forged the receipt in order to cover up the theft of Tesch's property.

It wasn't only the investigative team that had financial motivations. Emil Sehm, who had been so keen to stress his "top secret" knowledge in his initial letters, hoped for some gain from the case, and claimed compensation as an expert witness for the period in September 1945 during which he worked on the case, but after a series of correspondence it was found that he was completely ineligible for such wages,¹⁵⁴ which were up to 3 RM per hour, or 6 in exceptional cases, in comparison with ordinary witnesses' wages of 20 Pf. to 1.50 RM.¹⁵⁵

3. Miscellaneous Elements

We will take the opportunity to gather a number of pieces of information of interest which are contained in the files of the Tesch trial. The collection is by no means comprehensive.

3.1 The Witness Pery Broad

Despite Jean-Claude Pressac's dismissal of his "report"¹⁵⁶ the Auschwitz witness Pery Broad has returned to the prominent position in the pantheon of Auschwitz witnesses which he obtained during the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, being relied on in an important recent collection of articles concerning claimed National Socialist gassings.¹⁵⁷ According to Michael Shermer, "Broad was never tortured, and he had nothing to gain and everything to lose by confessing."¹⁵⁸ The files of the Tesch trial demonstrate that this was not the case. When Broad was transferred from one prison to another in preparation for the Tesch trial, he was accompanied by a note requesting that he receive preferential treatment: "Perry Broad has recently given

much useful information. He should therefore receive as good treatment as is possible within ALTONA Prison.”¹⁵⁹ While this dynamic was not responsible for all German testimony on homicidal gassings, it was, as revisionists have contended and this note confirms, a structural factor.

3.2 The Witness Rudolf Diels

One witness managed to influence the Tesch trial greatly without having to make an appearance. This was Rudolf Diels, whose statement was used by the prosecution to support their contention that the extermination of the Jews by gas was general knowledge in Germany during the war. Somewhat surprisingly, the previous studies of the Tesch trial that have discussed Diels do not seem to have realized just who he was. Rudolf Diels, in fact, was the first head of the Gestapo, Heydrich’s predecessor in that role. Diels was a political opportunist who sought to make himself useful to the Allies. He presented himself as a victim of National Socialist persecution, claiming that he had been sentenced to death,¹⁶⁰ and giving statements damaging to former colleagues and rivals.

As one observer wrote, “The case of Dr. DIELS is rather peculiar, if not unique.”¹⁶¹ Opinion among Allied authorities on Diels was divided. Some British officials supported him. Major Draper recommended his release, noting that ““he has proved of considerable assistance in rendering specialized information to British War Crimes Executive and also to this office.”¹⁶² Others did not, stating that Diels should not be given any liberty, as he was a “dangerous conspirator and professional revolutionary.”¹⁶³

Diels was later kept in the Allied prosecution’s “Guest House” in Nuremberg,¹⁶⁴ and among other things provided key testimony supporting the prosecution’s attempt to blame the National Socialist leadership for the Reichstag fire.¹⁶⁵

On February 13, Thomas Dodd wrote to Colonel Phillimore, noting that Rudolf Diels had been called as a Nuremberg defense witness for Schacht. He asked to be sent all pertinent information derived from the British interrogations of Diels as soon as possible.¹⁶⁶ The next day, it was noted that Diels might not be available at the Tesch trial because he might be required as a defense witness at Nuremberg.¹⁶⁷ At the trial Draper explained that Diels could not come:¹⁶⁸

“He is at present undergoing interrogation by the military authorities. He cannot be released. [...] he is undergoing interrogation on security matters. Application was made through the proper channels, but it was said that he could not come. [...] It is also within the knowledge of the

convening authority that the witness is being held at the disposition of the Nuremberg International Tribunal."

Diels's evidence exists in two forms: his statement¹⁶⁹ and the interrogator's notes.¹⁷⁰ The two are compatible, and the latter was probably used to compose the former. Most of the former was read into the record during the Tesch trial.¹⁷¹

There are a few points of interest in Diels's statements. The prosecution set great stock in his statement that there was general knowledge of gassing in Germany during the war. Diels, who made similar statements concerning the general knowledge of gassing a year later as well,¹⁷² focused on stories of euthanasia gassings. He claimed that it was general knowledge that Zyklon-B was used to gas insane people, mentioning a euthanasia center for killing with Zyklon-B located in Württemberg. Interestingly, there is a 1941 document mentioning the rumor of euthanasia gassings with hydrogen cyanide,¹⁷³ and rumors concerning gassings in Württemberg circulated in the press.¹⁷⁴

Because of his opportunism and eagerness to please those in power, Diels's statements offer insight into the thinking of the War Crimes investigators. For instance, his statement notes that "It might well be that 'spotted fever' was also a term used as camouflage for gassing operations."¹⁷⁵ This was exactly the kind of simple-minded argument that War Crimes investigators were eager to put forward. Indeed, at the Tesch trial the prosecution argued that the evidence of Broad and Bendel "put it beyond doubt" that the story of disinfestation was only "a cover and facade – a facade peculiarly dear to the mind of the SS."¹⁷⁶ The prosecution applied this notion of a facade across the board, stating that "throughout that correspondence there is a duplicity to each word used. Either it is a genuine disinfestation that the SS require, or it is the cover for the biggest murder one can imagine."¹⁷⁷ While it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine each one of the trial documents in detail, it is clear that all of them concern disinfestation. Diels's statements relating Tesch to the euthanasia program also reflect the investigation's thinking: on the basis of some details in a May 1945 report on euthanasia,¹⁷⁸ they seem to have convinced themselves that Tesch had delivered Zyklon for the purpose of euthanasia gassings.¹⁷⁹

Meanwhile at Nuremberg, the defense wanted Diels to testify, but the prosecution insisted that he could not appear:¹⁸⁰

"Dr. PANNENBECKER: As witness Number 4 I have named Dr. Diels, who is now in an internment camp in the Hanover district. The witness was chief of the Gestapo in Prussia in 1933-1934. He is acquainted

with the measures which the Defendant Frick, as Reich Minister of the Interior, decreed for the supervision of the provinces by the Reich, as well as about the concentration camps, and also, in particular, about measures taken in individual cases and about conditions in the camps.

SIR DAVID MAXWELL-FYFE: I submit that this witness' evidence should be taken in writing. With regard to the earlier part, the Tribunal will have the advantage of the Defendant Goring who was concerned especially with the practices of the police in Prussia in 1933 and 1934, and with regard to the other points, as to the measures of the Defendant Frick, these are either laws or orders or administrative measures, which could be included, in the submission of the Prosecution, as being dealt with by written testimony supplemented by testimony of the Defendant Frick himself.

Dr. PANNENBECKER: I should like to say something to that. I believe that it would be more practical to hear the witness here before the Court. We can then have a talk with him beforehand and find out the points on which he has detailed information, whereas in an interrogatory these things could not be discussed in detail.

THE PRESIDENT: We will consider that."

They may have considered, but Diels never appeared before the court. It is evident that the authorities had no intention to allow him to testify, whether at the Tesch trial, at Nuremberg, or anywhere else. They preferred to use him as an aid for their own preparations, while presenting his statements in affidavit form so that they could not be effectively challenged.

Meanwhile, Allied opinion on Diels remained split. One side held that Diels was "a useful asset and mine of information in which capacity we should prefer to have him as a free man."¹⁸¹ The other thought that "It has become increasingly apparent that Dr Rudolf DIELS is a man whose liberty should in no circumstances be granted to him" and "it cannot be urged too strongly that his liberty would be a menace to the security of the occupation."¹⁸² Ultimately, Diels was cleared of all potential charges and released. He had provided such "considerable assistance to the prosecuting authorities" at Nuremberg that Telford Taylor informed the British of Diels's impending return to their zone, and urged his favorable treatment.¹⁸³

In a December 1945 deposition, former DEGESCH managing director Gerhard Peters stated that

3.3 The Hungarian Aktion and the Zyklon-B Supply to Auschwitz

In a December 1945 deposition, former DEGESCH managing director Gerhard Peters stated:¹⁸⁴

"Sometime in 1944 a member of the SS from AUSCHWITZ concentration camp came to visit DEGESCH at FRANKFURT-on-MAIN FRIEDBERG and asked if we would supply some ZYKLON B direct to AUSCHWITZ as a transport of 250,000 Hungarian Jews was expected and they required material for disinfection owing to the danger of typhus breaking out. This request was refused as an agreement had already been reached that all orders for the Wehrmacht, including the SS, with effect from the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, would be made through HSP BERLIN."

Peters repeated the story in a later affidavit,¹⁸⁵ adding that he had no suspicion that the requested delivery was for any purpose other than delousing. Peters's testimony demonstrates that the description of Zyklon as "material for the resettlement of Jews," is not at all suspicious or incriminating, but was commonplace and was correctly taken at face value.

3.4 Riga

Tesch and Stabenow was quite active in the Riga area. Tesch and Drosihn both taught courses in that locale, and gassing technician Johann Holst was employed there as well. That Tesch taught a course on (sanitary) gassing in late 1941 in Riga is now well known, and was mentioned repeatedly in pre-trial interrogations and at the trial. However, Richard Breitman's discovery of intercepts¹⁸⁶ mentioning Tesch and Zyklon in this connection caused the historian to speculate wildly about plans for exterminating Jews with Zyklon in the eastern territories.¹⁸⁷ Responding to Breitman, Christian Gerlach to his credit recognized that the context is clearly that of sanitary rather than homicidal gassing.¹⁸⁸ Making arguments similar to Breitman's, Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein have argued that the plans to gas the eastern Jews were thwarted by the regulations concerning approval for the use of Zyklon-B.¹⁸⁹ In fact, Tesch stated that from Riga he "went on towards the front for gassing,"¹⁹⁰ and had there been the intention to gas Jews with Zyklon at that time and place, there would have been nothing to prevent the diversion of adequate quantities of Zyklon for that purpose, with or without the permission of the quartermaster.

Owing to TESTA's activities in the Riga area, there are a number of trial documents pertaining to that region. One of these is useful with respect to another more broadly referenced and much disputed document:¹⁹¹

*"To: The General Kommissar, RIGA
For the attention of Herr Dr. BOSSE,
RIGA.*

*Training of personnel only after delousing apparatus made ready and
on availability of Zyklon and gassing apparatus..... possible (.) letter
follows (.)"*

Unfortunately, the document exists only in English translation, at least as far as the files of the Tesch trial are concerned. However, the phrase "gassing apparatus" is almost certainly a translation of "Vergasungsapparat," which recalls the well-known use of that term's plural in Nuremberg Document NO-365. The reference in that document has been variously interpreted by orthodox holocaust historians as a reference to stationary gas chambers¹⁹² or as a reference to the use of gas vans.¹⁹³ The fact that the term Vergasungsapparat was indeed used in Riga in the context of delousing sheds light on the proper interpretation of this document. This applies regardless of the authenticity of the document, as an inauthentic document is likely to have been constructed from modified authentic materials, from which the term Vergasungsapparat would have been obtained."

Another Riga-related Tesch trial document mentions that "The large chamber of 120 cbm and the small one of 30 cbm should be kept out of the two chambers provided for mobile disinfestations etc."¹⁹⁴ Again we are lacking a German original, and the translation is quite puzzling and perhaps incorrect, but one important aspect emerges, namely that chambers for mobile disinfestation, presumably vehicular, were in use in the Riga area. The existence of such devices likely contributed to reports of homicidal gas vans in this region.

3.5 Gassing Technicians as Witnesses

The TESTA gassing technicians offer an interesting, if marginal, class of witness. A number of them had visited concentration camps. However most of the visits were early in the war, before the alleged homicidal gasings had begun, and before the SS had trained enough of its own personnel to carry out their own gassing operations. Thus, for example, we have the account of Hans Willy Max Rieck, who visited Auschwitz in early summer 1941 to carry out a gassing, as there was a typhus epidemic underway in the camp at the time. Naturally, he reported that there were no gas chambers in the camp, although he had heard that Berlin had approved the construction of gas chambers in Auschwitz (obviously delousing chambers were meant). He had not heard of homicidal gassings until the

occupation.¹⁹⁵ His fellow gassing technician Johannes Mueller, who accompanied him on the visit to Auschwitz, confirmed his story.¹⁹⁶

A notable exception is the gassing technician Edmund Josef Marso, who visited Stutthof in November 1944, a time when homicidal gasings were supposedly going on.¹⁹⁷ Marso, however, stated that he had not heard anything about homicidal gassing in Stutthof, and indeed that he had first heard about homicidal gasings in concentration camps through the English radio. He also mentioned that there was an epidemic of spotted fever when he was in the camp, and that he had seen some 20 bodies lying near the crematorium, which the SS sergeant accompanying him had told him were victims of the typhus epidemic, and were to be cremated.¹⁹⁸ Marso's account also confirms that the Stutthof gas chamber was still being used for delousing during the period in which it was supposedly used for homicidal gassing.

3.6 Fred Pelican's Memoirs

In 1993, Fred Pelican published his memoirs, titled *From Dachau to Dunkirk*, with a dedication "to the six million who perished in the gas chambers." A Jewish refugee in Great Britain, he had been assigned to work as a war crimes investigator, and had participated in the preparations for the Tesch trial. The account which he gave in his memoirs, however, is a pack of lies.

According to Pelican, a man whom he calls "Schneider" came forward to denounce Tesch.¹⁹⁹ In Pelican's portrayal, "Schneider" is a composite of Sehm and Zaun. Like Sehm, he denounced Tesch. Like Zaun, he remained with the firm throughout the war, and was to be put in charge of TESTA (Pelican calls it "Chemical Industries"²⁰⁰) by the British after Tesch and Weinbacher's arrest. Pelican relates how "Schneider" informed the war crimes investigators of the progress from the first gases "developed for extermination purposes," which "made the victims scream to heaven." One of these techniques was a sort of gas van which operated (somehow) by throwing a gas canister inside. The drive for efficiency led to the creation of stationary gas chambers in the camp showers. The Jews, eager for a shower, would crowd inside by the hundreds, although there were actually only a dozen or so showers. Gas canisters thrown in through a hole in the roof would finish the job.²⁰¹

Pelican's unreliability extends beyond his invention of the Sehm-Zaun composite "Schneider." He states that "Captain Freud understood a certain amount of German" and that he, Pelican, gave Freud English translations of Schneider's words.²⁰² Freud, who grew up in Austria and was capable of

carrying out interrogations in German, was certainly not in need of such translations. Likewise, Pelican's assertion that Tesch was given an honorary rank of *SS-Gruppenführer*²⁰³ is pure invention. Given his penchant for conflation, it is conceivable that Pelican associated Tesch with Rudolf Diels, who did receive an honorary rank of *SS-Standartenführer*.

Nevertheless, Pelican accurately relates some details of "Schneider's" (really Sehm's) story, noting:²⁰⁴

"He ["Schneider"] carried on to give us another detail of extermination methods. The gas was manufactured in tablet form. While the prisoners were asleep, a number of tablets would be placed in the corner of each quarter, which ejected a vapour of gas. Windows and doors were sealed, and in a comparatively short time not a single person would be left alive."

Intriguingly, Pelican states that the British Military Authorities were most unhappy that Tesch and Stabenow had been shut down, as they were in need of the company's continued services.²⁰⁵ Accordingly, he states, Anton Freud suggested that Herr Schneider be put in charge of the company.²⁰⁶ This is at least partially based on fact: Zaun was indeed made TESTA's Acting manager.²⁰⁷

Pelican proceeds to narrate a meeting between "Schneider" and Tesch, which he says took place in connection with the transfer of the company to Schneider's control. This meeting, between Zaun and Tesch, did indeed take place. It is the meeting which the investigative team attempted unsuccessfully to bug, as discussed in the section "The Theft of Tesch's Property." That Pelican was present can be confirmed from a letter written by the custodian attempting to recover Tesch's property, which states that "[Tesch's property was] taken from Dr. Tesch and Mr. Zaun upon orders and in the presence of Col Ashton-Hill, Capt. Freud and Staff-Sergeant Pelican of the War Crimes Investigation Team."²⁰⁸ The account which Pelican gives of this meeting, however, is at the very least heavily embellished with fantasy, if not completely fraudulent. Pelican accurately narrates the plan, involving him being called out of the room on the pretense of a phone call, allowing Tesch and Zaun to talk in imagined privacy. According to Pelican, however, the bugging of the conversation was successful. His account is worth quoting at length so as to demonstrate the extent of his mendacity. He writes:²⁰⁹

"I went into the interviewing office, and sat on the chair as the two men walked in, facing each other. Dr Tesch for a moment appeared stunned to see his ex-employee looking at him. 'Dr Tesch,' I said, 'in view of

your being detained, we have authorized Herr Schneider to run your business until such time as you will be able to return and carry on yourself. He requires certain powers which only you can grant. I must ask you both to confine your conversation solely to business matters, any other discussion will not be tolerated. I would like you to discuss your business on a basis of understanding and without animosity. Please commence.'

Schneider began by informing Dr Tesch that he had been approached by the authorities to run the establishment. However, obstacles had made it difficult, particularly the financial aspect, paying wages, rent, rates, etc. Unless powers of attorney were granted to him, he was sorry to say the business would fold.

At that precise moment, there was a knock at the door. 'Yes, come in,' I called.

'Staff Sergeant Pelican, you are wanted on the telephone.'

I got up and left the room. Casually, I walked down the corridor and entered the room where the rest of our staff were present. The moment I entered, they signalled for me to be quiet. I heard the voices of Dr Tesch and Schneider coming over the loudspeaker, loud and clear. The conversation between the two of them gave me one of the biggest shocks of my life. I just could not believe what I was hearing. Everyone around me was just as shocked as I was, with the exception of Colonel Nightingale. For a moment, I had to pinch myself to make sure my senses were in working order.

The moment I left the room, Dr. Tesch started appealing to Schneider to keep his mouth shut. 'Have you signed anything?' he enquired. 'I'll make sure, Schneider, that you will be fixed up for the rest of your life, you'll never be short of anything. Of course, I'll sign the power of attorney and grant you full control without question. I will only emphasise once again, keep your mouth shut, you don't know anything, you hear me, Schneider? I ask you again, have you signed any form of statement?'

We sat or stood around absolutely motionless, one could hear a pin drop, the unthinkable was yet to come. Schneider suddenly burst out, 'Who the hell do you take me for? I expected you to know me better, having known me for many years. Do you really believe I would disclose anything to those British bastards, englische Schweinehunde, look what they have done to our beautiful city, murdered hundreds of thousands of our people, die viele Frauen und Kinder [the many women and

children]. Dr. Tesch, whatever bullshit I may have disclosed, I have signed nothing, absolutely nothing, I swear, Dr. Tesch.'

'Go back, Staff Sergeant,' the CO ordered.

I walked back to the room, and the moment I entered, the conversation reverted to the discussion of financial arrangements, powers of attorney, rent, rates, wages and lots of other details of that nature. They acted quite calmly, the only one not at all calm was me, my head was buzzing, I hardly took any notice of the two archangels. A good five minutes passed, then came another knock at the door. 'Come in,' I called out.

'You are wanted.'

I got up, however this time I didn't just walk down the corridor, I literally flew down in order not to miss a single word.

The conversation between them continued along the same lines as before, growing in ferocity. Schneider pointed that one of the 'Geheimdienst Offiziere ist ein Judenjunge [one of the secret service officers is a Jewboy].' Of course he meant Captain Freud. Apparently, Dr Tesch wrote a brief note for his wife who lived in a villa somewhere in the suburbs. 'Schneider,' he said, 'give this note to my wife, not tomorrow, tonight at whatever time, however late it may be. This is for yourself, put it away and this you can keep as a memento. I beg you, Schneider, keep your mouth shut and don't sign anything,' Dr Tesch said again.

'Herr Doctor, disclosing anything to those devious British murderers would be like stabbing my brother. Ich schwöre hoch und heilig [I swear high and holy] those British bastards get nothing, absolutely nothing out of me, I'll see them in hell first, they are not human beings, Schweine, Schweine, Herr Doktor.'

The CO ordered me to go back and break up the meeting, ensuring Schneider had obtained power of attorney. The officers arranged for Dr Tesch to be taken back to prison. The typists feverishly typed every word taken down in shorthand in German and English. When they had finished, I checked it word for word, ensuring nothing had escaped them. I was told to tell Schneider that the CO wanted to see him regarding the power of attorney. [...] Schneider was waiting outside in the lonely atmosphere of a long corridor. I went to the door, and called him in. He hardly looked ruffled or disturbed.

'Come in, please, and take a seat, Mr Schneider,' the colonel said.

'How did you get on with Dr Tesch?'

'First class, Sir.' He took from his breast pocket some papers and waved them in the air. 'I have got everything I required, the military

authorities can now rest assured, all problems are solved, the firm will run properly to their full satisfaction.'

'Well done, Mr Schneider,' the colonel exclaimed, 'I am delighted, may I on behalf of myself and the British authorities thank you most profoundly for a job well done, you have managed to overcome a great dilemma most efficiently.'

Schneider was beaming with satisfaction, courteous and friendly, his usual persona. 'Tell me,' the colonel continued, 'did Dr Tesch mention anything as to his detention?'

'Sir,' Schneider replied, 'I made absolutely sure that in accordance with the preliminary instructions by Staff Sergeant Pelican, our conversation was strictly confined to business matters only.'

Since the interview was conducted in English, I stood next to the colonel, here and there helping out with the odd word Schneider had difficulties with.

'Schneider,' the colonel continued, 'I find it hard to comprehend that not a single word was mentioned as to him being held in prison, are you absolutely sure nothing whatsoever was mentioned?'

'Sir,' he replied, 'first of all, the Staff Sergeant was present during our conversation, you can ask him, and during short breaks when he was out, I can assure you, had he mentioned a single word other than business, I would have broken up the meeting immediately.'

To Schneider, the colonel gave the appearance of being satisfied with his assurances. 'Did Dr Tesch give you anything?' the colonel asked.

'Sir,' Schneider replied, 'I beg of you, do you actually believe I would accept anything from such a person, a monster, who was instrumental in the killings of masses of innocent people, his hands soaked in blood?'

'Is our driver still about?' the colonel enquired.

'Yes, Sir, I believe he is downstairs,' I replied.

'Call him,' the colonel ordered. Within minutes, the driver came up. 'Herr Schneider, would you kindly wait outside? Don't worry, we'll take you home later.'

As Schneider went outside, the colonel instructed our driver to keep an eye on him. Back in the office, the colonel asked what I had to say of the affair so far. 'Sir,' I said, 'I am absolutely flabbergasted, I can hardly believe what I have heard.'

'He is a two-faced bastard,' the colonel exclaimed. 'I'll make sure he will not leave this building until we get a word-by-word admission that corresponds with the wording in front of us, otherwise it may give an

impression of us having fabricated the entire episode, in other words a put-up job.'

Looking at the colonel, I asked him whether he would allow me to make a suggestion. 'Sir, you conducted the interrogation in English because Schneider is quite good at the language,' I said. 'In order to eliminate any misunderstanding and to make absolutely sure no excuse can arise in one form or another, would you mind if I asked him very briefly the very same questions, this time in unmistakable German.'

'Go right ahead, Freddie.' (This was another of the rare occasions when he called me by my first name.)

I went to the door, calling out loud and clear, 'Come in, Schneider.' I walked towards him, stopping half-way from the colonel's desk. I got as close to him as possible, the distance between our faces being no more than perhaps six inches. I started by telling him that I requested a big favour.

'What is it?' Schneider asked.

'My Colonel is a person of high repute, he, as well as the other officers and myself, have treated you most kindly, above all grateful to you for passing on to us unsolicited information regarding Dr Tesch. You wrote to us, we didn't write to you. The favour I ask of you is, don't keep on telling the colonel a pack of bloody lies.' All this I put to him in a subdued voice.

'Sir, what the heck is he talking about?' he almost shouted out.

I grabbed him by the arm a bit forcefully. 'You are now talking to me, you hear,' I screamed. 'I ask you once and once only, what did Dr Tesch give you?' I put more pressure on his arm.

'Nothing,' he said in a loud voice.

The split second he said nothing, I started tearing the clothes from his body, ripping off his jacket, trousers and underwear. He stood there almost naked, shaking like a leaf, red-faced, glaring at me. The colonel watched, not a single word coming from him, as cool as I had ever seen him. I placed the jacket and trousers on the table and I pushed Schneider towards the table. Going through his pockets, I found a note, a reasonable amount of cash money and a gent's diamond ring with the initials BT (Bruno Tesch).

'Let him get dressed,' the colonel ordered. He got into his trousers and jacket, somewhat shattered.

'Now look here, Herr Schneider, I don't really know what you take us for. I asked you several times loud and clear whether Dr Tesch passed anything on to you, you were lying, why should you tell me lies?'

'Sir, I assure you it was a misunderstanding,' he pleaded.

'OK, Schneider,' the colonel replied, 'we must have both misunderstood you. I am prepared to accept it. Now, I want you to tell me what conversation took place apart from business matters.'

'No other conversation took place, Sir,' he replied.

'Are you sure?'

'Absolutely, Sir.'

At that precise moment, the colonel put the voice-recording machine into operation. When Schneider heard his own voice, suddenly his body stiffened, he fainted and fell backwards before I had time to grab him. He hit the floor with the back of his head, bleeding profusely. I called out to the driver, we picked him up and washed the blood away and revived him.

He then made a full confession which he duly signed."

Aspects of this story, though misrepresented, are based on actual events, such as the turning-over of property to Zaun. Viewed as a whole, however, Pelican's story is an enormous fabrication. The bugging was unsuccessful, so the claims concerning the overheard conversation are inventions. Zaun did not sign a "full confession," and naturally all the details predicated on the identification of Sehm with Zaun are untrue. False as well is the claim that Tesch gave his blessing to Zaun's leadership of the firm. In his interrogation the next day, Tesch was asked why he opposed Zaun taking over the company, and gave the answer that Zaun lacked technical expertise with gassing.²¹⁰

Pelican proceeds to claim that Tesch gave "Schneider" instructions to his wife to destroy incriminating materials:²¹¹

"We examined the piece of paper which gave Dr Tesch's wife instructions what to burn or destroy immediately. It listed a large number of incriminating documents, a paperweight made from a Cyclon "B" container prominently displayed on his desk at home, various other articles, books of a particularly unpleasant nature in the sphere of Nordic puritanism and Aryan philosophy, outrageous publications on subjects like the sterilisation of the mentally ill, racial hygiene, the euthanasia programme and many other pieces of Nazi literature."

As we have already seen, Tesch was interrogated the day after the meeting with Zaun about whether he gave any such instructions to his wife, and he

denied it. The total silence of the trial documents concerning the interception of such a piece of paper clearly indicates that Pelican is fantasizing again, turning the investigative team's suspicions into reality.

According to Pelican's narrative, the investigators then proceeded to the Tesch residence and, finding it locked and unoccupied, entered with the help of a locksmith. It was full of luxury items, he reports, and he found "a diary belonging to Dr Tesch and an undeveloped film."²¹²

The receipt of Tesch's property does record a 1945 diary of Tesch's, so it is possible that such was confiscated from his house.²¹³ On the other hand, in Pelican's account the diary was a record of Tesch's amorous affairs, including diary entries recording Tesch's encounters with various women (Ruth, Gertrud, Paula, Hilde), and recording Tesch's measurement of the precise angle (in degrees) of his erection, which varied from woman to woman.²¹⁴ The film, he claims, proved to contain naked pictures of Tesch and his wife.²¹⁵ All of this is evidently another case of conflation, and probably fantasy as well. Drosihn admitted at the trial to keeping naked pictures of himself and his wife, and to having kept a diary which was, in Major Draper's words, "full of revolting details."²¹⁶

For the sake of completeness, we should mention that there is another roll of film mentioned in trial documents that may be confused here. It is recorded that nine photos were confiscated from the house of Joachim Drosihn on the occasion of his arrest.²¹⁷ Some film was preserved in the trial files (Figure 3), which contains nine gas-related photos, setting aside the baby pictures and the photo of a ship. Presumably these are identical to those taken from Drosihn's house. It's hard to see how these could be seen as evidence of anything, aside from the fact that the investigation team was somewhat gas-mad.

Pelican also proudly recounts that he stole a good deal of Tesch's property and sent it to a nearby DP camp, and stole some books for himself.²¹⁸ This may not have been all that he stole. Earlier in his book he reports having become quite wealthy while working for the occupying British forces, to the point of occasioning comment.²¹⁹ Given the none-too-ample British pay scale for lower-ranking men, his wealth was likely the result of looting. It would be no surprise if it were he who stole Tesch's property. As was already shown, he was the only lower-ranking (hence poorer) man involved in confiscation of Tesch's property. If "H.B. Bursar" is indeed an invention, as seems likely, then Pelican is certainly the leading suspect in the theft.

Pelican's biography ends on a melancholy note. After commemorating the six million gassed Jews,²²⁰ and lamenting the too-early shutdown of the war-crimes trials, he notes mournfully that the accused have a right to legal defense, with the result that witnesses face an "ordeal" and the case may end in an "abyss." Accordingly, he objects to modern war-crimes trials as bad-for-the-Jews.²²¹

"Personally, I would not be in favour of any trial taking place in this country. It would not be in the best interests of the Jewish population. Do we really need show trials playing into the hands of neo-Nazis and many other elements not particularly well disposed to us?"

He does, however, recommend criminalization of Holocaust revisionism: "I would also most strongly recommend all Western countries and others to strengthen legislation to combat the resurgence of neo-Nazism, making the denial of the Holocaust a crime in distortion of history."²²² It's no wonder that a liar like Pelican would not want people to be able to question statements such as "In my family alone, more than forty perished in the gas ovens of Auschwitz and Treblinka,"²²³ a figure which does not include his mother, who "escaped" from Auschwitz.²²⁴

4. Conclusion

What are the lessons of the Tesch trial? The defendants' innocence of the charge brought against them is obvious, as is the absurdity of Emil Sehm's story which drove the entire investigation and trial. The trial is more enlightening as a window into how War Crimes investigations operated: into the incompetence and dishonesty, the manipulation of documents, the intimidation of witnesses, the suppression of contradictions. Only with this awareness will it be possible to adequately assess the evidence gathered in post-war trials, rather than using it as ammunition to bolster a set of predetermined conclusions.

Documents

Proch. Fin. 1010

...haben Sie die Hände aus den Hosentaschen, wenn Sie hereinkommen.
 Ja, bitte schon, ist schon geschehen.
 (Auf Grund des obstinaten Verhaltens des Inhaftierten ordnet
 Capitän..... die Anwesenheit eines bewaffneten Soldaten
 an.)

Wie heißen Sie?
 Weinbacher, Karl.
 Wann sind Sie in die Firma eingetreten?
 In bin eingetreten 1924.
 Wie waren Sie?
 Bitte?
 Was Sie ~~xxxxxxx~~ waren!
 Ich war schon vorher auf dem Gebiet tätig.
 Was Sie in der Firma waren!
 In der Firma bin ich zuerst Techniker gewesen.
 Was haben Sie dort gemacht?
 Reisen ausgeführt.
 Wohin?
 In verschiedene Gebiete.
 Wohin?
 Nach Schlesien, usw.
 Welchen Zweck hatten die Reisen?
 Das kann ich heute nicht mehr sagen seit 1924. Ich habe, wie es
 im Geschäftsleben üblich ist, die Landschaft besucht.
 Was haben Sie später gemacht?
 Später war ich im Büro.
 Als was?
 Als Prokurist.
 Sie hatten während der Abwesenheit von Dr. Tesch und Dr. Brosin
 die Führung des Betriebes.
 Der technische Leiter war Dr. Tesch, der selbst technisch tätig war.
 Ich war der zweite Geschäftsführer.
 Wer war der Leiter der Firma?
 Dr. Tesch und ich war zweiter Geschäftsführer.
 Wer leitete während seiner Abwesenheit die Firma?
 Ich als zweiter Geschäftsführer.
 Sie haben alle Reiseberichte gelesen.
 Das kann ich nicht sagen, ob ich alle Berichte gelesen habe.
 Das weiß ich nicht.
~~Sie haben sie alle gelesen. Wieviel hat Ihnen Dr. Tesch bezahlt,~~
~~das Sie gut über ihn aussagen?~~
 Bitte, das kommt gar nicht in Frage, Herr Dr. Tesch ist ein an-
 ständiger Mensch.
 Das steht nicht zur Diskussion.
~~Das muß ich Ihnen aber sagen.~~
 Als Dr. Tesch vom ersten Arrest zurückgekommen ist, da hat er Sie
 und die anderen Leute von der Firma zusammengerufen und hat ihnen
 gesagt, was Sie aussagen sollen.
 Daran ist nicht zu denken.
~~Daran Sie nicht.~~
 Nein, so wahr ~~hier~~ ich hier stehe, das kommt gar nicht in Frage.
 Da haben Sie ein falsches Urteil.
 Schreiben Sie sich nicht so an.
 Ich rede in demselben Ton, wie Sie zu mir reden.
 Werden Sie nicht frech.
 Ich werde nicht frech.
 Was haben Sie von Dr. Tesch bekommen?
 Ich habe nichts bekommen, ich kann ihnen nur sagen, daß Sie Dr.
 Tesch falsch beurteilen.
 Welchen Gewinn hatte die Firma im Jahre 1943?
 Das kann ich ihnen nicht sagen. Das habe ich nicht im Kopf.

Figure 1: A page from the original transcript of Weinbacher's interrogation, showing passages to be excised.

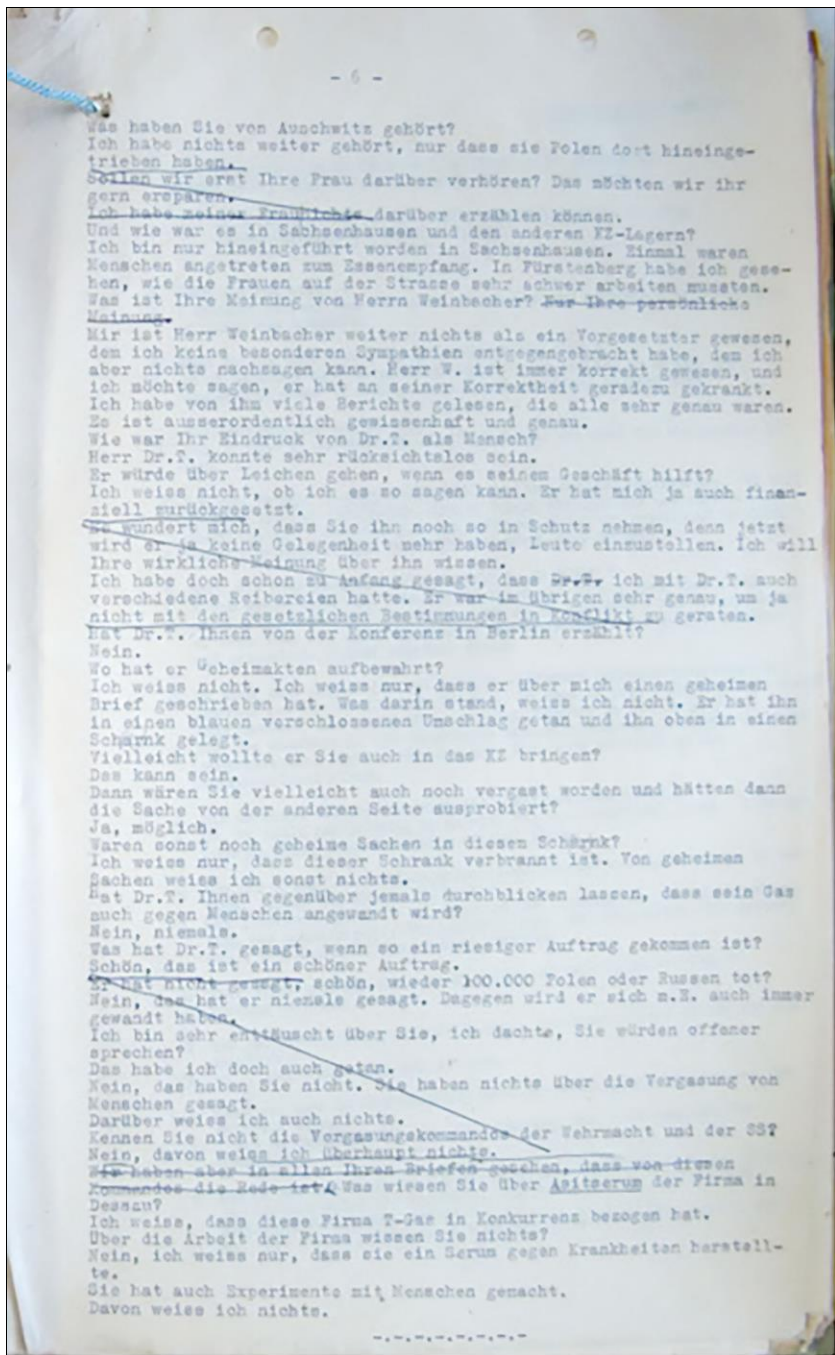


Figure 2: A page from the original transcript of Drosihn's interrogation, showing passages to be excised.

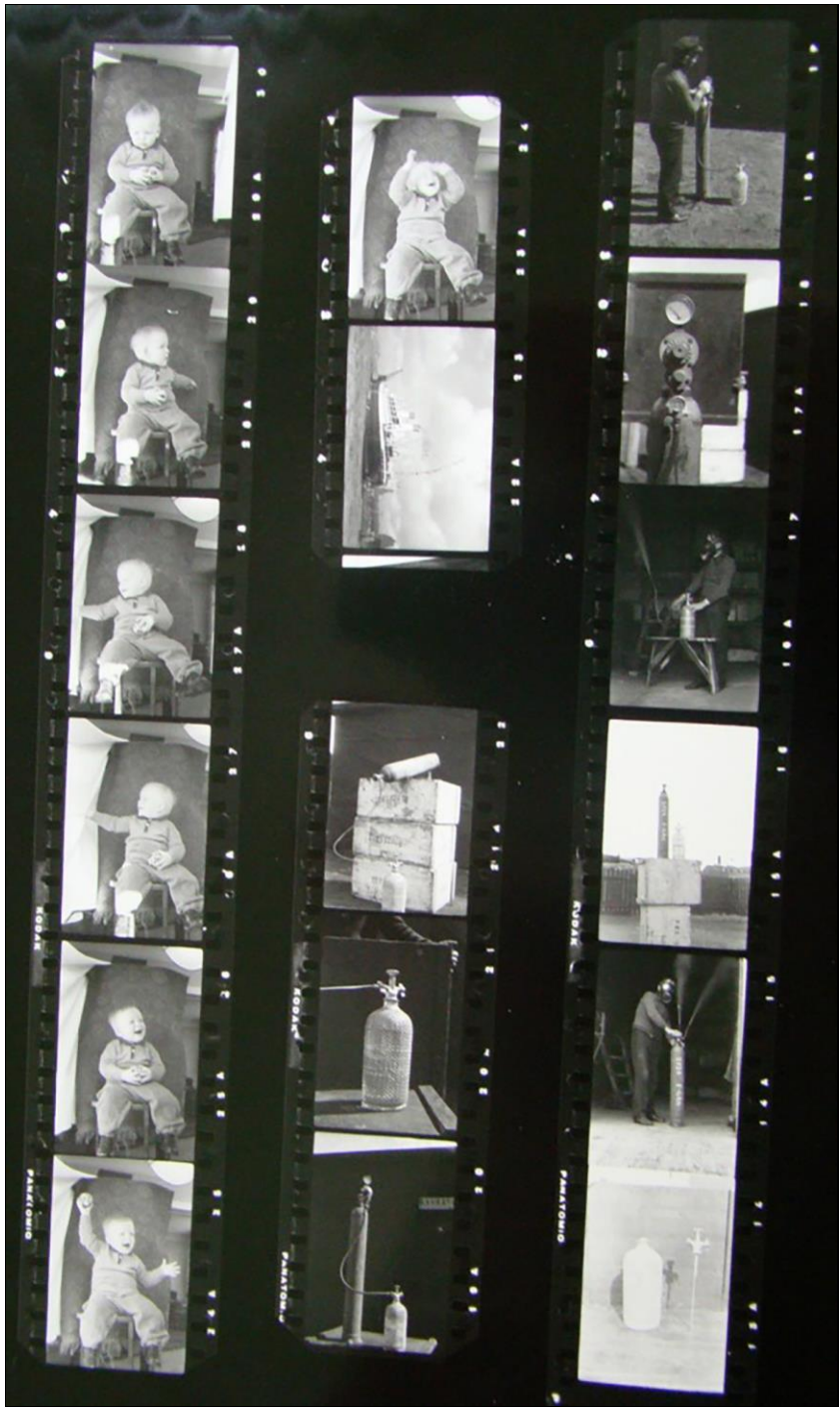


Figure 3: The Roll of Film

Notes

- ¹ PRO WO 235/641.
- ² William Lindsey, "Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 261-303. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/zyklon-b-auschwitz-and-the-trial-of-dr-bruno-tesch/>
- ³ It was not.
- ⁴ Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operations of the Gas Chambers* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 17.
- ⁵ Angelika Ebbinghaus, "Der Prozeß gegen Tesch & Stabenow. Von der Schädlingsbekämpfung zum Holocaust," in: 1999. *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 13 (1998), No. 2, pp. 16–71.
- ⁶ Jürgen Kalthoff and Martin Werner, *Die Händler des Zyklon B: Tesch & Stabenow; eine Firmengeschichte zwischen Hamburg und Auschwitz* VSA-Verlag, Hamburg, 1999.
- ⁷ Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals, volume 1, 1947, pp. 93-103.
- ⁸ Sehm letter, 29.6.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁹ This is, of course, incorrect. Sehm had confused T-gas with Zyklon-B.
- ¹⁰ Sehm letter, 24.8.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹¹ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The "GIFTGAS" Case, section 1, PRO WO 309/1602. This report, which will be referenced frequently, is not dated. However, it mentions Tesch's statements (Productions 31 and 32), which were drawn up on October 31, and it was sent to "DJAG (War Crimes Section) HQ British Army of the Rhine" on November 4.
- ¹² Lindsey, *op. cit.*; Kalthoff & Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- ¹³ Tesch trial Day 1, PRO WO 235/83, p. 165.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 176.
- ¹⁵ The English translation reads "he" here, but the German original clearly shows that "I" is correct. The translation problem was fixed when the same material was rehashed in Sehm's October 10 statement.
- ¹⁶ Sehm statement, 18.9.45, PRO WO 309/1602, 1603.
- ¹⁷ Sehm statement, Prosecution 1, PRO WO 309/1602, 1603; original signed German copy in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁸ Tesch interrogation, 26.9.45, PRO WO 309/1603. While the available text of the interrogation is plainly based on a real Tesch interrogation, it is no original, and contains some eyebrow-raising passages that suggest that it has undergone a certain amount of petty alteration. When plans of what to do with Tesch were being considered, prior to Tesch's second arrest, copies of the interrogation were sent to various recipients. It may be hoped that some of these are closer to the original, and have survived in files unrelated to the Tesch trial.
- ¹⁹ Tesch interrogation, 26.9.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ²⁰ Frahm statement, 10.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ²¹ Sehm statement, Prosecution 1, PRO WO 309/1602; original signed German copy in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ²² Elsewhere spelled "Marcinkowski."

- ²³ Occasionally spelled “Peitsch.”
- ²⁴ Sgt. D. Ellwood, Report on Firma Tesch & Stabenow, Hamburg, 28.9.45, PRO WO 309/1602; copy in PRO WO 309/2040, p. 23.
- ²⁵ 39 Field Security Section to War Crimes Investigation Team, 29.9.45, PRO WO 309/1602. A copy of the pamphlet in question can be found in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ²⁶ PRO WO 309/2040, p. 24.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ^{28,29} *Ibid.* The assumption that the Russians must be in possession of conclusive physical evidence is telling, and false.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 25.
- ³¹ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The “GIFTGAS” Case, sections 4-5, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ³² Tesch trial Day 1, p. 165, PRO WO 235/83.
- ³³ Captain Anton Walter Freud, a grandson of Sigmund Freud, was a leading figure in the investigation, and carried out many of the interrogations. In a 2003 interview he took exclusive credit for getting Tesch hanged: Lesley Chamberlain, ‘Freud squad’, *Financial Times*, 28.6.03.
- ³⁴ Drosihn interrogation, 17.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603. That the investigative team should have been wrong about this date is not so surprising, as it had not yet been assigned to the case when Tesch was released. Drosihn, on the other hand, remembered Tesch’s return in some detail.
- ³⁵ War Criminal Arrest Reports, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ³⁶ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The “GIFTGAS” Case, section 27, PRO WO 309/1602. This report, however, claims that Tesch was arrested on the 6th, while his arrest report demonstrates that the arrest took place on the 7th. The release dates given by the report also seem somewhat unreliable, as they show the TESTA secretary Wilma Nachtweh as having been released upon completion of her interrogation on October 8th, when in fact she was interrogated on the 25th, with a supplementary statement the next day. There were also a number of individuals who were interrogated but who do not appear on the arrest lists; in some cases these were former employees, who seem to have been considered separately.
- ³⁷ Frahm statement, 22.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602. It should be noted that both versions of Frahm’s statement exist only in English, and that neither is signed – they are simply drawn up, ready to be signed.
- ³⁸ all versions in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ³⁹ Dr. Bruno TESCH and the “GIFTGAS” Case, section 41(b), PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁴⁰ The prosecution was trying to show that Dr. Tesch had had key documents destroyed.
- ⁴¹ The shower idea dominated even at the trial. A document concerning Riga, discussing a delousing facility which would simultaneously delouse personnel and their clothing, was regarded with particular suspicion at the trial, due to its mention of (real) showers. Tesch trial Day 4, pp. 295-96
- ⁴² Interrogation of Johann Holst, 19.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁴³ Letter of James J. Bailey, Malmedy Massacre investigation. Hearings before a subcommittee on the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Government Printing

- Office, Washington, 1949, pp. 53-54; Testimony of James J. Bailey, Malmedy Massacre investigation, pp. 154-190.
- ⁴⁴ Drosihn interrogation, 17.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁴⁵ Drosihn statement, 26.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁴⁶ See, for instance the October 22 recommendation that if the Russians requested Tesch he should be given to them. Copies in PRO WO 309/625, p. 1, and PRO WO 309/2040, p. 41.
- ⁴⁷ Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁴⁸ Tesch trial Day 1, p. 164, PRO WO 235/83.
- ⁴⁹ PRO WO 309/626, p. 141.
- ⁵⁰ Tesch trial Day 2, p. 205.
- ⁵¹ Tesch trial Day 1, pp. 171, 176. In fact, TESTA delivered only east of the Elbe, while Dachau and Belsen lie west of the Elbe.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 177. Tesch was in fact a degreed chemist who had enjoyed a fairly illustrious career. The idea that Tesch was not actually a chemist was also expressed by Anton Freud in Tesch's October 24 interrogation; presumably he was told this by Sehm.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ⁵⁶ Tesch trial Day 3, p. 243.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- ^{59,60} Sehm had testified on a Friday, and Pook the next Monday.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- ^{62,63} *Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.
- ⁶⁴ L. Ashton Hill to DJAG (War Crimes Section), HQ British Army of the Rhine, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁶⁵ Dr. Bruno TESCH and the "GIFTGAS" Case, paragraph 54, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁶⁶ PRO WO 309/625, p. 11.
- ⁶⁷ EXFOR to No. 2 War Crimes Investigation Team, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁶⁸ Copies in PRO WO 235/83, WO 309/625, WO 309/1602.
- ⁶⁹ PRO WO 309/625, p. 19.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 47 The handwritten day of the month given in the report is very messy and could be interpreted as 4, 9, 14, or 19. Fortunately, another paper in the file (p. 75) refers to this exact report, assigning it the date January 19.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- ⁷⁶ PRO WO 309/625.
- ⁷⁷ Copies in PRO WO 235/83, WO 309/625, WO 309/1602.
- ⁷⁸ Middle name sometimes spelled "Eliza."
- ⁷⁹ Sometimes spelled "Unzelmann."

- ⁸⁰ Biagini interrogation, 17.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603. She stated that these rumors circulated among members of office staff, who were separate from the technical staff. The WCIT endeavored diligently to obtain statements from the numerous members of the technical (gassing) staff to the effect that they had heard rumors about gassing of humans during the war, but met with no success.
- ⁸¹ Biagini statement, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/625.
- ⁸² Dr. Bruno TESCH and the "GIFTGAS" Case, section 46(b), PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁸³ Rathcke interrogation, 18.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁸⁴ Tesch trial Day 1, pp. 184-185.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-187.
- ⁸⁶ Tesch trial Day 3, pp. 275-76.
- ⁸⁷ Tesch trial Day 5, p. 348.
- ⁸⁸ Tesch trial Day 1, p. 165.
- ⁸⁹ This interpretation is given in Kalthoff & Werner, *Die Händler des Zyklon B*, p. 150.
- ⁹⁰ Tesch trial Day 3, pp. 275-76, 291.
- ⁹¹ Tesch trial Day 1, p. 189-190, PRO WO 235/83; Uenzelmann interrogation, 22.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603; Uenzelmann statement, 23.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603; Dr. Bruno TESCH and the "GIFTGAS" Case, section 46(a), PRO WO 309/1602.
- ⁹² Tesch trial Day 3, p. 274. Tesch contrasted Uenzelmann, who was a highly confused person, and Biagini, who was not. He did not simply disparage all witnesses against him.
- ⁹³ Tesch interrogation, 26.9.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁹⁴ Surname sometimes spelled "Koch."
- ⁹⁵ Summary of examination of Gustav Kock, 24.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603. Kock's statement adds an expression of incredulity that anyone would not see that this was an excess supply, which was directed against Tesch – in fact, the interrogators even quoted it to Tesch during an interrogation. The statement, however, falls flat, not only for the obvious reason that Auschwitz was not in fact the same size as Neuengamme, but also because a transcript of Kock's interrogation survives, and reveals the extent of the interrogator's influence on Kock's statements, as well as Kock's desire to please the interrogator (the interrogation ends with Kock begging for approval by mentioning that his wife is a foreigner).
- ⁹⁶ Tesch trial Day 2, p. 217.
- ⁹⁷ Interrogation of Johann Holst, 19.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ⁹⁸ Summary of examination of August Marcinkowski, 24.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603.
- ⁹⁹ Tesch trial Day 2, p. 215.
- ^{100,101} Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁰² Kock interrogation, 20.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁰³ Tesch trial Day 3 p. 277. In the entire following discussion, "Auschwitz" must be taken to mean the entire Auschwitz complex, not merely the *Stammlager*. It was on this basis that the calculations of Zyklon supply were calculated, and in this fashion that the matter was discussed in the investigation and at the trial.

¹⁰⁴ Tesch trial Day 4, p. 295.

¹⁰⁵ Mention should perhaps be made of Karl Ruehmeling, who provided a very weak kind of support for the EZS argument. Ruehmeling was mainly employed as an accountant, but also worked as an assistant gassing technician at times of high demand for gassing, until December 1943, when he entered military service. When the EZS argument was first suggested to him during his October 13 interrogation with reference to the size of individual orders from Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen, he rejected it, noting that these camps were very large, although when pressed he did express a general sort of surprise at the size of camp that would need such quantities of Zyklon. When the interrogation was continued the next day, after receiving further threats from the interrogator, he managed to express a generalized kind of surprise at the size of individual orders of Zyklon, but stated that he had never heard such an expression of surprise from any of the three defendants. While the interrogations of the other interrogated (current and former) TESTA employees were promptly converted into deposition form, Ruehmeling's was left to linger before finally being put into the form of a deposition and signed on December 30. The deposition mentions large orders of Zyklon but expresses no surprise at their extent, and mentions that none of the other employees expressed such surprise. At the trial (Day 1, pp. 194-199) Ruehmeling was not questioned about surprise at the size of Zyklon orders. The Ruehmeling statement is in PRO WO 309/1602, while copies of the interrogations can be found in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603.

¹⁰⁶ Tesch trial Day 5, p. 329.

¹⁰⁷ Tesch trial Day 4, p. 304.

¹⁰⁸ Tesch trial Day 5, pp. 339f.

¹⁰⁹ Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, and Adelbert Rückerl, *Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas* (Yale University Press, 1993), p. 175. In support of this claim, correspondence between TESTA and the Majdanek administration is cited. It is sourced from the documents left at Majdanek rather than from those gathered from TESTA's files by WCIT No. 2. The Tesch trial documents do contain a number of documents relating to the planning of the Majdanek (sanitary) gas chambers, which establish quite clearly that they were planned for hygienic purposes. This fact, however, has been largely conceded by orthodox Majdanek historians, and consequently will not be further developed here.

¹¹⁰ Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse*, 1993, p. 47.

¹¹¹ Online: <http://www.holocaust-history.org/irving-david/vanpelt/vanpelt-zyklon.shtml>. Link now removed.

¹¹² The interested reader may wish to consult the following critique of van Pelt's arguments: 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), pp. 503-509.

¹¹³ This can be seen in the example of Majdanek by comparing van Pelt's numbers with those given in Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf, *Concentration Camp Majdanek* (3rd ed.), (Washington DC: The Barnes Review, 2012), pp. 200ff.

- ¹¹⁴ This fact is explicitly explained in Zaun's statement of October 24 (signature dated October 26), whose original is in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹¹⁵ These additional quantities are given in Dr. Bruno TESCH and The "GIFT-GAS" Case, section 45(6)(e), PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹¹⁶ The assumption that this concentration was used is also supported by the size of the bills. For instance, in one Sachsenhausen gassing operation encompassing 196,800 cubic meters, the bill for Zyklon was RM 21,622.19. The other bills were on a similar scale relative to the volume gassed. The price of Zyklon varied but was usually around 6 RM per kg.
- ¹¹⁷ PRO WO 309/872.
- ¹¹⁸ Dr. Bruno TESCH and the "GIFTGAS" Case, section 24, PRO WO 309/1602; Ruehmeling interrogation and deposition, PRO WO 309/1602. The latter fact was also mentioned by Weinbacher in his interrogation. The concentration of 10 grams per cubic meter may well understate what was used for delousing; Drosihn mentioned at the trial (Day 4, p. 304) that delousing employed triple the concentration used in general gassing.
- ¹¹⁹ Tesch interrogation, 26.9.45, PRO WO 309/1603. The term "spotted fever" is doubtless a translation of the German *Fleckfieber* (*Fleck*= spot, *Fieber* = fever), which means typhus. As this term was used throughout the investigation and at the trial, it will not be corrected; the reader should understand that typhus is meant.
- ¹²⁰ Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹²¹ Tesch trial Day 3, p. 266.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 277.
- ¹²³ The prosecution attacked the idea that Auschwitz was a larger camp complex than Sachsenhausen.
- ¹²⁴ Tesch trial Day 4, p. 288.
- ¹²⁵ Exhibit DB, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹²⁶ Tesch trial Day 3, pp. 267, 277, 288.
- ¹²⁷ Tesch trial Day 7, pp. 407-408.
- ¹²⁸ Petitions in WO 235/83.
- ¹²⁹ Short for "for instance." The affidavit is present only in English, but presumably there was a German original in which Drosihn used the common German abbreviation z.B. for "zum Beispiel."
- ¹³⁰ Drosihn Affidavit, 19.3.46, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹³¹ Drosihn interrogation, 17.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹³² Kock interrogation, 20.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹³³ Appeal on behalf of Tesch, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹³⁴ Blum letter, 14.11.46, PRO WO 235/310.
- ¹³⁵ PRO FO 1093/339.
- ¹³⁶ PRO WO 309/2041.
- ¹³⁷ Kiessig letter, 4.3.46, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹³⁸ Appeal on behalf of Tesch, p. 6, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹³⁹ Summary of the case by M. Scott-Barrett, 5.4.46, 1946, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹⁴⁰ Death Warrants, PRO WO 235/83.
- ¹⁴¹ PRO WO 309/626, p. 183.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

- ¹⁴³ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The “GIFTGAS” Case, sections 51-53, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁴⁴ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The “GIFTGAS” Case, section 44(3), PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁴⁵ Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁴⁶ Zaun Interrogation, 16.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603. (Only the English copy is dated, not the original.)
- ¹⁴⁷ Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁴⁸ Tesch statement 31.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁴⁹ Zaun statement, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603. Zaun’s signature on the German original, however, is dated October 26. In the English translation the latter date is retained, while the date of the 24th, which appears at the head of the original statement, is omitted.
- ¹⁵⁰ Receipt, 23.1.46, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁵¹ T.A. Lohmann to War Crimes Investigation Section, Hamburg, 15.4.48, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁵² Lt. Col R.A. Nightingale to T.A. Lohmann, 6.5.48, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁵³ Property Control Section to War Crimes Group (North West Europe), 31.8.48, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁵⁴ memos of 29.3.46, 2.4.46, 7.4.46, and 5.4.46, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁵⁵ Appendix “G” to Headquarters, British Army of the Rhine Administrative Instruction No. 104, Part I, PRO 309/626.
- ¹⁵⁶ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation*, p. 162.
- ¹⁵⁷ Robert Jan van Pelt, “Auschwitz,” in Günter Morsch and Betrand Perz (ed.), *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas: Historische Bedeutung, technische Entwicklung, revisionistische Leugnung*. (Berlin: Metropol, 2011), pp. 196-218.
- ¹⁵⁸ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say it?* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. 138.
- ¹⁵⁹ Memo dated 22.2.46, PRO WO 309/626.
- ¹⁶⁰ Diels interrogation, 22.10.45, microfilm publication M1270, roll 3.
- ¹⁶¹ 17.12.45, PRO WO 309/294.
- ¹⁶² Draper memo, 15.10.45, PRO WO 309/768.
- ¹⁶³ Major A. Gordon Hewson to Colonel Phillimore, 30.11.45, PRO WO 309/768.
- ¹⁶⁴ Telford Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir*, 1992, p. 231; Ingeborg Kalnoky and Ilona Herisko, *The Guest House*, 1974.
- ¹⁶⁵ Robert Kempner, “Cross Examining War Criminals,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1963, pp. 43-68. Diels and Kempner had known one another long before the war.
- ¹⁶⁶ FO 1019/94, p. 36.
- ¹⁶⁷ PRO 309/626, pp. 105-106.
- ¹⁶⁸ Tesch trial, Day 1, p. 182.
- ¹⁶⁹ Diels statement, 5.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/625, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁷⁰ Notes on a conversation between Lt. Col. N. Ashton Hill, Captain Franks and Dr R. Diels, 5.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁷¹ Tesch trial Day 1, pp.182-184.

- ¹⁷² Klaus Wallbaum, *Der Überläufer: Rudolf Diels (1900-1957) – der erste Gestapo-Chef des Hitler-Regimes*, 2009, p. 244.
- ¹⁷³ NO-844.
- ¹⁷⁴ “Amerikanischer Beamter bestätigt Mauthausen-Verbrechen,” *Aufbau* 12.6.42; “Nazis Use Jewish War Prisoners as Guinea Pigs for Poison Gas Experiments,” *JTA* 18.6.42.
- ¹⁷⁵ Diels statement, 5.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁷⁶ Tesch trial Day 7, p. 395.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁸ UNWCC Summary of Information No. 24: The Instructional Staff of the Death Camps, copy in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁷⁹ Dr. Bruno TESCH and The “GIFTGAS” Case, section 44, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ¹⁸⁰ 4.3.46, IMT Vol. VIII, pp. 527-28.
- ¹⁸¹ Letter of Major A.E.E. Reade, 15.4.46, PRO WO 309/768.
- ¹⁸² 4.5.46 memo, PRO WO 309/294.
- ¹⁸³ 26.6.47 memo, PRO WO 309/294.
- ¹⁸⁴ Deposition of Dr. Gerhard Peters, 11.12.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁸⁵ Peters 27.10.47, NI-12111, in microfilm publication M892 (IG Farben trial), roll 33, p. 1123ff.
- ¹⁸⁶ intercepts 10 and 52 of 13.11.41, PRO HW 16/32.
- ¹⁸⁷ Richard Breitman, *Official Secrets*, 1998, pp. 75-77.
- ¹⁸⁸ Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, Hamburger Edition, Hamburg, 1999, p. 651.
- ¹⁸⁹ Andrej Angrick and Peter Klein, *The Final Solution in Riga* (Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 190. In the relevant footnote (n. 63) the authors also wrongly assert that the first name of TESTA gassing technician Johann Holst is unknown.
- ¹⁹⁰ Tesch interrogation, 26.9.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁹¹ Exhibit JA, telegram sent 16.11.42, PRO WO 309/1603. The omissions indicate portions of the document which were illegible due to charring. TESTA suffered heavily under the air raids on Hamburg, and many of the surviving documents had been partially burned. Some of these original charred documents are still available in the files, but many have gone missing.
- ¹⁹² Peter Longerich, *Holocaust* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 279-280.
- ¹⁹³ Christopher Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution* (University of Nebraska Press, 2004), pp. 367-68.
- ¹⁹⁴ Exhibit JD, April 1942 letter to DEGESCH, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁹⁵ Summary of evidence of Hans Willy Max Rieck, 22.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603.
- ¹⁹⁶ Summary of evidence of Johannes Mueller, 24.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603.
- ¹⁹⁷ For a discussion of the alleged homicidal gassings at Stutthof, see Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf, *Concentration Camp Stutthof and Its Function in National Socialist Jewish Policy* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2003).
- ¹⁹⁸ Summary of examination of Edmund Josef Marso, 22.10.45, copies in PRO WO 309/1602, 1603. The topic of the bodies which Marso saw was probably brought up by the interrogator on the basis of what had been heard in the inter-

- rogations of Holst and Kock, see Holst interrogation, 19.10.45, p. 3; Kock interrogation, 20.10.45, p. 2, both interrogations in PRO WO 309/1603.
- ¹⁹⁹ Fred Pelican, *From Dachau to Dunkirk* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), p. 171.
- ²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173.
- ²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- ²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- ²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175. This may be true. Certainly the German authorities testified to the critical importance of TESTA's hygienic services right up to shortly before the German surrender, and such activities would have remained essential under the British occupation. If true, this fact would have a bitter irony: at the Tesch trial the urgent German calls for the support of TESTA's hygienic work were used, under a "coded language" theory ("sanitation" is code for "extermination of the Jews"), as proof of TESTA's participation in a program of mass homicidal gassing.
- ²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- ²⁰⁷ Certificate signed by Zaun as Acting manager, 30.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ²⁰⁸ T.A. Lohmann to War Crimes Investigation Section, Hamburg, 15.4.48, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ²⁰⁹ Pelican, *From Dachau to Dunkirk*, pp. 183-188. Bracketed translations of German text in original.
- ²¹⁰ Tesch interrogation, 24.10.45, PRO WO 309/1603.
- ²¹¹ Pelican, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
- ²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- ²¹³ Receipt, 23.1.46, PRO WO 309/1602. As discussed above, the authenticity of this document is questionable.
- ²¹⁴ Pelican, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.
- ²¹⁶ Tesch trial Day 4, p. 307. Draper used this material, which was mentioned as early as Tesch's October 24 interrogation, in order to impeach Drosihn's moral character and Christian faith.
- ²¹⁷ Production 25, 27.10.45, PRO WO 309/1602.
- ²¹⁸ Pelican, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- ²²¹⁻²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- ²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 155ff.

Defending the Defenseless

Americans Who Opposed the Mistreatment of Germans Following World War II

Kerry R. Bolton

Despite the Germanophobia that was drummed up even prior to the USA's 1941 entry into the war against Germany, the immediate aftermath saw a significant reaction of Americans to war crimes and post-war genocidal policies that were being inflicted on Germany. Several salient factors for this include: (1) the large component of the American population that is of German descent, (2) the "isolationist" tradition of American foreign policy upheld in the slogan and the pre-war mass movement of "America First," that resisted the campaign to push the USA into the war, (3) the affront to traditional honor and justice such actions and policies represented to many American military leaders and jurists of what might be termed the "old school," and (4) the realization that a strong, rather than a permanently impoverished and castrated, Germany was needed as an ally in the post-war world.

The USA had pursued a course of vengeance and pastoralization of conquered Germany via the Morgenthau Plan named after the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr. The measures drafted by the Treasury Department, under the direction of Dr. Harry Dexter White (nee Weiss) aimed to reduce the German population by a policy of starvation, reminiscent of Lazar Kaganovich's contrived famine widely held to have caused the deaths of up to seven million Ukrainians and to have broken the *kulak* class of successful peasantry. That White was later exposed as a Soviet agent might suggest another motive for the Morgenthau Plan as pursuing quite another aim to that intended by Morgenthau et al who thought only in terms of Old-Testament-type vengeance and total annihilation. Might the aim of White and other Soviet agents within U.S. Treasury have been to use the Morgenthau Plan dialectically, to push the Germans into the embrace of the USSR, whose policy, despite the mass rapes committed by soldiers of the Red Army, after the war became far more conciliatory towards Germans than France, Britain and the USA?¹

A genocidal attitude towards Germany had long been harbored in influential U.S. circles. The Morgenthau Plan was enacted on a *de facto*, not a *de jure* basis. Hence, it could be, and still is, claimed that the "plan" was

abortive. Ironically, Deborah Lipstadt, the “scholar” who is heralded as the vanguard of opposition to “Holocaust denial,” a rhetorical term without scholarly meaning, denies there was a Morgenthau Plan² in the course of her largely *ad hominem* attack on those who question certain aspects of World War II “history.”

Details of U.S. post-war policy in occupied Germany got back to the USA and aroused protest from the remnants of traditional America who spoke up against policies and actions that they viewed as an affront to justice. The extent to which there was an undercurrent of opposition to post-war policy among notable individuals of the Old America is best indicated by a compendium that was produced by an American of German descent. As I have related previously,³ H. Keith Thompson Jr. established himself as a literary agent of significance despite his association with the pre-war German-American Bund and with the post-war Socialist Reich Party, and individuals such as Major General Otto Remer, Yockey, George Sylvester Viereck, Edward Fleckenstein, et al. Thompson compiled a volume of hundreds of testimonials from prominent figures throughout the world, who protested the treatment of the naval hero Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz and the very concept of “war crimes” trials of German military leaders. These testimonials were presented to Dönitz upon his release from Spandau. Here we find among the Americans who criticized the treatment of Dönitz and other German military leaders, opposition to the dubious legal judicial foundations of the war crimes trials by Ohio Supreme Court Justice William L. Hart, who wrote the foreword, and cited the *Chicago Tribune* that “no one of the victors was free of guilt” of the accusations made against the Germany.⁴

Nuremberg Set Tyrannical Precedent

Hart and many others commented of Nuremberg that it set a dangerous precedent that should not be followed in future.⁵ This is precisely one of the primary concerns of revisionists: how precedents set by the Allied treatment of Germany have established foundations for the present “new world [dis]order,” reflected for example in the lynching of Saddam Hussein and the trials of Serb military and political leaders. Again, it is the concept of vengeance being played out behind the rhetoric of the concepts of “international law” established at Nuremberg. The epilogue from Rear Admiral Dan V. Gallery’s book *Twenty Million Tons under the Sea* was used as the “Prologue” for the Dönitz book, with Gallery’s permission, wherein he referred to “the kangaroo court at Nuremberg.” Its reference as

the “International Military Tribunal” he regarded as “a libel on the military profession.”⁶ He found it absurd that military leaders could be tried for waging “aggressive war.” Admirals Dönitz and Raeder were tried under new rules of war at sea that the Allies had not themselves followed.⁷

Another excerpted chapter is from John F. Kennedy’s book *Profiles in Courage*, where he lauds Senator Robert A. Taft, a Republican Party statesman who had campaigned to keep the USA out of World War II and continued to oppose US global adventurism after the war.⁸ He had opposed *ex post facto* laws and continued to do so in regard to Nuremberg. Kennedy stated that such views were shared by many Americans, “at least privately,” and after, but the only politician of conscience to speak out was Taft.⁹

Taylor Caldwell, the novelist, was among those who regarded the “war crimes trials” as “barbaric” and stated that “our country’s hands are not free of blood and crime, in spite of our vaunted democracy and ‘noble aspirations,’ etc. etc., ad nauseam.” She regarded the trials as among the blackest of the USA’s “recent black (and Red) spots.”¹⁰ Senator William Langer wrote to Dönitz that his conviction at Nuremberg was a “miscarriage of justice,” and that he had done nothing other than his duty.¹¹ Hon. J. Bracken Lee, Governor of Utah, regarded the Allies as “just as guilty” as those who were tried as “war criminals.”¹²

Lipstadt laments that “Holocaust deniers” and critiques of post-war Allied policy towards Germany focus on the Morgenthau Plan, which she correctly states “would have prevented the economic rehabilitation of Germany.” However she claims “the plan was never put into effect.”¹³ *The Morgenthau Diary*, published in two volumes from a selection of thousands of documents edited by Professor Anthony Kubek of Dallas University, and issued by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate on the Judiciary in 1967, shows that Morgenthau and his chief assistant Dr. Harry Dexter White headed up a team in the U.S. Treasury that supervised the War and State Departments in formulating policies on occupied Germany. Drawing on the memoirs of Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Kubek asserts that Morgenthau and White, et al were at loggerheads with other policy-makers. Due to Morgenthau’s influence on Roosevelt it was the Treasury cabal that prevailed. Morgenthau also had the support of a perennial presidential adviser, the banker Bernard Baruch, who threatened to end the careers of those in Washington who stood in the way of obliterating Germany.¹⁴ Stimson objected that the Morgenthau Plan to deindustrialize Germany would cause the starvation of 30,000,000 Germans. Although President Truman opposed the Morgenthau

Plan and Morgenthau resigned in 1945 when Truman did not include him in the Potsdam delegation, 140 of his Treasury cabal were ensconced in the occupation administration in Germany and ensured that genocidal policies proceeded under the terms of JCS 1067.¹⁵ The extent to which the Morgenthau Plan was carried out has been documented by Bacque.¹⁶

What is objectionable to certain interests about those who expose Allied war crimes is that this is “relativizing” the Holocaust, an offense that has been considered previously in *Inconvenient History*.¹⁷ If German criminality in World War II was no more or less iniquitous than the wartime criminality of any other state, then the uniqueness of the Jewish experience is undermined. Hence also the moral underpinning of not only the Israeli State, but of the special taboo against criticizing any reprehensible character who happens to be Jewish. While Lipstadt et al claim that historical revisionism is devoid of *any* scholarly merit, they are stuck with the existence of genuinely eminent scholars such as Charles C. Tansill, professor of American diplomatic history at Georgetown University, who saw World War II as an inevitable consequence of the Versailles Treaty in his 1952 book *Back Door to War*,¹⁸ and Harry Elmer Barnes. Inconvenient historians such as Tansill and Barnes therefore do not have their scholarship scrutinized, but rather are portrayed as merely part of an anti-Semitic current that had its precursor with the Henry Ford-sponsored 1920s series “The International Jew,” published in the Ford Company’s newspaper *The Dearborn Independent*,¹⁹ and continued today by Klansmen and neo-Nazis. Hence, Tansill and Barnes become part of an anti-Semitic world conspiracy that includes tobacco-chewing Klansmen and Muslim suicide bombers. In this vein James J. Martin, another American scholar, is cited as having described the Morgenthau Plan as running Germany “according to the Old Testament instead of the New.”²⁰

Nuremberg Trials a Jewish Triumph

While those who point out that Allied occupation policy, including that of Morgenthau and of Nuremberg, seemed more like *Talmudic* than Western legalism are portrayed as “anti-Semites,” Jewish spokesmen boast of their role in conceptualizing vengeance as a modern war aim. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, who had headed several of the primary Zionist organizations, while president of the World Jewish Congress gave credit to the WJC as the organization from whose bowels “the war crimes trials” issued forth. The WJC, he stated, established the Institute of Jewish Affairs,

*“where the groundwork was laid for two objectives: ensuring that the Nazi criminals did not escape punishment and obtaining maximum restitution from a defeated Germany. It was in this Institute that the idea of punishing Nazi war criminals was first conceived, an idea later taken up by some great American jurists, notably Justice Robert H. Jackson of the Supreme Court, and implemented in the Nuremberg Trials. The idea of prosecuting and sentencing political and military leaders for crimes against humanity was completely new to international justice.”*²¹

Goldmann commented that many jurists opposed the trials because “they were unable to see beyond the concepts of conventional jurisprudence.” What Goldmann calls “concepts of conventional jurisprudence” are the concepts of law and justice built up over centuries by Western Civilization, based on the Christian ethos and chivalry. To jurists schooled in a counter-tradition, that of *Talmudic* dialectics, these are concepts that have no place in the world. Goldmann also points out that these concepts of jurisprudence are what have since formed the basis of “international law” in condemning vanquished statesmen and military leaders. National sovereignty, stated Goldmann, had to become subordinated to this new concept of ‘international morality,’ as “an effective warning and deterrent for the future.”²² The concepts seem not to apply to the military and political leaders of Israel, which might be accounted for by the dual moral code of Judaism; or as it might be simply put: “do as I say, not as I do.” Goldmann stated that the WJC, under the direction of Jacob and Nehemiah Robinson, “put great effort into the intellectual and moral groundwork for these trials, and it is one of the triumphs of the Roosevelt administration that it consistently accepted these principles despite all the misgivings of some influential allies circles, particularly in England.”²³ Can anything be clearer, or was Goldmann making empty boasts?

Early Misgivings

However, there were early misgivings about U.S. policies in Germany, which filtered back to the USA. While Lipstadt refers in passing in an end-note to one Karl Brandt in connection with the revisionist publisher Henry Regnery,²⁴ she does not mention that he was professor of economics at Stanford University, who had returned from Germany where he had been an adviser to the US occupation government. He spoke before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, on the “draconian policies” of the USA that would destroy not only Germany but also all of Europe. Indeed, Brandt and

a group of refugees from Hitler's Germany sought to have Harper, the publisher of Henry Morgenthau's book *Germany Is Our Problem*, publish a rebuttal that they would prepare. Harper refused to do so.

Regnery and a colleague published the rebuttal, which had the same title as the Morgenthau book, and detailed how Allied post war policies were destroying Europe. It was published at a very early post-war date – 1946, by Human Events Inc., for which Regnery was an editor.²⁵

After publishing several pamphlets on the United Nations Charter and on the U.S. Constitution, Regnery produced a volume of letters that had been smuggled from Germany (Germans having been forbidden after the war to write abroad) “which gave a graphic picture of what life was like in that broken country.” As Regnery describes it, the first pamphlets that established him as a notable conservative publisher were on the condition of Germany and Allied policies.²⁶

While according to Lipstadt the Morgenthau Plan was not happening, the eminent Jewish Left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz, founder of the influential Left Book Club, had returned to London from a visit to Germany. He wrote in letters to London newspapers of the British occupation zone where Germans were reduced to starvation, of the dismantling of industries, and the expulsion of refugees from their homes in the East, to overfill German cities such as Hamburg that had been reduced to rubble. Gollancz published these letters and other reports in two books, *In Darkest Germany*, and *Our Threatened Values*. Despite his prominence, Gollancz could not find a major American publisher, so his two books were offered for publication to Regnery.²⁷ The Gollancz books were the first to be published by Henry Regnery Company.²⁸ Oddly, Gollancz is missing from Lipstadt's list of Holocaust deniers and relativists. *Our Threatened Values* had an important review in *Time*, describing Gollancz as “retaining his Jewish faith and socialist belief,” while stating that humanity's salvation rests with the uniting of “traditional religious ethics” with Western secular beliefs, based on mercy, love and respect.

Gollancz related to Regnery in New York that after the war Churchill had asked him about the conditions in Germany, and claimed concern. He was also shocked by the killing of German civilians in the British air raids over Hamburg, Dresden, etc., claiming that he had not been told. Gollancz remarked to Regnery that of course Churchill had known, but a certain “romantic” ideal had enabled him after the war to selectively forget by what we might see as rationalizing his self-image of innocence and virtue. Asking Gollancz whether it was true that 5,000 civilians had been obliterated at Hamburg, Gollancz remarked that the figure was much higher, and

likewise perhaps more than 200,000 at Dresden because of the number of refugees cramming the cities.²⁹ (In recent years it has become customary to greatly scale down the figures, although orthodox academics and authors do not seem to be threatened in the same manner as those who question the sacred figure of 6,000,000). Gollancz soon became a champion of the Arabs displaced by Zionism.

Another early book published by Regnery was *Whither Germany* by Hans Zbinden, well known in Switzerland as an author and a humanitarian. He asserted “the disappearance of Germany as a political and spiritual force would probably mean the end of European history.” This was followed by *From Versailles to Potsdam*, by Leonard von Muralt, professor of modern history at the University of Zürich, with the theme on the short-sightedness of basing the post-war world on the type of revenge that the Versailles *diktat* placed on Germany after World War I. These books began to get significant reviews in venues such as the *Saturday Review of Literature*.³⁰ In 1949 two other books on German policies were published by Regnery, Montgomery Belgion’s *Victor’s Justice*, on the war crimes trials; and *The High Cost of Vengeance* by Freda Utley, on Allied occupation policy.³¹ Belgion was well-known in England as an essayist and literary critic who had served as an officer during the war. He regarded the war crimes trials as a travesty of Western justice, and that those sitting in judgment were also guilty of war crimes. While Germany was accused of using forced labor [albeit paid work with holidays home] while the trials were proceeding not only the USSR, but France and Britain were using forced labor [without pay and holidays home] with prisoners of war supplied by the USA.³²

Freda Utley was an important figure in the post-war opposition to U.S. genocide against Germany. She contended in *The High Cost of Vengeance* that the USA came to Germany as a conquering “master race,” affirming rather than repudiating the doctrine of “might makes right.”³³ As one would expect, Lipstadt condemns Utley as among the “relativists and German apologists” who cited Allied war crimes as mitigating the Third Reich. Moreover, Utley became “one of the most vocal” of Senator Joseph McCarthy’s supporters, using tactics of Nazi apologists in condemning the mass transfer of German refugees from the Soviet-occupied East,³⁴ which caused many deaths of German displaced persons. Again, a background of this “Nazi apologist” and McCarthyite is not given. She had come from a socialist family in England, graduated from the London School of Economics, and remained a lifelong friend of pacifist guru and iconic liberal phi-

losopher Bertrand Russell. She had become a Communist, married a Soviet citizen and had lived in the USSR. Regnery stated that she always took the side of the underdog, and that in the immediate post-war world the collective underdog was decidedly the Germans.³⁵ Moreover, like Gollancz, Utley had drawn from her experiences, having stayed in Germany in 1948. At the time industries were still being dismantled, denazification entailed guilt by association, and arbitrary arrests were still frequent. She interviewed Germans and occupiers, and perused the documentation. Her book was scathingly attacked by a Germanophobe, Delbert Clark, writing for the *Sunday New York Times*.³⁶

When Utley was in Germany, she was not reticent about condemning U.S. policy to the press and in lectures. Some U.S. media, especially *The Reporter*, which ran several articles on the subject, inferred collusion between the Soviets and American and German Rightists in condemning US occupation policies. This was at a time when the Socialist Reich Party, regarded by the occupation as a revival of the National Socialist party, stated that they did not view Russian occupation as any worse than the American, that Germany would not align with the USA against the USSR, and the Soviet occupation zone was already taking a more conciliatory approach towards German veterans and the reunification of Germany. Russian émigrés in Germany, neo-Nazis in Germany, McCarthyites in the USA and neo-Nazis in the USA around Frederick Weiss and the National Renaissance Party were portrayed as a common front against the Morgenthau policy, with such supposed anti-Americanism serving the USSR.³⁷ As we now know, there is reason to believe that many Jews serving as Soviet agents in U.S. Treasury were contriving the Morgenthau policies to push the Germans into the Soviet embrace.³⁸

Utley criticized Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's weakness in defending German interests and accused U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy of having reinstated on his staff three-fourths of the "Red Morgenthau boys" who had been removed by General Lucius Clay. One of the few German newspapers with the fortitude to support Utley was *Die Deutsche Zukunft*, a Westphalian political weekly owned by Dr. Ernest Achenbach, an Essen lawyer and prominent conservative politician, and leader of the Free Democratic Party in the Ruhr. Achenbach, married to an American, had important contacts in the USA. His friendship with Utley enabled him to keep Senator McCarthy informed on the German situation. [The next issue of INCONVENIENT HISTORY is slated to carry a review of *The High Cost of Vengeance*.]

While Achenbach had managed to visit the USA on several occasions, in 1953 Edward Fleckenstein, a New Jersey lawyer of German descent, visited Germany but was promptly deported. Fleckenstein was the president of the Voter's Alliance for Americans of German Descent. H. Keith Thompson was among his colleagues. Indeed, Thompson's Committee for International Justice, and Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer, were auxiliaries of the Voter's Alliance, and Fleckenstein the legal counsel. While Thompson campaigned for the rights of Germans and for the release of Socialist Reich Party leader Otto Remer from jail,³⁹ Fleckenstein was a central figure in trying to alleviate the effects of the Morgenthau policy. When Fleckenstein visited Germany in 1953, he lauded Senators McCarthy and Pat McCarran as friends of the German people.

That year a book on the Allied occupation, *Advance to Barbarism*, by English jurist F. J. P. Veale, was published in the USA. It was damned by Jewish sources as an apologia for Nazism. The book had actually been published first in 1948 under a *nom de plume*, "A. Jurist." The 1953 edition carried an enthusiastic endorsement by The Very Reverend Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's. Dean Inge, writing in 1951, presciently wrote of the type of precedents that were being set at Nuremberg:⁴⁰

"I disliked the Nuremberg Trials for three reasons: First, trials of the vanquished by the victors are never satisfactory and are generally unfair. Secondly, the execution of the political and military leaders of a beaten side by the victors sets a most dangerous precedent. The Germans were certainly guilty of 'crimes against humanity'; but war is not a humane business and it would always be possible for the victors in any way to find enough examples of atrocities to justify vindictive punishments. After the next war, if there is one, trials and hangings will follow as a matter of course. We may go further. One of the indictments of the German leaders was not that they waged war inhumanly, but that they made war aggressively. They did; they desired large annexations of territory in the East. But have we not heard of other nations who have acquired extensive empires without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants? Thirdly, one of the judges – Russia – ought certainly to have been in the dock and not on the bench."

Another "Foreword" was written by the Rt. Hon. Lord Hankey in 1961, who acknowledged Veale's inspiration for his own book, *Politics: Trials and Errors* (1950).

Judge Roden and Senator McCarthy

Among the condemnations of Veale was that he “belittled” “Jewish survivor” testimony on the German manufacture of soap from the fat of exterminated Jews. As is now conceded, the allegation was indeed nonsense. Veale also claimed that the U.S. placed Germans into concentration camps without reason; another allegation by Veale that is now known to be correct.⁴¹

An article by Milton Friedman of the *Canadian Jewish News* states that one of the two persons to whom Veale dedicated his book was Edward L. Van Roden. Senator McCarthy praised Judge Roden for his exposé of the tortures inflicted on the defendants at the Malmedy Trial in 1949 by U.S. military personnel. Friedman counters that among such personnel were Jews, as though being Jewish per se should have been sufficient to recuse someone from investigation or even criticism. Friedman also alludes to the German defendants as being “Nazi stormtroopers.” Friedman asserts that a Senate Subcommittee found Van Roden’s claims to be “false,” and that there had been a concerted effort to both free the “Nazis” and try the U.S. interrogators. Van Roden, warned Friedman, also endorsed the book *The*



Sen. Joseph McCarthy with his attorney Roy Cohn during Senate Subcommittee hearings on the McCarthy-Army dispute (1954)
By United Press International telephoto [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Crime of Our Age by Ludwig Fritsch, described as “pro-Nazi, anti-Jewish.” Others who endorsed the book were Dr. A. O. Tittmann, ex-diplomat and founder of the Voters’ Association for Americans of German Descent, which Friedman imaginatively describes as a “successor” to the pre-war, paramilitary, overtly pro-Hitler German-American Bund. Another endorser was long time German-American campaigner and scholar Dr. Austin J. App,⁴² who is singled out for particular condemnation by Lipstadt.⁴³ Friedman claimed that *The Crime of Our Age* was a “forerunner” to Veale’s book, and circulated mainly in “neo-Nazi” circles, holding that the real “crime” was that the Nazis had lost the war. Veale compares the Morgenthau Plan to the Old Testament, citing “The Book of Joshua.”⁴⁴ Hence through such tenuous association the image of a transnational network of neo-Nazis is built up, involving Senator McCarthy, Judge Roden, German-Americans and Nazi apologists. Dean Inge’s endorsement is not mentioned.

Malmedy Trial

Hence the Malmedy Trial, Nuremberg Trials and the Morgenthau Plan were three primary elements of concern for those who opposed Allied post-war policies towards Germany. The Malmedy Trial came under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army.

The 7708th War Crimes Group was established under the command of Colonel Clio E. Straight, an Iowa lawyer and businessman in the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General’s Corps during the war. The purpose of these U.S. Army courts, as distinct from the four-power tribunals, was to investigate alleged war crimes committed against American personnel. From April 1945 to December 1947 these war crimes groups undertook 222 trials. The Army set up an independent reviewing authority, supposedly to provide a fair trial for the defendants. The head of the post-trial section was Samuel Sonenfield, whose name could only have confirmed suspicions as to the provenance of the Allied judicial regime. This U.S. Army group was responsible for the trial of the Malmedy Massacre defendants, from May 16 to July 16, 1946. The defendants had been accused of shooting American soldiers who had surrendered during the Battle of the Bulge, in Belgium. The U.S. Army later investigated the methods of extracting confessions, after a process set in motion by those who convinced Senator McCarthy to take up the cause. A dissertation on the U.S. War Crimes

Group, although favorable towards the whole war crimes process, nonetheless states of the defendants that

*“most were locked in the dungeon of Schwaebisch Hall for months, where they were refused clean clothing or the ability to take a bath. After taking the German prisoners from their dank cells, American interrogators roughly interviewed them and coerced confessions and sworn statements from each using psychological torture, threats and physical violence. Though the SS men were veterans of some of the bitterest fighting in history, most of them were young and did not have the education or experience to withstand the pressure of the investigators.”*⁴⁵

Willis M. Everett, appointed by the U.S. Army as chief defense counsel, and others, were uneasy about the number of Jews who were involved in the war crimes process. James J. Weingartner writes of this:⁴⁶

“Other factors entered into Everett’s refusal to accept the outcome of the Malmedy trial. While not a racist, he shared with many contemporaries a suspicion of Jews as a clannish subculture with views and interests not entirely in harmony with the best interests of the countries of which they were citizens. This manifested itself in a distrustful attitude towards the Jewish principals in the Malmedy investigation and trial, particularly the law member of the court, Colonel Rosenfeld, in the assumption that Germans, SS men at that, could not have received just treatment at their hands. In a nutshell, Everett believed that confessions had been extorted and then legitimated in court by a collusive system which had been weighted against his clients from the beginning.”

Everett also considered that the crimes of which the youngsters of the *Waffen SS* in the heat of battle had been accused, had their counterpart in the U.S. Army. Everett recalled talking with General Josiah Dalbey, president of the Malmedy court, at the officer’s club in Dachau one evening. Dalbey stated that the sentencing of the seventy-three defendants had been the most difficult undertaking he had ever encountered because he knew that American soldiers had been guilty of similar offenses. Dalbey agreed with Everett that the case should not have come to trial. The review officer of the Malmedy case, Maximillian Koessler, after the trial, pushed for a speedy review. He referred to convictions, including death and life sentences, as being secured on vague and contradictory testimony, and to interrogation methods that included the use of hoods, false eyewitnesses and mock trials. Col. Straight was displeased with Koessler’s reviews (although he could not adequately articulate his reasons), and they were rejected.⁴⁷ Everett took the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, despite the Army refus-

ing to provide him with the court transcripts of Malmedy. The Supreme Court Justices ruled that they did not have jurisdiction over the Army trials.⁴⁸

German and American patriots, along with sundry liberals expressing disquiet about the vengeance being wreaked upon Germany, took the matter up with Senator McCarthy, a member of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, pressing for an inquiry.⁴⁹ The secretary of the army, Kenneth C. Royall, established a tribunal headed by Gordon Simpson of the Texas Supreme Court, Leroy van Roden, Pennsylvania judge, and Lieutenant Colonel Charles W. Lawrence of the U.S. Army.⁵⁰ The Simpson Commission recommended the commutation of all death sentences of the Malmedy defendants.⁵¹ While the Simpson Commission report was “bland,” van Roden returned to the USA fully endorsing the allegations that interrogators had subjected the defendants to beatings, including “blows to the genitals,” threats of hanging during interrogations, and refusal of drinking water.⁵² Colonel Strong, head of the War Crimes Group at Wiesbaden, testifying before the Senate investigation, was critical of the prejudiced manner of Colonel A. H. Rosenfeld, the “law member” of the court trying the Malmedy defendants, and stated that the prosecution team had obstructed and threatened witnesses.⁵³ Rosenfeld “had wielded great power, interpreting the law and making frequent procedural rulings for a bench whose members were combat soldiers inexperienced in such matters. Rosenfeld had not allowed the defense to challenge the credibility of prosecution witnesses.”⁵⁴ The most prominent of the interrogators at Schwaebisch Hall was William R. Perl, a Prague-born Jewish lawyer from Austria, who had been active with Zionist emigration programs. He was attached to the War Crimes Branch of the U.S. Army in 1945. When incessantly questioned by Senator McCarthy, Perl “exploded” that there was so much “noise” about “one or two Germans getting slapped.”⁵⁵

It is therefore quite a distortion to place the critique of the Malmedy trial in the context of neo-Nazism joined with McCarthyism, while castigating individuals such as Judge Van Roden as liars. Colonel Everett was at the center of trying to secure justice, and certainly did not do himself any personal favors by advancing the case. Nor did Van Roden. In the mid 1950s he was among the hundreds of prominent people who gave testimonials to H. Keith Thompson for Dönitz. Unlike Jewish interrogators in U.S. Army uniforms, Van Roden had served three years in Europe during the war, including the Normandy D-Day landing. He examined the records of

trials in over 1000 cases, undertook many interviews, and concluded that such war crimes trials were a travesty, including that of Malmedy.⁵⁶

The Malmedy case was typical of the war-crimes procedures, as recent disclosures show. A “secret torture prison” was operated at Bad Nenndorf in north-west Germany, by the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre (CSDIC), a division of the British War Office. The center of the township was emptied of people and surrounded with barbed wire. At night the villagers could hear the screams of the prisoners. Most of the interrogators were “German-Jewish refugees.” The warders were the “most unruly” elements of the British Army, who could be expected to resort most readily to violence.⁵⁷



Austin J. App. The Widmann Collection

The Foreign Office briefed Clement Attlee, the prime minister, that “the guards had apparently been instructed to carry out physical assaults on certain prisoners with the object of reducing them to a state of physical collapse and of making them more amenable to interrogation.”⁵⁸

Another “secret center” was operated in London where German POWs could be held and tortured in England without the knowledge of the Red Cross. In 2005, at the request of *The Guardian* newspaper, documents were declassified showing the extent of the torture regime against Germans after the war. The documents refer to “living skeletons,” tortured, beaten and exposed to extreme cold. The ranks of the prisoners expanded from being members of the Nazi party and the SS, to anyone who had succeeded under the Third Reich. They even included Germans who had escaped from the Russian zone and offered to spy for the British: they were tortured – one dying – to determine whether they were sincere. A former diplomat incarcerated at Bad Nenndorf was there simply because he knew too much about the interrogation techniques, while another was there for eight months due to a clerical error. Apart from physical brutalities, threats to

kill a prisoner's wife and children were accepted techniques of interrogation. An anti-Nazi who had spent two years in Gestapo custody stated he had never experienced such brutality as he had at Bad Nenndorf.⁵⁹

This was the *modus operandi* of the Allied occupation forces, exposed by people such as McCarthy, Van Roden, Fleckenstein, Veale, Tittmann, App, et al, in the immediate aftermath of the war, at first vilified but since increasingly vindicated.

The Crime of Our Age

The supposed Nazi apologia circulating mainly within "neo-Nazi" circles according to Milton Friedman, *The Crime of Our Age*, was written by a Lutheran theologian, Dr. Ludwig A. Fritsch, and intended mainly for circulation among Christian laymen and pastors. It had been given to the U. S. President, Washington officials and all Congressmen. It was published in 1947, and hence is one of the first critiques of post-war occupation policy. Fritsch focused on what is now being called "relativism," in pointing out that whatever the Germans were accused of, the Allies had done similarly during *and after* the war. An example is the accusation of the German looting of art, which is lately receiving fresh attention through the movie, *The Monuments Men*. The Hessian royal jewelry was looted by an American WAC officer, her defense lawyer stating that 90% of the occupation forces had done likewise. The late Kaiser's silverware was stolen by a colonel who was a lawyer in civilian life. Fritsch "thanked the Lord" that his son, having served as an officer in the U.S. Army, came home stating that he had kept the Seventh Commandment.

So far from *The Crime* being an apologia for Nazism, Fritsch stated that most Germans knew as little about Dachau etc., as Americans knew about what was being done in their name at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Fritsch was not defending Nazism, he was objecting to the defamation and genocide being imposed on Germany in the name of collective guilt, and as a theologian contended that such a policy had more in common with the *Talmud* and Old Testament than with Christianity. Citing Professor Pitrim Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Fritsch pointed out that Germany, far from being uniquely a war-mongering nation as claimed by the Germanophobes, spent fewer years engaged in war than any other leading European nation between the 12th century and 1925. Fritsch's appeal was to clergy, not to "Neo-Nazis" and he appealed to them to "fight for peace in Christ's name."⁶⁰

In 1947, the same year as the publication of Fritsch's book, Ralph Keeling's *Gruesome Harvest* was published.⁶¹ Dr. Austin J. App, a notable life-long opponent of Germanophobia, wrote in his introduction to the 1978 edition that Keeling's book was the first to blast the silence on the expulsion of 15,000,000 ethnic Germans from their homes in East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and the Sudetenland to a ruined, starving Germany. The 1947 edition seems to have been funded, according to App, by Arthur Koegel, a conservative German-American, and chairman of Koegel Coal Company.⁶² Keeling prefaced his report of the expulsions with a description of the wartime devastation of Germany caused by the firebombing of civilian targets such as Dresden, Frankfurt-on-Main, Hamburg, Kassel, etc. General Eisenhower said his aim was the "destruction of [...] every German west of the Rhine and within that area in which we are attacking."⁶³

Keeling saw the post-war annexation of German territory as a means of "extermination by overcrowding," coupled with the destruction of German industry and the expropriation of resources. When the ethnic Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia were pushed across to Germany with only what they could carry, millions more were added to the already starving population. *Chicago Daily News* correspondents were told by Russian soldiers that "the Poles had cleaned out all Germans as far west as the Oder River, and the Germans in Sudetenland." They were permitted to take 30 to 100 pounds of luggage but nothing of value.⁶⁴ A train came into Berlin from Poland with 1000 refugees, among whom were 91 dead, some of the women having gone insane, and many trying to carry their dead babies with them. *New York Daily News* correspondent Donald Mackenzie reported from Berlin of 12,000,000 to 19,000,000 displaced refugees in East Prussia and Silesia, and mortality rates of 25% along the roadsides.⁶⁵

While 4,000,000 Germans had fallen as slave laborers into Russian hands, the western Allies were not innocent. According to the International Red Cross, France had 680,000 former German soldiers as slave labor in 1946, most of whom had been turned over as POWs by the U.S. Army. *Figaro* magazine reported that they were "living skeletons," savagely and systematically beaten.⁶⁶ At the same time the Red Cross reported that Britain had 460,000 German slave laborers.⁶⁷ Other countries having slave labor were Italy, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, and Holland.⁶⁸ While the rapes of German women and girls by the Soviet Army are often commented on, not so well known is the rape perpetrated under the French occupation especially by Moroccan and Senegalese troops. In Vailhingen, a town of 12,000, 500 cases of rape were reported. In the U.S. zone, Captain Frederick B. Eutsler, a chaplain, wrote in *Stars and Stripes*

of the barbarous conduct towards women by the U.S. troops. In Stuttgart during the French occupation, 1,198 women were raped and eight men violated mostly by Moroccans. Dr. Karl Hartenstein of the Evangelical church estimated the number of rapes to be 5,000.⁶⁹ American troops spread venereal disease along with democracy. V.D. was especially rampant among colored troops, in mid 1946 standing at 771 per thousand in comparison to 190 per thousand among white American troops. According to Lee Hills, *Chicago Daily News* foreign correspondent, there were 42,000 Negro (U.S.) troops stationed in Germany.⁷⁰

Starvation played a major role in the ravishing of German women; hence it could be said that they were not “raped” so much as paying G.I.’s for minimal life sustenance. How much more moral this was than the mass rapes committed by Soviet troops is an elusive point. Observers such as Gollancz and Christian aid workers commented on the widespread starvation. Dr. Lawrence Meyer, Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, stated in January 1946, after returning from Germany that he expected millions of children to die of starvation. Dorothy Thompson, not noted for her Hitlerism, reported that postwar policies were resulting in the “extermination of tens of thousands of children.”⁷¹ Some politicians exposed the plight of Germany in the USA. Senator Homer E. Capehart, Indiana, stated to the Senate that there was a deliberate policy of mass starvation conceived by a “conspiratorial clique.”⁷²

Even during the war, Dr. Austin J. App had begun writing on the folly and barbarity of Allied policies. He is reserved a special place by Lipstadt as seminal in the development of “Holocaust denial.” Lipstadt claims that because App was a lifelong figure in German-American societies he, unlike the eminent American academic revisionist Harry Elmer Barnes, “had no independent standing in the academic world.”⁷³ App served as president of the Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, founded in 1945. While he was a professor of English literature at Catholic universities, Lipstadt claims that his “far more dubious side” was unknown to his students. Were the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, American Jewish Congress, and American Jewish Committee really so neglectful in trying ruin the career of a well-placed and outspoken critic of Germanophobia and Talmudism, which Lipstadt calls “gutter-level antisemitism”? However, as we are again reminded, the Morgenthau Plan was not in effect anyway, and indeed the U.S. policy was humane.⁷⁴

App began his campaigning in 1942, writing to newspapers, periodicals and journalists. In 1943, after Roosevelt and Churchill had declared at Cas-

ablanca that only unconditional surrender was acceptable, App wrote to the *Columbus Evening Dispatch* that the concept was “grossly unethical.” The view was one shared widely among Allied military leaders and judicial scholars, as Thompson’s compilation for Dönitz would show. App visited Germany in 1949, noting the large numbers of Jews engaging in black-marketeering and theft, and seemingly immune from the law. Germanophobes see this as nothing other than App’s “gutter-level anti-Semitism.” However, the Eastern Jews had been widely held in contempt even by German Jewry before the war, who often expressed their disgust in a manner similar to that of App. For example, Walther Rathenau, foreign minister in Weimar Germany, wrote of them “You rarely find a middle course between wheedling subservience and vile arrogance.” Rathenau hoped that German Jews would develop as something quite different from the types that were coming from the East.⁷⁵

General George S. Patton, placed in charge of Displaced Persons, restricted the movements only of Jews, due to their habits. For this he was reprimanded by Eisenhower, and shortly after removed as commander of the Third Army, and he subsequently died in dubious circumstances. Patton attested to the Morgenthau Plan being implemented and remarked:⁷⁶

“Evidently the virus started by Morgenthau and Baruch of a Semitic revenge against all Germans is still working. Harrison (a U.S. State Department official) and his associates indicate that they feel German civilians should be removed from houses for the purpose of housing Displaced Persons. There are two errors in this assumption. First, when we remove an individual German we punish an individual German, while the punishment is not intended for the individual but for the race. Furthermore, it is against my Anglo-Saxon conscience to remove a person from a house, which is a punishment, without due process of law. In the second place, Harrison and his ilk believe that the Displaced Person is a human being, which he is not, and this applies particularly to the Jews, who are lower than animals.”

In 1946 App published *Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe*, focusing on the orgy of rape perpetrated by the Allied armies. App published his letters to the press from the latter half of the 1940s as *Morgenthau Era Letters* in 1949.

App was not motivated by Nazism or anti-Semitism but by his devotion to Catholicism, like the Lutheran motivation evident in Fritsch’s *Crime of Our Age*. The Germanophobes and Talmudists are perhaps constitutionally incapable of appreciating this or of even differentiating between Christian

apologia and Hitlerite apologia. App is recognized as a notable Catholic scholar, educator and author. He wrote of his motivations in five principles:⁷⁷

1. that Christianity, especially Catholic Christianity, should be accepted all over the world as life's first and greatest blessing;
2. that literature is the best engine for carrying the ideals of Christianity from the heads of men to their hearts;
3. that profane and indecent speech, along with the greater sins of violence, immorality, and dishonesty, must be vigorously repressed;
4. that world peace is God's reward for justice and that enforcing an unjust peace is a criminal responsibility;
5. and that, to advance Christian ideals, good people must not only become informed but must also be trained to express themselves persuasively.

App explained:⁷⁸

"Most compellingly, I saw with horror that the Yalta and Potsdam pacts were delivering much of Christian Europe to the Bolsheviks, who were looting, killing, and ravishing their way into Eastern Germany, Austria, and Hungary. With the approval of American leftists and Morgenthauists, the Communists and Partisans were expelling twelve million ethnic Germans from their ancient homelands, which 'forced migration of millions of people,' another former professor of mine, now Archbishop Aloisius J. Muench, called 'the greatest crime of this age.' When even many Catholic magazines feared to publish the painful truth about Morgenthauism and the Potsdam peace, I felt forced, no matter what the cost, to publish myself. Beginning with a reprint from the Brooklyn Tablet entitled 'Propaganda 'To Hate All Germans' Is Debunked' (Feb. 16, 1946) by an army officer, upon which as a lucky afterthought I set a price, 'One copy, a stamp; ten, 25 cents,' I wrote and published in the next five months: 'Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe'; 'The Big Three Deportation Crime'; and 'Slave-laboring German Prisoners of War.' I was overwhelmed by the response. With one swoop my ivory-tower teaching status was ended. Morgenthauistic attacks, angry letters, thank you and help-seeking letters literally by the thousands, and orders, also by the thousands, flooded into my apartment. In a matter of months several of the pamphlets were out of print at 30,000 copies; one went to 80,000 in English and was translated into four foreign languages."

What is less known about App is that he also authored many works on his scholarly specialty, English literature, and received awards as an educator. Establishing Boniface Press in December 1946, he first published *History's Most Terrifying Peace*, a collection of thirteen articles. The theme is on the un-Christian concept of unconditional war, and the Catholic attitude that negotiation with the enemy should be the first principle of just war.⁷⁹

Relief Aid

While such courageous individuals had from the start raised their voices against the genocidal Germanophobia of Allied war and post-war policies, there were also immediate post-war practical efforts to try and alleviate the sufferings caused by the Morgenthau occupation regime. In particular, food relief was organized by German-American societies with the aid of Christian relief organizations, in particular the Quakers. At the center of these efforts were Edward Fleckenstein and Dr. A. O. Tittmann.

In 1947 the Senate Committee on Civil Service under the chairmanship of William Langer heard submissions "To Amend the Trading with the Enemy Act So as to Permit Certain Aid to Civilian Recovery in Occupied Zones." The terms read:⁸⁰

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, it shall be lawful, at any time after the date of cessation of hostilities with any country with which the United States is at war, for any person in the United States (1) to donate, or otherwise dispose of to, and to transport or deliver to, any person in such country any article or articles (including food, clothing, and medicine) intended to be used solely to relieve human suffering, and any article or articles intended for household or other personal use or for sustenance of life; and (2) to donate money not exceeding \$100 in any calendar month to any one person, or to any two or more persons in the same immediate family, in such country, and to transmit such money to such person or persons by international money order or other appropriate means, and the Post Office Department is authorized and directed to accept and transmit any such money order."

The senators were incredulous that while the Chase Manhattan Bank had established a branch in Germany and had been authorized to accept international remittances, the U.S. Post Office Department could not do so. It is of interest that Senator Langer, chairman of the proceedings, was to write to H. Keith Thompson a testimonial for Dönitz, stating that his conviction

at Nuremberg had been a “travesty.”⁸¹ Tittmann cited Quaker reports that Germans were living off potatoes, and soup from any vegetable that they might eke out of a flowerpot or window box.⁸² He referred to the 15,000,000 ethnic expellees. James M. Read of the Quaker organization, American Friends Committee on National Legislation, stated that he had been to Germany for the Relief Council of the American Friends Service Committee, working with Protestant and Catholic organizations. He said that “the suffering in Germany cannot be exaggerated.”⁸³ Edward Fleckenstein spoke as chairman of an aid committee of clergymen and laymen in New Jersey. They attempted to help individual families who appealed for assistance. Because of weight regulations in postage little food was able to be shipped.⁸⁴ Walter Penningsdorf of the Steuben Society also testified as to the difficulties of getting aid to Germany due to postal restrictions.⁸⁵

Keith Thompson recalled that Fleckenstein’s work had “paved the way” for the removal of restrictions on sending aid to Germany. He had been assisted by former New Jersey Governor Driscoll, “ministers, teachers and businessmen.” In 1950 Fleckenstein participated in “a trial-blazing Dismantling Suit” against Secretary of State Dean Acheson, seeking damages for German industries dismantled by the U.S. occupation regime as part of the Morgenthau process.⁸⁶ Fleckenstein held various meetings for German-American friendship in 1950, particularly in Yorkville, a German enclave in New York City. He was backed by Frederick C. F. Weiss, a mentor for many nationalist causes and individuals, including particularly Thompson and Francis Parker Yockey; Kurt Mertig, a German-American activist since before the war, and president of the Citizens Protective League; and A. O. Tittmann.⁸⁷

Fleckenstein became legal counsel for Thompson’s Committee for the Freedom of Major General Remer in 1952 when the latter was incarcerated in Germany as a leader of the burgeoning Socialist Reich Party, which had been banned, and of which Thompson had been registered U.S. agent. Fleckenstein also served as counsel for the Committee for International Justice, another Thompson effort that campaigned with some success to assist incarcerated German war veterans.⁸⁸ Both committees were auxiliaries of the Voters Association for Americans of German Ancestry, of which Fleckenstein was president.⁸⁹ He had been invited by Dr. Aschenhauer, who had been a defense counsel at the Nuremberg Trials, and had been influential in conservative circles in the Free Democratic Party, to tour Germany in 1953. That year Fleckenstein did go to Germany, where he lectured but was quickly expelled.⁹⁰ Fleckenstein had organized a

"German-American friendship rally," in which Senator Joseph McCarthy had been due to speak, but McCarthy decided on another engagement. However, those who did speak apart from Fleckenstein, were Henry C. Furstenwalde, former official at the U.S. embassy in Berlin; Austin J. App of LaSalle College; Dr. Ludwig Fritsch; and Father Emmanuel J. Reichenberger, "distinguished Catholic expert on the East German expellee problem." Keith Thompson served as "floor manager." He recalled that it was "the first time since World War II that such an audience had been assembled."⁹¹ Father Reichenberger, far from being a "Nazi," had opposed the local Hitlerites in his native Sudetenland before the war and had been known for his left-wing sympathies. After the 1938 Munich Agreement he fled Czechoslovakia, reaching the USA in 1940. Travelling back to Czechoslovakia with the U.S. Army in 1945, he noted the brutality of the Czech army towards ethnic Germans. He became the advocate of the millions of German ethnic expellees from the east. For this work he was criticized as an apologist for Nazism. His books included *East German Passion* (1948), *Drive through Defeated Country* (1950), *Europe in Ruins: The Result of the Crusade of the Allies* (1952) and others.

Fleckenstein was reported as also being prominent in the Pastorius Society and the Steuben Society, two long established German-American associations.⁹² Fleckenstein was also "well-known" for his campaign work for the Republican presidential nomination of Robert Taft, a veteran America Firster, against Eisenhower.⁹³ Thompson organized a front for this called the American Voters' Association. Included in the pro-Taft campaign at the Republican national convention in Chicago, along with Fleckenstein and Thompson, was Arthur Koegel, German-American businessman,⁹⁴ who during the early 1960s became president of the Steuben Society. There they lobbied for friendship with Germany, meeting Senators Dirksen and McCarthy; former Congressman Hamilton Fish, a veteran America Firster; and conservative columnist Westbrook Pegler.

While the FBI monitored Fleckenstein, Thompson et al, "Postwar American Jewish Community groups paid close attention to the activities of German American groups, seeing them as defenders of Nazism and supporters of Hitler's memory. Jewish publications and defense organizations paid close attention to the 'old pro-German groups' that functioned in the post-war period 'under the guise of German relief societies.'" *The American Jewish Year Book*, Jewish community councils, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League "ferreted out" and "gave particular attention to the 'German Groups,' which they considered a category unto themselves," in regard to monitoring "anti-Semitism." *The American*

Jewish Year Book for 1950 included a chapter entitled “Anti-Jewish Agitation” in reporting on the “German Groups,” where there was any manifestation of activity by Tittmann’s Voters’ Alliance for Americans of German Ancestry.⁹⁵ Organized Jewry in the USA was determined to maintain the Germanophobia of wartime, and thereby gave support to the implementation of the Morgenthau outlook. They worked to abort any effort for American and German reconciliation. Ten years after the war Organized Jewry was agitating against the performance of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Herbert von Karajan, whom the Jewish Labor Committee called “a notorious Nazi.” The *Boston Jewish Times* commented that had Hitler won the war, the same orchestra and conductor would be playing in the USA with the Horst Wessel Song among its repertoire.⁹⁶ In Cincinnati, where the population of German descent was large, the Jewish Community Relations Committee agitated against the plan to make Munich a “sister city.”⁹⁷

With the perpetuation of such Germanophobia, still going strong ten years after the war, it is easy to understand why Senator McCarthy would have been blacklisted among organized Jewry even prior to his crusade against communist infiltration, which happened to turn up mainly those of Jewish descent. These included the coteries led by Nathan Gregory Silvermaster and Victor Perlo operating mainly within the Treasury Department, formulating post-war policies on Germany. Others included Silvermaster’s wife Helen, Solomon Adler, Frank Coe, who ended up as an adviser in Red China; Bela Gold; Sonia Gold; Irving Kaplan, who served as chief adviser to the U.S. military government in Germany; George Silverman; William Ullmann, and Harry Dexter White. With 80% of the Soviet agents turning up as Jews, Germanophobia served as a red herring, albeit one that had little effect among the American population when McCarthy started his investigations. Such Jews had a schizoid frame of mind, insofar as many remained loyal to Stalin due to their hatred of Western civilization, regardless of their traditional distrust of Russians and Stalin’s own vigorous turn against “rootless cosmopolitans” (Jews) after the world war. Eventually, the Cold War obliged the USA to incorporate Germany into its alliance against the USSR despite the reluctance of many Germans who had no wish to serve their new supposed “friend” that had spent so many years seeking their literal destruction.

Notes

- ¹ For example, Stalin insisted to the German Communist leadership, or what was left of them (most having been liquidated by their Russian comrades when they sought refuge from Hitler) that they accept veterans from the Third Reich into

- the political and military apparatus. Stalin offered German reunification, repudiated Jewish reparations claims, and formed a nationalist party, the National Democratic Party of Germany, which remained an important constituent of the East German government. See Bolton, "Stalin's German-Nationalist Party," *Inconvenient History*, <https://codoh.com/library/document/stalins-german-nationalist-party/>
- ² Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust* (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 44.
 - ³ K. R. Bolton, "Profiles in History: H. Keith Thompson Jr.," *Inconvenient History*, <https://codoh.com/library/document/h-keith-thompson-jr/>
 - ⁴ H. K. Thompson Jr., and Henry Strutz, *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal: War Crimes and the Military Professional* (New York: Amber Publishing, 1976), xviii.
 - ⁵ H. K. Thompson Jr., and Henry Strutz, *ibid.*, xx.
 - ⁶ Gallery, *ibid.*, xxi.
 - ⁷ Gallery, *ibid.*, xxii.
 - ⁸ It was noted in 1975 that even the New Left, in its opposition to American interventionism, was turning to the example of Taft. While interventionism is regarded as a "conservative" policy, conservatism having over the past few decades been hijacked by ex-Trotskyites calling themselves "neoconservatives," the genuine "paleoconservative" position of non-interventionism is upheld by Pat Buchanan, Paul Gottfried, et al. In contrast to the Trotskyites and other socialists who flocked to the Cold War bandwagon against the USSR, Taft, despite his anti-Communist conservatism, maintained his non-interventionist stance and opposed confrontation with Russia. See Robert McTiernan, "Taft and the New Isolationism," *The Alternative: An American Spectator*, October 1975, <http://64.62.200.70/PERIODICAL/PDF/AmSpectator-1975oct/16-19/>; also: Michael McMenamin, "Anticommunist? Yes. Cold Warrior? No," *Reason*, July, 1979, <http://64.62.200.70/PERIODICAL/PDF/Reason-1979jul/34-41/>
 - ⁹ John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (Harper and Row, 1956), cited in Thompson, *op. cit.*, xxvii.
 - ¹⁰ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
 - ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 - ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 23.
 - ¹³ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
 - ¹⁴ Baruch regarded the Morgenthau Plan as "much too soft." Of the U.S. State Department representative, Clayton, who was opposing the Morgenthau Plan, Baruch said he would "cut his heart out if he didn't behave himself." He added of Clayton: "He won't be able to stay around Washington after I get through with him." Quoted by Kubek, *op. cit.*, p. 67; de Poncins, p. 123.
 - ¹⁵ *Morgenthau Diary* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1967). On this see Count Leon de Poncins, *State Secrets: A Documentation of the Secret Revolutionary Mainspring Governing Anglo-American Politics* (Devon: Britons Publishing Co. 1975), pp. 95-138.
 - ¹⁶ James Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (London: Little Brown & Co., 1997).
 - ¹⁷ Bolton, "Historical Revisionism and 'Relativizing the Holocaust,'" *Inconvenient History*, <https://codoh.com/library/document/historical-revisionism-and-relativising-the/>

- ¹⁸ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- ²¹⁻²³ Nahum Goldmann, *Memories*, pp. 216-217; quoted by Count Leon de Poncins, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
- ²⁴ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 44; endnote 56 to "The Antecedents."
- ²⁵ Henry Regnery, *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher* (Lake Bluff, Ill.: Regnery Books, 1985), p. 32.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ³³ Freda Uteley, *The High Cost of Vengeance* (Chicago: Regnery, 1949), p. 14.
- ³⁴ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- ³⁵ Regnery, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ³⁷ Edmond Taylor, "Germany: Where Fascism and Communism Meet," *The Reporter*, April 13, 1954, p. 10.
- ³⁸ Soviet infiltration which centered in the Treasury Department, through the Silvermaster and Perlo spy rings. See concluding paragraph herein.
- ³⁹ K R Bolton, "Thompson," *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁰ Ralph Inge, Foreword, Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*, 1953. The book is online at: http://www.jrbooksonline.com/HTML-docs/Advance_to_Barbarism.htm#_ftn1
- ⁴¹ James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Toronto: Stoddard, 1989).
- ⁴² Milton Friedman, "Heard in the Lobbies," *Canadian Jewish News*, January 22, 1954.
- ⁴³ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-102.
- ⁴⁴ Milton Friedman, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁵ Reynolds and Mueller, "Review, U.S. v. Altfuldisch, et al," 1-2, Office of the Judge Advocate, *Complete List of War Crimes Case Trials*, 49-53; cited by Wesley Vincent Hilton, "The Blackest Canvas: U.S. Army Courts and the Trials of War Criminals in Post World War II Europe," Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Tech University, December 2003, p. 138.
- ⁴⁶ James J. Weingartner, *Crossroads of Death: the Story of the Malmedy Massacre and Trial*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1979, p. 169.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 194.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218-219.
- ⁵⁶ Edward L. Van Roden in *Doenitz*[...], op. cit., p. 67.
- ⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹ Ian Cobain, "Britain's Secret Torture Chamber: The Interrogation Centre that Turned Prisoners into Living Skeletons," *The Guardian*, December 17, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/dec/17/secondworldwar.topstories3?guni=Article:in%20body%20link>
- ⁶⁰ Ludwig A. Fritsch, *The Crime of Our Age* (Chicago, 1947), <http://www.germanvictims.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/crime-of-our-age-ludwig-adolphus-fritsch.pdf>
- ⁶¹ Ralph Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest: The Costly Attempt to Exterminate the People of Germany* (Chicago: Institute of American Economics, 1947).
- ⁶² Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest* (Reedy, W. Va., 1978).
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- ⁷³ Lipstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- ⁷⁵ Walter Rathenau, "Hear, O Israel!," *Zukunft*, no. 18, March 16, 1897.
- ⁷⁶ George Patton, diary entry September 17, 1945.
- ^{77,78} "Austin Joseph App," Catholic Authors, www.catholicauthors.com/app.html
- ⁷⁹ App, *History's Most Terrifying Peace* (Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, May 1970).
- ⁸⁰ Senate Committee on Civil Service, "To Amend the Trading with the Enemy Act So as to Permit Certain Aid to Civilian Recovery in Occupied Zones," Washington, D.C., April, June, 1947.
- ⁸¹ Thompson, *Doenitz at Nuremberg*, op. cit., p. 5.
- ⁸² Tittmann before Langer committee, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- ⁸³ Read before Langer, *ibid.*, p. 19.
- ⁸⁴ Fleckenstein before Langer, *ibid.*, p. 22.
- ⁸⁵ Penningsdorf before Langer, *ibid.*, p. 23.
- ^{86,87} H. K. Thompson, "I Am an American Fascist," Part II, *Expose*, September 1954.
- ⁸⁸ Bolton, "Thompson...", *Inconvenient History*, op. cit.
- ⁸⁹ Brian F. Jinnett Jr., FBI, Newark, NK 105-919, October 9, 1952, p. 2.
- ⁹⁰ FBI Memo, New York, 105-6127, October 14, 1953, p. 2.
- ⁹¹ H. K. Thompson, "I Am an American Fascist," op. cit.
- ⁹² Brian F. Jinnett Jr., FBI, *ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁹³ FBI Memorandum, Newark 105-1160, August 4, 1953, p. 4.
- ⁹⁴ FBI Memorandum, August 4, 1953, *ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁵ Hasia R. Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust 1945-1962* (New York University Press, 2009), p. 243.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

Setback to the Struggle for Free Speech on Race in Australia, Part 2

Nigel Jackson

Continued from “Setback to the Struggle for Free Speech on Race in Australia, Part 1.” (INCONVENIENT HISTORY, Vol. 6, No. 4, 2014)

XIII

Andrew Bolt is one of the best-known and most-controversial journalists in Australia and has been so for many years. He is a thrice-weekly columnist for Melbourne’s *Herald Sun* newspaper and generally defends traditional values and attitudes with a pugnacious, no-holds-barred writing style. He has taken a special interest in Aboriginal affairs and frequently clashed with Professor Robert Manne, a Jewish academic from La Trobe University, about the alleged “Stolen Generation” of Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal children. Bolt claims that there were no large-scale removals of children “for purely racist reasons.” Manne disagrees. Bolt has noted many instances of contemporary Aboriginal children being left “in grave danger that we would not tolerate for children of any other race because we are so terrified of the ‘stolen generations’ myth.”¹ He is also an opponent of the extraordinary current campaign, spearheaded by Tony Abbott, supported by both major parties and promoted by big businesses and influential individuals, to insert a clause or clauses into the Australian Constitution to “recognize” our indigenous people and their prior occupancy of the continent before the European takeover.

In September 2010 nine “fair-skinned Aboriginals” (as Federal Court judge Mordecai Bromberg referred to them in his judgment of the ensuing case) sued Bolt over articles he had published in 2009 in the *Herald Sun* and published on his blog. These suggested it was fashionable for “fair-skinned people” of diverse ancestry to choose Aboriginal racial identity for the purposes of political and career clout.² The applicants included Pat Eatock, Larissa Behrendt, Bindi Cole, Anita Heiss, Geoff Clark, Mark McMillan and Wayne Atkinson. They claimed that Bolt had breached the Racial Discrimination Act.³

On 28th September 2011 Justice Bromberg found in their favor. He stated in his judgment that “fair-skinned Aboriginal people (or some of

them) were reasonably likely, in all the circumstances, to have been offended, insulted, humiliated or intimidated” by the offending articles.

“At issue was Bolt’s assertion that the applicants had chosen to identify themselves as ‘Aboriginal’ and consequently win grants, prizes and career advancement, despite their apparently fair skin and mixed heritage.”

The articles, their counsel, Ron Merkel QC, had told the court, were, “a head-on assault on a group of highly successful and high-achieving Aborigines.”⁴

Justice Bromberg ruled “people should be free to fully identify with their race without fear of public disdain or loss of esteem for so identifying.” Bolt’s argument (that the nine had multiple identities open to them) was seen by some as causing the case to become an unofficial test of definitions of Aboriginality.⁵

During proceedings it had become clear that Bolt had been very careless in preparing his articles for publication. They contained bad errors of fact. For example, he wrote as though some of the applicants had only recently assumed an Aboriginal identity, when in fact they had identified as Aborigines from childhood. An extract from the ABC News is worth quoting:⁶

“The journalist told the court he did not contact any of the subjects of his articles before publication and considered these a response to comments they had already made on the public record. An earlier witness, Professor Larissa Behrendt, said Bolt had used a photograph of her in an article picturing her with dyed blonde hair and commenting on her German heritage. She said that while her grandfather was born in England she had no knowledge of German ancestors, although she admitted her surname was German. She described herself as an Aborigine and said her father was an Aborigine and her mother was a white Australian. She told the court that she knew of a three-point test to decide if someone was an Aborigine in order to claim benefits. It covered a person’s Aboriginal descent, their acceptance among the Aboriginal community and their own self-identification of being an Aborigine. She admitted it would be ludicrous to say you were an Aborigine if you had to go back seven generations to find black heritage.”

Controversy continues to rage in Australia over the nature of Aboriginal identity and the ways in which Aborigines should be given privileged treatment.⁷ Some people believe that the Aboriginal people have been

used, and are still being used, as a means of covertly changing the nature of the Australian political order.⁸

The judgment of Justice Bromberg has been a subject of much discussion from the time that it was delivered. For example, veteran journalist Jonathan Holmes wrote:⁹

“His Honor’s claim that his judgment need not affect the media’s freedom to publish reports and comments on racial identity is clearly absurd. [...] It appears to follow that any publication which discourages tolerance for racial diversity [...] is unlawful. [...] Justice Bromberg makes it clear that if you write something that has a tendency to offend on the grounds of race, but you want it to be considered reasonable and in good faith, you won’t necessarily get away with opinions that would in defamation law be covered by the fair-comment defense – opinions that are extreme, or illogical, or which ‘reasonable people might find abhorrent’. On the contrary, says Justice Bromberg (in Paragraph 425), Andrew Bolt failed the test of reasonableness and good faith because ‘insufficient care and diligence was taken to minimize the offense, insult, humiliation and intimidation suffered by the people likely to be affected by the conduct and insufficient care and diligence was applied to guard against the offensive conduct reinforcing, encouraging or emboldening racial prejudice.’ And he specifically mentions, not just the wrong facts, but ‘the derisive tone, the provocative and inflammatory language and the inclusion of gratuitous asides.’ [...] The judgment] creates one particular area of public life where speech is regulated by tests that simply don’t apply anywhere else, and in which judges – never, for all their pontifications, friends of free speech – get to do the regulating.”

The national newspaper *The Australian* commented in an editorial:¹⁰

“Andrew Bolt was prosecuted last year for articles that railed against racism. He drew attention to grants and positions reserved for indigenous people and dared to question the Aboriginal credentials of some recipients. This was uncomfortable ground to tackle and Bolt used strident language, but no sensible person would dispute the need to encourage frank consideration of such issues. For those reasons this newspaper has criticized the court’s decision (especially given Justice Mordy Bromberg’s reasoning included such matters as the ‘style and structure’ of the articles and the conveyance of meaning ‘beyond the literal meaning of the words’). This legislative and judicial overreach on racial vilification must be redressed.”

An Aboriginal spokesperson, Marcia Langton, remarked:¹¹

“What Andrew Bolt and any interested in his case should know is that many Aboriginal people are just as cynical and skeptical about all the claims made to Aboriginality by people raised in relative comfort in the suburbs. They cannot be described as disadvantaged unless you take seriously the racist proposition that one is automatically disadvantaged by having an Aboriginal ancestor. Being descended from an Aboriginal person who lived before British colonization is not sufficient reason by itself to hand out money to people who make a claim to being indigenous.”

One of Australia’s most energetic and articulate defenders of free speech is James Allan, Garrick professor of law at the University of Queensland. He stated:¹²

“I still think that Judge Mordecai Bromberg’s decision in the Bolt case was a poor one and an appeal had a very good chance of succeeding. There are several points at which Bromberg could have interpreted the statute in a more free-speech-enabling way. But at every single one of those he chose the path that stifled speech.”

And Chris Merritt, editor of the Legal Affairs section of *The Australian*, commented:¹³

“The absence of an appeal means the key issue at the heart of the case, the erosion of free speech, has been left unresolved. An appeal court ruling would have provided a conclusive decision on whether the Racial Discrimination Act was applied correctly in the Bolt case. [...The failure of the Herald Sun and Bolt to appeal] has encouraged Bromberg to believe he is required by law to take on the role of uber-editor, criticizing words and phrases and taking it on himself to list material that Bolt should have included in his columns. Within days, the nation will be treated to a spectacle that has no place in a free society. Bromberg, using the coercive power of the state, will force the free media to publish the judge’s opinion.”

And in another article, Merritt noted:¹⁴

“This broke new ground for the judiciary and put journalists on notice that this law is unlike any other. They can now be held liable not just for what they write, but for what they do not write. Without the Bolt case, this statutory requirement for judicial over-reach might never have come to light. In this sense Bolt and those who pursued him in court have all served the public interest.”

Another objection to the Act, as interpreted by Justice Bromberg, was that it took as the “key test” for culpability “what’s offensive through the eyes of an idealized member of the group claiming victim status.”¹⁵

Some of these misgivings may have been applicable to the Scully and Töben cases; but these defendants did not have the public prestige of Bolt nor such powerful friends. So no comparable public clamor on their behalf arose.

XIV

On 6 August 2012 the leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott, delivered an address to the Institute of Public Affairs in Sydney entitled “Freedom Wars.” As noted above, this landmark speech inaugurated an intense public debate in Australia over the question of the degree to which speech should be free in public discussion of issues involving race and ethnicity.

Abbott championed the “question everything” mindset that he saw as so important for national creativity and progress. He asserted that free speech is an essential foundation of democracy and of human integrity. He warned “a government that can censor a free press is quite capable of censoring a free people.” He pointed out that “the price of free speech [...] is that offense will be given, facts will be misrepresented and lies will be told,” and added that “free speech shouldn’t be restrained just to prevent hurt feelings.”

Abbott opposed the then-ALP government’s proposals for changed regulation of the press: “In the hands of the current government, any new watchdog could become a political correctness enforcement agency destined to suppress inconvenient truths and to hound from the media people whose opinions might rattle Phillip Adams’ listeners.”¹⁶ Abbott declared that “Australia does not need more regulation of the mainstream media, but we do need a new debate about freedom of speech.”

He argued that the operation of Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, which prohibits statements that “offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate” another person or a group of people on grounds of race or ethnicity was “a threat to free speech.” He said:

“A ‘hurt feelings’ test is impossible to comply with while maintaining the fearless pursuit of truth.”

In specifically addressing the Bolt case verdict, Abbott insisted that “people are entitled to be passionate when they are arguing for what they be-

lieve to be important and necessary. Speech that has to be inoffensive would be unerringly politically correct but it would not be free.”

Abbott then made an important pre-electoral promise:

“The Coalition will repeal Section 18C in its current form. Any prohibitions on inciting hatred against or intimidation of particular racial groups should be akin to the ancient common law offenses of incitement and causing fear.”

He added “expression or advocacy should never be unlawful merely because it is offensive.” And he concluded by stating that his party, the Liberal Party, was “the freedom party.”

Less than two months earlier Professor Allan had noted the successful return of free speech on race to Canadians:¹⁷

“Last week the Canadian parliament took the biggest step in repealing its national hate speech laws. It voted 153-136 to repeal Section 13 of the Canadian Human Rights Act, the enabling legislation that criminalized so-called hate messages. The parliamentary vote [...] went overwhelmingly along party lines, but one brave left-of-center MP voted for repeal. [...] This happened despite the concerted efforts and laments of the human rights industry. [...] The forces at work against free speech can be overcome. If Canada can repeal its section 13 then we in Australia can repeal our Section 18C equivalent.’ Allan concluded: ‘One’s position against criminalizing words that simply offend others is the most important issue Australians face at the next election.’”

Abbott’s IPA address now gave hope that needed reform would occur in Australia; and this gave increased confidence that eventually free speech on race would be returned to those many nations in Europe that have lost this right since World War Two.

XV

The attempt by the ALP Government to impose a stricter regulation of the media, together with the Abbott critique of the Racial Discrimination Act, led to some profound discussion of the importance of free speech within the political order.

Liberal Party elder and former MP David Kemp recalled how Sir Robert Menzies, Australia’s greatest prime minister to date in the eyes of many, warned Australians in 1942 “against the organization of society around corporate interests at the expense of individual rights.” Kemp ex-

panded on this, writing that “to treat a sector of society, or the economy, as if it were a single interest with its own rights and duties, overriding the rights of the individual people within the sector, is to take an essentially fascist view of the world, destroying the rights of individual people by subsuming them into the ‘rights’ and ‘responsibilities’ of a sector of activity considered as a collective entity.”¹⁸

A former chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Maurice Newman, deplored a situation in which “legislators give judges amorphous powers to protect those who claim their sensibilities have been insulted on racial grounds” and a resultant situation in which “risky commentary will be left for closed doors, reinforcing prejudices and dividing the community.” He reflected on the apparent ease with which the Government had organized its effort to regulate the media: “Once upon a time attacks on free speech would have sparked public outrage. Today, opposition seems mild. It is as though the populace has been conditioned to accept these attacks on the media’s freedoms as being disconnected from its own liberty.” He saw this as a result of the trend in recent decades towards “bigger government” which “for the growing political class means opportunities to dispense patronage to rent-seekers and special-interest groups.” Thus he concluded “the balance of power tips inexorably in favor of the political elites” and is “indeed the road to serfdom.” He regretted that “in a system where the power of individuals has been marginalized, the public has become detached.” The older generation has “watched the slow attrition of their democratic rights without any sense of what was happening to them” and their children “have mostly been immersed in a curriculum that taught them government is the solution to all problems.”¹⁹

The Opposition’s legal affairs spokesman, George Brandis, analyzed the ideology behind those seeking to inhibit intellectual freedom. He pointed out that Ray Finkelstein in his report²⁰ favored what he called “social responsibility” over libertarian defenses of free speech. “The new intellectual climate places higher store in collectivist, societal values and less in individualistic values.” Brandis warned against “a comprehensive challenge – arising from a modern-day puritanism, driven by an ideologue’s intolerance of alternative or dissenting views, and condoned if not actually encouraged by a complicit government – to the very centrality of freedom of speech as one of our society’s core values.” The techniques of the challengers “are sometimes subtle, like the manipulation of language and the silencing of alternative voices.”²¹

Editor-at-large of *The Australian* Paul Kelly warned:²²

“The truth is that progressive political values are being transformed. Once progressives would have endorsed Voltaire (defending to the death your right to say it), but no longer. This value is subjugated to the new gospel that your speech must reflect progressive values and beliefs as part of legislating desired social behavior and respect for human rights.”

Mick Hume, in an edited extract from his book *There Is No Such Thing as a Free Press*, observed:²³

“[...] in today’s hyper-sensitive, thin-skinned culture, you are more likely to hear the argument that, yes, we should support free speech, ‘but’ that does not mean you are free to condemn or offend others. In the run-up to the 2010 general election in Britain, the new Labor government issued a consultation paper on ‘People and Power’. This document recognized ‘freedom of expression as an important British value. However, it insisted that freedom comes with responsibilities – to ‘be non-judgmental, open and encouraging’, to avoid ‘forcing our opinions on others’ and to ‘accept the consequences of being outspoken.’ In other words, freedom of expression is dependent on not being too outspoken, critical or intemperate, and if you do offend others, you must accept the punitive consequences. Yet freedom of expression does not entail any such responsibility to be ‘non-judgmental’ or inoffensive. And defending those freedoms does not mean you have to endorse what is published. [...] The bottom line is that infringements on that freedom are always worse and more dangerous to our society than the most egregious abuse of freedom might be. [...] There are already far too many formal and informal constraints on a free press, from our execrable libel laws to the culture of ‘you can’t say that’ that pervades the political and media class.”

Frank Furedi expressed similar sentiments:²⁴

“One of the most dispiriting features of the spirit of our times is the formidable cultural valuation enjoyed by the sentiment, ‘No, you cannot say that!’ [...] The subordination of the freedom of expression to the objective of protecting people from frank speech speaks to an ethos that has a uniquely low opinion of the capacity of people to think for themselves. It is evident that supporters of hate speech laws and advocates of the policing of freedom of expression regard ordinary human beings as children who need to be protected from bad thoughts and offensive speech. [...] What’s really offensive is not the speech but the arrogant assumption that would deny us the right to judge for ourselves how to

interpret it. [...] The exhortation 'No, you cannot say that!' is really another way of saying 'not in front of the children'. It is a sign of the times that frank speech is frequently stigmatized as a form of irresponsible behavior."

Information provided by Ron Merkel QC, the barrister who represented the plaintiffs against Bolt, needs to be set against this. He explained that Justice Bromberg "found that a particularly pernicious aspect of the [Bolt] articles was their intimidatory impact on younger Aboriginal people who may be more apprehensive about publicly identifying as Aboriginal. The judge found the ferocity of Bolt's attack on the individuals dealt with in the articles would have an intimidating effect on those people [...] the proceeding came about because of the distress caused by the articles to young Aboriginal law students and lawyers, members of Tarwirri, a Victorian association representing their interests." Justice Bromberg explained that "the disparagement of the 'others' in society because they belong to a racial group, stigmatizes the group's members, leading to racial prejudice, discrimination, social exclusion and even violence." Merkel believed that the Act had "nipped the harm in the bud."²⁵

Ted Lapkin, a Jewish defender of free speech, remarked:²⁶

"The quashing of speech on the basis of its political content is fundamentally inimical to democracy. Every point at which freedom of expression is curtailed by government coercion means a point where parliamentary debate and the media dare not go. [...] Rather than promoting peaceful coexistence, this regime of political censorship sets loose the specter of official tolerance enforcers. The Racial Hatred Act empowers the paranoid and petulant. And by rewarding those with the biggest chips on their shoulders, it exacerbates the ugly victim-group sweepstakes that has come to dominate ethnic politics in Australia."

XVI

In September 2013 the Liberal-National Coalition won the national elections and on 18th September Tony Abbott was sworn in as prime minister. Shortly before the elections *The Australian* had published a large news report on the plans of Senator George Brandis who now became Attorney General, the nation's chief law officer. Brandis had promised that "a Coalition government would use a revitalized human-rights agenda to challenge the dominance of the Left and protect common-law freedoms" that had been "eroded by previous governments."²⁷ He had also promised that "one

or more ‘freedom commissioners’ would be appointed to the Australian Human Rights Commission” and honored this promise on 17 December by nominating Tim Wilson, a member of the Liberal Party and of the Institute of Public Affairs, as the new Freedom Commissioner. From that point on Brandis became the Government’s main spokesman for the proposed reform of the Racial Discrimination Act; and his vigorous public statements suggested that he had every confidence that his “freedom agenda” would be implemented.

Early in November Brandis had expanded on his perspective and intentions, as *The Age* reported from Melbourne:²⁸

“Senator Brandis told The Australian that he was certain that the changes to the act would be viewed as the Government condoning racist behavior, but said he believed ‘you cannot have a situation in a liberal democracy in which the expression of an opinion is rendered unlawful because somebody else [...] finds it offensive or insulting. The classic liberal democratic rights that in my view are fundamental human rights have been almost pushed to the edge of the debate. It is a very important part of my agenda to re-center that debate so that when people talk about rights, they talk about the great liberal democratic rights of freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of worship and freedom of the press.’”

A few months later, Brandis stressed that “laws which are designed to prohibit racial vilification should not be used as a vehicle to attack legitimate freedoms of speech.”²⁹ A day later a prominent news report in *The Australian* headed “The recovery of liberty” featured a huge photograph of Brandis and noted that he “wants to be remembered for cultural change[...] the recovery of liberty.”³⁰ Firmly supported by Abbott, Brandis appeared like a great cultural general well on the path to bringing significant change to the Australian political order.

Support for the Government’s proposed reform continued to be vigorously expressed in public forums. James Allan noted that John Stuart Mill’s famous thesis *On Liberty* “relied on a certain distrust of government and government agents and bureaucracies, and even judges.” Allan asked: “What grounds are there, really, for thinking they know what is right and true and won’t abuse their position when silencing people?”³¹ David Rolph, an associate professor of law at Sydney University, pointed out that Section 18D “permits a greater intrusion on free speech than defamation law currently does” and that the defense of fair comment “is complex and technical and often difficult for defendants to establish.” He felt that the

Racial Discrimination Act and defamation law both needed reform.³² One John Bell, in supporting the appointment of Wilson, noted that there had only been one “non-minority group recipient of a favorable tribunal decision in the history of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (himself), thus indicating the ethnic bias inherent in the act’s working.³³ Chris Merritt bewailed “the overwhelming silence of the publicly funded human rights industry when freedom of speech is at stake.”³⁴ An Eric Lockett addressed the legalistic “nanny state” mindset behind the act:³⁵

“The law can never make people good – the best it can hope for is to protect the innocent from the wrong-doing of others. [...] We kid ourselves if we think that the law can ever be a substitute for the moral education that was once delivered at our mothers’ knees, or in Sunday school.”

Major newspapers agreed that change was needed. In Melbourne *The Age* stated:³⁶

“We believe Section 18C should be abolished. [...] The danger in the present framework is that in trying to protect tolerance and freedom, the legislation diminishes both. [...] The best weapon against hurtful and even vile words is public ridicule, not suppression of expression.”

The Australian presciently noted:³⁷

“There is, sadly, only a small and quiet constituency for press freedom and free speech in this country.”

It asked:

“But where are the champions, many of whom are leaders in the academy, media and social movements, when the most important human right of all, free speech, is under an all-out assault?”

Michael Sexton SC addressed the inadequate terminology of racial-vilification law:³⁸

“There is room for argument as to whether the prohibition on intimidation should be retained, although this could normally be dealt with by the ordinary provisions of the criminal law. The notions of offense, insult and humiliation, however, involve hurt to feelings. This is always unattractive for the subject of the verbal attack, but these shock tactics have always been legitimate tools of debate on questions of politics and public interest. [...] Some of the defenders of Section 18C describe it as a bulwark against ‘hate speech’. One problem about this term is that it is now frequently used with reference to publications that are merely of-

fensive. Hatred is a very powerful emotion and one, it might be thought, relatively rarely encountered."

Neil Brown QC commented on a different weakness in the act. He pointed out that in the Bolt case the judge "decided there was no role for community standards" in determining his verdict and "instead applied a test that gave priority to the views of the group claiming to have been offended." Brown suggested that liability in the future in such cases should be determined

*"according to community standards of propriety generally accepted by and expected of reasonable adults. And who better to determine whether an act offended community standards than the community itself by way of a jury?"*³⁹

Of course, such a criterion might not achieve justice in every case: a Holocaust revisionist, for example, might still find himself disadvantaged as a result of prevailing public ignorance, itself brought about by bias in the public media. Former academic Merv Bendle dealt with another defense of the act brought up in certain quarters:⁴⁰

"Claims that the repeal of Section 18C [...] might 'unleash a darker, even violent side of our humanity' are absurd and offensive. [...] This is not Nazi Germany, it is a highly tolerant society where an Aborigine has just been made Australian of the Year to general acclaim."

Gary Johns, a former ALP MP, argued that intermarriage would be a more effective way of building racial harmony rather than "outdated laws." He pointed out that "the rate of intermarriage for Aborigines in Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne is more than 80 per cent. Aborigines constitute 1 per cent of the population of these places: a tiny minority. In a sea of whites, Aborigines have high intermarriage rates."⁴¹ *The Australian* drew attention to another problem faced by the Government:⁴²

"Political correctness might have become so insidious that it is now a thought-crime to support the repeal of laws that stifle free speech lest we be tarred with the words of others."

James Allan attacked another plank depended on by opponents of reform:⁴³

"I think important policy decisions ought to be made by the elected representatives of the people. [...] And not those who purport to be on the side of 'international law'. Take a closer look at international law sometime and you soon realize that treaties are made by the executive, over the head of legislature, and that so-called 'customary international law' hasn't got a democratic bone in its entire body."

Tom Blackburn SC commented that section 18D does not offer a defendant sufficient protection. The term “good faith” cannot be simply equated with honesty and sincerity. This is because in a case known as *Bropho* it was determined that to show “objective good faith” a defendant must be able to demonstrate that he or she had (1) honestly and conscientiously had regard to minimize harm done; (2) acted with fidelity to the relevant principles in the act; and (3) indicated a conscientious approach to honoring the values asserted in the act. It might not be possible for an ordinary person to know enough law to abide by such a requirement.⁴⁴

XVII

On 25 March 2014 the Government released an exposure draft detailing its proposed reforms to the act and called for public responses to its program. Sections 18B, 18C, 18D and 18E would be repealed. These would be replaced by a new section of four parts, as follows:

“(1) It is unlawful for a person to do an act, otherwise than in private, if the act is reasonably likely to vilify another person or a group of persons, or to intimidate another person or group of persons, and the act is done because of the race, color or national or ethnic origin of that person or that group of persons. (2) For the purposes of this section, ‘vilify’ means to incite hatred against a person or group of persons, and ‘intimidate’ means to cause fear of physical harm. (3) Whether an act is reasonably likely to have the effect specified is to be determined by the standards of an ordinary reasonable member of the Australian community, not by the standards of any particular group within the Australian community. (4) This section does not apply to words, sounds, images or writing spoken, broadcast, published or otherwise communicated in the course of participating in the public discussion of any political, social, cultural, religious, artistic, academic or scientific matter.”

For lovers of free speech, this was a big step in the right direction and was a much more decisive reform than that adumbrated by Tony Abbott in August 2012. However, in my two submissions to the consultation process I suggested further improvements, as follows. (1) The amendments to the act should contain a specific statement that the principle of free speech takes precedence over the principle of protection from racial vilification. (2) If the term “racism” is to be used, it should be carefully defined, since not all discrimination based on race or ethnicity is unjust or not in accord with truth. (3) The existing protection against intimidation should not be pre-

served in the act, as there is adequate protection against intimidation and menace elsewhere in Australian law. (4) The new protection against vilification should not be included in the amendments, because the phrase “incite hatred against” is too subjective. “Vilification” is also too vague and subjective a term. (5) If the protection against intimidation is preserved, then claims that it should encompass “fear of emotional harm” (as opposed to physical harm) should be rejected, as the criterion would be too vague and subjective. (5) One word should be added to the list of kinds of matter in public discussion. The word is “historical.” Some of the most sensitive controversies bearing on race and ethnicity deal with historical topics. (6) Many valid arguments have been mounted to the effect that racial vilification is an evil which should be opposed and, where possible, curbed; but no successful argument has been raised by any person or body to show that the need to curb racial vilification is so important and so pressing that the basic principle of intellectual freedom should be forfeited.

XVIII

A torrent of discussion for and against the Brandis proposals now erupted in the public forums of Australia. Opponents of these changes unscrupulously made strident use of an unfortunate statement by the Attorney-General in Parliament to the effect that Australians “had a right to be bigots.” He meant, of course, that they had a right to express views *which others would see as bigotry*. He was not defending bigotry as being socially desirable or worthy in itself of legal protection. This would have been obvious to any thoughtful observer; thus, the over-the-top response to his statement, which would be sustained over the next four and a half months, suggests that crusaders against free speech on race were either possessed by a blinding spirit of fanaticism or ruthlessly determined to get their way by foul means as well as fair. A slogan involving opposition to “giving the green light to bigotry” was erected like a Chinese wall to prevent reasonable discussion. Wilson, the new Freedom Commissioner for the AHRC, perceived this and at once noted that “free speech and acceptable conduct” were “incorrectly being conflated,” since the overall issue was “not about the acceptability of racism.”⁴⁵ And retired academic Merv Bendle observed: “Ever since the 17th Century and the abolition of the Star Chamber and the proclamation of the Bill of Rights, the battle for free speech has been waged against ruling classes and elites seeking to protect their entrenched interests against public criticism. As the Andrew Bolt case re-

vealed, nothing has changed as favored groups seek to preserve their status and privileges by prohibiting debate. Consequently, the accusations of racism and bigotry being directed against the federal government over its efforts to modify the RDA are merely a smokescreen and should be dismissed and George Brandis supported for his courageous initiative.”⁴⁶

Some Aboriginal Australians supported the Government plan. Sue Gordon, a retired Northern Territory magistrate, was reported as saying that “the repression of free speech was damaging to race relations” and that she agreed “that people had the right to be bigots.”⁴⁷ A former member of the Government’s indigenous advisory council, Wesley Aird, stated that the amendments were needed “to bring the act into alignment with the ‘expectations of mainstream Australian society’.”⁴⁸ Anthony Dillon, an academic at the Australian Catholic University, saw opposition to the reforms as counter-productive:⁴⁹

“Promoting the message that Australia is a racist country comes at a cost; people will see no need to take responsibility for their lives. Claims of racism provide a perfect excuse for not having to make the lifestyle changes necessary to improve quality of life. They reinforce the victim mentality, where Aborigines are presented as victims of a racist country. Propagating such myths is far easier than addressing the tough problems mentioned previously. Yes, racism exists in this country. But we are not a racist country. There is an enormous amount of goodwill towards Aboriginal Australians and other ethnic groups. Claims of racism where it does not exist are more damaging to reconciliation and the health and wellbeing of Aboriginal people than real racism. If we are to get tough on racism, shouldn’t we also get tough on people who promote it where it does not exist and accuse others of being racist simply because they have a message that may not be popular with a few?”

Andrew Penfold, the New South Wales Human Rights Ambassador and founder of the Australian Indigenous Education Foundation, stated:⁵⁰

“We need to raise the threshold of section 18C so it only relates to serious vilification.”

Aboriginal artist, activist and businessman John Moriarty also supported the proposed reform.⁵¹

The Australian drew attention to the world context of the controversy and to the poor understanding of many of the opponents of reform:

“However well-meaning the views of opponents to the Abbott government’s changes to race discrimination laws, many have a poor under-

standing of the inviolable place of free speech in our democracy. [...] Rather than being viewed as a one-off, Australia's debate over racial vilification needs to be understood within the context of international trends. In a drive to clamp down on statements perceived as offensive, freedom of speech is being trampled across much of the world."

It also warned against "judicial activism," in deprecating Judge Bromberg's comments that the judiciary is a way of delivering "social justice."⁵² Neil Brown QC suggested:⁵³

"If we really want community standards to prevail, we should have trial by jury, so these contentious issues can be resolved by the only body really qualified to do so: twelve good men and women. After all, if the purpose of such legislation is to protect the community from racist conduct, why not ask the community, in the form of a jury, if it thinks it needs to be protected from the conduct complained of?"

Noted American Jewish legal expert and activist Alan Dershowitz warned "democracy cannot survive a regime of governmental censorship."⁵⁴ Another Jew, a survivor from World War Two, Professor John Furedy, also issued a warning – against what he saw as a dangerous trend towards tyranny and argued that even "Holocaust deniers" should not be censored.⁵⁵ Former Prime Minister John Howard supported the reforms.⁵⁶ Michael Sexton SC pointed out that Sections 18C and 18D are much harder on a defendant than the corresponding clauses in defamation law, particularly as Section 18C is not concerned with truth or falsity. Thus "it is much likelier to be used [...] to attack controversial pieces of journalism or historical writing."⁵⁷ One Gabrielle Lord expressed surprise at "the lack of voices from the literary world" in support of reform and argued that "freedom is the essential condition from which creativity unfolds and flourishes."⁵⁸ Tim Wilson observed (in contrast to those who claimed that Andrew Bolt had vastly greater resources than those he attacked):⁵⁹

"Censorship favors the powerful because they can use and abuse it to advance their ends, and also favors those with resources to use the court system to silence and censor others. It is a common criticism of Australia's generous defamation law – it favors the rich from criticism."

Barry Cohen, a former ALP minister and a Jew, insisted that "racist ideas are more effectively countered in debate, rather than in court or jail."⁶⁰ Janet Albrechtsen, a political columnist with *The Australian*, discussed the change-of-heart of Canadian Alan Borovoy, who once supported legisla-

tion like section 18C but is now a disbeliever, as well as the experience of Mark Steyn, who fought the censors, and noted:⁶¹

“Debate in this country has become polarized between those on the Right who regard the individual right to free speech as more important than identity group rights and those on the political Left who cannot bring themselves to genuinely commit to free speech of opponents.”

One Evelyn Creeton wrote:⁶²

“Hate speech laws are the laws that now powerful minority groups use to silence their opponents but would never agree to apply to themselves. They know that postmodern judges will use positive discrimination to protect people and opinions they agree with, even if a statute does not authorize such unequal treatment and international law forbids it.”

Canadian Mark Steyn, writing in *Spectator Australia*, commented:⁶³

“I’m opposed to the notion of official ideology. [...] the more topics you rule out of discussion – immigration, Islam, ‘gender fluidity’ – the more you delegitimize the political system. [...] where we’re headed [is] a world where real, primal, universal rights – like freedom of expression – come a distant second to the new tribalism of identity group rights. [...] Universities are no longer institutions of inquiry.”

Political scientist Jennifer Oriel produced a profoundly damning analysis of the Racial Discrimination Act:

“The open society dream of the West was based on the reign of reason over theocracy and the liberation of citizens from state dogma. Both precepts of open society are reversed in laws to censor speech that offends.”

She warned against “a gradual insinuation of ideology into the realm of Western jurisprudence” and its “reintroduction of state censorship under the guise of racial discrimination law.” She explained that “the modern architect of civil accord by state censorship” was former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, “an ardent admirer of Mao Zedong’s approach to multiculturalism.” Oriel saw the Brandis reform proposal as seeking “to raise the evidentiary standard of justice from feelings of offense and group opinion to hard evidence and truth.” It was now encountering a backlash “from those whose public status depends on manufacturing the illusion that personal perception and mob opinion constitute fact.” In reality the proposal “extends the right of free speech to all Australians rather than reserving it for an elite class who can claim their words are especially academic, scientific or artistic.”⁶⁴

Journalist Brendan O'Neill wondered:⁶⁵

"Why the Left has turned against the masses" and observed that "the bulk of the Left has abandoned freedom of speech, [...] ceding the terrain [...] to the Right. [...] It is the newspapers that lean more to the Right that have loudly demanded reform of this legal restriction on what people can say, while papers that lean Left insist Section 18C must stay."

The Australian and *The Age* respectively demonstrate that divergence.

O'Neill argued that "the Left lost its faith in everyday people. [...] It has become more and more cut off from ordinary people."⁶⁶ One Jim Ball responded that the role reversal on freedom of speech between Left and Right has occurred because "the Left is losing the argument in all respects as people are better informed and have more avenues available to vent their concerns and opinions." The communications revolution means that "the Left can no longer contain or control the flow of information."⁶⁷ Journalist Nick Cater claimed that "anti-discrimination legislation is just a game for lawyers. [...] It is human rights devoid of any sense of proportion, prudence or natural justice."⁶⁸

The former head of the South Australian Office of Multicultural Affairs, Sev Ozdowski, was another who supported the Brandis proposals, submitting that "it is difficult to find evidence [that] freedom of speech needs to be curtailed because it grows racism in Australia or because of sensitivities associated with Australia as a multicultural society." He felt that education was a much more effective way of tackling racism than legal sanctions.

*"There is no evidence that criminalization of so-called hate speech elsewhere in the world has markedly contributed to social peace and harmony. [...] The only exception to freedom of speech should be when it calls for action that could result in violence [...] and when it threatens national security and public safety."*⁶⁹

That last point is dubious, since would-be censors have been known in Australia and overseas to deliberately threaten violence against right-wing speakers in order to get a suborned police authority to close down proposed meetings on that very ground – of public safety – rather than moving against the real trouble-makers. Chris Merritt pointed out that a danger has arisen of lawyers being seen as the natural allies of authoritarians, the latter in Australia being able to be identified "by their desire to extend state power in ways that erode the liberties that set this country apart from many of its neighbors." He stressed that the most important rights are "products of

the common law, not the gift of governments or revered founding fathers.”⁷⁰

Gay Alcorn, a journalist with *The Age*, published a report on a long interview she had with Andrew Bolt (who writes for the opposition paper, the *Herald Sun*, which is, like *The Australian*, owned by Rupert Murdoch’s News Limited. It was magnanimous of *The Age* to give Bolt this fair hearing.) Bolt felt that the case against him had been mounted essentially to outlaw an opinion and stressed his belief that even “Holocaust denial” (which he rejects) should not be outlawed. Brendan O’Neill strongly attacked the claim that racial vilification law is needed for social cohesion. He noted that “the language of liberty has been twisted by the AHRC to make illiberal things sound liberal, authoritarianism seem just and tyranny appear enlightened.” He added that “most of the AHRC commissioners have “come down on the side of state control rather than individual liberty” and are “forever reminding folk their right to free speech can be rescinded if they say anything too outrageous or risky or threatening to public morals.” O’Neill then went on the warpath:

“The paternalistic notion that certain ideas must be hidden from view because they have the power to rattle society – or ‘damage social cohesion’, as [supporters of 18C put it] – has fuelled every act of censorship from Torquemada silencing morality-corrupting heretics during the Spanish Inquisition to British censors banning Lady Chatterley’s Lover. [...] Arguing that prejudiced speech must be quashed to preserve social harmony may sound PC, but it’s the bastard ideological offspring of the thirst for social control and fear of the unpredictable public that have motivated every censor.”

O’Neill proved his critique of the human rights movement, which he saw as coming out of “the darkest moment” of World War Two and the Nazi tyranny, by quoting from the websites of the AHRC and the European Convention on Human Rights. He contrasted this movement with that of the Eighteenth Century’s democratic rights movement, which was about restraining the state from tyrannizing over individuals.⁷¹

Barrister Louise Clegg wrote an authoritative justification of Senator Brandis’s remark that Australians have a right to be bigoted. She quoted from further on in his controversial speech, where he told ALP senator Penny Wong: “I would defend your right to say things that I consider to be bigoted and ignorant. That is what freedom of speech means.” Clegg concluded:⁷²

"It is quite clear that Brandis was not for a second promoting bigotry of any kind, let alone racial bigotry. Nor was he suggesting that he or we should approve of or even tolerate bigotry. The senator's clear message was that it is not possible or desirable in a free country for the state to regulate what people think or say on the basis that other people might disagree with it, be offended by it or consider it bigoted or ignorant."

This had always been obvious and it is disgraceful that campaigners against reform so often and in so many forums grossly misrepresented the senator's position. Tim Wilson wrote a large article on the difference between the liberal tradition of human rights and the socialist approach. He provided a pertinent quotation from a speech by Sir Robert Menzies:⁷³

"So few of us have objective minds – detached minds – and what we conceive to be the truth is very often coloured or distorted by our own passions or interests or prejudices. Hence, if truth is to emerge and in the long run be triumphant, the process of free debate – the untrammelled clash of opinion – must go on."

Part-Aboriginal academic Anthony Dillon warned against a too-easy belief that words can hurt or offend:

"People can just as easily choose not to take offense. [...] There seems no end to opportunities today for people to take offense, claim they are traumatized, and make someone else responsible for their suffering. Taking offense is all too often simply a ploy to silence opponents."

He noted that in certain contexts involving racial discussion he could express his views without fear of being sued because his "ancestral mix includes some Aboriginality," making him and others like him beneficiaries of reverse racism.

*"It's all too easy to misrepresent discussions that involve race, particularly if some feel uncomfortable with the content as being blatant racism. Let's not confuse the right to have open discussion on race matters with racial hatred."*⁷⁴

Aaron Lane, a research officer with the IPA, drew on the recent Canadian experience of the repeal of Section 13, which had enabled Canadians "to seek legal redress against those who had offended them," with the result that defendants "could be subject to lifetime speech bans, as well as monetary penalties." Lane pointed out that this repeal had not led to the unleashing of racial hatred in Canada, thus arguing that repeal of 18C in Australia would also prove innocuous.⁷⁵ One Lindsay Dent agreed:⁷⁶

"Canadians learned their lesson after fellow citizens had been hounded with long-running, costly litigation merely for making reasonable comments about race or religion."

Journalist Nick Cater argued, in contrast to some supporters of 18C, that racism is uncommon in Australia.

"Few people go bonkers on public transport. Fewer still are prepared to put their bigotry on display. [...] Racism is somewhat less entrenched in the Australian psyche than the politically correctors claim."

He, too, felt that traditional law and public disdain were sufficient sanctions against the rare outbreaks.⁷⁷ History professor Ross Fitzgerald wrote against "the disturbing implication of an increasing tendency to blur the distinction between words and physical violence, and instead to argue that hurtful words and ideas are actually a form of violence." He insisted that "except as metaphor, words are not weapons and that, in terms of free speech, it is crucial to maintain the distinction."⁷⁸

Gabriel Sassoon, foreign-media adviser to Hilik Bar, the Deputy Speaker of Israel's parliament, an Australian living in Tel Aviv, commented on a controversial anti-Jewish (or anti-Israeli) cartoon published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*:⁷⁹

"This should not be the subject of a racial vilification claim. [...] Free speech is sacrosanct. I've broken with the ALP, of which I'm a member, and the Australian Jewish community in backing the Government's push to repeal Section 18C."

Liberal Democrat senator David Leyonhjelm also supported the Government:

"The arguments against free speech are based on concerns about what people think. Preventing speech does not alter what people are thinking; indeed, it probably reinforces it. The only way to change how people think is by speaking about it."

He intended to attend the AHRC's first free-speech seminar on 7th August.⁸⁰ Tim Wilson, the AHRC freedom commissioner stated:⁸¹

"We need a fully informed debate about free speech, including the role played by non-legislative measures that help civilize conduct while avoiding the imposition of censorship."

Cassandra Wilkinson, of the liberal-conservative think-tank the Centre for Independent Studies, warned that the net of censorship often catches those for whom it was not intended.⁸²

“But I do want freedom of expression for a lot of people who are often deemed offensive. I struggle to see how one kind of free speech isn’t materially affected by the progress or regress of another.”

XIX

Opponents of the proposed reform of the Racial Discrimination Act produced many arguments to support their position. (1) It would encourage racial bigotry, ethnic prejudice and racism, and give the green light to Holocaust deniers, thus leading to an increase in racism generally. (2) It would promote social disharmony and political division. (3) It is unnecessary, since the Act has not seriously eroded free speech. (4) The Act is in fact working well to diminish racism. Most cases brought before the AHRC are successfully conciliated and do not progress to a court hearing. For example, between 1989 and 2010 out of 3788 cases referred to the Commission only 68 were referred to a tribunal and only 37 of these were successful.⁸³ And Commission statistics for 2012-2014 are said to show that only 27% of 1399 reports related to racial hatred.⁸⁴ (5) The Act is necessary for Australia to fulfill its international obligations. (6) The Act protects vulnerable people, those who “have little voice” (in contrast, say, to an Andrew Bolt, who has a megaphone in the form of his columns, blog and other public appearances). (7) The Act actually enhances free speech, since the pain of racist abuse often disempowers victims from participating in public debate. (8) Children and adolescents of ethnic minorities may suffer a loss of dignity and security without the protection of the Act. (9) Hate speech is dangerous, as history shows, especially the history of Nazi Germany. (10) Many Australians underestimate the damage that racism can do, because, being members of the ethnic majority (Anglo/European), they do not experience it. (11) The Act has an educative function and shows the nation what kind of behavior is or is not acceptable. (12) Repeal would jeopardize the possibility of success for the proposed referendum to recognize Australia’s indigenous people in the Constitution. (13) The draft proposal’s definitions of “intimidation” and “vilification” are unsatisfactory.⁸⁵ (14) Almost all, if not all, of the nation’s representative groups of ethnic minorities are opposed to change.⁸⁶ (15) Inciting hatred or hate speech are not forms of legitimate public discussion, so that censorship of them is not an invasion of free speech. (16) Repeal threatens the quality of life of ethnic minorities in Australia, tending to marginalize them and make social equality impossible. (17) The Act in its current form enjoys widespread community sup-

port.⁸⁷ (18) Bad speech cannot always be overcome by good speech; and the speech of the weak may often be unable to counter the speech of the strong; so protections should stay. (19) It is in our national interest to keep the law as it is, for it gives us a better image with overseas nations, including our near neighbors in South-East Asia.

This summary of objections to the reform proposals has been drawn from opinion articles, news reports and letters to the editor published in two of Melbourne's three major newspapers.⁸⁸

What is most noticeable in the public utterances of persons and groups expressing such objections is their failure to address the real concerns of those who are aware how easily limitations on free speech for ideological purposes can be the first step towards subjection of a nation to authoritarian and then totalitarian tyranny. Very rarely do they show any sympathy for those whose intellectual freedom they seek to curb. Views on race different from their own are far too easily dismissed as racist bigotry. The extraordinary phenomenon of the suppression of historical revisionists in many nations, mainly European, gets hardly a mention. One suspects that many of the objectors have taken on board the cause of racial equality as a kind of ersatz religion.

It is not that they have no case at all. Racist abuse can indeed be painful and dispiriting to its victims. Unjust discrimination because of ethnicity understandably rankles deeply. Winding back the protections of the Act is more likely than not to encourage such negative behavior (which is regrettable), though not, however, as drastically as the objectors claim. However, public encouragement of fair play, together with education (as opposed to indoctrination) and Australia's well-known tolerance summed up in the iconic phrase "the fair go," are better ways of reducing unjust behavior towards those of other ethnicity than a political censorship which abandons a vital ethical principle.

To what extent the Act has worked well – in reducing racism without limiting free speech – is debatable. Those assuring us that it has been a blessing rather than a curse are usually partisan anti-racists. Nor can one blame minority ethnic groups for seeking their own advantage by supporting current restrictions; but one is entitled to wonder how representative ethnic councils and committees are of their whole ethnic groups, and one can also regret that ethnic leaders have not been able to look at the bigger picture and put the welfare of the nation as a whole first, before seeking benefits for their own minority groups.

Another suspicion is that exaggeration of the hurt caused by unjust racial discrimination or racial vilification has often occurred during the na-

tional debate. The truth is that rejection can often have a bracing effect; and many persons of all ethnicities have shown throughout history a capacity to work their way through mistreatment to achieve fulfilling lives.

For these and other reasons it seems to me that the case against the Government's reform proposals ultimately fails to convince.

XX

From as early as February the newspapers began reporting stories indicating that the Government's free-speech campaign was in trouble. The suggestion was made more than once after 25th March that Senator Brandis's exposure draft would be very considerably watered down. Leaders of the Institute of Public Affairs expressed their concern that the Government's will was weakening under pressure. By early August observers on both sides of the debate probably expected that only a very minor reform would actually be attempted in the parliament. However, on 5th August the Prime Minister announced that the Government had decided to abandon its push to reform the Racial Discrimination Act altogether. He referred to the project as "a needless complication" and said bluntly that it was off the shelf. He took personal responsibility for the decision and stated that it was a "captain's call" which he had made. Abbott coupled this unexpected turnaround with announcements about Australia's role in opposing the terror tactics of Muslim fundamentalists and the need to keep local moderate Muslims on side. To many observers it seemed as though he was trying to camouflage an embarrassing back-down by rhetoric about the need to combat deadly danger both in Australia and overseas. Stories circulated that cabinet knew nothing about the back-down until the morning of the 5th. The evening before, Senator Brandis had appeared on Sky television and confidently defended the intention to press ahead with reform.⁸⁹ One story was that Abbott had actually notified Andrew Bolt of his volte-face before he informed the cabinet.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the cabinet unanimously supported his decision, determined, evidently, to maintain a public image of party unity.

During the next few days there seemed to be general agreement among political commentators across the spectrum that the Government had engaged in the back-down because the consultations process had shown that the repeal plan was widely unpopular, with minority ethnic groups almost universally hostile, as well as many other representative bodies, including the Coalition governments of Victoria and New South Wales. Compound-

ing the Government's difficulty was the disunity within its parliamentary ranks. Ten or more backbenchers apparently opposed repeal, with a couple at least prepared to cross the floor on the issue. It was said that two senior cabinet members, Malcolm Turnbull and Joe Hockey, were also not in favor of change. There was concern that seats could be lost in the next national elections in electorates where large numbers of persons of minority ethnic groups lived.

It seems clear that the Government would have faced great embarrassment if it had introduced even watered down reforms in the House of Representatives. It might have suffered the humiliation of loss in the lower house if enough of its members broke ranks and crossed the floor. As for the Senate, it seemed obvious that it would reject any bill that came its way. Thus, in practical terms, the Abbott decision may have been no more than an acceptance of reality and a justifiable avoidance of waste of time and money on a doomed cause. However, his mode of explaining the capitulation was not entirely credible or creditable.

While there was natural jubilation among those who had opposed change, some deriding the Government for ever having engaged in its campaign and others commending it for listening to the public and accepting its verdict, there was shock and disappointment among those who had supported repeal. James Allan bitterly condemned the "caving in to the special pleading lobby groups" and stated that he was skeptical that there really were a lot of MPs "in electorates where there will be more votes for them in caving in than there would be for proceeding on principle." He felt that the Government should have insisted on getting its bill passed in the lower house, even if Senate rejection later was inevitable.⁹¹ Andrew Bolt suggested that "surely the ethnic communities which produced those jihadists and the 21 Muslims we've jailed on terrorism offenses already need exactly the kind of scrutiny too easily shut down with cries of 'racism'" and asked: "Does free speech really have so few defenders?"⁹² In a second column Bolt lamented that "now Australia assimilates to the values of the immigrants – including the most oppressive values. [...] muzzling Australians is now seen as necessary to please migrant communities." He condemned "politicians [...] so desperate for these blocs of ethnic votes that they sacrifice Australian values to accommodate imported ones." Bolt expressed especial concern that the unrepealed restrictions of Section 18C "stifle two important debates as the country slides towards this dangerous new tribalism. The first is over the Government's racist plan to change the Constitution to recognize Aborigines. Should we really be divided by law on the basis of the 'race' of one or more of our great-grandparents? To me

the answer is clear, but the Racial Discrimination Act makes it dangerous to give examples of just how preposterous and artificial this racial division is." The other debate is "how to deal with the growing threat of radical Islam."⁹³

The Australian laid blame on Senator Brandis for the failure of the reform plan:

"But the Attorney-General's public advocacy has been poor, and the argument was effectively lost when he said: 'People do have a right to be bigots, you know.'"

The newspaper, like several other commentators, noted that the senator's statement had actually been factually true.

"However, it was poorly expressed, politically naïve and provided his opponents with the opening they needed. Labor and its fellow travelers have portrayed the reforms as an attempt to make bigotry legal and even legalize racism."

The newspaper condemned this tactic:⁹⁴

*"The Greens-Left clique that tends to dominate political debate showed itself incapable of a mature consideration of these issues, as the ABC, Fairfax [publisher of *The Age* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*] and much of the gallery [of journalists at Parliament House] focused on Senator Brandis's gaffe as if it presented the central argument and overriding intent of proposed changes."*

The *Herald Sun* asserted editorially that the back-down's

*"impact on freedom of speech is nonetheless damaging. [...] Criticism can now be curtailed on the basis that someone doesn't like what you said. This is an attack on free speech, no matter how that might be denied by some ethnic, religious and cultural groups."*⁹⁵

The Age supported the back-down because "the changes proposed were inherently flawed, and the way the Government went about promoting them was unnecessarily inflammatory." It made the same criticism of Senator Brandis's notorious remark as did *The Australian*. It made a very muted criticism of the Act's "low legal threshold" for breaching the law, then firmly rejected the Government's omission of "psychological harm" as cause for complaint in the exposure draft and asserted that the proposed new exemptions were too wide. *The Age* also noted that the consultation process had drawn "more than 4000 submissions" (other sources say they were over 5000) and that "about 75% were opposed to any change" (according to Professor Simon Rice of the Australian National University).⁹⁶

The Institute of Public Affairs was obviously furious about Abbott's decision and took out a full page advertisement in *The Australian* addressing him, quoting from his speech to it in Sydney in 2012:

"Freedom of speech is an essential foundation of democracy."

The Institute then commented:⁹⁷

"We agree. That's why we will fight to repeal Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act. Even if you won't."

This was possibly an injudicious and quixotic response, smacking of sour grapes.

Senator David Leyonhjelm insisted that "nothing makes up for the loss of free speech" and reminded people that "laws limiting racist speech are not really about speech at all, but are intended to prevent unacceptable thoughts." He was unimpressed by Abbott's excuse about the need for national unity and felt that Australians should "harden up." In a liberal democracy "free speech must be the default option, with every encroachment subject to strict justification."⁹⁸ Michael Sexton SC queried the extent of public opposition to the proposed reforms:

"It is important to reject the suggestion – implicit in much of the reporting on the Government's decision – that it represents an acceptance by the Government of the view of a majority of the Australian community. Common sense suggests that a majority of the community does not have a developed opinion on this or many other questions of public policy. [...] The fact most of the submissions to the Government on this issue favor the retention of Section 18C says nothing about the true state of popular sentiment but a great deal about the power of these lobby groups."

Sexton pointed out, too, that "if it is really true that there is overwhelming popular support for 18C, then surely it is unnecessary." He suggested that the back-down

"reveals where the power really lies in our political system, and it is not with the majority, prejudiced or unprejudiced. The ethnic lobbies and the highly organized 'human rights' industry (which has obvious interests in discovering 'racism' around every corner) were able to prevail against an elected government that at one point seemed determined to overhaul this bad law, the real function of which is not to protect vulnerable individuals from racist abuse but to limit public discussion of highly charged questions on which people can legitimately disagree."

He concluded that “the general cause should [not] be abandoned.”⁹⁹

Prominent monarchist and liberal conservative commentator David Flint agreed with Sexton:

“It is true that the lobbies opposing change were able to put in more submissions against the exposure draft. [...] These hardly measure public concern about the Bolt case. Unlike the various lobbies that put in submissions, the rank and file are neither organized nor subsidized to make submissions. Nor should it be thought that this concern is limited to right-wing Tories. It probably extends to traditional Labor supporters, as well as those in many immigrant communities.”

Flint felt that there are grounds for a “reconsideration of the interpretation of the section and exemption [18C and 18D], probably at the highest level – the High Court.” He justified this by questioning the judgment of Justice Bromberg.

“Another judge could have come to different conclusions on the facts; for example, that there was not a sufficient nexus between the articles and the applicants’ race. [...] While finding a nexus between the articles and race, another judge might not have found it ‘reasonably likely to offend.’ Yet again, another judge might have found that the articles represented a genuine belief held by Bolt, made reasonably and in good faith. The judge might have agreed that Bolt’s mistakes were not such as to deny him the defense, or that he should not be marked down for ‘inflammatory and provocative language.’”

Flint felt that the judgment was “a particularly minimalist interpretation of the 18D exemption.” He queried “whether the legislation is constitutionally valid.” This is because, as interpreted by Bromberg:¹⁰⁰

“Section 18C is more about promoting multiculturalism and racial diversity than acting on racial discrimination. The relevant treaty, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination is only about racial discrimination. Does the external affairs power [in the Constitution] authorize this? And if the legislation is to be given a wide interpretation adopted by Justice Bromberg, is it still consistent with the freedom of political communication that the High Court has found to be implied in the Constitution? It can be argued that on this interpretation, Section 18C with 18D goes beyond being reasonably appropriate and adapted to serve a legitimate end. It could be said that this is not compatible with the maintenance of government prescribed by the Constitution.”

Journalist Nick Cater joined his voice to those skeptical of claims that most Australians wanted no change. He pointed out that “free speech is, and always has been, popular among Australians, a people with a hard-won reputation for speaking their minds” and asked:

“Who can tell whether the views of, say, the West Australian Somali Cultural Awareness Association were broadly in line with those of the public? Ditto the views of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Reference Group, the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care, the Australian Tamil Congress, the Australian Lawyers Alliance, the Aboriginal Legal Service of WA (Inc.), the Muslim Legal Network, the WA Muslim Lawyers Association, and many, many more.”

Cater saw “the new establishment, the enforcers of political correctness who remain firmly in control of most of Australia’s cultural institutions” as the winners from Abbott’s decision. “The repeal of 18C was a disruption to the grievance industry’s business model that they could not countenance.” Perhaps too optimistically, Cater added that he felt that such people had only obtained a Pyrrhic victory:¹⁰¹

“The chances of its [18C’s] illiberal provisions being exploited again in a case like the one brought against Bolt are practically zero. The toxic influence of the Bolt case on the climate of public debate is recognized as a price too high to pay by the wiser heads on both sides of the cultural divide. [...] The real issue is not 18C but the illiberal climate that encouraged the complainants in the Bolt case to pursue their audacious case. [...] For the first time in decades the rights industry is fighting to hold its ground rather than planning its next great adventure.”

One Leni Palk drew attention to the fact that submissions on 18C by group bodies may not have represented truly the views of all members:

“I am a lawyer. I belong to the Law Society in SA. It belongs to the Law Council of Australia. I don’t support the retention of 18C. When the Law Society adopts a view, it somehow decides for itself. I often disagree strongly with the position it adopts, but it never asks me what I think and probably isn’t interested.”

Claims as to what “the legal profession” thinks and believes should not be taken to assume that lawyers “all sing with one voice.”¹⁰²

David Kemp, a former Coalition cabinet minister under John Howard [PM from 1996 to 2007] and current president of the Liberal Party in Victoria, expressed deep concern at the Government’s back-down, which he wrote had “shocked many Liberals” and was having “repercussions through the Liberal Party.” He argued that hitherto the Party had seen itself

as having “a historic role, a special responsibility, to defend [...] fundamental freedoms of speech, press, religion and association,” this self-interpretation being based on the ideals espoused by the Party’s founder, Sir Robert Menzies, seventy years ago.

“Menzies was very aware of the tendency of politics to degenerate into the appeasement of powerful vested interests. The only way for a government to rise above the struggle of vested interests for privilege, he argued, is to persuade people of the principles on which the public interest is based.”

Kemp defended free speech and insisted that there was wide support in Australia for amending Section 18C.

“To describe reforms to restore freedom of speech as a ‘needless complication’ in the effort to appease certain interests is to seriously misunderstand, and to affront, many Liberals, and I suspect a good number in the communities concerned. To suggest that national unity requires a legal prohibition on offending certain select groups is unbelievable and demeaning to all.”

He warned that the Act “subjects our culture to the discretion of tribunals that easily end up sounding like star chambers.”¹⁰³

Further criticism of Justice Bromberg’s decision in the Bolt case emerged from Chris Merritt, who suggested that it was a judicial error not to have applied community standards rather than those of the group complaining – “an embarrassing deviation from orthodox concepts of fairness.” In particular, Merritt drew attention to what he called a “notorious observation” by the judge that “to import community standards into the test of the reasonable likelihood of offense runs the risk of reinforcing the prevailing level of prejudice.” Commented Merritt:¹⁰⁴

“If there is any passage of case law that deserves to be torn up and discarded, this is it. It suggests that Australians, on the whole, are racially prejudiced and their standards are flawed.”

James Allan returned to the attack with interesting commentary on the behavior of the parliamentary Coalition members:¹⁰⁵

“I was speaking recently to a government backbencher. It quickly became apparent that this MP had been one of those not in favor of proceeding with the Section 18C repeal. But you know what? This MP didn’t even know that Canada’s parliament had repealed the Canadian equivalent of our 18C hate speech laws. He didn’t have a clue. [...] So

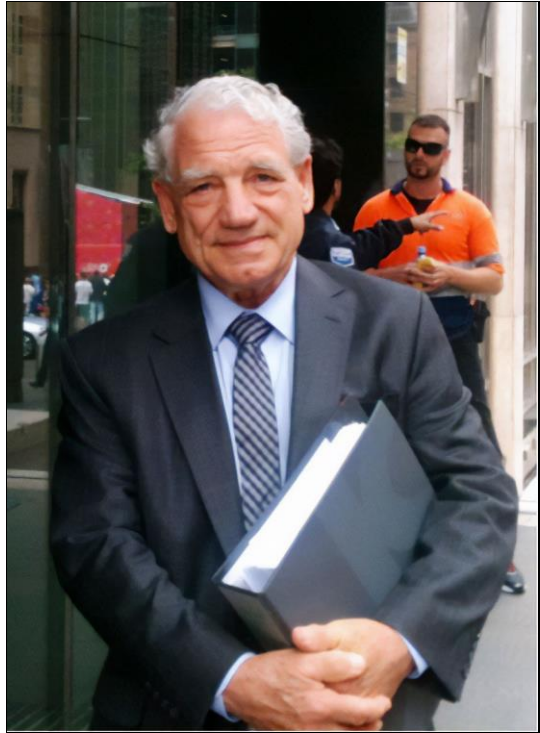
in selling the repeal to caucus it would seem that no one had taken the time to point out that they'd done this in Canada."

Allan added:

"Ask yourself why a political party that has at most one seat at risk from the dislike of the 'ethnic vote' of a Section 18C repeal would weigh that as more important than the supposedly core beliefs of the Liberal Party and its longstanding supporters."

Mike Keane, a medical specialist, challenged the validity of Justice Bromberg's statement that none of the applicants against Bolt "chose" to be Aboriginal, arguing that "identity, like any other form of consent, is a completely contemporary phenomenon. He claimed that the judge's decision was "ideologically charged intellectual sophistry" and deplored "the intimidation that results from the fear of being at the behest of a judge."¹⁰⁶

A South Australian senator, Bob Day, of the Christian-based Family First party, was so incensed by the Government's reneging on its promise that he decided to move a private member's bill to remove the words "offend" and "insult" from Section 18C (the minimalist reform that had been advocated by Spencer Zifcak of Liberty Victoria and many others). He was supported by Liberal Democrat senator David Leyonhjelm and two rebel Liberal senators, Cory Bernardi and Dean Smith.¹⁰⁷ It was expected that other Coalition senators would combine with ALP and Greens senators in voting against the bill on grounds of party loyalty.



Dr. Fredrick Töben, author of Where Truth Is No Defence, I Want to Break Free. Photo taken at Martin Place, Sydney. Published with permission of Fredrick Töben

XXI

While, from the time of Justice Bromberg's decision on, there has been enormous and most detailed discussion in Australian public forums (in connection with the free speech issue) of Andrew Bolt's journalism, the judge's finding and associated Aboriginal issues, a quite different phenomenon can be noted in the way in which a different associated topic has been handled. I refer to what has usually been referred to as "Holocaust denial," although I believe that "Holocaust revisionism" is a better, though not completely satisfactory, term.

In the first place, very many commentators (politicians, journalists, public figures, letter writers and others) on the issue have felt it appropriate or necessary to condemn "Holocaust denial" or "Holocaust deniers" in their statements. It is astonishing just how many have done so, almost always, if not always, with no attempt to defend their point by reasoned argument or evidence. In order to show just how pervasive this behavior has been, I propose to list most of my collected examples in an endnote.¹⁰⁸ There are thirty-six examples there. By contrast there has been an almost total absence of support published for revisionist historians who query the received account of the Holocaust. *The Age* published a letter by me on 11th November 2013 touching on that view. I related "necessary protections against racial discrimination" (which the paper had editorially advocated) to the London Declaration on Combating Anti-Semitism and wrote:

"For too long certain groups and individuals, in Australia and overseas, have sought to use legislation against 'racial vilification and hatred' to further their own interests at the expense of the intellectual freedom of others."

On 28th March 2014 *The Australian* published a letter by me in which I noted that,

*"while there have been a number of derisory comments about Holocaust deniers, there has been no serious and informed debate about the overseas persecution of revisionist historians and whether we want that here."*¹⁰⁹

The paper also published two letters by me defending Fredrick Töben. In one I suggested:¹¹⁰

"He is better described as a Holocaust revisionist, signifying that he has had the courage to challenge aspects of a key dogma of the age."

In the other I wrote that my earlier letter had "sought explicitly to balance an unfairly negative image of the man and implicitly to protest at a person

being made a social pariah because he has expressed unpopular and controversial views.”¹¹¹ *The Australian* also published a letter in which I noted that “overseas, another problem has been that judges may take judicial notice of certain issues under contention, which means the position of one side is taken as gospel truth and the other side barred from even putting an argument.”¹¹² In yet another published letter I commented that “an unwelcome adverse criticism of a person or a group or an accepted view of history may be perceived by some as vilification when it is valid intellectual dissent.”¹¹³ These letters were merely a drop in the ocean of hostile comment about Holocaust deniers.

It must be admitted that it is very strange that there was so much negative commentary published on Holocaust denial and deniers, with virtually no attempt at justifying argument (occasionally certain assertions were made as though these proved the point). It was strange, too, that at such a time in the national life, when freedom of speech was a major topic of discussion, that public forums avoided publishing opinion articles exploring the nature and history of historical revisionism in general and Holocaust revisionism in particular. However, for much longer than the last three years, there seems to have been a widespread policy of not publishing anything favorable to such research. Freedom Commissioner Tim Wilson opined in one article that “it is not censorship for a newspaper to refuse to give offensive views a platform.”¹¹⁴ Such is not necessarily always the case; and the habit of regularly publishing negative assessments of a position or a group of people without allowing them commensurate right of reply may well be political censorship exerted not by government but by media.

After all, if Holocaust revisionists are so stupid and so completely in error, as many commentators have averred, how come that they are so feared and so continually denigrated? The suspicion must arise that there is something fishy in the situation. As anyone who has bothered to actually read in detail the works of leading historical revisionists, such as Robert Faurisson, Germar Rudolf, Jürgen Graf, Wilhelm Stäglich, Arthur Butz, Carlo Mattogno and many others, it is utterly plain that misrepresentation on the grand scale is involved. The truth is, then, that in Australia recently we have witnessed mass vilification of, and hatred towards, a group of people as part of the national debate about vilification law, and that this vilification has often been made by those favoring repeal of the law and putting themselves forward as defenders of free speech! One is reminded of Puck’s words in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*: “Lord, what fools these mortals be!”

It is interesting to see how prominent Jewish activist Jeremy Jones contributed to the debate. He claimed that for more than eighteen years of the operation of Section 18C, “in all that time, precisely one adjudicated complaint has been the subject of public controversy.”¹¹⁵ He meant the Bolt case, of course. Jones referred in the same article to the Scully and Töben cases, as well as to two others involving what he felt was unfair treatment of Jews and each of which was dealt with without court action being necessary. He may have been right that the Scully and Töben cases excited little controversy at the time, but there are grounds for thinking that they should have been examined in much greater and more judicious detail by the media than was in fact the case. That is to say, they were not allowed to become controversial. It is interesting to note, in this context, that Senator Brandis, when he had announced the exposure draft, was asked whether there were cases other than that of Bolt where free speech had been stifled and could not – or did not – name a single one.¹¹⁶ Perhaps he chose not to refer to the Scully and Töben cases through fear of being seen as a supporter of Holocaust deniers!

That the media may be to blame for an unhealthy situation of covert censorship to have developed in recent decades is suggested by behavior of *The Age* during the recent controversy. On 14th May the paper published a dramatic front-page story headed “Holocaust denier backs Brandis race hate law” and sub-headed “The notorious Fredrick Töben may soon be free to deny this happened.” “This” was a photograph of prisoners in striped prison uniform behind barbed wire in what was evidently a German concentration camp. Now Töben has never denied that there were Nazi concentration camps in which prisoners were kept behind barbed wire and made to wear striped prison uniforms. However, when a letter was submitted pointing this out, *The Age* refused to publish it. Indeed, both *The Age* and *The Australian* declined during the national debate to publish any article speaking well of Holocaust revisionism, although I submitted several.

It is hard to see how *The Age* can justify such barefaced misrepresentation. Its behavior is a stark reminder of the fact that both the term “The Holocaust” and the term “Holocaust denial” are loaded and not neutral or impartial. Ordinary people who have never studied the writings of Holocaust revisionists genuinely imagine that they do deny that there were Nazi concentration camps in which many Jews and others were imprisoned. The revisionists do not, of course. But the blanket term “The Holocaust” has an ambiguity which suggests it. If *The Age* had published a picture of a homicidal gas chamber, it would have been a different matter; but perhaps it did

not because none are available, for the simple reason that the gassing in Nazi camps really was directed against vermin to disinfect clothing and minimize infection by typhus or cholera, and not against human beings.

Töben is prone to exaggerate at times. *The Age* was able to report that he had claimed that the Racial Discrimination Act is a “flawed law, which only benefits Jewish-Zionist-Israeli interests” and that 18C and 18D are in fact a “Holocaust protection law.” In his submission on the exposure draft he had apparently stated that “the ‘Bolt law’ case was used in an attempt to hide this Holocaust matter and to make it a free expression issue. [...] the sole aim of this section has always been to legally protect [...] the Holocaust-*Shoah* narrative.” There is, of course, much more to the Act than that. There are many different persons and groups who have supported it, and (in some cases) benefited from it, apart from Jewish persons and groups. On the other hand, there is no doubt that many Jewish commentators have seen the Act as protecting their special interests, quite apart from its other functions.

The Age report included various condemnations of Töben. Senator Brandis was reported as having said that he is a “nutter” and that views he had heard attributed to him “are absolute rubbish.” Jewish spokesman Peter Wertheim commented:

“Töben has spent a large part of his life vainly attempting to rehabilitate the disgraced record of Nazi Germany.”

Tsvi Fleischer, another Jewish spokesperson, stated that Jews “do fear that people like Töben will be able to say whatever they want – which is usually how evil the Jews are all the time.” There he or she, like Töben, was grossly exaggerating. And ALP senator Lisa Singh was reported as claiming that Töben “is wrong in almost everything he says.” All of these comments are mere invective, of course.

The next day *The Age* returned to the attack on Töben.¹¹⁷ The paper also published a harrowing story of a 92-year-old Holocaust survivor, Moshe Fizman, who warned that the “forces of darkness” would be unleashed if race-hate laws were watered down. It is hard to see much sign of such forces in laid-back Australia!

Two correspondents to *The Australian* brought the question of Holocaust denial and the Act into a sensible context. James Miller commented on an article by Mark Leibler:¹¹⁸

“If [...] Leibler’s true agenda is to retain so much of 18C as is required to block Holocaust denial, surely the proper way forward is for an open debate about the wisdom of a specific law to shut down such views.”

And Sholto Douglas disagreed with a prior suggestion that Holocaust denial should be outlawed in order to win Jewish support for free speech in other contexts of race. He pointed out that such legislation would not only be “illiberal,” but that “other groups will ask why Jews alone should have their sensitivities protected.”¹¹⁹

Journalist Nick Cater did give a kind of consideration to the problem of Holocaust revisionism within the controversy.¹²⁰ He referred to revelations by former ALP cabinet minister Bob Carr of the degree of power exercised over the Gillard government by Jewish lobby groups and sub-titled his article:

“Bob Carr’s claim of a fateful faction has fired up the Fuhrer-fawning fringe.”

It was soon evident that he was referring to Töben, whom he termed an “ignominious pretender,” and the Adelaide Institute. There followed the usual sort of invective:

“Töben’s notoriety has ensured years of publicity. He has become a martyr within a minority of the community who regard him as a serious historian. The attempt to shut him down has reinforced their belief in an internationally sanctioned conspiracy. [...] Töben is an altogether more ugly beast. [...] Holocaust denial undoubtedly is offensive, insulting and humiliating.”

However, he argued that it “in itself does not fall into the narrow category of things that can justifiably be suppressed.” Cater even teetered on the brink of opening up serious discussion about what really happened in wartime Nazi Germany, referring to “the blueprints for the factories of mass slaughter built at Auschwitz in 1943” and “architects Walter Dejaco and Fritz Erl.” Robert Faurisson, no doubt, has argued that any such blueprints referred to facilities to deal with vermin, but that is another matter. Cater also referred to Primo Levi who, he claims, “had the measure of these close-minded con men” (Töben and others). It is doubtful that Cater has read Faurisson’s detailed studies of how Levi’s testimony changed over the years in a most suspicious manner.

Some more questionable assertions were provided by Jewish former ALP minister Barry Cohen.¹²¹ He began his article with historical assertions that I do not believe are in accord with reality:

“As General Dwight Eisenhower led the Allied forces that swept across Europe, he could not believe what he saw as he walked through the concentration camps and gas chambers in which millions of Jews died,

along with social democrats, communists, Gypsies, homosexuals and any group hated by the Nazis. Eisenhower demanded that everything be recorded so future generations couldn't claim it didn't happen. It hasn't stopped the idiot brigade from spreading their vile ideas. Fortunately, most of the world's population know what happened during World War II and they believe it."

Eisenhower no doubt visited German concentration camps and instructed his personnel to record details; but most or all of the rest of Cohen's assertions may be his own elaboration on what occurred and how it is viewed.

Finally, it is worth recording Andrew Bolt's own opinion on this aspect of the national debate:¹²²

"Holocaust denial demeans us, it trivializes us. If we as a society don't have it in us to laugh at Holocaust deniers and denounce them with our words and not the law, then we really are in a sorry mess."

However, he opposed banning it by law.

All in all, the handling of the topic of Holocaust revisionism by the media in Australia during the past three years would appear to have been neither comprehensive nor impartial, this raising the question of how much they really are committed to free speech, their editorial claims notwithstanding.

XXII

Why did it happen? Why did the Abbott government fail so ignominiously to return free speech on race to Australians? The way in which the back-down was announced raised immediate suspicions that the alleged need to preserve national unity and win the support of friendly and moderate Muslims in the war against Islamist terrorists was being used as an excuse to camouflage what had really occurred and hide the real truth of the cause or causes of the retreat. *The Age* published a letter of mine challenging the Government:¹²³

"The Prime Minister's explanation for the Government back-down on changes to the Racial Discrimination Act rings hollow. The campaign by sectors of Australian society against reform clearly indicated that we are beset by disunity on matters of fundamental principle within our political order. Terrorism can be fought without resort to abandoning free speech. The suspicion is that the Government has been forced to back down by fear of divisions among Coalition MPs becoming apparent, to

the detriment of the image of government unity, and by the danger of the loss of marginal seats at the next elections."

What, however, if even those explanations are operating as a cover to conceal what really happened behind the scenes? A day or so later I read an article by Brenton Sanderson on the website of *The Occidental Observer* which fuelled my concern. Heading his article "Australian PM caves in to Jewish lobby on free speech laws," Sanderson drew attention to an article written by Jewish activist and former editor of *The Age* Michael Gawenda in *Business Spectator*.¹²⁴ On the basis of this article Sanderson concluded that what had really happened was that Abbott and his Government had capitulated to "a coordinated and sustained campaign initiated and led by Jewish activists." Gawenda had asserted that

*"the Jewish community leaders have played a crucial role in organizing opposition to any potential change to the Racial Discrimination Act. It is the opposition of the Jewish communal leaders that had been of major concern to Brandis and [...] Tony Abbott."*¹²⁵

Sanderson commented:

"It is a measure of the power wielded by organized Jewry in Australia that the Prime Minister would rather damage his political credibility by breaking a clear election promise than suffer the consequences of defying the single most powerful group in Australian society."

He brushed aside Gawenda's purported reason for this obsequiousness:

"Gawenda is disingenuous in claiming that the source of the Jewish community's power in this debate resides in its being a 'role model for successful multiculturalism' rather than in its status as a group with the kind of financial, political and media clout to instill genuine fear in those who oppose its interests. As in the United States, Jewish money exerts a dominating influence over Australian politics."

Gawenda tried to dismiss such an interpretation in his piece. He stated that he was not "wishing to give succor to those who reckon the Jews are too powerful"; and he derided any reader of his article who might "believe that there is a secret cabal of Jews who control Australia – its financial institutions, the media companies, the professions, the courts." A bullying and jeering tone seems to be detectable in these remarks, and it is difficult not to believe that Gawenda was actually engaging in an act of boasting, despite his disclaimers.

"Look, you fellows! See how powerful we are!"

Over forty years ago Wilmot Robertson published a profound study of changes within the United States political order, *The Dispossessed Majority*.¹²⁶ Robertson argued that the US majority, British in ethnicity, had been effectively dispossessed of its control of the nation by ethnic minorities and their supporters. He included a 45-page study of the role played by Jewish-Americans. At the present time it appears as though a similar change has happened in Australia. All of a sudden, we no longer have a major political party committed to genuine intellectual freedom. Does the suppression that has occurred and is still occurring in many European nations lie just around the corner for us?

It may be difficult to avoid it. Our best literary and ideas magazine, *Quadrant*, appears to be thoroughly unsympathetic to Holocaust revisionism. Its May 2014 edition carried an orthodox (or *bien-pensant*) article entitled "The Lethal Ideology of Holocaust Inversion" by Daryl McCann.¹²⁷ The June edition carried an editorial dealing with the campaign to reform the Racial Discrimination Act, in which the editor stated that Richard Evans's book *Telling Lies about Hitler* "not only cost [David] Irving his case [in the British High Court in 2000], it systematically destroyed the credibility of the entire genre of Holocaust denial," which is a "sleazy business." *Quadrant* chose not to publish a short letter I sent querying this sweeping judgment, but in its September edition it published a letter from Jewish intellectual Mark Braham claiming without qualification "Holocaust deniers are proven liars."

The most important organization in the land that publishes dissident views on Holocaust revisionism and other ethnic controversies is the Australian League of Rights, but it appears to have little influence and was not included to any significant degree by *The Australian* and *The Age* in their coverage of the 2012-2014 debate. Perhaps the most encouraging sign is the large number of voices that defended free speech in *The Australian*. In the meantime, however, we are licking our wounds after a most unwelcome reversal of fortune.

Notes

¹ Wikipedia entry for Andrew Bolt, accessed 30th August 2014.

² The articles were titled: "It's so hip to be black," "White is the new Black" and "White Fellas in the Black."

³ Wikipedia, *op. cit.*

⁴ "Andrew Bolt loses racial vilification court case," Michael Bodey, *The Australian*, 28th September 2011.

⁵ "Bolt loses high-profile race case," Karl Quinn, *The Age*, 28th September 2011.

⁶ "Angry Bolt rejects 'eugenics' claim," Tim Callanan, 30th March 2011.

- ⁷ See Peter B. English, *Land Rights – Birth Rights (The Great Australian Hoax)*, Veritas, WA, 1985. For example: “[...] agitation for Land Rights has not come from Aborigines themselves as direct descendants of the pre-colonization inhabitants of Australia, but from people of mixed racial origin to whom no reference was made in the Constitution, the 1967 Referendum Question nor the Constitutional Amendment resulting therefrom. [...] half-castes, half-breeds and people of lesser Aboriginal blood are the *product of* and *succeeded* colonization by ‘other race’ immigrants from 1788 onwards and, as such, cannot be regarded (ethnically or legally) as being ‘people of the Aboriginal race.’” (pp 94-95) That is one view. By contrast, consider what happened at a conference held under the auspices of the Whitlam ALP government in May 1973: “For voting purposes, the conference unanimously resolved that ‘an Aboriginal’ should be defined as: ‘A person of Aboriginal descent, who identifies as an Aboriginal and is accepted as such by the community with which he is associated.’” “This resolution,” comments English, “was the fatal decision that [...] was the gateway leading to developing racial tensions [...]” (p 65) The Whitlam government’s approach ensured that there would now be a much larger number of “Aboriginals” in Australia than under earlier definitions – this leading inevitably, and possibly by design, to a more explosive political situation thereafter.
- ⁸ See Geoff McDonald, *Red over Black*, Veritas, WA, 1982. McDonald, a former Communist, had as his central theme “that Australia’s future as a free Western nation was seriously threatened by two movements: one to use the Aboriginal “land rights” issue to eventually establish a separate Aboriginal nation under Communist domination; and the second to fragment a homogeneous and stable Australia by a breaking down of the traditional immigration policy, and by the deliberate fostering of a multiculturalism which could only end with the Balkanization of Australia.” (p v)
- ⁹ “Bolt, Bromberg and a profoundly disturbing judgment,” Jonathan Holmes, *The Drum*, ABC, 30th September 2011.
- ¹⁰ “Race law fight distracts focus from disadvantage,” 8 August 2012.
- ¹¹ “Get rid of race to stop racism,” *The Australian*, 31 August 2012. Marcia Langton was at the time the foundation chair of Australian indigenous studies in the University of Melbourne.
- ¹² “Race-hate laws must be repealed,” *The Australian*, 21 October 2011.
- ¹³ “Erosion of free speech is left unresolved,” *The Australian*, 21 October 2011.
- ¹⁴ “Abbott taps consensus on race act,” *The Australian*, 10 August 2012.
- ¹⁵ James Allan, “Coalition must go further on its defense of free speech,” *The Australian*, 17 August 2012.
- ¹⁶ Phillip Adams is a brilliantly successful writer and journalist of (usually) left-wing views. However, he has also often defended free speech, although his voice was largely silent on this issue after Abbott’s address.
- ¹⁷ “True beauty of free speech,” *The Australian*, 15 June 2012.
- ¹⁸ “It’s fine to have standards of speech, enforcing them by law is fascism,” *The Australian* 17 July 2012.
- ¹⁹ “Sound of silence kills free speech,” *The Australian*, 23 July 2012.
- ²⁰ Ray Finkelstein QC, Federal Court judge, headed an allegedly “independent” Media inquiry (instituted by the ALP Government) from 14 September 2011

- which examined the Australian media industry's regulatory framework. The inquiry's report was presented to the Government on 28 February 2012.
- ²¹ "Our right to free speech is under attack," *The Australian*, 21 August 2012.
 - ²² "Labor wrong on freedom wars," *The Australian*, 8 August 2012.
 - ²³ "We're still a long way from press freedom with no buts," *The Australian*, 22-23 September 2012.
 - ²⁴ "Hate campaigns against freedom of speech go all the way back to Socrates," *The Australian*, 4-5 August 2012.
 - ²⁵ "Freedom to vilify must be checked by freedom from racial vilification," *The Australian*, 21 November 2011.
 - ²⁶ "Opposition leader embraces multiculturalism as Dutch walk away," *The Australian*, 28 June 2011.
 - ²⁷ "Brandis to reclaim rights agenda," *The Australian*, 30 August 2013.
 - ²⁸ "Brandis to repeal section of anti-racism law," 9 November 2013.
 - ²⁹ "PM defies rebels, communities on freedom of speech," *The Australian*, 19 March 2014.
 - ³⁰ 20 March 2014.
 - ³¹ "'Bolt law' vow must be kept," *The Australian*, December 2013.
 - ³² "Free speech crying out for orthodox reform," *The Australian*, 13 December 2013.
 - ³³ Letter in *The Australian*, 20 December 2013.
 - ³⁴ "Rights commission's odd man out must fix an orthodoxy of selective silence," *The Australian*, 20 December 2013.
 - ³⁵ Letter in *The Australian*, 28-29 December 2013.
 - ³⁶ "Freedom of speech needs liberating," 21 December 2013.
 - ³⁷ "The Left goes missing in defence of free speech," 19 December 2013.
 - ³⁸ "We all have a right to free speech and it should be no crime to offend," *The Australian*, 3 March 2014.
 - ³⁹ "Let community rule on discrimination," *The Australian*, 7 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁰ Letter in *The Australian*, 7 March 2014.
 - ⁴¹ "Race-hate war is already won," *The Australian*, 12 March 2014.
 - ⁴² "Political class only paying lip service to free speech," 12 March 2014.
 - ⁴³ "Pollies should keep their word," *The Australian*, 14 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁴ "All comment is fair as long as it's based on fact," *The Australian*, 21 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁵ "Free speech is best medicine for the bigotry disease," *The Australian*, 26 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁶ Letter in *The Australian*, 28 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁷ "People should have the right to free speech, says indigenous leader," *The Australian*, 27 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁸ "Act failing to stop black-on-black racism," *The Australian*, 29-30 March 2014.
 - ⁴⁹ "Claims of racism more damaging than the real thing," *The Australian*, 27 March 2014.
 - ⁵⁰ "Your rights and responsibilities," *The Australian*, 1 April 2014.
 - ⁵¹ "Moriarty backs Brandis on rights," *The Australian*, 4 April 2014.
 - ⁵² "Smothering free exchange of ideas a dangerous path," 29-30 March 2014.
 - ⁵³ Letter in *The Age*, 1 April 2014.

- 54 "Bans on bigotry backfire," *The Australian*, 2 April 2014.
- 55 "Survivor wary of 'velvet totalitarianism'," *The Australian*, 2 April 2014.
- 56 "Howard backs race act changes," *The Australian*, 3 April 2014.
- 57 "We need more than libel laws," *The Australian*, 4 April 2014.
- 58 Letter in *The Australian*, 4 April 2014.
- 59 "Insidious threats to free speech," *The Australian*, 5-6 April 2014.
- 60 "Racist ideas are more effectively countered in debate, rather than in court or jail," *The Australian*, 5-6 April 2014.
- 61 "One voice on free speech," *The Australian*, 9 April 2014.
- 62 Letter in *The Australian*, 17 April 2014.
- 63 "The slow death of free speech," 19 April 2014.
- 64 "State censorship of speech kills off the free-thinkers," *The Australian*, 19-20 April.
- 65 While *The Age* editorially argued for reform of 18C, its overall reporting of the whole controversy has been in striking contrast to its editorial stance.
- 66 *The Australian*, 26-27 April.
- 67 Letter in *The Australian*, 28 April 2014.
- 68 "Play the race card, get out of jail," *The Australian*, 29 April 2014.
- 69 "Human rights expert backs changes to 18C," *The Australian*, 1 May 2014.
- 70 "Lawyers must man the rampart of freedom," *The Australian*, 2 May 2014.
- 71 "Abolish the Human Rights Commission, and return us to the Enlightenment's positive values," *The Australian*, 3-4 May 2014.
- 72 "ABC could have fact-checked with Chairman Jim before judging Brandis," *The Australian*, 6 May 2014.
- 73 "Opening minds to 'forgotten freedoms'," *The Australian*, 17-18 May 2014.
- 74 "Don't confuse the right to discuss race matters openly with racial hatred," *The Australian*, 2 June 2014.
- 75 "Canadians lead the way on free speech," *The Australian*, 13 June 2014.
- 76 Letter in *The Australian*, 14-15 June 2014.
- 77 "Natural justice wins the day," *The Australian*, 8 July 2014.
- 78 "Stop hiding behind legislation and allow speech to flow freely," *The Australian*, 19-20 July 2014.
- 79 "Forget 18C: just rake paper over the coals," *The Australian*, 1 August 2014.
- 80 "Leyonhjelm backs Brandis's free-speech stand," *The Australian*, 4 August 2014.
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 "Be careful what you wish for: bans and censorship tend to bite the hand that voted for them," *The Australian*, 7-8 June 2014.
- 83 "Free speech or hate speech? The issue dividing Australia" by Gay Alcorn, *The Age*, 29 March 2014.
- 84 "18C not stopping racism, says law expert, as Hawke urges no change," *The Australian*, 28 March 2014.
- 85 "A-G's plan falls short of aims," Spencer Zifcak, *The Australian*, 4 April 2014. Zifcak, a professor of law at the Australian Catholic University, was surely correct to claim that the Brandis plan "defines vilification and intimidation in terms far more limited than their generally accepted meaning." He argued that a minor repeal, removing only the terms "insult" and "offend," would be the best solu-

tion. This minimalist position undoubtedly would enjoy majority public support (compared to keeping the Act as it is).

- ⁸⁶ For example, *The Sunday Age* reported on 27 April 2014 (“Rebel MPs defiant on hate laws”) that the Government proposals were opposed by “a powerful coalition of ethnic and religious groups” including Jewish, Chinese, Armenian, Arab, Korean, Greek, Vietnamese and Sikh groups. And *The Age* stated on 15 May 2014 (“Community groups join on hate laws”) that “at least 60 groups have lined up against the changes.” These included “a number of groups representing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders” as well as some non-ethnic bodies such as the Law Council of Australia and the Australian Confederation of Trades Unions. On 17 April 2014 *The Australian* reported (“Dump race hate reforms: migrants”) that “the 190 ethnic communities of New South Wales” urged that no change occur. It was referring to a submission lodged by the Community Relations Commission of that state.
- ⁸⁷ Several such claims have been made. For example, in *The Age* on 29 March 2014 Tim Soutphommasane, the AHRC’s Race Discrimination Commissioner, wrote (“What kind of society favors bigotry?”) that “a recent survey conducted by researchers at the University of Western Sydney showed that between 66 and 74 per cent of Australians agreed or strongly agreed that it should be unlawful to offend, insult or humiliate on the basis of race.” It has to be noted that such surveys may not be true indicators of overall popular feeling on the whole issue of free speech and racial language. Researchers are not always impartial; questionnaires are not always appropriately and equitably worded; selection of those questioned may be biased or otherwise unfair. On the other hand, Soutphommasane is certainly right to add: “The majority of Australians have a strong commitment to racial tolerance.”
- ⁸⁸ The opinion articles include the following. From *The Australian*: “Anti-abuse laws pose no real threat to freedom of speech,” Daniel Meyerowitz-Katz (policy analyst at the Australia/Israel & Jewish Affairs Council), 9 December 2013; “Debate unites unlikely bedfellows,” Spencer Zifcak, 28 February 2014; “Let’s preserve our best legal weapon against racism,” Jeremy Jones (director of international and of community affairs at the Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council); “Auschwitz: why I can’t back Brandis on free speech,” Graham Richardson (former ALP federal cabinet minister), 28 March 2014; “Race law changes seriously undermine protections,” Gillian Triggs (president of the AHRC), 28 March 2014; “Race act debate misses the point,” Warren Mundine (Aboriginal leader), 1 April 2014; “A-G’s plan falls short of aims,” Spencer Zifcak, 4 April 2014; “Repeal protects right of bigots,” Craig Emerson (former ALP federal cabinet minister), 5 April 2014. From *The Age*: “Beware any move to license racial hatred,” Tim Soutphommasane, 3 March 2014; “A war of words over words that wound,” Michael Gordon, 15 March 2014; “Sneers of political correctness hamper race debate,” Bruce Grant (author and former diplomat); “Brandis, bigotry and balancing free speech,” Andrew Lynch (director of the Gilbert and Tobin Centre of Public Law at the University of New South Wales), 26 March 2014; “Free speech is often not so free, Mr Brandis,” Peter Balint (Lecturer in Politics at the University of New South Wales), 27 March 2014; “Brandis’ race hate laws are whiter than white,” Waleed Aly (Muslim

- leader), 28 March 2014; "What kind of society favours bigotry?," Tim Soutphommasane, 29 March 2014; "The fault line that runs through the land," Warwick McFadyen (journalist, in the *Sunday Age*), 30 March 2014; "Abbott's double act of competing narratives," Michael Gordon (political editor), 5 April 2014; "Curse of Australia's silent pervasive racism," Waleed Aly, 5 April 2014; "We must stamp on the cockroach of racism," Tim Soutphommasane, 8 April 2014; "Beware a single-minded protector of freedom," Sarah Joseph (director of the Castan Centre for Human Rights Law at Monash University), 9 April 2014; "Hate speech bill protects the right to intimidate and vilify," Jonathan Holmes, 23 April 2014.
- ⁸⁹ "PM could learn from Pyne's approach," Peter van Onselen (a University of Western Australia professor), *The Australian*, 9-10 August 2014.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ "Craven cave in on free speech," *The Australian*, 6 August 2014.
- ⁹² "Who will dare to defend free speech?," *Herald Sun*, 6 August 2014.
- ⁹³ "We're muzzled, but bigots rant," *Herald Sun*, 7 August 2014.
- ⁹⁴ "Freedom's just another word," 7 August 2014.
- ⁹⁵ "Watch what you say," 7 August 2014.
- ⁹⁶ "Abbott capitulates on race debate," 7 August 2014.
- ⁹⁷ In the edition of 8 August 2014.
- ⁹⁸ "Nothing makes up for silence," *The Australian*, 7 August 2014.
- ⁹⁹ "A pity about 18C, but there will be other free speech battles," *The Australian*, 8 August 2014.
- ¹⁰⁰ "18C ruling must not be the final word," *The Australian*, 8 August 2014.
- ¹⁰¹ "Free-speech phobics cling on," *The Australian*, 12 August 2014.
- ¹⁰² Letter in *The Australian*, 13 August 2014.
- ¹⁰³ "Liberal dismay over 18C," *The Australian*, 15 August 2014.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Thanks to Carlton, horse has far from bolted on reform of odious provision," *The Australian*, 15 August 2014.
- ¹⁰⁵ "A shameful back-down on free speech," *The Australian*, 10 September 2014.
- ¹⁰⁶ "We are free to choose and change our identity," *The Australian*, 10 October 2014.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Lib rebel backs renewed free-speech push," *The Australian*, 3 October 2014.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letter by Ron Spielman, *The Australian*, 21 February 2014, "The counterpart of Thomson's denials and lies (for example, Holocaust denial)"; "We all have a right to free speech and it should not be a crime to offend," Michael Sexton SC, *The Australian*, 3 March 2014, "[...] Frederick Töben, who denies there is evidence that the Holocaust took place in the late 1930s and early 40s. Töben's claim is, of course, absurd and naturally offensive to Jewish members of the community."; *The Australian* (editorial), 6 March 2014, "That is why *The Australian* has supported the rights of Holocaust denier David Irving and Dutch anti-Islam MP Geert Wilders to visit Australia, however offensive their messages."; *The Australian* (editorial), 12 March 2014, "This law has silenced anti-Semitic websites espousing crackpot theories. [...] Our civil society should be clever enough to take on Holocaust deniers with facts and win any arguments."; "Ivory towers shaken by man free of legal baggage," Janet Albrechtsen (columnist), *The Australian*, 19 March 2014, "This position, that we need laws such

as 18C in the Racial Discrimination Act and courts to tell us that Holocaust denial is abhorrent, treats us like idiots, too stupid to work that out for ourselves.”; “MP risks conflict over race reforms” (news report), *The Australian*, 24 March 2014, “‘I believe that you can amend 18C without hurting our ability to punish those who racially vilify other people,’ said Mr Frydenberg (Jewish Liberal MP), who is parliamentary secretary to Tony Abbott. ‘It’s about getting that balance right. We do not want Holocaust deniers in this country.’”; “Bigot backlash sours PM’s free speech crusade” (news report), *The Australian*, 26 March 2014, “In a heated question time, the Opposition seized on the draft changes announced yesterday by Senator Brandis, to claim they could ‘give a green light to bigotry in Australia’ including emboldening Holocaust deniers.”; Letter by Loy Lichtman, *The Age*, 27 March 2014, “This is what George Brandis’ statement that ‘people have the right to be bigots’ has meant for me: [...] Holocaust denials made to my face[...];” “Race bill sparks denial fears” (news report), *The Age*, 27 March 2014, “Mr. Jones said he feared this broad exemption would protect Holocaust deniers who vilify Jews under the guise of historical research or political discussion.”; “Holocaust survivors ‘appalled’” (news report), *The Australian*, 27 March 2014, “The Prime Minister said yesterday that statements denying the Holocaust were ‘ridiculous’, ‘hurtful’ and ‘wrong’. [...] Mr. Valent said Mr. Abbott’s claim that the best way to refute bad argument was with a good one did not hold true when it came to Holocaust deniers and anti-Semites. ‘These people do not argue from a logical position but rather from an emotional one,’ he said. ‘You can’t have a rational discussion with them because they are not open to logical discussion as they seek to offend, hurt and humiliate. I fear these proposed changes would give anti-Semites free rein, be it Holocaust denial or personal offense.’”; Letter by Claire Jolliffe, *The Australian*, 28 March 2014, “Regarding the right to be a bigot, my goodness, what century are we living in? As someone who was at the pointy end of the Holocaust, Valent’s argument is comprehensively sound.”; “Auschwitz: why I can’t back Brandis on free speech,” Graham Richardson, *The Australian*, 28 March 2014, “If any change in the law were to allow the likes of our own home-grown Holocaust denier Frederick Töben or that evil Englishman David Irving, or indeed that nasty piece of work who was the past president of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to peddle their bile in our country, then I cannot sign up to it. No ideal of free speech should ever be allowed to make a mockery of the degradation and despair of my friend [an Auschwitz survivor] or the friends and relatives of the millions who died in the Nazi concentration camps [...]”; “Free speech or hate speech? The issue dividing Australia” (news report), *The Age*, 29 March 2014, “Frederick Töben [...] says there was never any systematic German program to kill Jewish people, denies the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz and claims that Jews exaggerated the numbers murdered during World War II, sometimes for financial gain. [...] the Federal Court [...] found that Töben’s views weren’t part of academic debate about the Holocaust, but were designed to ‘smear’ Jews. [...] Peter Wertheim understands the free speech arguments, but says what is most upsetting about anti-Semitism is not that somebody writes that the Holocaust never happened. It’s the smear, the insinuation about what Jews are like, the dehumanizing of individuals. ‘There’s a

role for the law in that,' he says."; "How old cases would fare under the new law" (news report), *The Age*, 29 March 2014, "He [Töben] was found to have lacked good faith because of his 'deliberately provocative and inflammatory' language. [... Professor Sarah Joseph] 'Holocaust denial indicates that the Jews have concocted the Holocaust for self-serving purposes, a classic anti-Semitic idea that has historically provoked hatred against Jewish people.'"; "Smothering free exchange of ideas a dangerous path," *The Australian* (editorial), 29-30 March 2014, "We respect the opinions of Holocaust survivors who have voiced their opposition to [...] proposed changes. It is undeniable, however, that the murderous excesses of Nazism and communism were aided and abetted by a public silence brought about by totalitarian censorship. Post-war Europe has a long tradition of banning hate speech, but [...] such laws have not prevented racism, anti-Semitism, Holocaust denial and anti-Muslim abuse reaching fever pitch on today's discontented continent."; "Act failing to stop black-on-black racism" (news report), *The Australian*, 29-30 March 2014, "NSW premier Barry O'Farrell [...] speaking to the Israeli-Australian Chamber of Commerce [...] said Australia had people who had become internationally notorious as Holocaust deniers. 'Anything which allows them to get through the legal hoops without them being touched I will vigorously oppose.'"; "No respect for most basic right," Gabriel Sassoon, *The Australian*, 29-30 March 2014, "I accept that ignorant bigots will use anti-Semitic stereotypes and deny the Holocaust. The correct response to such racial and ethnic abuse is ridicule. [...] if some hate group wishes to deny the Holocaust, I disapprove of what they say [...]" ; Letter by John J. Furedy, *The Australian*, 31 March 2014, "Although a Jewish Holocaust survivor, I opposed the criminalization of statements by Holocaust deniers. Now [...] I am disturbed by the efforts of those who wish to criminalize rather than just ridiculing and shaming so-called hate speech. A robust freedom of speech distinguishes criminal acts from abhorrent opinions."; Letter by John Downing, *The Australian*, 31 March 2014, "Some of the best comedians are Jewish and they make jokes about Jewish society – which could give offense to some – but would never consider a joke relating to the Holocaust. [...] There are some subjects which are beyond the pale and may need to be defined."; "PM's council splits over free speech" (news report), *The Australian*, 1 April 2014, "The Nazis knew this and exploited the courts as a powerful platform for proclaiming their racist hatred when charged under anti-vilification laws in 1920s Germany. Notorious Holocaust denier David Irving is a case in point."; "Your rights and responsibilities," Andrew Penfold, *The Australian*, 1 April 2014, "In some countries (notably France) denying the Holocaust is illegal. Suppressing free speech only plays into the hands of those who peddle myths and lies."; "Race act debate misses the point," Warren Mundine, *The Australian*, 1 April 2014, "Actually, the amendments will give Holocaust deniers a wide berth to incite hatred against Jewish people in public discussion."; "Freedom of speech needs a much better mouthpiece than Mundine," James Allan, *The Australian*, 2 April 2014, "[John Stuart] Mill thought the average Joe was as likely to see through the Holocaust-denying moron or the neo-Nazi nutcase as the sociology professor."; "Survivor wary of 'velvet totalitarianism'" (news report), *The Australian*, 2 April 2014, "Notorious Holocaust-denier and anti-Semite

Ernst Zündel. [...] 'I have long been disgusted by Zündel's publicly stated anti-Semitic opinions.'"; "Bans on bigotry backfire," Alan Dershowitz, *The Australian*, 2 April 2014, "Jews demand an end to everything deemed to be anti-Semitic, which can include Holocaust denial."; "Repeal protects rights of bigots," Craig Emerson (former ALP cabinet minister), *The Australian*, 5 April 2014, "Yet the Government has assured the Jewish community that Holocaust denial would remain unlawful. Why? If freedom of speech is paramount, it follows logically that racial vilification – defined as inciting hatred – should be lawful."; "Hate speech best defeated in a free exchange of ideas," *The Australian* (editorial), 5-6 April 2014, "In a thoughtful article, columnist and former Labor senator Graham Richardson said no ideal of free speech should ever be allowed to make a mockery of the degradation and despair of the millions who died in the Nazi concentration camps."; "One voice on free speech," Janet Albrechtsen (columnist), *The Australian*, 9 April 2014, "No one minded this stuff [Section 13 in Canada] when it was just being applied to some Holocaust denier sitting in his bedsit writing some unread screed that he was Xeroxing and sending out to his friends."; "Jewish leader eyes middle path on race act reform" (news report), *The Australian*, 15 April 2014, "Many within the Jewish community are fiercely opposed to the proposed change, arguing that it would allow Holocaust revisionists to air their views without fear of reprisals."; "Maybe we shouldn't have racial vilification laws at all," Gay Alcorn, *The Age*, 25 April 2014, "Why should it be unlawful for an idiot like Fredrick Töben to claim the Holocaust never happened?"; "Rebel MPs defiant on hate laws" (news report), *Sunday Age*, 27 April, "Another flashpoint is that the proposed changes appear to give free rein to Holocaust denial and other forms of anti-Semitism."; Letter by Moshe Gutnick, Yehoram Ulman and Meir Shlomo Kluwgant (Jewish rabbis), *The Australian*, 3-4 May 2014, "This week, by coincidence, Jewish communities around the world marked Holocaust Remembrance Day. None of us dares forget, and Wilson and the Government would do well to remember that racist words have evil consequences."; "Lib states' blow to Brandis race bid" (news report), *The Australian*, 3-4 April 2014, "NSW and Victoria have combined to pressure the Commonwealth to dump proposed reforms of the national race-hate laws, warning it will lead to an increase in racial intolerance and Holocaust denial."; Letter by Merv Bendle, *The Australian*, 5 April 2014, "That [the Bolt case] seems to have been forgotten and the focus now is on the suppression of Holocaust denial. [...] the moronic claims of a small number of anti-Semitic fanatics."; "Craven cave in on free speech," James Allan, *The Australian*, 6 August 2014, "Apparently the Government now implicitly agrees that you can't trust your average Australian to see through the rantings of Neo-Nazi Holocaust deniers."; "Ditch the dodgy policies, Tony," Graham Richardson, *The Australian*, 8 August 2014, "I cannot handle Holocaust deniers. Knowing an Auschwitz survivor who suffered appallingly and who lost many close family members means that I can't be a party to anyone getting up and saying that her pain is nonsense. The Holocaust is not a fabrication or a devious plot. To me, saying so is such a grave offense to my friend and to every Jew that such words should never be allowed to be uttered."

¹⁰⁹ Letter published on 28 March 2014.

- ¹¹⁰ Letter published on 25 June 2013.
- ¹¹¹ Letter published on 1 July 2013.
- ¹¹² Letter published on 14-15 December 2013.
- ¹¹³ Letter published on 22 November 2011.
- ¹¹⁴ "Censorship laws not needed to tackle prejudice," *The Australian*, 26 June 2014.
- ¹¹⁵ "Let's preserve our best legal weapon against racism," *The Australian*, 18 March 2014.
- ¹¹⁶ "Maybe we shouldn't have racial vilification laws at all, Gay Alcorn, *The Age*, 25 April 2014.
- ¹¹⁷ "Community groups join on hate laws," 15 May 2014.
- ¹¹⁸ Letter published on 17 April 2014.
- ¹¹⁹ Letter published on 6 May 2014.
- ¹²⁰ "Diary changes agenda," *The Australian*, 15 April 2014.
- ¹²¹ "Racist ideas are more effectively countered in debate, rather than in court or jail," *The Australian*, 5-6 April 2014.
- ¹²² "Setting the record straight," *The Age*, 3 May 2014.
- ¹²³ Letter published on 7 August 2014.
- ¹²⁴ The name Brenton Sanderson is unknown to me. The writer appears to be remarkably well informed about Australian affairs, so that I believe him to be an Australian writing under a pen name. His article was published on 8 August 2014.
- ¹²⁵ "The real reason Abbott broke his promise on Section 18C," *Business Spectator* online, 6 August 2014.
- ¹²⁶ Howard Allen, Box 76, Cape Canaveral, Florida 32920, 1972.
- ¹²⁷ *Quadrant* is edited by Keith Windschuttle, who has published important research exposing left-wing misrepresentations of past interactions of European settlers and the Aborigines. Its editorial address is Suite 2/5 Rosebery Place, Balmain, NSW 2041.

REVIEWS

Defending Barbarism

Richard A. Widmann

Bombing Vindicated, by J.M. Spaight, Ostara Publications, 2013, 129 pp.

Ostara Publication's edition of J.M. Spaight's hard-to-find *Bombing Vindicated* is an exact reproduction of the 1944 original – something which should thrill collectors and historians alike. Well-known and frequently cited in revisionist circles, Spaight's thesis is anything but revisionist. In fact, Spaight's book was written to counter mounting criticism of Britain's program for mass-bombing of German cities. Spaight, a former principal secretary of the British Air Ministry, set out to justify the murder of German civilians through the British saturation-bombing campaign.

Spaight's apologia takes several forms. He begins by contrasting tactics and strategies of air power. Spaight asserts that in the run-up to World War II, Germany's air force was designed in a way that was predominantly tactical while Britain's was predominantly strategic. He goes on to explain that Germany's air force was designed to support their army.

One of its weapons would be the aircraft, but it would only be a weapon of a Service which was predominantly the embodiment of German land power. The idea of air power as the rival or equal of land power was beyond the comprehension of soldiers steeped in the philosophy of war which commended itself to the German mentality.

Spaight argues that the Germans never really understood the meaning of air power. He quotes Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder:

"They did not know how to use an air force properly."

From a statement from 9 January 1943, Tedder notes:

"We have learned this new kind of warfare and the Americans are learning it. The Hun and the Jap have yet to learn it."

He continues:

"Today, Britain alone of the embattled nations can look to a striking force in the air unshackled and untrammelled by parochialism and pre-

conceived ideas, free from glib phrases like 'air support' and 'fighter assistance' – an Air Force which commands the air."

While Spaight voices some degree of admiration for how well the German air force was fit to implement the air policy adopted by its military leaders, it is clear he considers such policy as shortsighted and even a weakness, a weakness that the wiser British leaders could exploit. He comments,

"[The Luftwaffe] was an almost ideal arm for cooperation with ground forces. It contained a high proportion of dive-bombers (Junkers 87's) and of transport aircraft (Junkers 52's). Our own air force was weak in these two categories but was superior to the German in the quality (though not the quantity) of its long-range bombers and its single-seat fighters.

Our Wellington was a better heavy bomber than anything which Germany had, and we were definitely ahead of her in the fighter class. She has a fairly good interceptor in the Messerschmitt 109, but it was definitely inferior to our Hurricane or Spitfire. In other words, in the two categories which are of prime importance in the waging of air warfare, considered per se, we had the advantage, while Germany had it in those categories which are essential in air operations ancillary to those of ground forces."

By 1936 Britain was already planning for long-range bombers that could go farther than possible at the time and carry large cargoes of explosives. While Britain moved forward with their plans for heavy bombers, Hitler was expressing apprehension and concern on where such policies could lead. Already in May of 1935, Hitler warned:

"War has been speeded up too much and made too overwhelmingly destructive for our geographical limitations. Within an hour – in some instances within forty minutes of the outbreak of hostilities – swift bombing machines would wreak ruin upon European capitals."

J.M. SPAIGHT C.B., C.B.E.

Bombing Vindicated

*A Survey of
recent
developments
by this leading
Authority
on Air Warfare
1944*

Spaight recounts that Hitler's National Socialists attempted both in 1935 and 1936 to restrict bombing of civilian centers and wanted such policy to be enacted as a far-reaching international agreement. He writes:

"I can not subscribe to the view that Hitler brought it forward in 1935 and 1936 with his tongue in his cheek; not in the least because he was incapable of doing so, but simply because it was unquestionably in his interest to have such a restriction accepted. He was scared of the possible effect of a bombing offensive upon Germany's war effort and the morale of the German population. He would infinitely have preferred to fight out the war in another way, a way that was not our way but was his way. He did not want our kind of war."

Spaight recounts a series of what must have been well-known events at the time. He writes of the first bombings of cities during the Second World War, and admits that bombing of Warsaw and Rotterdam was something entirely different than the bombing of London and later, the cities of Germany. Warsaw and Rotterdam were bombed in support of the German army and its tactic of *blitzkrieg*. The air bombardments were an operation of tactical offense. Spaight also acknowledges that while the *Luftwaffe* was the most powerful air force in the world that no air attacks fell upon Britain in the first ten months of the war. Likewise no aerial bombing of Paris occurred. Spaight notes "there was a mingled feeling of surprise and relief when no raids came."

While there had been some minor incidents by both sides early in 1940 in which civilians were killed as result of bombings, there had been no policy of bombing civilian populations up until that time. Spaight applauds Britain's decision to initiate the bombing of civilian centers. In fact, he refers to it as "our great decision." He writes:

"Bomber Command went to war on 11 May, 1940. It had only been fooling with war until then. That is the great date in its war diary: not because of anything spectacular achieved immediately, but because of what was to follow in the fullness of time. In that decision of May, 1940, there was implicit the doom of Germany, though we little guessed it then."

From May through August of 1940, Britain carried out numerous raids on German towns. Up until the Hannover raid on 1 August 1940, the National Socialist press remained silent. Following that raid, German newspapers declared, "Britain loses her honor" and denounced the raid as "an appalling crime."

In September 1940 Hitler retaliated against British bombing of German cities by bombing London. Hitler explained in a speech in Munich on 9 November 1940 his decision:

“Mr. Churchill had bombs dropped on the German civil population. I waited in patience, thinking ‘The man is mad; for such action could only lead to Britain’s destruction,’ and I made my plan for peace. Now I am resolved to fight it out to the last.”

Addressing the National Socialist Party on 31 December 1940 Hitler again stated that the British bombed German cities for three and a half months before any reprisal action was taken. An infuriated Hitler now promised for every bomb dropped by the British, the Germans would drop 10 or if necessary even a hundred upon British cities.

Spaight offers what may be his best justification for the policy of bombing of civilian centers:

“He [Hitler] most assuredly did not want the mutual bombing to go on. He had not wanted it ever to begin. He wanted it, having begun, to be called off. That, I am firmly convinced, was the aim behind his frantic bellowings and all his blather about attacks on the civil population. He knew that, in the end, our air offensive, if it did not win the war for us, would certainly prevent Germany from winning it.”

Continuing his defense of “total war,” Spaight coins the term “battle-towns” to make the case that civilian centers involved in the support or manufacture of weapons or materials in support of a country’s military are indeed justified targets. He writes, “the making of arms is war-making. It cannot be called anything else. It is not noncombatant work.” But Spaight refuses to stop at the armaments industry. He adds:

“transport workers, as well as all the civilians enrolled in the service of passive defence – the fire fighters, the fire-watchers, the rescue parties, the demolition squads – cannot be classed otherwise than as warriors in the new kind of war in which their work is as essential and, in principle, as warlike as that of the soldiers, sailors, and airmen.”

Spaight concludes his case with a twist on the “war to end all wars” hype from World War I. He suggests that his beloved bombers could serve as the means to such an end.

“The world will have been given convincing proof of its almost limitless capacity as a war-breaker before this war ends. It is the ideal weapon for smothering aggression.”

There can be little doubt that Britain's saturation bombing of civilian centers contributed to Germany's defeat during the Second World War. The general public would likely embrace Spaight's thesis. That same public has accepted the myth of warfare disguised as moral conflicts between "good" and "evil." They have little concern about the means of defeating evil including the wholesale murder of innocents. Accordingly, veterans who flew missions against German cities and even those who dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities are considered heroes. Public outrage is stirred only when such attacks occur against our civilians. In such cases, the perpetrators are deemed "terrorists."

Bombing Vindicated is available from: <http://ostarapublications.com/>

Revisionism 101

Ezra MacVie

Breaking the Spell. The Holocaust: Myth and Reality, by Nicholas Kollerstrom. Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK,¹ 2014. 256 pp., including index.

Dr. Nicholas Kollerstrom, recently of University College London, is a 21st-century Holocaust victim – perhaps a Holocaust *survivor*, in that he is alive today and, in respects other than professional, passably well. Of course, he is not a victim of National Socialist racial policies; he is a victim of [...] how can I say this? Contemporary taboos concerning historical events of the 1940s in Europe? Not too catchy, that. A Jewish plot to destroy freedom of speech in preparation for their takeover of the world? Maybe a bit *too* catchy, that one. Something in between, then – pick your own poison.

Call it what you will, our hapless author was excommunicated from the precincts of University College London (UCL) in 2008, when he published, in (Bradley) *Smith's Report* an article* that described Germar Rudolf's discoveries² regarding the cyanide content of brickwork in various parts of Auschwitz and other World War II-era German camps where presumed enemies of the Reich were said to have been gassed to death in numbers reaching into the millions. Before he disclosed his interest in what chemistry-based forensics revealed regarding erroneous popular history, Kollerstrom had been a member of staff of the Department of Science and Technology Studies. But UCL could not tolerate association with anyone expressing even the slightest credence for Rudolf's heretical findings, so Kollerstrom became a nonperson, so far as UCL was concerned.

That's all background, and not even terribly important except as it may have motivated his writing of this book and, of course, for that sort of reader who is interested in what might have motivated the author of a book he chooses to read.

There are other, much-better, reasons to choose to read this book, especially if you happen to be someone already persuaded of the counterfeit nature of Holocaust history and you wish to arouse some understanding –

* Editor's remark: Kollerstrom's article "The Auschwitz 'Gas Chamber' Illusion" was published not in *Smith's Report*, but on www.CODOH.com: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-auschwitz-gas-chamber-illusion/>.

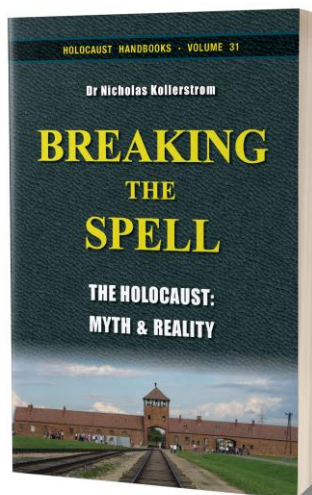
or respect, or even just tolerance – for the *extremely* unstylish views you might have communicated, deliberately or carelessly, to another, who it is to be hoped is a very close friend who will honor you if not with their sympathy, then at least with their confidence.

Those long and/or deeply familiar with the debunking of the Holocaust mythology that attained critical mass in 1976 with the publication of Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the 20th Century* might view Kollerstrom's oeuvre as a rehash – an extensive, but still partial, listing of the reasons why people should not credit what they have been told about the cruelty and genocidal intent of the National Socialists in the 1930s and 40s. That, viewed in a wide scope, would be a mistake, for several reasons.

First, it should be noted that, besides Butz's magisterial work encompassing some 502 pages, any number of other works, some of them shorter, many more-recent, have undertaken more or less the same goal: debunking the Holocaust Myth. And many of these have done a very good job of it, including even to this day Butz's original, which stands as a masterpiece.

But those who hold views such as those advanced by Butz, Stäglich, Mattogno, Faurisson, Rudolf, Dalton and a long list of other damned blasphemers from many walks of life and linguistic backgrounds, are occasionally, even often, at pains, to present a foundation for their views in a form that might appeal to some particular relative, colleague, or even superior. In view of the reflexive disapprobation to which such views are subject, one is perforce challenged to proffer to each such recipient, just exactly *that* example of the genus that stands the best chances of reaching his or her understanding, if not credence.

And on this score, Kollerstrom's contribution to what is happily a growing genre is a most worthy contribution, deserving in its own right both a judicious savoring by the faithful and further, in many cases, of bestowal, however timorous or diffident, upon beneficiaries presumably among the "unwashed" who constitute the huge majorities of the acquaintances adorning the lives we each enjoy in our respective free and tolerant societies.



The current edition of
Breaking the Spell is
available from Armreg Ltd at
[https://armreg.co.uk/product/
breaking-the-spell/](https://armreg.co.uk/product/breaking-the-spell/)

Specifics: Kollerstrom is (was?) a respected writer of books, articles, and other tracts on the intersection of science with history, having not only edited or authored numerous books on the sociology of science reaching at least as far back as Galileo, and having participated in a number of conscience-spurring enterprises such as the investigation of the 1982 sinking of the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*, resulting in the drowning of over 800 of its complement. His is no pseudonym such as many other writers (including myself) on the present subject choose to wield – he *is* the scientist and historian who has already produced valuable contributions not only to knowledge, but to conscience as well, and promises, in this book as in the earlier works, to produce still more, and better, especially if he is not muted by the smothering blanket of political correctness that has been thrown over him of late.

Kollerstrom writes well. His voice is never shrill, never raised by outrage, never mortally wounded, never pleading nor importuning – somehow, he contrives to maintain emotional neutrality while still inspiring the reader's own emotions, or curiosity, or interest, or some potent combination of these. This is no suspense novel – the informed, or even intelligent, reader knows where the “plot” is headed at all times, however unfamiliar the territory ahead might be to the uninitiated. But the “road” itself is fascinating: the scenes by the side of the road no less than the vistas looming ahead. He balances digression with forward progress with the skill of the accomplished, popular, author he in fact is.

Kollerstrom effortlessly avoids the demonization that renders some works of this kind objectionable, even prosecutable in the less-liberal regimes currently astride the continent of Europe. Myths and fables are debunked in large numbers on its pages, but allegations of sinister plots – conspiracies, even – are eschewed in favor of reasoned surveys of motivations and contexts, wherein all actors may be seen for what they are: individuals in more or less desperate circumstances trying with all their might to survive an unprecedentedly savage war with as much of their families and property intact as possible. Those likely to register an adverse reaction to Kollerstrom's equable narrative should be only those who would react the same to any analysis, no matter how innocuously couched, reaching the ineluctable conclusions that this study reaches.

Finally, the most superficial of attributes, for whatever it might be worth to this reader or that: Kollerstrom is not German, not American, but British. The text is, in fact, spelled and worded British-ly, though by no means heavily, much less affectedly, so. Likewise, the perspective on the

subject is impartial – neither British, American, German, Jewish, nor Gentile. This characteristic is as much a “flavor” as anything, but as such, is one of the many ineffable factors that can decide whether an initiate to the better view of historical mendacity completes the reading, and is informed, or breaks it off, to remain unenlightened at least until the next time some intellectual benefactor might again seek a way to break through the encrusted layers of deception and mistrust under which each of us is consigned to grope toward wisdom.

Do you wish to spread the faith? If so, Kollerstrom’s reaction to his ostracism could be of great use to you. Or do you, rather, wish only to seek understanding, if not agreement, from an intellectual soul-mate, or protégé, or even adversary toward whom you feel sympathy, or even respect? Then you should admit Kollerstrom’s worthy offering to the armamentarium with which you defend your more-challenging viewpoints.

Or are you, dear reader, feeling your own self ill-grounded in this most-contested of historical battlefields, and in want of a gentle, careful introduction to the issues therein contained, without the massive rigor of some of its running mates, nor the insinuation or aspersion of some of the others?

In all these cases, I recommend *Breaking the Spell*. And after you’ve succeeded in using it for one of the benefits listed above, you may even continue to use it, in other copies or your own, for yet another of the purposes I’ve surmised. But if you lend your own copy to some lucky borrower or other, I hope for your sake that he returns it promptly.

After reading it. With approbation, of course.

Notes

- ¹ Germar Rudolf, *The Rudolf Report – Expert Report on Chemical and Technical Aspects of the “Gas Chambers” of Auschwitz*. Vol. 2 of Holocaust Handbooks (Washington, D.C.: The Barnes Review, 2011).

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EDITORIAL

Holocaust Hate Speech

Richard A. Widmann

“But what was strange was that although Goldstein was hated and despised by everybody, although every day, and a thousand times a day, on platforms, on the telescreen, in newspapers, in books, his theories were refuted, smashed, ridiculed, held up to the general gaze for the pitiful rubbish that they were – in spite of all this, his influence never seemed to grow less.” —George Orwell, 1984

Heinrich Heine, a Nineteenth-Century German poet and essayist, is most remembered for his comment, “Where books are burned, in the end people will be burned too.” Today his quote is prominently displayed in the Yad Vashem Holocaust museum in Jerusalem as well as in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM).¹ In its contemporary context, Heine’s quote is understood to mean that an ideology that refuses to tolerate minority opinion will ultimately become a mortal threat to minorities themselves. It is often associated with incidents in Germany during National Socialist rule and is typically viewed as a prophetic warning.

In Twenty-First-Century America, it seems quite misguided to be overly concerned about *Nazi* book burnings or *Nazi* human burnings for that matter. Heine, who died in 1856, was not actually concerned about Nazis but rather the immolation of ideas – of diversity of thought. Today actual book burnings are mostly symbolic. In centuries past, the burning of a book might indeed literally “holocaust” an idea, although all copies of certain books most definitely have been confiscated and macerated (pulped) in – that’s right – Germany. In the post-World War-II era, when books can easily and affordably be printed and reprinted, book burnings and censorship rarely have the impact desired.² Today, thanks to the Internet, traditional book burnings are generally superfluous.

Contemporary censors need not strike a match, or carry the flamethrowers of Bradbury’s *Fahrenheit 451*.³ The removal from sale from on-line booksellers accomplishes the nefarious deed without the mess and air



Offices of the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California following the hateful arson attack on July 4, 1984.

Source: <http://ihr.org/books/ztn.html>

pollution of a hastily constructed bonfire. In fact, book burnings are no longer conducted in town squares but rather through well-orchestrated campaigns to remove undesirable titles from the virtual shelves of on-line booksellers, along with such tactics as denying direct sellers credit-card facilities for the use of their customers.⁴

Recent campaigns to throttle the free exchange of ideas come only months after the outrage expressed by hundreds of thousands following the 7 January 2015 massacre at the offices of the French leftist newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*. More than 40 world leaders showed up to demonstrate their support presumably for free speech and the free exchange of ideas. Thousands created signs emblazoned with the slogan “*Je suis Charlie*” (“I am Charlie”).⁵ However, many of the leaders who participated in the march were leaders of countries that openly prosecute authors whose ideas are *inconvenient* for those in power. Specifically, the so-called “denial,” or revision, of the history of the Holocaust is illegal in 14 European nations including France and Germany.⁶

While German Prime Minister Angela Merkel marched for *Charlie Hebdo* it is important to recall that on 15 June 1995 a German judge ruled that all copies of the book *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (*Foundations of*

Modern History) be burned. In the run-up to this order, a raid was conducted against the German publisher of this title and all copies were confiscated by the authorities. The book's editor, a German physicist named Germar Rudolf, was ordered to be arrested.⁷ At the time, *Grundlagen* was the most up-to-date academic book dealing with forensic evidence of the murder of Jews by the National Socialist regime.

Years earlier a terror campaign resulted in a devastating arson attack against the offices of the Institute of Historical Review. Damage from this firebombing, which consumed many thousands of books, was estimated at \$400,000. Two days after the attack, then-leader of the Jewish Defense League, Irv Rubin, showed up at the site and declared that he "wholeheartedly applauds the recent devastation."⁸

The hate against Holocaust revisionists is spread not only through official governmental legislation and violent campaigns of terror, but is embedded in the language of recondite college professors. In her *Denying the Holocaust*, Deborah Lipstadt used a language of hate when describing Holocaust revisionists, "Today the bacillus carried by these rats threatens to 'kill' those who already died at the hands of the Nazis for a second time by destroying the world's memory of them."⁹

Hatred often does result in violence. In France, where so many were quick to declare *Je suis Charlie*, Europe's most prominent Holocaust revisionist scholar, Professor Robert Faurisson, sustained no less than *ten* physical assaults between 1978 and 1993. During one attack in 1989, assailants sprayed a stinging gas into his face temporarily blinding him. Three men then pummeled him to the ground where they repeatedly kicked



Robert Faurisson hospitalized following a hateful attack on September 16, 1989. A group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility for the savage assault. Source: CODOH (<https://codoh.com/library/document/jewish-militants-fifteen-years-and-more-of/>)



What Holocaust revisionists really look like.

Speakers from the Twelfth IHR Conference (1994). From left to right. Robert Faurisson, John Ball, Russ Granata, Carlo Mattogno, Ernst Zündel, Friedrich Berg, Greg Raven, David Cole, Robert Countess, Tom Marcellus, Mark Weber, David Irving, and Jürgen Graf.

Source: The Journal of Historical Review, Vol. 14, No. 6, Nov/Dec 1994.

him in the face and chest. At the time, Faurisson was 60 years old. The crime was ultimately attributed to “young Jewish activists from Paris.”¹⁰ Dr. Faurisson, for reasons that his opponents are eager to misrepresent, persists in his efforts to improve historical understanding.

There certainly is hate speech regarding the Holocaust circulating today. The folks at the tax-funded USHMM (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) would have you believe that revisionists (or “deniers” as they like to defame them) are the exponents of such sentiments. But the revisionists make their case in books and in articles. Their arguments don’t call for the elimination of any people, nor of books. Neither are the revisionists in positions of authority from which they could prosecute – or persecute – even those who charge quite the most-unbelievable crimes against the German people.

The language of hate directed against those who question even the smallest of details regarding the Holocaust should be a warning to all – and it is. In Orwell’s prophetic *1984*, the totalitarian government of Big Brother broadcast “2-Minute Hates” in which the general masses are incited to indulge in paroxysms of hatred of its purported enemies. Orwell describes the effect:¹¹

“A hideous ecstasy of fear and vindictiveness, a desire to kill, to torture, to smash faces in with a sledge hammer, seemed to flow through the whole group of people like an electric current, turning one even against one’s will into a grimacing, screaming lunatic.”

A quick look at the entry for “Holocaust Denial” on the popular on-line encyclopedia Wikipedia reveals the prominent placement of a photo of several Ku Klux Klansmen with placards denouncing the Holocaust. The simplistic messages include, “There was no Jewish Holocaust” and “Holocaust Gigantic Zionist Hoax.” While the origin and the context of the photo are uncertain, its purpose on this page is clear – Holocaust deniers are meant to be viewed as members of extremist hate groups.¹² For balance, one might expect to see a photo of speakers at a revisionist conference. But there is none. The photo of the Klansmen is not displayed to accurately convey any truth, but rather to stir hatred.

Images such as this and many others employed by supporters of the regnant wartime propaganda Holocaust meme have a very emotional effect. They are used to stir people into a frenzy. Soon such indiscriminate readers ask questions like, “How can such ideas be allowed to be sold?” “How can the Holocaust be debated?” “Why are deniers not in prison?” “Why aren’t their offices burned?” “Why are they not beaten?” “Why, like the disease-bearing rats they are, are they not exterminated?” Such is the state of Holocaust hate speech today.

The ultimate irony is that Orwell’s “grimacing screaming lunatics” come from the ranks of those who profess to uphold the “official” Holocaust story. If toleration is indeed the moral of the story, these champions of orthodoxy either fail to comprehend it, or they openly choose to deny it.

Notes

¹ Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinrich_Heine

² Banned books have become an industry in and of themselves. In the United States, the week of September 27th is celebrated as “Banned Books Week.” Several organizations and bookstores participate and urge people and especially students to read banned books. For example: <http://www.ala.org/bbooks/bannedbookweek>

³ Ray Bradbury’s 1953 dystopian novel depicted a future world in which firemen were responsible for burning outlawed books.

⁴ Caitlin Dewey, “Amazon, PayPal and Spotify inadvertently fund white supremacists. Here’s how.” The Washington Post, 17 March 2015. Online: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2015/03/17/amazon-paypal-and-spotify-inadvertently-fund-white-supremacists-heres-how/>

- ⁵ Online:
http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2015/01/11/je_suis_charlie_more_than_40_world_leaders_head_up_massive_paris_march.html
- ⁶ Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laws_against_Holocaust_denial
- ⁷ Richard Widmann, "Problems Warned about in Fahrenheit 451 Threaten Today's World," in *Readings on Fahrenheit 451* (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2000), p. 153. *Grundlagen Zur Zeitgeschichte* is published in English translation under the title *Dissecting the Holocaust*;
<https://holocausthandbooks.com/book/dissecting-the-holocaust/>.
- ⁸ Mark Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (Newport Beach, Institute for Historical Review, 1993), pp. 10-11.
- ⁹ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust* (New York, Plume, 1994), p. xvii.
- ¹⁰ Robert Faurisson, "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France." Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/jewish-militants-fifteen-years-and-more-of/>
- ¹¹ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York, Harcourt , Brace and Company, 1949), p. 15-16.
- ¹² Over the course of the past 30 years I have met most of the leading figures in Holocaust revisionism. None of these people was in any way affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan. It would arguably be fairer to post a photo of the Klan under the Wikipedia entry for "Democratic Party" or "Republican Party."

PAPERS

Winston Churchill Discreetly Veiled, Part 1

Ralph Raico

Churchill as Icon

When Professor Harry Jaffa proposed that Winston Churchill was not only the Man of the Twentieth Century but The Man of Many Centuries,¹ he found that many agreed with him. I did not.

Personally, Man of Many Centuries sounds absurd. Was Winnie greater than Bismarck, than Washington or Jefferson, than Isaac Newton or Martin Luther? But Man of the Twentieth Century is totally appropriate, for that was the century of the State – of the rise and hypertrophic growth of the welfare-warfare state – and Churchill was from first to last a Man of the State, of the welfare state and of the warfare state. War, of course, was his lifelong passion; and, as an admiring historian has written: “Among his other claims to fame, Winston Churchill ranks as one of the founders of the welfare state.”² Thus, while Churchill never had a principle he did not in the end betray,³ this does not mean that there was no slant to his actions, no systematic bias. There was, and that bias was towards lowering the barriers to state power.

To gain any understanding of Churchill, we must go beyond the heroic images propagated for over half a century. The conventional picture of Churchill, especially of his role in World War II, was first of all the work of Churchill himself, through the distorted histories he composed and rushed into print as soon as the war was over.⁴ In more recent decades, the Churchill legend has been adopted by an internationalist establishment for which it furnishes the perfect symbol and an inexhaustible vein of high-toned blather. Churchill has become, in Christopher Hitchens’s phrase, a “totem” of the American establishment, not only to the scions of the New Deal, but to the neo-conservative apparatus as well – politicians like Newt Gingrich and Dan Quayle, corporate “knights” and other denizens of the Reagan and Bush Cabinets, the editors and writers of the *Wall Street Journal*, and a legion of “conservative” columnists led by William Safire and William Buckley. Churchill was, as Hitchens writes, “the human bridge across which the transition was made” between a noninterventionist and a

globalist America.⁵ In the Twenty-First Century, it is not impossible that his bulldog likeness will feature in the logo of the New World Order.

Let it be freely conceded that in 1940 Churchill played his role superbly. As the military historian Major-General J.F.C. Fuller, a sharp critic of Churchill's wartime policies, wrote:⁶

"Churchill was a man cast in the heroic mold, a berserker ever ready to lead a forlorn hope or storm a breach, and at his best when things were at their worst. His glamorous rhetoric, his pugnacity, and his insistence on annihilating the enemy appealed to human instincts, and made him an outstanding war leader."

History outdid herself when she cast Churchill as the adversary in the duel with Hitler. It matters not at all that in his most famous speech – "we shall fight them on the beaches [...] we shall fight them in the fields and in the streets" – he plagiarized Clemenceau at the time of the Ludendorff offensive, that there was little real threat of a German invasion or, that, perhaps, there was no reason for the duel to have occurred in the first place. For a few months in 1940, Churchill played his part magnificently and unforgettably.⁷

Opportunism and Rhetoric

Yet before 1940, the word most closely associated with Churchill was "opportunist."⁸ He had twice changed his party affiliation – from Conservative to Liberal, and then back again. His move to the Liberals was allegedly on the issue of free trade. But in 1930, he sold out on free trade as well, even tariffs on food, and proclaimed that he had cast off "Cobdenism" forever.⁹ As head of the Board of Trade before World War I, he opposed increased armaments; after he became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1911, he pushed for bigger and bigger budgets, spreading wild rumors of the growing strength of the German Navy, just as he did in the 1930s about the buildup of the German Air Force.¹⁰ He attacked socialism before and after World War I, while during the War he promoted war-socialism, calling for nationalization of the railroads, and declaring in a speech:¹¹

"Our whole nation must be organized, must be socialized if you like the word."

Churchill's opportunism continued to the end. In the 1945 election, he briefly latched on to Hayek's *Road to Serfdom*, and tried to paint the Labor Party as totalitarian, while it was Churchill himself who, in 1943, had ac-

cepted the Beveridge plans for the post-war welfare state and Keynesian management of the economy. Throughout his career his one guiding rule was to climb to power and stay there.

There *were* two principles that for a long while seemed dear to Churchill's heart. One was anti-Communism: he was an early and fervent opponent of Bolshevism. For years, he – very correctly – decried the “bloody baboons” and “foul murderers of Moscow.” His deep early admiration of Benito Mussolini was rooted in his shrewd appreciation of what Mussolini had accomplished (or so he thought). In an Italy teetering on the brink of Leninist revolution, *Il Duce* had discovered the one formula that could counteract the Leninist appeal: hypernationalism with a social slant. Churchill lauded “Fascismo's triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism,” claiming that “it proved the necessary antidote to the Communist poison.”¹²

Yet the time came when Churchill made his peace with Communism. In 1941, he gave unconditional support to Stalin, welcomed him as an ally, embraced him as a friend. Churchill, as well as Roosevelt, used the affectionate nickname, “Uncle Joe”; as late as the Potsdam conference, he repeatedly announced, of Stalin: “I like that man.”¹³ In suppressing the evidence that the Polish officers at Katyn had been murdered by the Soviets, he remarked:¹⁴

“There is no use prowling round the three year old graves of Smolensk.”

Obsessed not only with defeating Hitler, but with destroying Germany, Churchill was oblivious to the danger of a Soviet inundation of Europe until it was far too late. The climax of his infatuation came at the November, 1943, Tehran conference, when Churchill presented Stalin with a Crusader's sword.¹⁵ Those who are concerned to define the word “obscurity” may wish to ponder that episode.

Finally, there was what appeared to be the abiding love of his life, the British Empire. If Churchill stood *for anything at all*, it was the Empire; he famously said that he had not become Prime Minister in order to preside over its liquidation. But that, of course, is precisely what he did, selling out the Empire and everything else for the sake of total victory over Germany.

Besides his opportunism, Churchill was noted for his remarkable rhetorical skill. This talent helped him wield power over men, but it pointed to a fateful failing as well. Throughout his life, many who observed Churchill closely noted a peculiar trait. In 1917, Lord Esher described it in this way:¹⁶



The Prime Minister Winston Churchill fires a Thompson “Tommy” submachine gun alongside Supreme Allied Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force General Dwight D Eisenhower as American soldiers look on in southern England in late March 1944.

By War Office official photographer Horton (Cpt) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Common

“He handles great subjects in rhythmical language, and becomes quickly enslaved to his own phrases. He deceives himself into the belief that he takes broad views, when his mind is fixed upon one comparatively small aspect of the question.”

During World War II, Robert Menzies, who was the Prime Minister of Australia, said of Churchill:¹⁷

“His real tyrant is the glittering phrase – so attractive to his mind that awkward facts have to give way.”

Another associate wrote:¹⁸

“He is [...] the slave of the words which his mind forms about ideas. [...] And he can convince himself of almost every truth if it is once al-

lowed thus to start on its wild career through his rhetorical machinery."

But while Winston had no principles, there *was* one constant in his life: the love of war. It began early. As a child, he had a huge collection of toy soldiers, 1500 of them, and he played with them for many years after most boys turn to other things. They were "all British," he tells us, and he fought battles with his brother Jack, who "was only allowed to have colored troops; and they were not allowed to have artillery."¹⁹ He attended Sandhurst, the military academy, instead of the universities, and "from the moment that Churchill left Sandhurst [...] he did his utmost to get into a fight, wherever a war was going on."²⁰ All his life he was most excited – on the evidence, only really excited – by war. He loved war as few modern men ever have²¹ – he even "loved the bangs," as he called them, and he was very brave under fire.

In 1925, Churchill wrote: "The story of the human race is war."²² This, however, is untrue; potentially, it is disastrously untrue. Churchill lacked any grasp of the fundamentals of the social philosophy of classical liberalism. In particular, he never understood that, as Ludwig von Mises explained, the true story of the human race is the extension of social cooperation and the division of labor. Peace, not war, is the father of all things.²³ For Churchill, the years without war offered nothing to him but "the bland skies of peace and platitude." This was a man, as we shall see, who wished for more wars than *actually happened*.

When he was posted to India and began to read avidly, to make up for lost time, Churchill was profoundly impressed by Darwinism. He lost whatever religious faith he may have had – through reading Gibbon, he said – and took a particular dislike, for some reason, to the Catholic Church, as well as Christian missions. He became, in his own words, "a materialist – to the tips of my fingers," and he fervently upheld the worldview that human life is a struggle for existence, with the outcome the survival of the fittest.²⁴ This philosophy of life and history Churchill expressed in his one novel, *Savrola*.²⁵ That Churchill was a racist goes without saying, yet his racism went deeper than with most of his contemporaries.²⁶ It is curious how, with his stark Darwinian outlook, his elevation of war to the central place in human history, and his racism, as well as his fixation on "great leaders," Churchill's worldview resembled that of his antagonist, Hitler.

When Churchill was not actually engaged in war, he was reporting on it. He early made a reputation for himself as a war correspondent, in Kitchener's campaign in the Sudan and in the Boer War. In December 1900, a

dinner was given at the Waldorf-Astoria in honor of the young journalist, recently returned from his well-publicized adventures in South Africa. Mark Twain, who introduced him, had already, it seems, caught on to Churchill. In a brief satirical speech, Twain slyly suggested that, with his English father and American mother, Churchill was the perfect representative of Anglo-American cant.²⁷

Churchill and the “New Liberalism”

In 1900 Churchill began the career he was evidently fated for. His background – the grandson of a duke and son of a famous Tory politician – got him into the House of Commons as a Conservative. At first he seemed to be distinguished only by his restless ambition, remarkable even in parliamentary ranks. But in 1904, he crossed the floor to the Liberals, supposedly on account of his free-trade convictions. However, Robert Rhodes James, one of Churchill’s admirers, wrote:

“It was believed [at the time], probably rightly, that if Arthur Balfour had given him office in 1902, Churchill would not have developed such a burning interest in free trade and joined the Liberals.”

Clive Ponting notes that, “as he had already admitted to Rosebery, he was looking for an excuse to defect from a party that seemed reluctant to recognize his talents,” and the Liberals would not accept a protectionist.²⁸

Tossed by the tides of faddish opinion,²⁹ with no principles of his own and hungry for power, Churchill soon became an adherent of the “New Liberalism,” an updated version of his father’s “Tory Democracy.” The “new” liberalism differed from the “old” only in the small matter of substituting incessant state activism for laissez-faire.

Although his conservative idolaters seem blithely unaware of the fact – for them it is always 1940 – Churchill was one of the chief architects of the welfare state in Britain. The modern welfare state, successor to the welfare state of 18th-century absolutism, began in the 1880s in Germany, under Bismarck.³⁰ In England, the legislative turning point came when Asquith succeeded Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister in 1908; his reorganized cabinet included David Lloyd George at the Exchequer and Churchill at the Board of Trade.

Of course, “the electoral dimension of social policy was well to the fore in Churchill’s thinking,” writes a sympathetic historian – meaning that Churchill understood it as the way to win votes.³¹ He wrote to a friend:³²

"No legislation at present in view interests the democracy. All their minds are turning more and more to the social and economic issue. This revolution is irresistible. They will not tolerate the existing system by which wealth is acquired, shared and employed. [...] They will set their faces like flint against the money power – heir of all other powers and tyrannies overthrown – and its obvious injustices. And this theoretical repulsion will ultimately extend to any party associated in maintaining the status quo. [...] Minimum standards of wages and comfort, insurance in some effective form or other against sickness, unemployment, old age, these are the questions and the only questions by which parties are going to live in the future. Woe to Liberalism, if they slip through its fingers."

Churchill "had already announced his conversion to a collectivist social policy" before his move to the Board of Trade.³³ His constant theme became "the just precedence" of public over private interests. He took up the fashionable social-engineering clichés of the time, asserting that: "Science, physical and political alike, revolts at the disorganization which glares at us in so many aspects of modern life," and that "the nation demands the application of drastic corrective and curative processes." The state was to acquire canals and railroads, develop certain national industries, provide vastly augmented education, introduce the eight-hour work day, levy progressive taxes, and guarantee a national minimum living standard. It is no wonder that Beatrice Webb noted that Churchill was "definitely casting in his lot with the constructive state action."³⁴

It is curious how, with his stark Darwinian outlook, his elevation of war to the central place in human history, and his racism, as well as his fixation on "great leaders," Churchill's worldview resembled that of his antagonist, Hitler.

Following a visit to Germany, Lloyd George and Churchill were both converted to the Bismarckian model of social insurance schemes.³⁵ As Churchill told his constituents:³⁶

"My heart was filled with admiration of the patient genius which had added these social bulwarks to the many glories of the German race."

He set out, in his words, to "thrust a big slice of Bismarckianism over the whole underside of our industrial system."³⁷ In 1908, Churchill announced in a speech in Dundee:

"I am on the side of those who think that a greater collective sentiment should be introduced into the State and the municipalities. I should like to see the State undertaking new functions."

Still, individualism must be respected:³⁸

"No man can be a collectivist alone or an individualist alone. He must be both an individualist and a collectivist. The nature of man is a dual nature. The character of the organization of human society is dual."

This, by the way, is a good sample of Churchill as political philosopher: it never gets much better.

But while both "collective organization" and "individual incentive" must be given their due, Churchill was certain which had gained the upper hand:

"The whole tendency of civilisation is, however, towards the multiplication of the collective functions of society. The ever-growing complications of civilisation create for us new services which have to be undertaken by the State, and create for us an expansion of existing services. [...] There is a pretty steady determination [...] to intercept all future unearned increment which may arise from the increase in the speculative value of the land. There will be an ever-widening area of municipal enterprise."

The statist trend met with Churchill's complete approval. As he added:³⁹

"I go farther; I should like to see the State embark on various novel and adventurous experiments. [...] I am very sorry we have not got the railways of this country in our hands. We may do something better with the canals."

This grandson of a duke and glorifier of his ancestor, the arch-corruptionist Marlborough, was not above pandering to lower-class resentments. Churchill claimed that "the cause of the Liberal Party is the cause of the left-out millions," while he attacked the Conservatives as "the Party of the rich against the poor, the classes and their dependents against the masses, of the lucky, the wealthy, the happy, and the strong, against the left-out and the shut-out millions of the weak and poor."⁴⁰ Churchill became the perfect hustling political entrepreneur, eager to politicize one area of social life after the other. He berated the Conservatives for lacking even a "single plan of social reform or reconstruction," while boasting that he and his associates intended to propose "a wide, comprehensive, interdependent scheme of social organization," incorporated in "a massive series of legislative proposals and administrative acts."⁴¹

At this time, Churchill fell under the influence of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the leaders of the Fabian Society. At one of her famous strategic dinner parties, Beatrice Webb introduced Churchill to a young protégé,

William – later Lord – Beveridge. Churchill brought Beveridge into the Board of Trade as his advisor on social questions, thus starting him on his illustrious career.⁴² Besides pushing for a variety of social insurance schemes, Churchill created the system of national labor exchanges: he wrote to Prime Minister Asquith of the need to “spread [...] a sort of Germanized network of state intervention and regulation” over the British labor market.⁴³ But Churchill entertained much more ambitious goals for the Board of Trade. He proposed a plan whereby:⁴⁴

“The Board of Trade was to act as the “intelligence department” of the Government, forecasting trade and employment in the regions so that the Government could allocate contracts to the most deserving areas. At the summit [...] would be a Committee of National Organisation, chaired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to supervise the economy.”

Finally, well aware of the electoral potential of organized labor, Churchill became a champion of the labor unions. He was a leading supporter, for instance, of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906.⁴⁵ This Act reversed the Taff Vale and other judicial decisions, which had held unions responsible for torts and wrongs committed on their behalf by their agents. The Act outraged the great liberal legal historian and theorist of the rule of law, A.V. Dicey, who charged that it

*“confers upon a trade union a freedom from civil liability for the commission of even the most heinous wrong by the union or its servants, and in short confers upon every trade union a privilege and protection not possessed by any other person or body of persons, whether corporate or unincorporate, throughout the United Kingdom. [...] It makes a trade union a privileged body exempted from the ordinary law of the land. No such privileged body has ever before been deliberately created by an English Parliament.”*⁴⁶

It is ironic that the immense power of the British labor unions, the *bête noire* of Margaret Thatcher, was brought into being with the enthusiastic help of her great hero, Winston Churchill.

World War I

In 1911, Churchill became First Lord of the Admiralty, and now was truly in his element. Naturally, he quickly allied himself with the war party, and, during the crises that followed, fanned the flames of war. When the final crisis came, in the summer of 1914, Churchill was the only member of the

cabinet who backed war from the start, with all of his accustomed energy. Asquith, his own Prime Minister, wrote of him:⁴⁷

"Winston very bellicose and demanding immediate mobilization. [...] Winston, who has got all his war paint on, is longing for a sea fight in the early hours of the morning to result in the sinking of the Goeben. The whole thing fills me with sadness."

On the afternoon of July 28, three days before the German invasion of Belgium, he mobilized the British Home Fleet, the greatest assemblage of naval power in the history of the world to that time. As Sidney Fay wrote, Churchill ordered that:⁴⁸

"The fleet was to proceed during the night at high speed and without lights through the Straits of Dover from Portland to its fighting base at Scapa Flow. Fearing to bring this order before the Cabinet, lest it should be considered a provocative action likely to damage the chances of peace, Mr. Churchill had only informed Mr. Asquith, who at once gave his approval."

No wonder that, when war with Germany broke out, Churchill, in contrast even to the other chiefs of the war party, was all smiles, filled with a "glowing zest."⁴⁹

From the outset of hostilities, Churchill, as head of the Admiralty, was instrumental in establishing the hunger blockade of Germany. This was probably the most effective weapon employed on either side in the whole conflict. The only problem was that, according to everyone's interpretation of international law except Britain's, it was illegal. The blockade was not "close-in," but depended on scattering mines, and many of the goods deemed contraband – for instance, food for civilians – had never been so classified before.⁵⁰ But, throughout his career, international law and the conventions by which men have tried to limit the horrors of war meant nothing to Churchill. As a German historian has dryly commented, Churchill was ready to break the rules whenever the very existence of his country was at stake, and "for him this was very often the case."⁵¹

The hunger blockade had certain rather unpleasant consequences. About 750,000 German civilians succumbed to hunger and diseases caused by malnutrition. The effect on those who survived was perhaps just as frightful in its own way. A historian of the blockade concluded: "the victimized youth [of World War I] were to become the most radical adherents of National Socialism."⁵² It was also complications arising from the British blockade that eventually provided the pretext for Wilson's decision to go to war in 1917.

Whether Churchill actually arranged for the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915 is still unclear.⁵³ A week before the disaster, he wrote to Walter Runciman, president of the Board of Trade, that it was “most important to attract neutral shipping to our shores, in the hopes especially of embroiling the United States with Germany.”⁵⁴ Many highly placed persons in Britain and America believed that the German sinking of the *Lusitania* would bring the United States into the war.

The most recent student of the subject is Patrick Beesly, whose *Room 40* is a history of British Naval Intelligence in World War I. Beesly’s careful account is all the more persuasive for going against the grain of his own sentiments. He points out that the British Admiralty was aware that German U-boat Command had informed U-boat captains at sea of the sailings of the *Lusitania*, and that the U-boat responsible for the sinking of two ships in recent days was present in the vicinity of Queenstown, off the southern coast of Ireland, in the path the *Lusitania* was scheduled to take. There is no surviving record of any specific warning to the *Lusitania*. No destroyer escort was sent to accompany the ship to port, nor were any of the readily available destroyers instructed to hunt for the submarine. In fact, “no effective steps were taken to protect the *Lusitania*.” Beesly concludes:⁵⁵

“Unless and until fresh information comes to light, I am reluctantly driven to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy deliberately to put the Lusitania at risk in the hope that even an abortive attack on her would bring the United States into the war. Such a conspiracy could not have been put into effect without Winston Churchill’s express permission and approval.”

In any case, what is certain is that Churchill’s policies made the sinking very likely. The *Lusitania* was a passenger liner loaded with munitions of war; Churchill had given orders to the captains of merchant ships, including liners, to ram German submarines if they encountered them, and the Germans were aware of this. And, as Churchill stressed in his memoirs of World War I, embroiling neutral countries in hostilities with the enemy was a crucial part of warfare:⁵⁶

“There are many kinds of maneuvers in war, some only of which take place on the battlefield. [...] The maneuver which brings an ally into the field is as serviceable as that which wins a great battle.”

In the midst of bloody conflict, Churchill was energy personified, the source of one brainstorm after another. Sometimes his hunches worked out well – he was the chief promoter of the tank in World War I – sometimes

not so well, as at Gallipoli. The notoriety of that disaster, which blackened his name for years, caused him to be temporarily dropped from the Cabinet in 1915.⁵⁷ His reaction was typical: To one visitor, he said, pointing to the maps on the wall:⁵⁸

"This is what I live for. [...] Yes, I am finished in respect of all I care for – the waging of war, the defeat of the Germans."

Between the Wars

For the next few years, Churchill was shuttled from one ministerial post to another. As Minister of War – of Churchill in this position one may say what the revisionist historian Charles Tansill said of Henry Stimson as Secretary of War: no one ever deserved the title more – Churchill promoted a crusade to crush Bolshevism in Russia. As Colonial Secretary, he was ready to involve Britain in war with Turkey over the Chanak incident, but the British envoy to Turkey did not deliver Churchill's ultimatum, and in the end cooler heads prevailed.⁵⁹

In 1924, Churchill rejoined the Conservatives and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. His father, in the same office, was noted for having been puzzled by the decimals: what were "those damned dots"? Winston's most famous act was to return Britain to the gold standard at the unrealistic pre-war parity, thus severely damaging the export trade and ruining the good name of gold, as was pointed out by Murray N. Rothbard.⁶⁰ Hardly anyone today would disagree with the judgment of A.J.P. Taylor: Churchill "did not grasp the economic arguments one way or the other. What determined him was again a devotion to British greatness. The pound would once more 'look the dollar in the face'; the days of Queen Victoria would be restored."⁶¹

So far Churchill had been engaged in politics for 30 years, with not much to show for it except a certain notoriety. His great claim to fame in the modern mythology begins with his hard line against Hitler in the 1930s. But it is important to realize that Churchill had maintained a hard line against Weimar Germany, as well. He denounced all calls for Allied disarmament, even before Hitler came to power.⁶² Like other Allied leaders, Churchill was living a protracted fantasy: that Germany would submit forever to what it viewed as the shackles of Versailles. In the end, what Britain and France refused to grant to a democratic Germany they were forced to concede to Hitler. Moreover, if most did not bother to listen when Churchill fulminated on the impending German threat, they had good rea-

son. He had tried to whip up hysteria too often before: for a crusade against Bolshevik Russia, during the General Strike of 1926, on the mortal dangers of Indian independence, in the abdication crisis. Why pay any heed to his latest delusion?⁶³

Churchill had been a strong Zionist practically from the start, holding that Zionism would deflect European Jews from social revolution to partnership with European imperialism in the Arab world.⁶⁴ Now, in 1936, he forged links with the informal London pressure group known as The Focus, whose purpose was to open the eyes of the British public to the one great menace, Nazi Germany.

“The great bulk of its finance came from rich British Jews such as Sir Robert Mond (a director of several chemical firms) and Sir Robert Waley-Cohn, the managing director of Shell, the latter contributing £50,000.”

The Focus was to be useful in expanding Churchill’s network of contacts and in pushing for his entry into the Cabinet.⁶⁵

Though a Conservative MP, Churchill began berating the Conservative governments, first Baldwin’s and then Chamberlain’s, for their alleged blindness to the Nazi threat. He vastly exaggerated the extent of German rearmament, formidable as it was, and distorted its purpose by harping on German production of heavy bombers. This was never a German priority, and Churchill’s fabrications were meant to demonstrate a German design to attack Britain, which was never Hitler’s intention. At this time, Churchill busily promoted the Grand Alliance⁶⁶ that was to include Britain, France, Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Since the Poles, having nearly been conquered by the Red Army in 1920, rejected any coalition with the Soviet Union, and since the Soviets’ only access to Germany was through Poland, Churchill’s plan was worthless.

Ironically – considering that it was a pillar of his future fame – his drumbeating about the German danger was yet another position on which Churchill reneged. In the fall of 1937, he stated:⁶⁷

“Three or four years ago I was myself a loud alarmist. [...] In spite of the risks which wait on prophecy, I declare my belief that a major war is not imminent, and I still believe that there is a good chance of no major war taking place in our lifetime. [...] I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between Communism and Nazism, I would choose Communism.”

For all the claptrap about Churchill’s “farsightedness” during the 30s in opposing the “appeasers,” in the end the policy of the Chamberlain gov-

ernment – to rearm as quickly as possible, while testing the chances for peace with Germany – was more realistic than Churchill's.

The common mythology is so far from historical truth that even an ardent Churchill sympathizer, Gordon Craig, feels obliged to write:⁶⁸

"The time is long past when it was possible to see the protracted debate over British foreign policy in the 1930s as a struggle between Churchill, an angel of light, fighting against the velleities of uncomprehending and feeble men in high places. It is reasonably well-known today that Churchill was often ill-informed, that his claims about German strength were exaggerated and his prescriptions impractical, that his emphasis on air power was misplaced."

Moreover, as a British historian has recently noted:⁶⁹

"For the record, it is worth recalling that in the 1930s Churchill did not oppose the appeasement of either Italy or Japan."

It is also worth recalling that it was the pre-Churchill British governments that furnished the material with which Churchill was able to win the Battle of Britain. Clive Ponting has observed:⁷⁰

"the Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments [...] had ensured that Britain was the first country in the world to deploy a fully integrated system of air defence based on radar detection of incoming aircraft and ground control of fighters [...] Churchill's contribution had been to pour scorn on radar when he was in opposition in the 1930s."

Notes

This article originally appeared in slightly different form as a chapter of Ralph Raico's *Great Wars and Great Leaders: A Libertarian Rebuttal* (Auburn, Ala: Ludwig Von Mises Institute, 2010).

- ¹ Harry V. Jaffa, "In Defense of Churchill," *Modern Age* 34, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 281. For what it is worth, Henry Kissinger, "With Faint Praise," *New York Times Book Review*, July 16, 1995, p. 7, has gone so far as to call Churchill "the quintessential hero."
- ² Paul Addison, "Churchill and Social Reform," in *Churchill*, Robert Blake and William Roger Louis, eds. (New York: Norton, 1993), p. 57.
- ³ A sympathetic historian, Paul Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front 1900–1955* (London: Pimlico, 1993), p. 438, phrases the same point this way: "Since [Churchill] never allowed himself to be hampered by a fixed programme or a rigid ideology, his ideas evolved as he adapted himself to the times." Oddly enough, Churchill himself confessed, in 1898: "I do not care so much for the principles I advocate as for the impression which my words produce and the

- reputation they give me.” Clive Ponting, *Churchill* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994), p. 32.
- ⁴ For some of Churchill’s distortions, see Tuvia Ben-Moshe, *Churchill: Strategy and History* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1992), pp. 329–33; Dietrich Aigner, “Winston Churchill (1874–1965),” in *Politiker des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1, *Die Epoche der Weltkriege*, Rolf K. Hocevar, et al., eds. (Munich: Beck, 1970), p. 318, states that Churchill, in his works on World War II, “laid the foundation of a legend that is nothing less than a straightforward travesty of the historical truth[...]. But the Churchill version of World War II and its prehistory remains unshaken, the power of his eloquence extends beyond the grave.” Aigner, incidentally, is an informed, scholarly critic of Churchill, and by no means a “right-wing radical.”
 - ⁵ Christopher Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Nostalgia: Anglo-American Ironies* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1990), p. 186.
 - ⁶ J.P.C. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789–1961* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), p. 253.
 - ⁷ For a skeptical account of Churchill in this period, see Clive Ponting, *1940: Myth and Reality* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1991).
 - ⁸ Cf. A.J.P. Taylor, “The Statesman,” in *Ibid.*, et al., *Churchill Revised: A Critical Assessment* (New York: Dial Press, 1969), p. 26.
 - ⁹ Henry Pelling, *Winston Churchill* (New York: Dutton, 1974), pp. 347–48, 355; and Paul Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front*, pp. 296–99.
 - ¹⁰ Taylor, “The Statesman,” p. 31; Robert Rhodes James, “Churchill the Politician,” in A.J.P. Taylor, et al., *Churchill Revised*, p. 115, writes of “Churchill’s extremely exaggerated claims of German air power.”
 - ¹¹ Emrys Hughes, *Winston Churchill: British Bulldog* (New York: Exposition, 1955), p. 104.
 - ¹² “Churchill Extols Fascismo for Italy” *New York Times*, January 21, 1927. Churchill even had admiring words for Hitler; as late as 1937, he wrote: “one may dislike Hitler’s system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations.” James, “Churchill the Politician,” p. 118. On the conditions of the Fascist takeover in Italy, see Ralph Raico, “Mises on Fascism and Democracy,” *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 12, no 1 (Spring 1996): 1–27.
 - ¹³ Robin Edmonds, “Churchill and Stalin,” in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 326.
 - ¹⁴ Norman Rose, *Churchill: The Unruly Giant* (New York: Free Press, 1994), p. 378.
 - ¹⁵ J.F.C. Fuller, *The Second World War 1939–45: A Strategical and Tactical History* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1954), p. 218.
 - ¹⁶ James, “Churchill the Politician,” p. 79. The same quotation from Esher is cited and endorsed by Basil Liddell Hart, “The Military Strategist,” in A.J.P. Taylor, et al., *Churchill Revised*, p. 221.
 - ¹⁷ David Irving, *Churchill’s War*, vol. 1, *The Struggle for Power* (Bullsbrook, Western Australia: Veritas, 1987), p. 517.
 - ¹⁸ Charles Masterman, cited in James, “Churchill the Politician,” p. 71.

- ¹⁹ Hart, "The Military Strategist," pp. 173–74.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- ²¹ Churchill told Asquith's daughter in 1915: "I know this war is smashing and shattering the lives of thousands every moment – and yet – I cannot help it – I love every second I live." Michael Howard, "Churchill and the First World War," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 129.
- ²² Maurice Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (New York: Scribner's, 1968), p. 228.
- ²³ Ludwig von Mises, *Liberalism: A Socio-Economic Exposition*, Ralph Raico, trans. (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, [1927] 1985), pp. 23–27.
- ²⁴ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 23; Dietrich Aigner, *Winston Churchill: Ruhm und Legende* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1975), p. 31.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–44.
- ²⁶ Andrew Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 211–15. Roberts finds it ironic that, given Churchill's views on race, it was "he of all Prime Ministers [who] allowed Britain to start to become a multi-racial society" through Commonwealth immigration during his last "Indian Summer" administration, 1951–55.
- ²⁷ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*, Jim Zwick, ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1992), pp. 9–11.
- ²⁸ Robert Rhodes James, "Churchill the Parliamentarian, Orator, and Statesman," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 510; Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 49.
- ²⁹ Churchill at this time even spoke out in favor of state-enforced temperance, an amusing bit of hypocrisy in a man whose lifelong love of drink became legendary.
- ³⁰ On the history of the German welfare state, absolutist and modern, see Gerd Habermann, *Der Wohlfahrtsstaat: Geschichte eines Irrwegs* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1994).
- ³¹ Addison, "Churchill and Social Reform," p. 60.
- ³² Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front, 1900–1955*, p. 59.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ³⁴ W. H. Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition*, vol. 2, *The Ideological Heritage* (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 151–54.
- ³⁵ E. P. Hennock, *British Social Reform and German Precedents: The Case of Social Insurance 1880–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), pp. 168–69.
- ³⁶ Gordon A. Craig, "Churchill and Germany," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 24.
- ³⁷ E. P. Hennock, "The Origins of British National Insurance and the German Precedent 1880–1914," in *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany*, W.J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Mock, eds. (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 88.
- ³⁸ Winston Churchill, *Complete Speeches 1897–1963*, vol. 1, 1897–1908, Robert Rhodes James, ed. (New York: Chelsea House, 1974), pp. 1029–30, 1032.
- ³⁹ Winston Churchill, *Liberalism and the Social Problem* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), pp. 80–81.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 226.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

- ⁴² Hennock, *British Social Reform*, pp. 157–60.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- ⁴⁴ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 83.
- ⁴⁵ See, for instance, Churchill, *Liberalism and the Social Problem*, pp. 74–75.
- ⁴⁶ A. V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd. ed. (London: Macmillan, [1914] 1963), pp. xlv – xlvi.
- ⁴⁷ Herbert Henry Asquith, *Memories and Reflections 1852–1927* (London: Cassell, 1928), 2, pp. 7, 21.
- ⁴⁸ Sidney Fay, *Origins of the World War*, 2nd. rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, [1930] 1966), p. 495.
- ⁴⁹ Lady Violet Asquith, cited in Hart, “The Military Strategist,” p. 182.
- ⁵⁰ C. Paul Vincent, *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915–1919* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985); see also Ralph Raico, “The Politics of Hunger: A Review,” *Review of Austrian Economics* 3 (1988): 253–59.
- ⁵¹ Aigner, *Winston Churchill (1874–1965)*, pp. 63–4.
- ⁵² Vincent, *Politics of Hunger*, p. 162. See also Peter Loewenberg, “The Psycho-historical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohort,” *American Historical Review* 76, no. 5 (December 1971): 1457–1502.
- ⁵³ See Colin Simpson, *The Lusitania* (London: Penguin, [1972] 1983), who presents the case for Churchill’s guilt; and Thomas A. Bailey and Paul B. Ryan, *The Lusitania Disaster: An Episode in Modern Warfare and Diplomacy* (New York: Free Press, 1975), who attempt to exculpate him. See also Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Nostalgia*, pp. 189–90.
- ⁵⁴ Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence 1914–18* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), p. 90.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122. Emphasis in original.
- ⁵⁶ Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis* (New York: Scribner’s, 1931), p. 300.
- ⁵⁷ On the Dardanelles campaign, cf. Taylor, “The Statesman,” pp. 21–22: “Once Churchill took up the idea, he exaggerated both the ease with which it could be carried through and the rewards it would bring. There was no enquiry into the means available. Churchill merely assumed that battleships could force the Straits unaided. When this failed, he assumed that there was a powerful army available for Gallipoli and assumed also that this inhospitable peninsula presented no formidable military obstacles. Beyond this, he assumed also that the fall of Constantinople would inflict a mortal blow on Germany. All these assumptions were wrong.”
- ⁵⁸ Hughes, *Winston Churchill: British Bulldog*, p. 78.
- ⁵⁹ James, “Churchill the Politician,” p. 93.
- ⁶⁰ Murray N. Rothbard, *America’s Great Depression* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1963), pp. 131–37.
- ⁶¹ Taylor, “The Statesman,” p. 27.
- ⁶² Aigner, *Winston Churchill (1874–1965)*, pp. 100–3. In connection with the Geneva disarmament conference 1931–32, Churchill expressed the same anti-German position as later: Germany would rise again. Aigner sees this as stemming from Churchill’s social Darwinist philosophy.

- ⁶³ Goronwy Rees, "Churchill in der Revision," *Der Monat*, Nr. 207 (Fall 1965): 12.
- ⁶⁴ E.g., in Churchill's essay of February 1921, "Zionism vs. Bolshevism"; see Aigner, *Winston Churchill (1874–1965)*, p. 79. See also Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems: A Half Century Survey*, published by the World Jewish Congress, British Section (London: Lincolns-Prager, 1956); and N. A. Rose, *The Gentile Zionists: A Study in Anglo – Zionist Diplomacy, 1929–1939* (London: Cass, 1973). Early on, Churchill had shared the view current among many right-wingers of the time, of Bolshevism as a "Jewish" phenomenon: he referred to the Red leaders as "these Semitic conspirators" and "Jew Commissars." Norman Rose, *Churchill: The Unruly Giant*, p. 180.
- ⁶⁵ John Charmley, *Chamberlain and the Lost Peace* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989), p. 55. See also Irving, *Churchill's War*, pp. 54–65, 67–68, and 82–83. The group's full name was the Focus for the Defense of Freedom and Peace. For a history, see Eugen Spier, *Focus. A Footnote to the History of the Thirties* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1963). In March 1937, after a luncheon meeting with Churchill, Spier came to the conclusion that "destiny had marked him out to become the destroyer of Hitlerism." (*Ibid.*, p. 112) In October 1937, a representative of the Focus, H. Wickham Steed, toured Canada and the United States. Among those he found "ready to take the Focus line" were Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Arthur Sulzberger, owner of the *New York Times*. In New York, Steed addressed the Council on Foreign Relations. Others with whom Steed met included the financiers Bernard Baruch and Felix Warburg. (*Ibid.*, pp. 124–25.) On The Focus as well as other factors influencing British public opinion in regard to Germany in the 1930s, see Dietrich Aigner, *Das Ringen um England. Das deutsch-britische Verhältnis. Die öffentliche Meinung 1933–1939, Tragödie zweier Völker* (Munich/Esslingen: Bechtle, 1969).
- ⁶⁶ Aigner, *Winston Churchill (1874–1965)*, p. 105–6; see also Irving, *Churchill's War*, pp. 38–40, 44–45, 78–79.
- ⁶⁷ Hart, "The Military Strategist," p. 204.
- ⁶⁸ Craig, "Churchill and Germany," p. 35.
- ⁶⁹ Donald Cameron Watt, "Churchill and Appeasement," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 214.
- ⁷⁰ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 464.

How Postwar German Authorities Orchestrated Witness Statements in Nazi Crime Cases

Germar Rudolf

One of the most important standards of justice when interviewing or interrogating witnesses in a criminal case is not to ask leading questions and not to feed the witness with information about the case before he/she is interviewed/interrogated. Either technique can and will lead to witnesses adjusting their statements to what they think is expected. They may no longer report what they knew before the interview started, but rather a hopelessly polluted mixture of their own recollection with material they were just prompted with. Confronting a witness with already known or assumed information about the case should therefore be done only after the witness has made an initial deposition about what he knows all by himself. The confrontation with additional, contradicting information, existing or otherwise, can then serve to expose incorrect or deliberately false statements (lies), hence serves to gauge a witness's reliability and trustworthiness, or it can expose errors in the information the investigator had assumed to be accurate. Giving a witness additional confirming information, however, merely leads to a type of confirmation bias, where a witness tends to incorporate this information as his own in order to support his own recollections, leading the investigator to erroneously believe that the information he fed the witness is now being confirmed by the latter. This can therefore be of no use to a judge or jury, but of great use to an "investigator" intent on "proving" something that may not be so. It is, of course, especially effective with "friendly" or motivated witnesses, genuine and otherwise.

Now let's turn to criminal cases conducted in Germany against defendants who were suspected of having committed violent crimes during the Nazi era. Many revisionists have criticized the conditions of these legal proceedings.

One of the first was the German investigative journalist Regina Dahl, wife of the famous German *Luftwaffe* officer Walther Dahl ("Ramm-dahl").¹ Mrs. Dahl worked for the German nationalist newspaper *National-Zeitung*. Since this newspaper (<http://www.national-zeitung.de/>) is frowned upon and even reviled by the mainstream, very little about her various articles can be found today, not even on the Internet. If mentioned by mainstream outlets at all, they are consistently disparaged without much about

their contents being discussed.² Revisionist sources are usually silent about her as well. The one exception to this are references to her various papers in Josef Scheidl's self-published seven-volume work *Die Geschichte der Verfemung Deutschlands* (*History of Germany's Delegitimization*, Vienna 1968). On page 212-214 of volume 4 titled "*Die Wahrheit über die Millionenvergassung von Juden*" (*The Truth about the Gassing of Millions of Jews*), Scheidl wrote:³

"Frau Regina Dahl is a coworker at the NZ (National-Zeitung) and a successful researcher in the area of exposing atrocity lies. [...] In the NZ (No. 35 of Sept. 30, 1966, pp. 3 ff.) she published a paper about the mendacity and perjuriousness of many witnesses in the concentration camp trials. From this revealing article we gather some details about the so-called Sobibor Trial, which started on September 4, 1965, at the Hagen Jury Court. [...]"

Right from the start of the preliminary investigations, the prosecution was in close contact with Jewish organizations. Before even the first witness was interviewed, lists of persons suspected to have served at Sobibor had been sent to the Jewish Central Agency. These lists, which contained the military rank and area of responsibilities of the suspects, were constantly updated during the investigations and supplemented with pertinent photographic material. The lists and photos were meant to be given to the witnesses. It is remarkable that, in a letter sent to the World Jewish Congress, the prosecution encouragingly imparted that it would be essential for the conviction of the defendants as murderers if the witnesses could testify that the defendants had beaten them. This broad hint was subsequently fully successful."

In the following years, German publications of right-wing orientation referred repeatedly to similar methods in other trials. For instance, in 1977 the right-wing newsletter *Unabhängige Nachrichten* (*Independent News*; issue no. 7, July, pp. 9f.) mentioned a similar investigative procedure for the Majdanek trial then under way at Düsseldorf. Wilhelm Stäglich quoted this source,⁴ claiming that this case of manipulating witnesses "was rightfully described as a scandal, and provoked a wide reaction among the general public," yet a brief article in this obscure newsletter is hardly a wide reaction among the general public. In fact, looking for traces of this reaction today, I could not find any.

Next in line was Wilhelm Stäglich, who in his 1979 book *Der Auschwitz-Mythos* wrote:⁵

"I am in possession of a photocopy of a comprehensive letter (No. 24 AR 1/62 [Z]) which the director of the North Rhine-Westphalian Chief Prosecutor's Central Office for the Investigation of National Socialist Mass Crimes in Concentration Camps in Cologne sent to all potential witnesses in his investigation concerning the concentration camp Sachsenhausen. The whole thing goes on for more than 100 pages and is an instructive example of how the accusations against the SS personnel of Sachsenhausen were 'managed.' It offers an excellent instance of the procedures of the Central Office and other departments cooperating with it. In the letter, which was signed by the prosecutor, Dr. Gierlich, it is indicated to the addressee that preliminary investigations of the SS personnel who were stationed at Sachsenhausen were to be conducted 'with expert advice by the Sachsenhausen Committee' (!). The addressee is then asked to give information about his experiences 'in the sense of this letter' (page 1). Extensive lists of names are enclosed with the letter. Regarding this, on page 4 of this letter it is stated: 'The names of the persons about whom I seek information are found in Appendices III, IV, V, and VI. Who of these took part in the crimes committed in Sachsenhausen? Should you know the names of additional SS personnel whom you could accuse of concrete crimes, please give me this information as well...'

It goes on to say on page 5: 'In the picture section – page 99ff. – you will find photographs of persons sought; unfortunately pictures of all of them could not be obtained; in part the pictures originate from a time when the defendants were not yet or no longer present in the camp, in part the pictures are recent.'

As if that weren't enough, on pages 7ff. it is thoroughly explained what kinds of mass crimes are under consideration, so the witness not need trouble himself about that. One need only choose from a selection which contains the following references:

'Murders on the arrival of the first big transports of Jews in 1938.'

'Killing of the Jehova's Witness August Dickmann, who was shot on the parade ground September 15, 1939.'

'Shooting of 33 Poles on November 9, 1940.'

'Shooting of Russian prisoners of war at the execution grounds in autumn 1941.'

'Who took part in the gassing of Russian prisoners in gas wagons?'

'Gassing of prisoners. Who installed the facilities?' etc.

These data were probably compiled by the aforementioned 'Sachsenhausen Committee.' It is especially interesting that here the 'gassings'

resurface. Although the Institut für Zeitgeschichte had established by August 1960 that there had been no 'gassings' in the concentration camps of the Old Reich – therefore not in Sachsenhausen – the attorneys at the Central Office evidently still subscribed to this wartime propaganda lie in the years which followed. The preliminary investigations for the Sachsenhausen Trial lasted from 1962 to 1970.

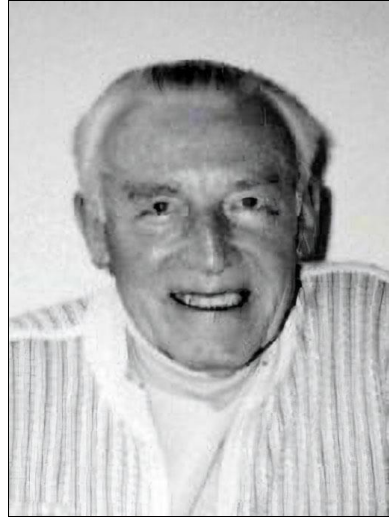
In conclusion, the addressee is informed that only 'murder; attempted murder; complicity in and preparation of murder; poisoning with resultant death; knowingly acquiescing

in the above-mentioned crimes by superiors' were unaffected under the statute of limitations and could still be prosecuted. Nevertheless, other accusations would be thankfully acknowledged. Chief Prosecutor Dr. Gierlich writes: 'It is necessary to clarify instances of mistreatment – even if not in every detail – because one might draw conclusions about states of mind in murder committed in some other circumstances. There is also the possibility that through mention of additional circumstances an instance of mistreatment is revealed as an attempted murder.' (p. 11)

Thus the door is opened for settling personal scores through any and every conceivable lie. The 'state of mind' of the chief prosecuting attorney needs no explanation."

Stäglich's book, of course, was ordered confiscated and destroyed by the German authorities, so the "problem" of this troublesome footnote no longer exists for the mainstream, at least not in German, nor in Germany.

The fourth reference known to me and referring to a similar case of manipulation stems from the (in)famous German lawyer and right-wing activist Jürgen Rieger, who reported about his own experiences in a small 1982 brochure published by another publication of the right wing, although he did not specify which trial this was referring to.⁶



Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich

Source: <http://www.vho.org>

The last case known to me was mentioned in a small 1991 book published by – again – a publisher of the right about the trial against former Auschwitz guard Gottfried Weise.⁷

All this suggests that the German prosecutorial authorities systematically influenced all potential prosecution witnesses to be heard in trials of alleged violent Nazi crimes.

Considering the reputation imposed upon all these publications, none is quotable by respectable scholars. The only way around that is to actually publish these documents of manipulation on the Internet, free from the intermediation of professionals with reputations to protect.

While I was working on my expert report in 1991/92, Karl Phillip, who at that time gave me logistical support in my research efforts and who also served as a liaison between me and several lawyers involved in the defense of Holocaust “deniers,” told me that one of these lawyers had given him a photocopy of a file which was sent to witnesses during one of these trials. He gladly prepared a photocopy for me. It turned out to be the very document from which Wilhelm Stäglich had quoted in his book and which concerned the trial against the former officials of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. I myself quoted it in my 1993 paper on “The Value of Testimony and Confessions Concerning the Holocaust.”⁸ However, in late summer 1993 the German police raided my home and temporarily confiscated this document. I did receive it back eventually, but my subsequent odyssey of 18 years prevented me from doing anything with it. I had simply lost track of it. Only after I returned to my family in the U.S. in 2011, did I manage to locate this copy again.

I have now scanned it and [posted it as a PDF file](#) (also posted at the end of the online version of this article). It has 150 pages, although two pages (38, 39) are missing, so the original had 152 pages. The document lists the names of 577 former SS men against whom the German prosecutors were asking for incriminating testimony, and it also contains 497 photos of some of the suspects. One list includes all those former officials who had already been sentenced or were being prosecuted at the time this document was prepared, including the charge and/or judgment rendered of the prosecution.

As indicated at the beginning of this article, feeding potential witnesses information about the case they are supposed to testify about can, and in most cases will, deform their memory, if not actually induce perjured statements they are already inclined to offer. This document proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that it was (and probably still is) the official policy of the German judicial authorities to systematically inform and thus influ-

ence all potential witnesses prior to the planned trial about all the “certain” (or self-evident) essentials of what was considered to be “the truth.”

During David Irving’s libel trial against Deborah Lipstadt, he and Robert van Pelt discussed to what degree Holocaust witnesses may have influenced one another by what Irving termed “cross-pollination.”⁹ I suggest instead that this document proves that the German judicial authorities were (and probably still are) involved in a massive campaign of systematically pollinating, planting and cultivating “memories” on a massive scale, thus turning all these procedures, which were based almost exclusively on witness statements, into an indelible blot on the face of the German judicial system.

Notes

- ¹ Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walther_Dahl
- ² See for instance the article “Der ‘vergessene Prozeß’” in the German weekly *Die Zeit*, on Dec 2, 1966; www.zeit.de/1966/49/der-vergessene-prozess; or Devin O. Pendas, “‘I didn’t know what Auschwitz was’: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial and the German Press, 1963-1965,” *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2000. pp. 397-446; here fn 117, p. 428; <http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlh/vol12/iss2/4>
- ³ Pages 214f. in the new, 2015 edition (Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK).
- ⁴ “West German Justice and So-Called National Socialist Violent Crimes,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3, Fall 1981, pp. 247-281, here p. 257.
- ⁵ In the English edition *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, it is footnote 33 of Chapter Four, on pp. 303f. in the 2015 edition (Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK).
- ⁶ Jürgen Rieger, in: Deutscher Rechtsschutzzkreis (ed.), *Zur Problematik der Prozesse um “Nationalsozialistische Gewaltverbrechen,”* Schriftenreihe zur Geschichte und Entwicklung des Rechts im politischen Bereich 3, Bochum 1982, p. 16.
- ⁷ Rüdiger Gerhard (ed.), *Der Fall Gottfried Weise*, Tübingen, Berg 1991, p. 63.
- ⁸ Published in 1994 in E. Gauss (ed.), *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, Tübingen, pp. 61-98; fn 149 on p. 77; English: G. Rudolf (ed.), *Dissecting the Holocaust*, 2nd ed., Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago 2003, pp. 85-131; fn 156 on p. 104.
- ⁹ See https://www.hdot.org/day09/#d_9_10804; see also Samuel Crowell’s review of van Pelt’s book at http://www.fpp.co.uk/Legal/Penguin/books/Pelt/Crowell_reviews.html

In Seventy Years, No Forensic Study Proving the Existence and Operation of the “Nazi Gas Chambers”!

Robert Faurisson

In tribute to Professor Ben Zion Dinur (1884-1973), founder of Yad Vashem in 1953, forced to resign in 1959 for having preferred scientific History to Jewish Memory (as explained in my article in French of June 15, 2006).¹

For the most commonplace murder, the judicial authority, happily enough, is never satisfied with “testimonies” but demands, before anything else, a forensic examination; to this purpose, the *technical service* of the police examines both the crime scene and the murder weapon while, for their part, the *forensic police* put to laboratory analysis all physical elements liable to enlighten the investigators. It is afterwards, in light of the forensic examination and an analysis of the facts as materially established, that one might knowledgeably seek to gauge the value of certain witnesses’ accounts. Personally, for over half a century I have wanted to know what the formidable “murder weapon” that was the Nazi gas chamber looked like; I expected to see a technical illustration of that weapon and an explanation of its use. I noted that in some former German concentration camps, since turned into theme parks, visitors were shown a room said to be a “Nazi gas chamber” but, curiously, not the least scientific evidence could be supplied to support that assertion, no results of any forensic examination. In the early 1960s, on my first visit to the *Centre de documentation juive contemporaine* (CDJC) in Paris, my only question to those in charge had been: “Can you show me a photo of a Nazi gas chamber?” They were unable to do so. Ditto at the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington in 1994, and in a good number of other places. The general public may be fooled with photos like that of the American politicians “visiting the Dachau gas chamber” but no longer will anyone venture to employ the same procedure when dealing with a researcher who knows his subject.

After several years of research consisting in visits, readings, meetings with experts – for example, those of the central laboratory of the Paris police, rue de Dantzig in the 15th Arrondissement or, in the United States –

right from the beginning of my investigation into the execution gas chambers of certain penitentiaries – I had accumulated a considerable amount of information 1) on German gas chambers for disinfestation using Zyklon B, a product whose main component was hydrocyanic acid, 2) on American gas chambers for the execution of a single prisoner, also by means of hydrocyanic acid. However, at the same period, I was obliged to admit that I still did not know how, technically, those supposed Nazi gas chambers, used day and night to exterminate, at Auschwitz for instance, hundreds or thousands of people at a time, could have been made and could have worked. I did not succeed in finding anyone, in France or abroad, to explain to me how the gassers and their helpers could have handled the corpses without mortally contaminating themselves (hydrocyanic acid penetrates the skin and stays there, whereas with airing out, forced ventilation and still other means, it can be removed from clothes, shorn hair, metallic objects or other things). According to a text that was presented as a confession of Rudolf Höss, one of the three successive commandants of Auschwitz, I remained puzzled and no one could explain the mysteries to me. For example, how had the members of a *Sonderkommando* or “special squad,” once the victims’ screaming stopped and a ventilation device was turned on, been able to enter “*sofort*” (immediately) what would have been a sea of hydrogen cyanide, and that while eating and smoking, in other words, without even wearing a gas mask? Zyklon B consisted of hydrocyanic acid on an inert porous base. Invented in 1922 and patented in late 1926, it had the disadvantage of being explosive, ignitable by the slightest spark, even from static electricity. To use it as we are told it was used for the Auschwitz-I “gas chamber,” in proximity to a crematory oven heating up, would have been sheer madness. It was I who, ultimately, discovered the building plans of the crematorium at Auschwitz-I and those of Crematoria II, III, IV and V at Birkenau. They had been kept hidden since the end of the war. I found them on March 19, 1976 in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum.² Thus I can state, in knowledge of the facts, that it would have been impossible to make 2,000 persons – as asserted by R. Höss in the account he gave at Nuremberg on April 15, 1946 – enter a space of 210 square meters (where, incidentally, assuming it were possible after all, there would hardly have been any need of gas to kill them, for they would simply have died of asphyxiation due to a rapid depletion of oxygen). Never could the men of the *Sonderkommando* have set about, with all their might, the cyclopean task of disentangling, in an atmosphere full of hydrocyanic acid, so many bodies from one another and dragging each to a small lift connecting

to the upper floor and the oven room. I learned that, for a team of exterminators carrying out the simple disinfestation of a house with Zyklon B, *any physical effort was strictly prohibited*, since it would have accelerated the men's breathing and so prevented the gas mask filters from serving their purpose. The rules specified that at the end of a building's disinfestation, when it was time to open the windows to air out the premises, one must not persist in trying to open a window that offered resistance but instead go and open the others. (To those who claim, without any evidence, that the Germans destroyed all their gas chambers, I retort: "In that case, draw me the things which, according to you, the Germans destroyed.")

The stunning conclusion of this research: in nearly seventy years, neither the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg (1945-1946) nor any of the numerous other courts which have had to try cases of alleged crimes committed using gas chambers (or gas vans) has ordered a single forensic examination. Better still: at the "Auschwitz Trial" in Frankfurt, running from December 20, 1963 to August 20, 1965, an inspection of certain points of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was held from December 14 to 16, 1964; one of the judges, Hotz, participated along with four prosecutors; however, it appears that the five men dispensed with any detailed inspection of the places where so many criminal gassings, followed by so many cremations, were said to have occurred. How can it be? A huge show trial had focused, twenty years after the war, on Auschwitz, capital of the greatest crime in world history, and the judges-accusers made not the faintest effort to inquire as to how such mass murder was first conceived, then perpetrated – and all over a period of years? Never has anyone been able to provide me with a copy of forensic examinations of the "crime of Auschwitz." I have been smothered with testimonies, stories, confessions, and history books of which I have imposed on myself the most scrupulous reading but, all told, only to discover vague accounts defying the laws of physics or chemistry. One forensic examination, and one only, would have sufficed.

The crematoria of Auschwitz or Birkenau had at most, as I discovered in certain documents hidden since 1945, rooms called *Leichenhalle* or *Leichenkeller* (depositories, at ground level or semi-interred, for bodies) perfectly typical in their size and, above all, in their ventilation system. In 1982 I also discovered that there had been a forensic examination of the alleged gas chamber of the Struthof camp in Alsace, which I had visited in 1974 and which had looked to me a crude fake; I was later to learn that it was, in part, the product of work carried out after the war by a firm in the town of Saint-Michel-sur-Meurthe. Entrusted to Professor René Fabre,

dean of the college of pharmacy in Paris, the examination concluded, as of December 1, 1945, on the absence of any trace whatsoever of hydrocyanic acid either 1) in the exhaust chimney of the alleged gas chamber and the scrapings taken from them (X jars and Y jars) or 2) in the corpses of the alleged Struthof gassing victims found in Strasbourg civil hospital.* René Fabre's report has disappeared from the French military justice archives but we know its findings thanks to a paper in the file signed by three physicians who took part in the study: Drs. Simonin, Piedelièvre and Fourcade ("Whether 'Holocaust by gas' or 'Holocaust by bullets': no physical or forensic evidence!").† The three were chagrined at the result reached by Fabre but they had still been honest and scrupulous enough to report it.

Meanwhile, I had had to wait until 1978-1979 for the daily *Le Monde* to publish two texts in which I demonstrated that the alleged Nazi gas chambers were technically impossible.³ On February 21, 1979, the same newspaper printed a "declaration" signed by 34 historians retorting to me:‡

"One must not ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible; it was technically possible, since it happened."

This fine bit of academic asininity was but an escape hatch allowing its authors to shirk their duty and refuse any response to my arguments, which were mainly of a physical, chemical and architectural order, but also documentary and historiographical.

However, since that date, a multitude of authors – historians, journalists – have certainly tried to defend the thesis of the supposed Nazi gas chambers' existence and operation but none has been able to answer my request, repeated a hundred times:

"Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!"

Just recently, a big book of quite scholarly appearance has been devoted to the alleged Nazi mass murders by poison gas, but in it there is not to be found a single representation of a gas chamber, not one technical illustration, not the shadow of a concrete reply to my challenge. It is the second edition, revised and corrected – released in 2012 –, of a book first published in 2011: *Neue Studien zu nationalsozialistischen Massentötungen durch Giftgas / Historische Bedeutung, Technische Entwicklung, revisionistische Leugnung*, Berlin, Metropol Verlag, xxxiv + 446 pages, particularly dense. The principal authors are Günter Morsch and Bertrand Perz, with

* <https://robert-faurisson.com/histoire/fabre20092018/>

† <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/whether-holocaust-by-gas-or-holocaust-by-bullets-no-physical-or-forensic-evidence/>

‡ <https://codoh.com/library/document/la-politique-hitlerienne-dextermination/>

the collaboration of Astrid Ley. To these three names should be added about thirty others including, for example, Brigitte Bailer, Jean-Yves Camus, Barbara Distel, Richard J. Evans and Robert Jan van Pelt. The title means: “New studies on the National Socialist mass murders by poison gas/Historical significance, technical evolution and revisionist denial.”

But how can one devise the study of a lethal weapon’s technical evolution without providing a single technical illustration of that weapon? How can one respond to “revisionist denial” without taking up its main challenge, which amounts to saying that the essential weapon of the alleged crime is obviously, quite simply, impossible to design and depict when one is aware, for example, of the unavoidable complication of an American gas chamber for the execution of a lone person? For, in an execution gassing, the difficulty lies not so much in killing another without killing oneself as in going, after the execution, to take a cyanide-infused body out of its seat and out of the chamber, without causing risk to anyone: a difficulty which, as has been noted, the Germans and the *Sonderkommando* members, for their part, apparently surmounted thousands of times every day. Let us repeat: to kill a crowd of people in a room with hydrocyanic acid is dangerous but not impossible; to enter the room afterwards, even with a gas mask, amid a host of cyanide-infused corpses and then proceed to extricate and carry them, in the course of a few hours, so as to make way for a new gassing of the same proportion, is in the domain of the impossible. The reader will have understood: serial mass gassings are just another silly story (as Yehuda Bauer has admitted in regard to what is commonly said about “Wannsee”)* of the same kind as those about “Jewish soap,” “lampshades of human skin,” extermination of the Jewish detainees at Treblinka by steam (official Nuremberg document PS-3311), their extermination at Auschwitz by electricity and in blast furnaces (the Soviet press in early February 1945), or, near Belzec, by quicklime (Jan Karski). There is an endless list of nonsensical tales in the manner of Elie Wiesel† or Father Patrick Desbois,‡ about “geysers of blood,” or a hand emerging from a mass grave to grab a shovel, or systematic extermination under quilts or pillows (“the Holocaust by suffocation”!).

My own writings are not ignored in this big book, since my name appears 33 times (and not only 12, as the index may lead one to believe). “Mr. Faurisson, you haunt my nights!” exclaimed in 1981, in a Paris courtroom, Bernard Jouanneau, lawyer and friend of Robert Badinter. Another

* <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/wannsee-a-silly-story/>

† <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/a-prominent-false-witness-elie-wiesel/>

‡ <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/father-patrick-desbois-is-one-hell-of-a-prankster/>

time, in 1982, the same Jouanneau was to burst into sobs upon suddenly realizing that the evidence of the existence of Nazi gas chambers he had just offered to the first chamber of the Paris court of appeal (presiding judge: François Grégoire) “was not worth very much” (his own words, in a moment of touching sincerity). I think I have also revealed to Raul Hilberg (an American Jew) and to Robert Jan van Pelt (a Canadian Jew, his successor as historian of “the Holocaust”) how they have failed, each at his end, in their offers of proof. It is especially R. J. van Pelt who in the book in question takes charge of giving me a reply. His lines of penance (pp. 343-354), which are pathetic, are essentially based on the writings of Jean-Claude Pressac, but van Pelt avoids disclosing that their author disowned them on June 15, 1995 (a month after his appearance in the XVIIth chamber of the Paris correctional court, where barrister Eric Delcroix, aided by my information, had subjected him to outright humiliation). Pressac went so far as to admit that the present version, “though triumphant,” of the official history of the extermination of the Jews was “rotten” with too many lies and doomed to “the waste bin of history” (quoted in my analysis of May 5, 2000 entitled).^{*} But has not van Pelt himself admitted – in December 2009 – that the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, where millions of pilgrims have gone on organised visits, contains, so to speak, no “physical evidence” of what we “know” (sic) about “the Holocaust” (“A Case for Letting Nature Take Back Auschwitz”, *Toronto Star*, December 27, 2009)?[†] Among historians, the myth of the Nazi gas chambers is on its last legs. Instead of trying to keep it alive artificially with the persistent clamour, spectacles, advertising, repression, threats, blackmail, it would be better simply to bury it, as the State of Israel finally decided to do with the body-corpse of Ariel Sharon.

In conclusion, if there is a fact to which we revisionists ought to call the attention of the layman, is it not this tacit agreement of all French or foreign judicial systems never to demand, for 70 years, any criminological inspection of the murder weapon, that is, an unprecedented weapon that enabled the killing, in industrial proportions, of millions of victims? With one exception, that of Struthof, for which, as if by intent, a forensic examination produced a completely negative finding: no gas chambers, no gassed.

^{*} <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/valerie-igounets-book-on-the-history-of-holocaust-denial-in-france/>

[†] https://www.thestar.com/news/insight/a-case-for-letting-nature-take-back-auschwitz/article_332ad282-6d8d-5b11-8a67-cc611ed1baa1.html

At bottom, all judicial systems have followed the example of the instance called the International Military Tribunal, which, in 1945-1946, assumed the right, as a court of “justice” set up by the winners of the recent war, to try its own vanquished. Its organizer, the American Prosecutor Jackson, had declared with a fine cynicism ([*IMT*, vol. XIX](#), p. 398 – 26 July 1946):

“As a military tribunal, this Court is a continuation of the war effort of the Allied nations.”

Articles 19 and 21 of [its Charter](#) read:

“The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence [...]. The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof.”

Thus did allegations advanced without any proof by Allied propaganda receive the formal endorsement of a strictly Allied – and not “international” – tribunal. Better still, in accordance with the next and closing sentence of Article 21, a whole series of reports drafted by the winners on crimes imputed by themselves to the defeated were to be automatically received as authentic evidence, and no one would be allowed to challenge them! Such were the effects of that Tribunal’s “judicial notice.”

And forty-five years afterwards there was to be something even more abhorrent in the domain of law: in France, “homeland of human rights,” Laurent Fabius and his people got a Socialist-Communist majority in Parliament to pass (and to have published in the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* on July 14, 1990, for the 201st anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, bastion of the privilege-based regime of another time) a law forbidding, on pain of fine and imprisonment, any dispute (in whatsoever manner – including ironic expressions, as case law was to specify)* of the reality of those crimes committed especially against Jews, a reality, however, never described or established by any technical or forensic police service. (On this point one will be wary of old Polish examinations attesting the existence of traces of hydrogen cyanide in hair or in metal objects – all disinfected –, or of an examination undertaken at quite a late date† – around 1990 – in an attempt to reply to the “Leuchter Report” of 1988;‡ that study, done by the Jan Sehn Institute in Cracow, proved embarrassing for the Poles and valuable for the revisionists). And I shall not expand here on the saga, in Vienna, of the forensic examination by Gerhard Jagschitz, or that by Walter Lüftl; the reader may look up those two

* <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/the-french-anti-revisionist-law/>

† <https://codoh.com/library/document/an-official-polish-report-on-the-auschwitz-gas/>

names in my *Ecrits révisionnistes* in order to have an idea of the behaviour of certain Austrian judges who, seized with daring, ordered an examination and then, taking fright, capitulated. The name of a certain captain Fribourg, of the French army, and his “beginning of a study” of the alleged Dachau gas chamber may also be found.

The lie of the Nazi gas chambers will go down one day in history as one of the most fabulous impostures of all time. This lie has developed slowly, without plot or conspiracy, and without the general public’s becoming aware of it. If the good people have been so badly taken in, it has in a way been with their consent and cooperation. They have *believed*, then *wanted to believe*, then in the end *wanted to have others believe* and are now *legally bound to believe*. All this has happened in the same way as when a government wants to launch a peaceful population into a military campaign. Such a government has no need of either plot or conspiracy. Making a show of its sentiments of goodness, it will appeal, thanks to the servility of a “free press,” to notions of rights, of justice and of virtue precisely because it is about to cynically violate rights, justice and virtue. The people will start believing the government, then go along with it and, finally, run with it. Year in, year out, they will find themselves at war, armed from head to foot. And they will readily fight “the evil beast,” against which anything goes, starting with the right to lie and hate, then to plunder, rape, kill by hanging and, supreme reward, the right of their establishment to write the history of it all as it sees fit. Spontaneously they will get into the habit of hating, lying, marching in step. And those who try to make them see reason will no longer be anything but “expert liars, gangsters of history,” diabolical “Nazis” quite simply.

The lesson has been learned well. But now it is going to have to be unlearned, reviewed, and corrected. We are at the dawn of the year 2015. Let’s draw up the death certificate of the historical lie of the magical Nazi gas chambers. In a return to respect for accuracy in history, let’s promise ourselves that this gigantic imposture will be “the very last.” Until the next one, of course. For – let’s take care not to forget it – Céline, who, as early as 1950, denounced “the magical gas chamber” and stated: “It was everything, the gas chamber. It allowed EVERYTHING!,” added nevertheless: “They’ll have to find something else, oh! my mind’s at rest.” In 1932, in *Journey to the End of the Night*, he warned: “The frenzy of lying and believing is catching like the itch.” Frailty of man! Where can he have got this facility, then this ardour to believe in a diabolical weapon that he is not even allowed to see? To aim straight, one must aim low. So then, let’s aim

low! Let's not have recourse to mass psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology or any other science! I wonder whether a simple point of vocabulary (in French with the curious expression "*chambre à gaz*," in English with "gas chamber," in German with "*Gaskammer*" and in other languages as well) would explain the ease and appetite with which such a story has been swallowed. It so happens that the French term "*chambre à gaz*" is based on that of "*chambre à coucher*" (bedroom). To name the instrument that administers death, a combination of words that implicitly evoke rest and sleep has been chosen. Why, then, rack one's brains wondering what that instrument looked like and how it worked? A gas chamber, in the minds of the simple, is simple: it must be like a bedroom or any room, but with gas inside. A man is put in it; some time later, the individual is found dead and it only remains to take away the body; as for the gas, it has dissipated. There is no need to undertake a scientific investigation: proof of a gassing is not to be sought in a forensic examination, for testimonies will suffice. After all, hadn't the Germans already distinguished themselves during the First World War by their use of poison gas?

One of the most brazen lies in history, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, of course originated in hatred and in the inveterate habit of lying but it has thrived on naivety. In perfectly good faith, the good people were outraged at that "Nazi horror." In doing so, they lent a hand to a gigantic slander, a criminal lie of worldwide proportions. *Sancta simplicitas* Blessed ingenuousness! Historians are beginning to show dissent against this mix of lies and candour, whilst the third post-war generation manifests annoyance at the continuing indoctrination. And the Internet is there. The conditions for a reawakening of minds seem to exist. The Jews, as a whole, and the Israelis would have been well advised to listen to the founder of Yad Vashem, Prof. Ben Zion Dinur, born Dinaburg. Some Jews, such as Josef Ginzburg (aka Joseph G. Burg), Gilad Atzmon and Paul Eisen have done so. They deserve our esteem. But, at this moment, our thoughts must go first to the sizeable cohort of revisionists humiliated, insulted, scorned, beaten, driven to ruin, suicide, sentenced to imprisonment and sometimes even forced into dishonour. And to begin with, our thoughts must go to the very first of them: the Frenchmen Maurice Bardèche, author of *Nuremberg or the Promised Land* (1948), and Paul Rassinier, author of *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (1950, published in English under the title *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*.*

Practical conclusion: from now on, each time an opponent of revisionism takes the liberty of invoking another testimony in support of the exist-

* <https://armreg.co.uk/product/ulyssess-lie/>

ence of the alleged Nazi gas chambers, let's ask him to show us instead a forensic study of the murder weapon, the weapon of the crime of all crimes. Each time, on site at Auschwitz-I, Majdanek, Mauthausen, Struthof or elsewhere, that a guide has the nerve to state: "This place is (or: was) a gas chamber in which the Nazis killed Jews," let's demand, instead of testimonies, proof, one proof only (forensic proof supplied by the appropriate police services), in support of that accusation. To end, in the face of the judges who try us, let's launch the question:

"What right has anyone to threaten with the scourge of the law a person who refuses to believe in the existence of a prodigious weapon which, in seventy years, no one has ever been able to describe or show, not even with an explanatory drawing?"

There can be no right to convict a man who asked the French University how exactly such slaughterhouses were designed and how they functioned, and to whom thirty-four members of that university pitifully replied with the asinine words quoted above:

"One must not ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible; it was technically possible, since it happened."

One proof, finally, or... let the imposters keep quiet!

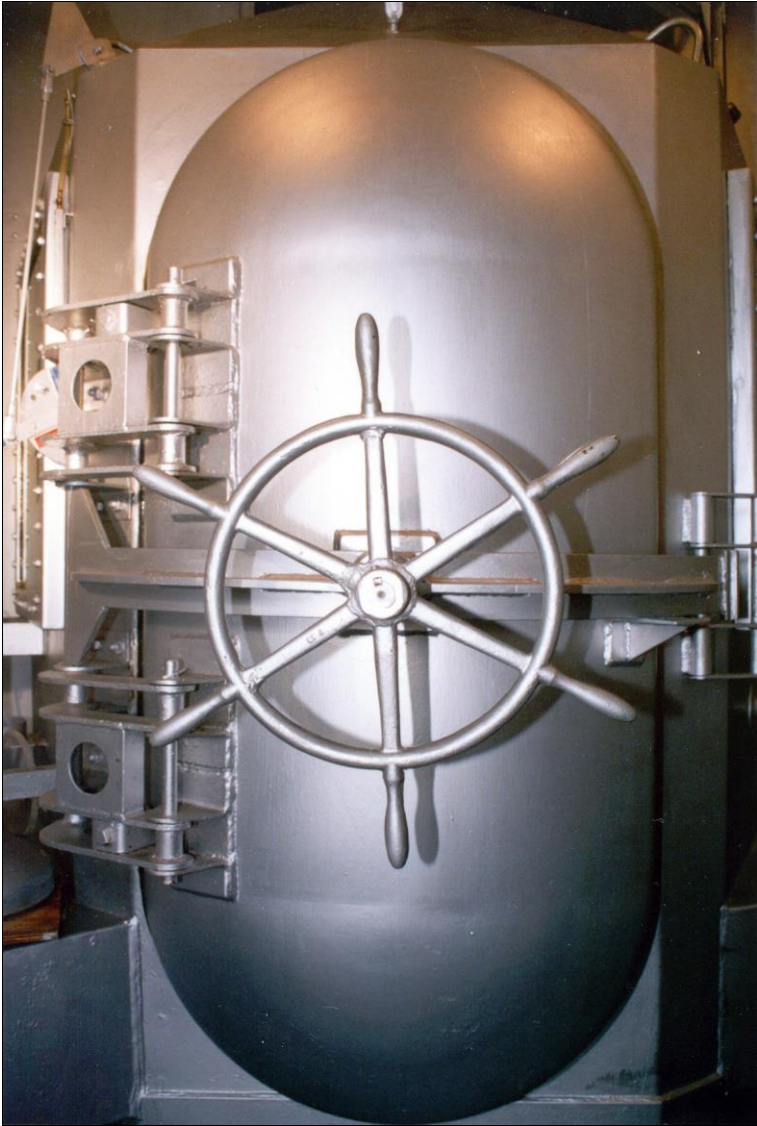
* * *

Supplement 1: To end, "the killer question!"

If the innocuous body depositories of the crematoria were indeed turned respectively into undressing rooms in one place and gas chambers in another, where was it possible, day by day, to store the bodies of those who had died of natural causes? Let someone show me that area, either on the spot or in the building plans that were kept hidden until I myself discovered them! Where were the bodies put when, particularly, typhus epidemics were wreaking havoc among the detainees, the Polish and German civilians, the German soldiers and doctors in the hospital facilities reserved either for inmates or for soldiers (such as, for example, the SS *Revier*, situated a few paces away from the Auschwitz-I crematorium)? Let's recall that those depositories could be of three kinds: 1) for bodies not yet placed in coffins; 2) for bodies in coffins; 3) for infected bodies (with reinforced isolation of the room, which was the case in the Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg camp). Will someone have us believe that, equipped as they were with an undressing room and a gas chamber, those "Nazi" crematoria

simply lacked any body depositories? Crematoria without depositories? Only in the realm of fiction!

Supplement 2: The Alleged Homicidal Gas Chamber of Auschwitz I
(“Everything in it Is False,” as Eric Conan Ended up Admitting)



American gas chamber built according to the technique developed in the 1930s and '40s. Faurisson examined it in September 1979 at Baltimore penitentiary.



Doors of an alleged gas chamber for the killing of people with the same gas. This is the “gas chamber” of Auschwitz-I (Main Camp).

Above, the first photo is that of the door of a genuine gas chamber *for the execution of one person alone* by hydrocyanic acid (HCN). This is an American gas chamber built according to the technique developed in the 1930s and ‘40s. I examined it in September 1979 at Baltimore Penitentiary.⁵

The next two photos show one of the doors of an alleged gas chamber *for the killing of a crowd of people* with the same gas. This is the “gas chamber” of Auschwitz-I (main camp), thus far visited by millions of tourists. The door opens inwards, which constitutes an absurdity since the corpses strewn about on the floor inside would have prevented it from opening. The same door, closed, reveals two more absurdities, since gas would have escaped through both the keyhole and the easily breakable glass pane, thus reaching the nearby SS infirmary. In 1995 the orthodox historian Eric Conan wrote that I was right about the impressive set of “falsifications” I had discovered in 1975-1976.⁶ Numerous others have, in the past, denounced these falsifications. Why are they still passed over in silence today?

These three photos thus invite the comparison of a door of a real execution gas chamber (located in Baltimore) on the one hand, with a door,

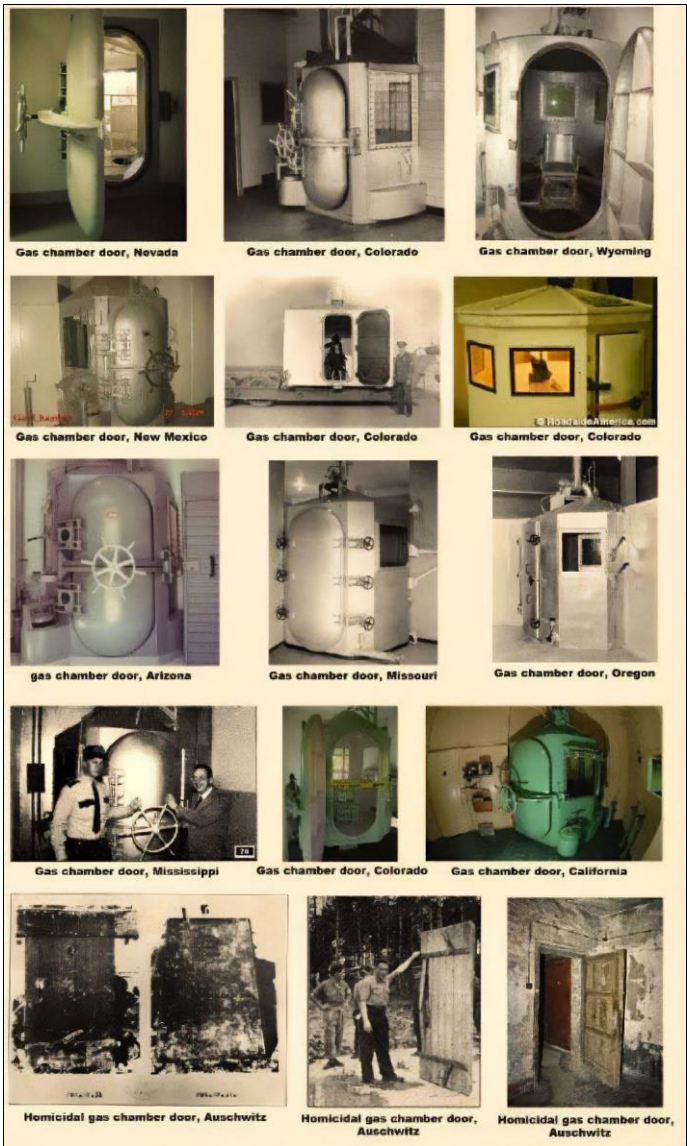
shown first open and then closed, of an alleged execution gas chamber (located at Auschwitz-I) on the other.

A real execution gas chamber door is of steel, like all the rest of the construction, and its pane is of Herculite glass. To avoid letting the hydrocyanic acid erode the door joints and so, eventually, escape and spread outside, a vacuum must be created in the chamber. But creating a vacuum can cause a general collapse. Hence the extreme and indispensable robustness of the whole. The American humanitarians who advocated execution by gas (instead of execution by shooting, hanging or electricity, considered too cruel) imagined that nothing would be simpler than the use of gas. They were to be disabused. It took American engineers seven years (1917-1924) to develop their first homicidal gas chamber. And the first execution, in 1924 in Carson City (Nevada), nearly resulted in disaster from the significant presence of lethal gas in the prison corridors after the death of the condemned man.⁷

Finally, on the next page, a series of twelve photos showing real execution gas chambers (in the United States) with their doors and, at the bottom, four photos showing the doors of a false gas chamber (at Auschwitz).

Notes

- ¹ Online: <https://robert-faurisson.com/histoire/memoirejuive/>
- ² Online: <https://robert-faurisson.com/history/my-discovery-1976/>
- ³ Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/faurissons-three-letters-to-le-monde-1978-1979/>
- ⁴ Fred A. Leuchter, Robert Faurisson, Germar Rudolf, *The Leuchter Reports Critical Edition* (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2005).
- ⁵ For more photos and all pertinent explanations (in French), see <https://robert-faurisson.com/legal/gas-chamber-of-the-maryland-state-penitentiary-baltimore-usa/>.
- ⁶ Mark Weber, "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 1 (January/February 1995), pp. 23f.; online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/major-french-magazine-acknowledges-auschwitz-gas/>
- ⁷ See Scott Christianson, *The Last Gasp. The Rise and Fall of the American Gas Chamber*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2010, XIV-325 p., *passim*.



A series of twelve photos showing real execution gas chambers (in the United States) with their doors and, at the bottom, four photos showing the doors of a false gas chamber (at Auschwitz).

The Anti-Hitler Underground within the German Conservative Revolution

Kerry R. Bolton

In recent years more has become known about the anti-Hitler underground acting within German conservative and military circles. The book *Secret Germany* by Baigent and Leigh went a long way to popularize the events surrounding "Operation Valkyrie," the assassination plot against Hitler.¹ The character of Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, perhaps the most well-known figure in the 20 July 1944 plot, was played by Tom Cruise in the movie *Valkyrie* in 2008. Stauffenberg was one of an intellectual circle that gathered around the poet Stefan George.

Such circles among the military and intelligentsia were elitist and saw Hitlerism as another democratic pandering to the masses. Others, including those in what has been widely termed the "Conservative Revolution," attempted to appeal to the masses with the ideology that the nation and the state are the organized expressions of a *volk*. The *volk* in the German sense is something other than Darwinistic race, and it is ironic that the Hitlerites embraced concepts of race that were more English than German. The *volk* is a spiritual-cultural entity organized into a community by the state. Therefore, there was something intrinsically "socialist" about the nationalist movements in Germany, insofar as "socialism" is defined as duty to the state as the organized *volk* community, as distinct from both bourgeois liberal-democratic and Marxian economic doctrines. Hence, even Oswald Spengler, one of the leading spokesmen of the conservative post-war generation, in his epochal book *The Decline of the West*, pointed out that so-called "proletarian movements" were merely the capitalism of the lower classes, and sought to appropriate rather than transcend capitalism.² Spengler referred instead to "Prussian Socialism," defined as an ethic of duty. German "nationalists" were intrinsically "socialist" in this sense. Indeed, there is a German School of Economics, like there is an English School of Economics, the former standing for social control of the economy in the service of the nation; the latter standing for the liberal notion of the state existing as little more than a referee between individualistic relations.³

Among those who emerged in Germany amidst the moral, spiritual, cultural and political crises of World War I were thinkers and activists that converged from both Left and Right to form a broad movement called the "conservative revolution." Such figures included the National Socialists,

emerging prior to Hitler from Anton Drexler's and Karl Harrer's German Workers' Party; the philosopher-historian Spengler; Gregor and Otto Strasser; Möller van der Bruck;⁴ the writers Edgar Jung;⁵ and Ernst Junger; and Ernst Niekisch, among others.

Some of these luminaries of the "conservative revolution," including Niekisch and the Strasser brothers, had started politically in the Socialist party. The First World War had caused an ideological crisis within the world socialist movement, as many leading socialists, when the call for duty towards one's nation came, rejected "internationalism" and were among the leading spokesman for the war effort as securing their nation's "place in the sun." Among the most famous of these was Benito Mussolini, one of the most capable leaders of the Italian Socialist party, whose call for

Italian intervention in the war placed him in alliance with the Nationalists; a unity that was to emerge as Fascism after the war. It was a phenomenon that occurred throughout the world. Even the Bolsheviks were split, with Lenin, in the pay of the Germans, demanding an immediate armistice with Germany, while Trotsky, who seems to have been backed by the Entente, resigned as foreign minister over the issue.

After 1928 there was a major shift in the Soviet Union, when Stalin began eliminating the Trotskyites and other factions, proceeding to create a modern centralized pan-Slavic state. Stalin undertook a long-term fight to eliminate the excrescences of Marxist dogma.⁶ It is in Stalinist Russia that we see the origins of what became known as National Bolshevism.

Leo Schlageter

Möller van den Bruck was one of the key members of the *Juni-Klub*, founded in June 1919, as a non-partisan organization of intellectuals to discuss national and social issues. There were many editors, journalists, au-



*Ernst Jünger, (March 29, 1895
– February 17, 1998)*

*[Public domain], via Wikimedia
Commons*

thors and others of note, including future Reich Chancellor Heinrich Brüning. Otto Strasser was also a member.⁷ Hitler was a guest speaker, who was immediately impressed by van den Bruck, but the admiration was not reciprocated; van den Bruck regarded Hitler as lacking ideological depth.⁸

Although the *Juni-Klub* was drawn from the intelligentsia of the “conservative revolution” they sought dialogue with the radical Left in their revolt against bourgeois-liberalism; in particular Comintern representative Karl Radek. Radek was a most unlikely figure in this role, resembling an anti-Semitic stereotype of a scruffy Jewish Bolshevik. Another guest was Spengler, whose views accorded in many ways with van den Bruck’s, although van den Bruck’s primary contention with Spengler was that Germany – and Russia – had emerged from the war as “young peoples” detached from the decaying Western civilization, with the chance to start anew. Otto Strasser remarked how impressed the *Juni-Klub* members were with both Spengler and van den Bruck, the two being regarded as complementary rather than antagonistic.⁹

It was within this milieu of conservative revolutionaries that a strong socialist element arose that saw the “young peoples” of Russia and Germany defying the corrupt and dying bourgeois liberal-capitalist powers. Some nations were “proletarian” rather than bourgeois, insofar as work and duty rather than capital and egotism were the new ethos; what Spengler called “Prussian Socialism,”¹⁰ and what others called “National Socialism,” and ‘National Bolshevism’. Seeing Germany’s destiny aligned with Russia was a major impetus for the development of National Bolshevism. Many of the Nationalist Right looked to Russia beyond Marxism and saw a new, vital nation emerging that was outside of the bourgeois world system of President Woodrow Wilson’s “Fourteen Points,” of global commerce and parliamentarianism. Even Spengler, whose philosophy is as far removed from Marxism as one can imagine, advocated pro-Soviet foreign and trade policies.¹¹

The Treaty of Rapallo signed with Russia in 1922 was initiated in this widespread belief that Germany had to move towards Russia to circumvent the Versailles *diktat* and beyond that to forge a new destiny. General von Seeckt and other military leaders even prior to Rapallo established alliances between the German and Soviet armies to circumvent the restrictions imposed by Versailles.

Hence when Radek of the Comintern began negotiating with the German Right, as early as 1919 a pro-Soviet sentiment had already been developing even among the most militant anti-Communists. In 1921 Möller wrote of an “axis” between Communists and Nationalists against the cor-

ruption of liberal individualism, and its parliamentarianism. German Communists would have to start thinking nationally. He stated that no German worker would fight the USSR, and eschewed the call from General Ludendorff, aligned with the Nazi party, for an international crusade against the USSR. Möller welcomed Rapallo as a move in the right direction.¹²

With a common enemy in France, Radek made an appeal to German nationalism in his speech before the Comintern executive committee in a eulogy to Leo Schlageter, who had been executed by the French in 1923 for his part in a *Freikorps* sabotage attempt in the French-occupied Ruhr. That Schlageter had also been a fighter against Bolshevism was inconsequential in the broader scheme of politics. Radek suggested to the Comintern that the Russians make common cause with the Germans “to throw off the yoke of Entente capital for the enslavement of the German and Russian peoples.” Radek asked:¹³

“Against whom did the German people wish to fight: against the Entente capitalists or against the Russian people? With whom did they wish to ally themselves: with the Russian workers and peasants in order to throw off the yoke of Entente capital for the enslavement of the German and Russian peoples?”

He stated:

“We believe that the great majority of the nationalist-minded masses belong not to the camp of the capitalists but to the camp of the workers. We want to find, and we shall find the path to these masses.”

National Bolshevism

The term “National Bolshevism” was first applied to the doctrine of the Nationalist scholar Paul Eltzbacher, a Jewish professor of law at Berlin University in April 1919. Although a member of the German National Party, he advocated social ownership of production in the interests of the nation. This was dubbed *nationaler Bolschewismus* by the newspaper *Deutsche Tageszeitung*.¹⁴ In November Radek referred to this, stating that “honest nationalists as Eltzbacher, displeased by the peace of Versailles [...] have looked for a union with Soviet Russia in what they have called national bolshevism [...]” The Hamburg Circle of the German Communist Party, led by Heinrich Laufenberg and Fritz Wolffheim, saw a Soviet revolt as resurrecting Germany as a great power. Radek called this doctrine “national Bolsheviki.”¹⁵

Hence, there was a nationalist current among the radical Left and a socialist and pro-Soviet current among the radical Right, both inimical to liberalism and the plutocracy, and seeing the possibility of Germany and Russia forming a common front.

For a few months after the Radek speech there was collaboration between the radical Left and Right. Communist party meetings in honor of Schlageter were adorned both with the Red Star and the Swastika, the latter a symbol not only of Hitler's *NSDAP* but also of the *Freikorps* and various sundry Nationalist leagues. A pamphlet on Schlageter included Radek's speech and articles by Möller, Count Ernst zu Reventlow, foreign-policy adviser for the *NSDAP*, and Frölick of the Communist Party.¹⁶

Ernst Niekisch

The leading spokesman for the National Bolsheviks was Ernst Niekisch. He was one of a circle that formed around the writer of the frontline war generation, Ernst Jünger, and Helmut Franke, *Freikorps* veteran and editor of *Die Standarte*. They called for a "nationalist workers' republic."¹⁷ Others in the circle included Niekisch's colleague Karl O. Paetel, and Otto Strasser, future leader of the anti-Hitler underground, the Black Front. This circle that met Friday evenings throughout 1929 also included the Communists Bertold Brecht and Ernst Toller.¹⁸

The association between the paramilitary and youth *bunds* with National Bolshevism was extensive given that these associations were anti-Marxist. There was much about the new Soviet Man that was akin to the coming class of worker-soldier-technician prophesied as the New Man of the future by Jünger.¹⁹ In 1930 Jünger became co-editor of the National Bolshevik newspaper *Die Kommenden* (*The Coming [Persons]*) founded in 1925. *Die Kommenden* was co-edited by Niekisch's primary National Bolshevik colleague Karl Paetel. The paper was influential among the nationalist youth leagues.

Niekisch had been a member of the short-lived Munich Soviet, an Independent Socialist, and a member of the Old Social Democratic Party. He established the Soviet of workers and soldiers at Augsburg in 1919, and served as president. He was the only Munich Soviet member to vote *against* Bavaria becoming a Soviet Republic, considering the region unsuitable as a Bolshevik state.

Niekisch was jailed in May 1919 by the *Freikorps*, which suppressed the Munich Soviet. While jailed for his role in the Soviet revolt he took an increasingly nationalistic view. He served a two-year sentence, not having

supported the lunatic actions of the Bavarian Soviet Republic, and assumed a seat in the provincial parliament as a Social Democrat. He soon resigned his seat and moved to Berlin, increasingly opposed to the appeasement policy of the Social Democrats towards the French occupation of the Ruhr, and their acceptance of the Dawes Plan for reparations repayments.

In 1925 Niekisch became editor of *Firn (The Snowfield)*, influenced by the German socialist Ferdinand Lasalle, who had been an antagonist of the Marx-Engels faction. The nationalist sentiments that were emerging among the radical Left, including the Communist Workers Party, a rival to the Communist Party, were attacked by the Leftist luminary Eduard Bernstein. However, Niekisch was far from isolated among the Left, and worked closely with the socialist youth group *Circle Hofgeismar*, from which he would draw support for his own newspaper. In 1926 Niekisch was expelled from then Social Democratic Party and from his presidency of the textile union.

That year Niekisch established the newspaper *Widerstand (Resistance)* largely for the purpose of advocating a pro-Russian direction. The byline of the paper was "Writings for a socialist-revolutionary nationalist politics." Niekisch wrote of the common opposition to liberalism:²⁰

"The liberal democratic parliamentary flees from decision. He does not want to fight but to talk. The Communist wants a decision. In his roughness there is something of the hardness of the military camp; in him there is more Prussian hardness than he knows, even more than in a Prussian bourgeois."

Niekisch was supported by the *Freikorps Bund Oberland* and by the Social Democrats in Saxony, and directed the newspaper *Volksstaat* in Dresden. In 1928 Niekisch founded a publishing house also named *Widerstand*, lectured throughout Germany, and gained support from the 'Left' of the *NSDAP*, Gregor and Otto Strasser, Count Ernst zu Reventlow, Joseph Goebbels, then a protégé of Gregor Strasser, and the influential conservative-Catholic judicial scholar Carl Schmitt. In October 1929 Niekisch led the opposition to the Young Plan for the payment of reparations. Most youth factions, including those of the Hitlerites, supported such opposition. Supporters of his newspaper *Widerstand* were organized into a movement, *Circles Widerstand*. The program included a strong state, withdrawal from the international economy, a Spartan lifestyle, the reinvigoration of peasantry and the rural in opposition to urbanization. *Widerstand* also advocated a geopolitical German-Slavic bloc embracing Russia and even then rejecting American banality.

In the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky for the soul of Russia, Niekisch and the National Bolsheviks opposed Trotsky. Niekisch praised Stalin's economic reorganization as one of national autarky.

Niekisch also saw German collaboration in the development of Siberia as a means by which Russia could stem the "Yellow tide" in a geopolitical bloc stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.²¹

Soviet Russia and the German Right

Niekisch traveled to the Soviet Union in 1932 where he met Radek.²² This association between the Soviet Union and the German Right was not isolated. *Arplan* (Association for the Study of the Planned Economy of Soviet Russia) included Communists, and Rightists such as Count Ernst zu Reventlow; *Arplan* chairman, Lenz, a close associate of the National Bolsheviks; Ernst Jünger; and Römer, a prominent National Bolshevik who had served in the *Oberland Bund*. The *Arplan* members were composed of approximately one-third conservative-revolutionaries and National Bolsheviks.²³

Another association cultivating ties between the "Right" and the Soviet Union was the *BGB*, *Bund Geistige Berufe* (League of Professional Intellectuals), founded in 1931. The aim of the *BGB* was "to attract into the orbit of our influence a range of highly placed intellectuals of rightist orientation," according to Soviet documents. Niekisch, Jünger and Lenz were members.²⁴ David-Fox explains:²⁵

"The hybrid left-right nature of both Arplan and the Bund reflects not only the breadth of interest in the Soviet economic model during the first phase of Stalinism, but also mixing the cross-fertilization among the radical intellectuals of Left and Right in social circles and salons at the end of Weimar. Many of the far-right figures in Arplan shared a fascination with the military-utopian mass mobilization and national autarky embodied in the Soviet industrialization drive."

Hitlerism

During the 1920s Niekisch regarded the *NSDAP* as a genuine national-revolutionary movement. His attitude changed with the re-establishment of the party in 1925, after the release of Hitler from Landsberg Prison following the abortive Munich Putsch.

Certainly within the *NSDAP* there were large and important social-revolutionary factions. The most important was the North German section of the *NSDAP* run virtually as a separate party by Gregor Strasser.

In 1932 Niekisch wrote a warning, the book *Hitler, ein deutsches Verhängnis*. Like Spengler, he was suspicious of the mass demagoguery of the *NSDAP*. In particular he retained his support for Stalin and a Russo-German alliance. In March 1937 Niekisch and seventy *Widerstand* supporters were detained. In January 1939 Niekisch was sentenced to life imprisonment for "high treason."

Other National Bolsheviks continued underground, such as Harro Schulze-Boysen, who had maintained dialogue with Communists and Nationalists during the Weimar era. He had been an advocate of a united socialist Europe, and had organized in 1932 a congress of revolutionary youth, drawing a hundred delegates from throughout Europe. A friend of Niekisch's National Bolshevik colleague Paetel, that year Schulze-Boysen began publishing the periodical *Gegner* with support from the Soviet embassy, rejecting liberalism and advocating rule by a new elite.

Although he was arrested briefly in 1933, his parents' connections were able to get him released. Schulze-Boysen had already established an underground network. In 1936 he helped form the "Red Orchestra" spy ring. With wireless contact he relayed information to the USSR. While serving as a *Luftwaffe* officer Schulze-Boysen was arrested by the Gestapo and shot in 1942 along with many others of the Red Orchestra.²⁶

Gregor and Otto Strasser

The Strasser brothers were leaders of the anti-Hitler opposition, offering an alternative form of National Socialism, which they contended maintained the original revolutionary program of the *NSDAP*. While Gregor remained within the *NSDAP*, having a large personal following, in the hope of transforming the party, Otto left at an early stage and formed the League of Revolutionary National Socialists.

Otto, a wounded, decorated, frontline soldier, was a socialist, but was disgusted by the anti-national Marxism of the Communists such as Kurt Eisner. He consequently joined the *Freikorps* to fight the Communists in Bavaria.²⁷ Gregor, also with a distinguished military service, formed his own formidable *Freikorps*, and became a prominent personality in Lower Bavaria.²⁸ It is a mistake to assume that those who joined the *Freikorps* against the Bolsheviks were all right-wing militarists. Many were Social-



Otto Strasser gives a speech a year after his return home to Germany to his newly formed party – The German Social Union (1957). By SchwarzerFront (Own work) [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>) or CC BY-SA 3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)], via Wikimedia Common

ists. Otto joined the German Social Democratic party, which had been prominent in resisting the Communist insurrection.²⁹ He was assailed from the Left for his patriotism, and from the Right for his socialism, and left the Socialist party.³⁰

Gregor had joined the *NSDAP* in 1920, bringing over his *Freikorps*. Otto did not join until 1925, several years after the Munich Putsch, Gregor also having been jailed for his part in the *putsch*. With Hitler still in jail, Gregor assumed leadership of the *NSDAP*, and was elected to the Reichstag. Even after Hitler's release, the Strassers were the real leaders of the *NSDAP* in North Germany.³¹ The Strasser faction pursued its own course, for example supporting the metalworkers' strike in Saxony, while the Hitler faction opposed it.³² With Gregor's protégé Goebbels swayed by the Hitler faction's resources, Hitler's faction managed to isolate Strasser. In a

confrontation in Berlin with Otto, Hitler accused him of “Bolshevism.”³³ After a five-year struggle within the *NSDAP* for the direction of National Socialism, Otto and his supporters were expelled.³⁴

The Black Front

Otto Strasser formed the League of Revolutionary National Socialists. After the defection of the Berlin S.A. (Brownshirted Stormtroopers) to Otto, the movement was named the Black Front. Its adherents included Major Buchrucker, who had after the world war formed a secret 100,000-strong Black *Reichswehr*, with the support of the regular Army to circumvent the Versailles *diktat*.³⁵ Also aligned was The Young German Order, whose leader, Lt. Mahraun, was incarcerated under the Hitler regime; and the radical peasant leader Klaus Hein, from Schleswig-Holstein. The aim was to infiltrate the *NSDAP*, the S.A. and all other branches of the party, for the day when Hitler might be overthrown.³⁶

Until the *NSDAP* assumption of power, Otto was well-known for his public debates with the Left and Right alike, although Hitler refused his challenge.³⁷ By 1940, 600-700 Front members were incarcerated. Thousands of others had received short prison terms and had since been set free. Of course there were many others who remained working clandestinely in the party, the S.A., Labor Front etc.³⁸

Germany had in fact been close to electing Gregor Strasser as Chancellor instead of Hitler, but General Schleicher's efforts were undermined by von Papen and others,³⁹ and Gregor did not have the Machiavellian character to play at intrigue. Such was the revolutionary-socialist sentiment within the S.A. that the infamous 1934 purge, “The Night of the Long Knives,” was required to suppress it. Gregor, having left politics, was



Gregor Strasser (1928)
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nonetheless shot during the purge, as were General Schleicher and his wife.

Soon after Hitler assumed power, the Black Front offices in Berlin were ransacked, and thousands of members detained. Otto issued an order for all supporters who were not known to enter the ranks of the party, state and military.⁴⁰ Pursued by the SS, he crossed into Austria, where the Front had also been organized. Here he published *Die Deutsche Revolution*, bearing the crossed sword and hammer symbol of the Front. This was smuggled into Germany, 50,000 at a time. With the fall of Austria, Otto resumed activities in Prague. Millions of mini-stickers with the sword and hammer and slogans such as "The Black Front will oust Hitler" were sent into Germany. A radio transmitter, the "Black Front Sender," was established by Rudolf Formis, beaming into Germany, and regarded as a 'technical marvel'.⁴¹ The march of Hitler across Europe brought Strasser to Switzerland and to Paris. He called for a broad alliance under the slogan "Neither Fascism nor Bolshevism, but the alliance of army, workers and youth."

Otto's (and Gregor's) "German Socialism" was based on thoroughly German – and wider European – traditions, including the concept that one is the custodian rather than owner of land, and hence occupancy imposes a social duty. The concept is extended to commerce, and involves the recreation of guilds and the creation of a corporatist state where the "Estates" are represented directly rather than through parties. Germany would be federated into Cantons on the Swiss model, within a federated Europe.⁴²

Black Front branches were formed among German émigrés throughout South America, under the leadership of Bruno Fricke. Despite Otto's record of anti-Hitler opposition, when he settled in Ottawa he was "quarantined," despite his work to rally German-Canadians against Hitler, his newspaper articles and his "psychological profile" of Hitler for the Office of Strategic Service. While the British had assisted him in leaving Portugal, they did not want him in Britain and the USA did not want him, because his views did not accord with liberalism. He was settled in Canada.⁴³ By 1942 both British and U.S. officialdom were describing him as "a dangerous man,"⁴⁴ although the Canadian press called him the leader of "Germany's greatest underground movement," and he had wide public recognition in Canada.⁴⁵ By December 1942 he was totally silenced on orders from London and Washington, his mail examined, and deprived of a livelihood.⁴⁶

Post-War

In 1947, with Otto barred from returning to Germany, Bruno Fricke formed the League of German Renewal. This organization however was denied a license to operate by the Allies.⁴⁷ Otto did not relent in denouncing the occupation of Germany by the Allies.⁴⁸ In December 1949 the Allies got assurances from other countries that Otto and his brother Paul would be kept out of Europe.⁴⁹ Otto nonetheless expanded contacts in Germany with nationalists who campaigned for neutrality during the Cold War, which many believed would become a shooting war. Despite his vitriol against the USSR the Western powers were suspicious, as he had been offered Russian assistance to return to Germany.⁵⁰ Soviet East Germany (the *DDR*) even asked Otto to become part of their "National Front" coalition of parties in 1950 and assist with the building of a Russo-German alliance. While Strasser declined, Fricke wrote an "open letter to Stalin" urging such an alliance against the West, referring to the invincibility of a "Socialist Germany and Communist Russia."⁵¹

In 1953 Otto won his fight in the courts to become renaturalized and he could not be denied a visa, but the Bonn regime prolonged obstructions. However, with the threat from the Socialist Reich Party and other "extremists" who were demanding neutrality effectively dealt with in 1952, and the Adenauer regime entrenched, Strasser was permitted to return in 1955. The U.S. Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, full of historical errors, reported the return.⁵² He established the *Deutsche Soziale Union*, advocating that Germans should be prepared to shoot anyone, Russians or Americans, to secure their freedom. The party got nowhere however, in the climate of post-war Allied repression. Disillusioned, Otto returned to Canada, and died in 1974.

Niekisch, always an advocate of a Russo-German alliance, however, did settle in the *DDR*. Almost blind and semi-paralyzed, Niekisch was freed from a prison at Brandenburg-Görden by the Soviet Army on 27 April 1945. He took a professorship of sociology at Humboldt University, and later became director of the Institute for the Study of Imperialism. He joined the Communist Party and the subsequent Socialist Unity Party (*SED*), and settled in Berlin. His prestige was such that he wrote the speech of Social Democratic leader Otto Grotewohl declaring unity between the Social Democrats and Communists in forming the *SED*. In 1948 he was elected to the board of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Renewal of Germany, and to the Constitutional Committee of the People's Congress that would lay the foundations of the *DDR*. In 1950 he became a

member of the Presidium of the ruling "National Front" coalition. By 1951 however he was increasingly out of favor with the regime, his institute was closed, and by 1954 he had resigned from the *SED* and all offices. Under the Bonn regime, he was denied a pension from the State as a victim of Nazism because of his post-war support for the *SED* and *DDR*, finally getting compensation in 1966. Nonetheless, he remained in Berlin, where died in 1967.⁵³

Questions for Today

Although it has been assumed that Niekisch became a Marxist after the war due to his joining the *SED*, he had always championed a Russo-German alliance. This was not on the basis of Marxism but on a widespread realization, even among Conservatives, that the USSR would transcend Marxist dogma, and that Russia and Germany were natural geopolitical allies in rejecting bourgeois-liberalism.

In 1958 Niekisch showed that he had not changed his views. He still regarded what is now widely advocated within Russia as a "Eurasian bloc" as having the greatest "reserve of energies," to which the future would belong, while the "decline and descent" of the West appeared "inexorable." The question now was whether the "best cultural values of Europe" could be "salvaged" and incorporated into a Russian-led new age. It was the basic question that had been asked by the *Widerstand* movement after World War I. It is the same question that today remains of paramount importance. As decaying Rome was revitalized from the North, can the West be revitalized from the East, for a new cultural symbiosis to emerge as the basis of a New Age? Niekisch in 1958 saw Russia as the arbiter of this, enacted by "an elite of the spirit," replacing the "plutocratic elite," but avoiding the demagoguery of mass democratic politics. "The Hitler-Reich" had been a triumph of this "demagogy over a spiritual elite," the "demagogue a travesty of the spiritual leader."⁵⁴

These are questions that are again being asked over Europe and further, and one sees with ever more frequency the unfurling of the banner of the Black Front sword-and-hammer in conjunction with the *Widerstand* eagle-hammer-sickle-sword. One also sees such ideas discussed at the highest levels of Russian politics and academia.

Notes

¹ Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, *Secret Germany: Stauffenberg and the Mystical Crusade against Hitler* (Penguin Books, 1995).

- ² Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), Vol. II p. 402.
- ³ The German School was exemplified by Friedrich List, the English by Adam Smith. Marx was a product and student of the English School and hence reflects the mirror image of liberal capitalism.
- ⁴ Möller van der Bruck was regarded as the prime spokesman of the “conservative revolution,” and coined the term “The Third Reich” with his book *Das Dritte Reich*. Möller was greatly admired by certain National Socialists such as Goebbels, a socialist at heart who had served his political apprenticeship in the so-called “Left wing” of the Nazi party under Gregor Strasser. However, by 1939 Möller had been repudiated by the Nazis. See Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Anchor Books, 1965), p. 361.
- ⁵ Jung was one of those killed in the 1934 purge known as “the night of the long knives.”
- ⁶ K. R. Bolton, *Stalin: the Enduring Legacy* (London: Black House Publishing, 2012).
- ⁷ Fritz Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-281.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.
- ¹⁰ Oswald Spengler, *Prussianism and Socialism* (1920), <https://archive.org/details/PrussianismAndSocialism>
- ¹¹ Addressing a group of industrialists in Essen in 1922 Spengler stated that Marxism is an imported and imposed doctrine not in keeping with the Russian character, and would soon be transformed into something quite different. He urged German businessmen and politicians to align with Russia. Spengler, “The Two Faces of Russia and Germany’s Eastern Problems,” 1922; published in *Politische Schriften*, 1932; <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/spengler/twofaces.htm>
- ¹² Cited by Fritz Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-306.
- ¹³ Karl Radek, “Leo Schlageter: The Wanderer into the Void,” Speech at a plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, June 1923. English translation first published in *Labour Monthly*, September 1923. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/radek/1923/06/schlageter.htm>
- ¹⁴ Michael David-Fox, *Fascination and Enmity: Russia and Germany as Entangled Histories 1914-1945* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), p. 8.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Bernice G. Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World: From Nietzsche to Stalinism* (Penn State University Press, 2004), p. 378.
- ¹⁷ See K. R. Bolton, “Jünger and National Bolshevism,” in Troy Southgate (ed.) *Jünger, Thoughts & Perspectives Vol. 11* (London: Black Front Press, 2012), p. 6.
- ¹⁸ Thomas R. Nevin, *Ernst Jünger and Germany: Into the Abyss 1914-1945* (Duke University Press, 1996), p. 106.
- ¹⁹ See K. R. Bolton, “Jünger and National Bolshevism,” *op. cit.*
- ²⁰ E. Nickisch, “Entscheidung,” *Widerstand*, Berlin, 1930, p. 134.

- ²¹ For this writer's exposition of similar ideas see K. R. Bolton, *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific: Emerging Conflicts, New Alliances* (London: Black House Publishing, 2013).
- ²² Michael David-Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ²⁶ "The National Revolutionary Movement in Weimar," *The National Revolutionary Alternative*, Part II, 9 January 2012, http://national-revolutionary.blogspot.co.nz/2012/01/national-revolutionary-movement-in_09.html
- ²⁷ Douglas Reed, *Nemesis? The Story of Otto Strasser* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1940), p. 51. Reed, senior London Times European correspondent between the world wars, remained Otto's leading English-speaking protagonist. Reed was among the first to warn of the rise of Hitler. After the war he became a leading writer on the nexus between Zionism, Communism and international finance. See in particular his last book *The Controversy of Zion*.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-129.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- ⁴² Otto Strasser, *Germany Tomorrow* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940).
- ⁴³ Deborah Kisatky, *The United States and the European Right 1945-1955* (Ohio State University, 2005), p. 89.
- ^{44,45} *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- ^{49,50} *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ⁵¹ "Strasser asked to join East German Reds," *The Manitoba Ensign*, 8 April, 1950. Indeed, German nationalists and prominent military veterans were included in the Soviet-run coalition, right up to the fall of the Eastern bloc. These were grouped into the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) not to be confused with the so-called "neo-Nazi" NPD that continues to exist. Stalin had insisted that the DDR include German nationalists in the State apparatus, in contrast to the Allied policy of hanging, starving and impoverishing veterans, and their families. See: K. R. Bolton, "Stalin's German-Nationalist Party," IN-

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<https://codoh.com/library/document/stalins-german-nationalist-party/>

- ⁵² William Mahoney, "Otto Strasser returns with 'new' platform," *Stars and Stripes*, 19 March, 1955.
- ⁵³ Dietmar Gottfried, "The National Bolshevism of Ernst Niekisch," *Telepolis*, 28 January 2012.
- ⁵⁴ Ernst Niekisch, *Gewagtes Leben* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Wistch, 1958), pp. 145-155, cited by Roger Griffin, *Fascism* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 318-319.

COMMENT

“Shortening the War” and “Saving Lives”

Jett Rucker

A crawl at the end of a recently released movie¹ announced, as though it were some kind of fact, that breaking the encryption of German military communications during World War II “shortened the war” by two years and “saved” 14 million lives (not specifying which sides the lives were on). The hawking of such factoids as these is so profoundly mendacious as possibly to surpass all the other multitudes of lies that are concocted and put about to justify killing and destruction.

So unambiguous, so bald-faced, so inherently factual-sounding is this sort of fabulation that those at whom it is directed swallow it without so much as an instant of the sort of hesitation that other statements, such as “They instituted a vast program of genocide using gas chambers” could arouse in the preternaturally thoughtful. Much less do they inspire any of the retrospection that memes such as the Domino Theory arouse among those few who indulge in later reflection on ideas that they accepted in the past. Being utterly unprovable, pronouncements such as “Atomic bombs saved 500,000 American lives” pass into unassailable fact without further cavil.

This device, like many others, exploits the limitless character of the logical construct of counterfact. At its purest, counterfact can seem utterly irrefutable, as in “If I don’t pull the trigger of my gun, no bullet will emerge from its muzzle,” which is subject to powerful support, at least so long as your gun remains in your hand and under your control. Once someone else gains control of your gun, of course, a bullet may indeed emerge from its muzzle, quite without your having pulled the trigger.

Thus, the “factuality” of counterfact relies essentially upon typically unvoiced *assumptions* regarding *context* (there is, actually, no “factuality” to counterfact, as the term itself implies). This is where the use, and believability, of counterfact becomes the propagandist’s plaything and everyman’s perceptual poison pill. It exploits the dependable failure to question, to wonder, to suspect. One can’t, after all, question quite *everything* one hears, at least not penetratingly or even sufficiently. Counterfact can have the ability to “fly under the radar” that even the most perspicacious among us devote so much of our mental energy toward maintaining.

Let's parse the assertions that inspired me to write this essay. "Shortened the war." Now, *what* war? That's obvious. It was the war between Great Britain and Grossdeutsches Reich that began on September 3, 1939 and ended on May 5, 1945 with the surrender of the latter to the former, et al. This war began when *Great Britain* declared war on Grossdeutsches Reich when the latter invaded *Poland*, not when Germany attacked Britain, as it did only after sustaining repeated bombing attacks from Britain. So, one way the war *could* have been shortened, at least from the British-German perspective, would have been for Britain to abstain from declaring war in the first place, for Germany's invasion of a country in fact quite far from its borders. The "war" would never have started in the first place (except for the invasion of Poland, which entailed relatively little loss of life, or destruction).

But let's just assume that this "war" was in some way inevitable, immutable, required by justice, or whatever. From there, then, what was this war? It was, after the pronouncements at Casablanca of Britain then united with the USSR and the USA, that the requirements on Germany of ending the conflict were "unconditional surrender," that is, complete occupation and subjugation of the people and territory of Germany to its enemies. So, perhaps this "war" could be better described as "the campaign to conquer, occupy and utterly subjugate Germany." Now, some (on the Allied side) might see this also as a noble aim, but others, of a more-thoughtful stripe, might see it as somewhat wasteful of the blood and treasure of both sides, as well as perhaps in excess of "proportionality" of response for having invaded and trying to annex parts of neighboring territory.

But thought along those lines was near-treasonous during the titanic struggle between nations of 1939-1945, and through a pernicious form of



Alan Turing statue at Bletchley Park is made of about half a million pieces of slate; coincidentally the conservative estimate of the number of German civilian casualties of Allied Strategic Bombing.

Source: By Jon Callas from San Jose, USA (Alan Turing) [CC BY 2.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons

suspended animation encouraged by those who benefit from it, the same thoughts might still be as good as treasonous to this very day. Wars, it might be said, are forever, and truces, armistices and peace treaties be damned. Those who profit from past wars number at least as many as those among us who stand to profit from future wars, and must be opposed and counteracted with at least as much vigor as we devote to scotching future projects for destruction and killing.

Let us consider some counter-counterfact. Consider, for example, that the British had not succeeded in breaking the code used by the Germans. The Germans would then have enjoyed various kinds of tactical advantages that they in the event did not enjoy. They might have been able to bomb targets in Britain with less, or no, interference from the RAF's fighter aircraft, in the process crippling British war-production capabilities more than they did.

Conceivably, they might have impaired the Allies' counter-invasion capabilities as demonstrated in Normandy on June 6, 1944 to the point where the invasion might have been repulsed, or even might not have been launched in the first place. Germany would have remained in control of the Continent for another year, during which its control might come, quite realistically, to be seen as indefatigable by the British along with at least their western allies. The Germans might have found more resources to throw against the incursions on its territory approaching from the east from the USSR and from the south up the Italian peninsula, and so on, and so on – such things are ineluctably path-dependent.

Britain and its American allies, who had yet another war to prosecute in the Pacific, after all, might have quietly stood down somewhat in their project of subjugating Germany, or even reached some sort of truce or armistice with the power so invincibly holding much of Europe in its thrall (Britain also had colonies in the Far East to regain from Japanese incursions). History even yet steadfastly maintains a smothering silence as to the numerous and generous peace offers extended to Britain and France by Germany before the entry of the United States made the outcome all but inevitable.

The “war,” however delineated, might or might not have been wound down; if it had been, it would have entailed far fewer “deaths” (the 14 million) than in fact it did. It might have “ended” a year or two before it is recorded as having done. All the “scare quotes” around the various terms here used are not only appropriate, they are necessary, as each refers to one sort or another of nominality, such as a “state of war” existing between different polities. Such things are easy to count, but impossible to appreci-

ate for all that they really are, much less that they could have been, or not been. So, the duration of a war is seen here to be virtually an abstraction, quite aside from who instigated the war, at what rate people are killed in or from it, and which side ultimately in fact wins it. But what about all those “deaths?”

Death, it would seem, cannot, could not, in any conceivable way be judged any sort of abstraction. People are killed, one clearly understands, or they are not killed – rather like the bullet emerging from the muzzle of the gun discussed above. But what is it, at the end of the day, that kills someone? Is it a bomb dropped from the bay of a Lancaster bomber, or is it the decision of Arthur “Bomber” Harris to bomb Lübeck on a certain day in 1945? Is it the decision to impose “unconditional surrender” arrived at in Casablanca on that black day in 1943, or is it the decision of Adolf Hitler to invade Poland on September 1, 1939? Maybe it was the decedent’s parents having a child. Who is killed, and quite why, is usually impossible to assign a cause to. If the breaking of the German code “ended the war earlier,” perhaps that saved British lives, and German ones, and those of other nationalities. But the assignment of such non-deaths to any particular cause would seem well beyond even God’s capabilities to elucidate.

And then there are the *deaths* that ensue from one side’s gaining an advantage in the sort of killing contest that that war, like all wars, in fact was. Perhaps the people of Coventry were spared a bombing attack in 1943 because of a decryption of a German order. The crews of the intercepted bombers would have sustained quite a number of deaths from the successful interdiction by the RAF’s fighters. But back in Coventry, where munitions, guns, bombs and perhaps even bombers were made, the RAF’s capabilities to visit death and destruction upon the people of Germany, and even France when it came time to counter-invade that country, were significantly increased. Do the deaths thus imposed come into this calculation of 14 million lives saved? Maybe the lives saved were British, or American, and others were not counted, at least not if they were deaths instead of continued lives.

God is very much what those who announce such conclusions as the “two years” and “14 million” pretend to be. Do we who read the crawl after an interesting movie discern what is being attempted on our faculties? If we hear a voice in our dreams commanding us to go forth and... whatever, do we understand that that was God’s voice, and that we must obey, to the extent our energies and fortunes enable us to?

Actually, no. The one was a dream, and the other is a lie, perhaps invidious, perhaps merely romantic, or perhaps even just hoped to arouse favorable emotions, for whatever benefit that might eventually impart to the liars.

Propaganda is in the very air we breathe. We can no more filter out lies from our perceptions than we can hold our breaths. But, opposed to our inevitable failures, we can nonetheless extend our efforts to cleanse ourselves of the poisons in which we are immersed well above our heads every day of our lives, to find those points of greater vulnerability, and fortify those, in hopes that, thus spared, we might retain enough energy to resist yet another assault on our grasp of truth.

The assault, we may confidently expect, will be made – always and everywhere. From it, we each of us will be able to glean only such truth as we manage successfully to choose as such – or as close to it as we can get.

Notes

- ¹ *The Imitation Game*, a seriously ahistorical portrayal of the life and role in code-breaking of Alan Turing.

REVIEWS

A Tale of Intellectual Repression and Its Humiliating Defeat

Nigel Jackson

The Zhivago Affair, by Peter Finn and Petra Couvée, Harvill Secker, London 2014

Boris Pasternak's novel *Doctor Zhivago* was published in 1957, my last year at secondary school, and led to the award for its author of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1958, my first year at university. David Lean's film of the novel, starring Omar Sharif and Julie Christie (among others), was released in 1965, my second year of full employment after the completion of my second degree. So I am, as it were, of the "Zhivago generation," although I have to confess that it was the film, with its glorious presentation of the heroine, Lara, together with its inspired musical theme composed by Maurice Jarré that first aroused my intense interest in the story. By then I had already determined that poetry was to be my vocation, as it has been ever since, so that identification and empathy with the tale's hero was inevitable. In 1968 *Quadrant* published my poem "Meeting at Varykino," an elegy for both Yury Zhivago and Pasha Antipov based on the latter's tragic suicide.¹ In 1975 my second book of poetry, *The Hare and the Rowan*,² appeared with the long title poem celebrating the novel's scintillating love story, a Russian equivalent in intensity and beauty to that in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

As I consider this new literary history of the advent and political effect of *Doctor Zhivago*, I wonder how many of today's twenty-year-olds have any interest in the novel at all. How many of them have even heard of it? Will it become a permanent classic like the Verona drama or gradually fade into the oblivion of books that have passed their time?

For *Doctor Zhivago* and its author, a brilliant poet with the uncanny ability to fashion words into startlingly fresh and original combinations (as did, for example, Gerard Manley Hopkins and Dylan Thomas), certainly had their time; and *The Zhivago Affair* is all about that.

The Nazi tyranny had been crushed in thirteen years, but the Soviet equivalent was horrifyingly present and powerful after four decades. The

“Cold War” between the communist nations and the “free West” was in full swing; and, thanks partly to the recent publication of George Orwell’s grim nightmare of totalitarianism, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, there was widespread fear that the Bolshevik tyranny might spread and engulf us all. Into that context of intense international conflict, struggle and fear, Pasternak dropped his literary bombshell – deliberately and determinedly, as *The Zhivago Affair* shows.

II

The essential significance of the novel is well brought out during this comprehensive narration by Finn and Couvée. “Its power lay,” the authors tell us, “in its individual spirit, Pasternak’s wish to find some communion with the earth, some truth in life, some love. [...] *Doctor Zhivago* stood as a rebuke to the short history of the Soviet state. [...] There was [...] a disdain for the ‘deadening and merciless’ ideology that animated so many of his contemporaries.” Or, as it was put by John Maury, the US Central Intelligence Agency’s Soviet Russia Division chief, “Pasternak’s humanistic message – that every person is entitled to a private life and deserves respect as a human being, irrespective of the extent of his political loyalty or contribution to the state – poses a fundamental challenge to the Soviet ethic of sacrifice of the individual to the Communist system. [...] the heresy which Doctor Zhivago preaches – political passivity – is fundamental. Pasternak suggests that the small unimportant people who remain passive to the regime’s demands for active participation and emotional involvement in official campaigns are superior to the political “activists” favored by the system. Further, he dares hint that society might function better without these fanatics.” The CIA chief also wrote that “the basic theme of the book itself [is] – a cry for the freedom and dignity of the individual – but also the plight of the individual in the communist society. The whole Pasternak affair is indeed a tragic but classic example of the system of thought control which the Party has always used to maintain its position of power over the intellectual. Like (radio) jamming, censorship and the Party’s ideological decrees for writers and artists, the banning of this book is another example of the means which the regime must use to control the Soviet mind. It is a reflection of the [...] intellectual barbarity, and the cultural sterility which are features of the closed society.”

Attacks made on the novel by the Soviet Government and by many of its writers and intellectuals confirm this spiritual significance from the other side. For example, the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union’s culture department asserted that it was

“a hostile attack on the October Revolution and a malicious libel of the Bolshevik revolutionaries by an author who was [...] a ‘bourgeois individualist’.” And, in rejecting the novel for publication, the editorial board of the literary journal *Novy Mir* stated: “The spirit of your novel is one of non-acceptance of the socialist revolution. The general tenor[...] is that the October Revolution, the Civil War and the social transformation involved did not give the people anything but suffering, and destroyed the Russian intelligentsia, either physically or morally.” The board complained about Yury Zhivago’s “hypertrophied individualism,” a vice they also saw, no doubt, in the author himself. Historian Christopher Barnes pointed out years

later that the authors either missed or did not articulate the novel’s “most heretical insinuation: by artistically conflating the Stalinist period with early revolutionary history, Pasternak implied [...] that the tyranny of the last twenty-five years was a direct outcome of Bolshevism.” For Pasternak, Stalinism and the purges were a natural outgrowth of the system created by Lenin.

Ian Cummins, reviewing *The Zhivago Affair* for *The Age* in Melbourne on 26th July 2014, perceptively fixed on the novel’s “skepticism about the alleged achievements of the Bolshevik revolution and indeed about the possibility of ideologically based political action improving the human condition.” He provided an effective supporting quotation from Yury Zhivago within the novel itself: “Revolutions are made by fanatical men of action with one-track minds, men who are narrow-minded to the point of genius. They overturn the old order in a few hours or days. [...] But for decades thereafter, for centuries, the spirit of narrowness which led to the upheaval is worshipped as holy.”

Doctor Zhivago, as its author knew when he passed the manuscript of the novel to the West, had taken the communist totalitarian tyranny on head-on in defense of the human spirit.



Publicity photo of Omar Sharif for film Dr. Zhivago.

*Source: By MGM (eBay)
[Public domain], via Wikimedia
Common*

III

“A weapon in the ideological battles between East and West – this [...] is part of *Doctor Zhivago*’s extraordinary life.” Finn and Couvée devote much of their book to a carefully researched and comprehensive account of this weapon, as it was used by the free world (led by the USA) and as the Soviet Government struggled to destroy or at least blunt it. Robert Chandler, in a review of *The Zhivago Affair* for *The Spectator* which was republished in *The Australian* on 26th-27th July, noted that “the main part of this book is a history, based on original research, of Pasternak’s last years and the publication of *Doctor Zhivago*.” He commented: “This will prove a valuable resource for scholars, though few more general readers will want to know the story in such detail.” That last arrow finds its mark: the narrative of the ideological struggle over the novel does at times become tedious, if not otiose. On the other hand, the exposé of CIA machinations is a usefully sobering reminder of how big-power politics behind the scenes can play an influential role in the cultural life of many nations. The intellectual commissars of the USSR were not the only manipulators in this drama.

It is also good to be reminded of the horrible censorship that exists under tyrannies, especially when one lives in an Australia that has been so easily duped in the last three years into maintaining repressive legislation against public discussion of sensitive controversies involving race and ethnicity. For example, we read that, after Pasternak had been awarded the Nobel Prize, Nikolai Mikhailov, Soviet minister for culture, announced that “it would be up to the writers’ union to decide if Pasternak would be allowed to receive the prize.” As though any such union should have such power over any artist or intellectual! And what a horrible pressure such a situation exerted on other writers, as an orgy of official damnation of the writer was rapidly organized: “The literary community was now ‘gripped by the sickening, clammy feeling of dread’ and it led to a near-frenzy of condemnations. These inquisitorial feelings were an almost ritualistic part of the Soviet literary system that stretched back to Stalin. Error was followed by collective attack. The fallen writer was expected to respond with contrition and self-criticism before being welcomed back in the fold. [...] The scale of the rhetorical assault and the global attention it drew was unprecedented.”

Fallacious terminology was devised, such as the phrase “internal emigrant,” a slander of Pasternak indeed, in view of his clearly expressed and completely sincere deep and heartfelt love for Russia. Large numbers of the Soviet public were taken in by the official onslaught of disapproval.

Finn and Couvée note that historian Denis Kozlov showed how “the revolution remained central to these people’s consciousness and socio-ethical order, the sacred foundation of a mental universe; and their reaction to the Pasternak affair was above all a defence against any attempt, real or imaginary, to undermine this intellectual cornerstone of their existence.” Accounts such as this confirm the importance of political action to maintain and extend political freedom within nations, arduous and sometimes disappointing as such endeavors may be.

IV

The Zhivago Affair contains many insights into the tragedies and ironies of the Pasternak affair. Here the book undoubtedly carries great interest for the general reader. For example, we learn that the love triangle of Yury, Tonya and Lara in the novel mirrors exactly the love triangle of Pasternak, his wife Zinaida and his mistress Olga Ivinskaya; and in both cases, those of Yury and of his creator, there was an inability to choose between “two families” – an inability that Pasternak left as a jarring discord in the novel itself, which ultimately fails to answer the question of whether or not Yury and Lara were right to become lovers.

Two striking tragedies Couvée and Finn recount concern Olga and Pasternak’s first publisher, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. Olga twice conceived by Pasternak, but lost one child by miscarriage (probably due to Soviet brutality towards her) and the other in a stillbirth. It is sad for any lover of the novel to think that this was the fate of “Lara.” As for Feltrinelli, who also deserves to be remembered and admired for his publishing of Giuseppe di Lampedusa’s *The Leopard*, it is sorrowful to read of his moral confusion as he was caught between traditional ethics and socialist ideology, his gradual loss of personal bearings and his sordid death: “On March 15th, 1972, the body of a man was found under a high-voltage electricity pylon in a suburb of Milan. [...] He was killed when the bomb he and some co-conspirators planned to use to cause a power cut went off prematurely.” It is a pity that Feltrinelli had failed to absorb the parallel wisdom in the two great novels he gave to the world – the wisdom to accept fate without illusion and without negative responses.

Doctor Zhivago was amazingly prophetic in certain ways. For example, just as Lara wept over Yury’s coffined body, so did Olga weep over that of Pasternak. The account of the funeral in *The Zhivago Affair* echoes in several ways that of Yury’s funeral in the novel. And just as Lara was arrested

after her affair with Yury and sent to a prison camp in the Gulag, so Olga was arrested after Pasternak's death and spent several years in forced labor.

It is good, too, to read of the long-term fate of Pasternak's first wife, Yevgenia Lurye, who also attended his burial. Her son by Pasternak, Yevgeny, was able, finally, to accept on behalf of his father the Nobel Prize in Sweden in the thirtieth year after Pasternak's death. Yevgenia did not live to see that; but one feels that it was a providential and fitting reward for one who said once, long after he had left her, that she had never stopped loving him. (Pasternak's second son, Leonid, by Zinaida, had already died well before 1989.)

The Zhivago Affair provides many insights into the chameleon-like character of the poet-author himself. One feels that the head of the Soviet Writers' Union, Alexander Fadeyev, was not wrong to comment on Pasternak's quality of "aloofness," which he saw as a blemish, but others might praise. By contrast, Feltrinelli's assessment ("a voice of a man alien to all political activity" which "transcends all ideological dogmatism") needs qualification. Pasternak, in real life and in his novel, could express dogmatisms of his own; and the novel itself, as well as the activities of its protagonist, are both intensely political, although their politics is subtler and more in accord with truth than that of their adversaries. *Doctor Zhivago* contains several highly dubious assertions about the life and role of Jesus and his place in history. It also adopts an assimilative approach to the problem of being a Jew (Pasternak himself was Jewish) which not unnaturally drew the ire of David Ben-Gurion and others.

However, Pasternak was authentically and profoundly religious in his own way. In a letter to Dmitri Polikarpov, head of the Central Committee's culture department, he defiantly asserted that "strength comes from on high." He felt at home within the Russian Orthodox tradition, which he saw as inextricably intertwined with Russia's soul and the "lost life" of the Moscow intelligentsia among which he had grown up before 1917. His style as a poet is widely recognized as being that of a difficult genius. Ernest Simmons of Columbia University is quoted as follows: "Pasternak's fresh, innovative, difficult style [is] notable for its extraordinary imagery, elliptical language and associative method. Feeling and thought are wonderfully blended in his verse that reveals a passionately intense but always personal vision of life." Victor Frank is reported as stating that the novel "is written by a man who has preserved and deepened his freedom – freedom from all external restraints and all internal inhibitions." And Harvard professor Harry Levin commented that "the most extraordinary fact about his career is that, under heavy pressures forcing writers to turn their words

into ideological propaganda, he has firmly adhered to those aesthetic values which his writing so richly exemplifies. He has thus set an example of artistic integrity.”

Finn and Couvée rightly pay tribute to Pasternak’s bravery: “In a totalitarian society he had long displayed an unusual fearlessness – visiting and giving money to the relatives of people who had been sent to the Gulag when the fear of taint scared so many others away; intervening with the authorities to ask for mercy for those accused of political crimes; and refusing to sign drummed up petitions demanding executions for named enemies of the state. He recoiled from the group-think of many of his fellow writers. [...] he was heckled for asserting [in a meeting] that writers should not be given orders.”

Yet *The Zhivago Affair* admits, correctly, that, just as there are significant weaknesses in *Doctor Zhivago*, as well as many great strengths, so Pasternak’s personal record of witness contains quite a few ethical smudges and inconsistencies.

Our authors also devote several remarks to the curious attitude that Stalin possessed towards Pasternak, just as he also apparently did to that other courageous writer-rebel, Mikhail Bulgakov. It seems that in each case the despot was psychologically drawn to a writer whom he felt to have some sacrosanct nature which should not be violated. Perhaps even tyrants are susceptible to the promptings of their “guardian angels” in such circumstances.

All in all, Finn and Couvée appear to write with an ideology-free sense of balance and fair play. Personally, I would take issue with their unqualified reference to “the poisonous anti-Communist crusade of Senator Joseph McCarthy” and would query their easy acceptance of the CIA’s policy of financing the non-Communist left rather than the right during the Cold War. There may have been less admirable reasons for that policy than the authors realize. But these are minor complaints.

At one stage in the Pasternak drama his US publisher Kurt Wolff told him: “You have moved beyond the history of literature into the history of mankind.” This book will help defend that place of honor, and one hopes that it will contribute to a new generation not forgetting the importance of Pasternak and the beauty and spiritual power of his novel.

There is scant reference to the next great Russian novelist to both win a Nobel Prize for Literature and suffer persecution by the Soviet government – Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. At one point Finn and Couvée report that “in Ryazan, a schoolteacher [Solzhenitsyn...] ‘writhed with shame for him’

[Pasternak] – that he would ‘demean himself by pleading with the government.’” At the present time Solzhenitsyn seems himself to be a “writer under tribulation,” as is indicated by the extraordinary failure of those holding the copyright to publish in English the last two volumes of his chief work, *The Red Wheel* and his study of Russian-Jewish relations (including during the Russian Revolution), *Two Hundred Years of Living Together*. It seems that some other sinister political power may be engaged in an act of cultural repression; and perhaps Finn and Couvée might turn their attention in another book to this.

Notes

- ¹ *Quadrant* is Australia’s premier magazine of ideas for the Center-Right or liberal-conservative spectrum.
- ² The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne.

Deutschland unter Allem
Lifting the Conquerors' Heels from Germany

Ezra MacVie

The High Cost of Vengeance, by Freda Uteley. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1949. 310 pp.

"The reason why I have not repeated the oft-told tale of Nazi crimes against humanity is that it is already familiar to every American. It is our own record which is not known, and it seems high time that the victors began to search their own consciences." —Freda Uteley, *The High Cost of Vengeance*, p. 303.

In rugby, a "scrum" is a play in which eight players from each side pack themselves together as tightly as possible, and then furiously tussle with each other for the ball when it is tossed into their midst. The treatment of the ball may be compared grimly with that received by Germany at the end of World War II when the four Allied powers marched into the prostrate, bleeding belligerent's heartland and proceeded to tear its pitiable remains into yet-smaller pieces in an orgy of revenge, self-pride, and the need to make the heinous deeds that had brought them their victory seem justified. Germany, of course, was contended for not by two, but by four armies, each with its own agenda inimical to Germany's future.

Four years after the end of armed conflict, this vicious, violent scrum was still well afoot, and Freda Uteley paid a long and probing visit to the suffering land on commission from *Reader's Digest* magazine. The book here reviewed¹ is the product of that penetrating inquiry, conducted by a 50-year-old ex-communist woman of English birth who by that time had lived in England, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and the United States and had published at least six extensive studies of nations, their political/economic systems and their wars, including the best-selling *Japan's Feet of Clay* (1937). The development of her sympathies and career resembled that of her contemporaneous countryman George Orwell, except that she never produced a work of fiction. Like Orwell, she was a devoted socialist, but went on to embrace communism, moving to the Soviet Union and marrying a Russian. Also like Orwell, she developed a profound enmity for total-

itarianism and appreciated the vulnerabilities of centrally planned economies to hijacking by dictatorial regimes.

The research and writing of this book occurred at what in retrospect may be seen as the nadir of Germany's fortunes in the entire period from the National Socialist takeover in 1933 to the present day. The exact point in time at which her work went to press was after the currency reforms and rollback of economic regulations (price controls, rationing) that had immiserated Germany since 1936, developments that today are hailed as the genesis of the *Wirtschaftswunder* that brought (West) Germany roaring back into the family of nations in the 1950s.



Freda Utley 1943

Source: Wikipedia.org. Work is in the Public Domain.

Utley completely failed in this book to anticipate Germany's phenomenal resurrection, and one is tempted to lay this "failing" to Utley's lingering devotion to her socialist ideals, but such a conclusion is dubious on several scores. To begin with, the famous economic initiatives of Ludwig Erhard and Wilhelm Röpke were viewed with serious misgivings by professional economists of all stripes, not just socialists, and it is to be questioned whether Erhard and Röpke themselves were able inwardly to muster quite all the confidence in the outcome that their political challenges required them to manifest outwardly. For another, there was good reason to doubt that the occupying Allies would permit the program to proceed, or even to maintain the changes it had carried out in the brief period between their introduction and the time Utley took her dispiriting snapshot. Finally, it is to be noted that the Erhard/Röpke disjuncture indeed exacted severe costs at its inception, such as the decimation of the value of such savings as at least some Germans had been able to eke out through the tumultuous times that preceded the break. Utley's noting these problems without expressing any optimism for their ultimate effect might indeed have been her tactic to avoid saying anything that could possibly weaken the impetus for

changes whose potential benefits she might privately have entertained very high hopes for.

There is no question that Utley, without wishing any ill upon the three Allies of the West, wished the best for chastened Germany, as she had in fact done resolutely at least since 1938, when she supported the Munich Agreement that divided up Czechoslovakia among Germany, Poland and Hungary. After the European war began, she allied herself with the America First movement that aimed at keeping the United States out of the war. And after Germany defeated France in 1940, she advocated a peace treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. But Utley maintained no illusions about the evils inherent in the National Socialist regime, often comparing them, before the war and after, with those of the communist giant to the east. She did maintain an abiding respect for the prowess of the German war machine, but her primary motivation in assuming the positions she assumed was her intimate familiarity with the limitless propensity for death and destruction inherent in the Soviet regime, a judgment that was vindicated in countless horrific ways in the decades following the war. She regarded Germany, after the war as before, as the West's bulwark against communism, and the fear that communism might engulf Germany and turn its vast potential to its own advantage permeates virtually every paragraph of her profoundly insightful and humane analysis.

The author points an accusing finger at all four of the Allies occupying Germany at the time of her research, but details concerning the Soviet quarter of the action are very slight for at least three reasons: (a) the Soviet Zone of occupation was even by 1948 increasingly separate from the three western zones, in two of which the occupiers spoke English, the language Utley herself worked in (the book was later translated into German and published in Germany); (b) she likely regarded the Soviet regime as incorrigible of its nature, a conclusion she was able to make with much confidence; and (c) she could not risk traveling in the Soviet Zone, as her husband already by that time had been consigned to the GULAG, and she had good reason to expect the same fate for herself if she should ever set foot in a communist jurisdiction.

Utley acknowledges at a few points in her narrative where this or that stricture of Occupation policy appeared to have been relaxed somewhat, or to be about to be relaxed, even as she at numerous points details ongoing atrocities that she very reasonably feared would drive Germany, however reluctantly, into the arms of the Soviet occupier if only to escape the interminable rapacity of the western Allies. In hindsight, it might be surmised

that *The High Cost of Vengeance* had at least some of the effect on western opinion and policy that it aimed at; certainly its effect on any attentive, reasonable reader is compelling in that and only that direction. Knowing this will forever be impossible, while it is known that the book enjoyed healthy sales and critical acclaim from at least some quarters.

At the same time, Utley and her appeal for justice for the defeated Germans attracted considerable criticism from quarters occupied by those favoring eternal suppression of Germany and Germans. And *Vengeance* may claim pride of place on a list that also contains the name of another English Germanophile, David Irving: Deborah Lipstadt's all-encompassing *Enemies List* of "Holocaust Deniers," this on account of her statement that the Allies' war crimes greatly eclipsed the magnitude of all war crimes committed by the National Socialists.² In the meantime, the entire book contains not one word of denial or justification for the crimes, real and alleged, of which the National Socialists were accused, as the quotation at the beginning of this review illustrates. This failure of denial, or of revision in any case, might also be counted among the book's failings, except for the facts that by 1948, World War II revisionism had not even begun, and that the matter was in any case altogether outside the book's brief. So Utley wisely accepted all accusations, and pressed her argument forward with quite undiminished force. She did, however, excoriate both the Nuremberg Tribunal and other trials, such as those at Dachau, conducted by the Allies as utterly unjudicial paroxysms of revenge and condemnation visited without discrimination upon the innocent as well as the guilty.

The cruel and vicious acts of each of the occupying powers must have seared the consciences of citizens of those powers as they read line after line, page after page, and chapter after chapter of injustice and inhumanity being committed in their names. The exposé, meticulously sourced and confirmed at each outrageous step, detailed the nefarious purposes and tendencies animating the occupying forces, with emphasis, as noted, on those of the three Western powers in which Utley reposed some hope of redemption, if only on the score of preventing Germany from falling into the orbit of the communist behemoth that they all feared.

France as an occupying power was seen primarily as territorially vengeful. Understandably, the French were inspired by revenge engendered by the National Socialists' invasion and occupation of most of France that began in 1940. Although on nothing like the scale of the Soviet Union's depredations to Germany's east, France undertook various territorial initiatives against formerly German territory, including the Saarland, which remained an "autonomous region" until 1957, and much of Germany's indus-

trial heartland of the Ruhr. France undertook a plebiscite in the Saarland in which dire consequences for the voters were threatened if they did not vote to merge with France; they called France's bluff and voted in a landslide against the merger nonetheless.

Britain as an occupying power was motivated primarily by commercial and industrial rivalry with Germany that went back long before both of the world wars. British dismantlings and destruction of already-shattered German industrial capabilities were wanton and devastating, but as history has demonstrated, they ultimately failed either to greatly hamper Germany's eventual development or much to bolster Britain's own industrial prowess.

The US forces in Germany committed their offenses under the urge for revenge for Germany's anti-Jewish policies during and prior to the war. The deliberately ruinous details of the Morgenthau Plan were well-known both to Utley and to the United States administration, if not its public, and had by late 1948 been extensively repudiated and officially discontinued. But Utley noted innumerable instances of this inhuman plan's remaining in near-full force through the agency of second- and third-tier officials who were German Jews who had emigrated to America before the war and had now returned in the uniform of the conqueror to exact revenge on their people's erstwhile malefactors. Nothing short of an outright purge could cure this disease afflicting the body of the occupying administration, and nothing of the sort seemed in prospect at the time of Utley's investigation.

Freda Utley's wisdom and insight as presented in *The High Cost of Vengeance* have been vindicated a thousandfold in the half-century since her shocking tale was published. A 2013 poll conducted by the BBC found Germany the most-admired country in the world – quite a contrast from the reviled outcast from western civilization depicted by her opponents in the last world war, and still is, as the Folks Who Brought You the Holocaust.

None could be happier, I'm sure, that her dire fears ultimately went unrealized than Freda Utley herself.

Notes

- ¹ The book is available for free download in .pdf form at <https://codoh.com/media/files/downloads/livres4/UTthcov.pdf>; or <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-high-cost-of-vengeance/>
- ² “Only one thing is certain: Hitler's barbaric liquidation of the Jews has been outmatched by the liquidation of Germans by the “democratic, peace-loving” powers of the United Nations.” p. 202.

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EDITORIAL

A Calm Political Atmosphere

Richard A. Widmann

Harry Elmer Barnes famously defined “historical revisionism” when he wrote:¹

“Actually, revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to revise the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude.”

Barnes’s definition may help to explain the failure (thus far) of World War II revisionism to penetrate public consciousness or to gain broad acceptance.

While it is understandable that the awesome combination of propaganda and patriotism create a sizable obstacle to truth during wartime, logic suggests that conclusion of such events would allow more-objective scholarship to occur. In fact, Barnes’s experience following 11 November 1918 certainly contributed to the formation of his definition. Barnes discovered one of the first articles to revise the origins of the Great War in July of 1920 when he first read historian Sidney Fay’s “New Light on the Origins of the World War, I. Berlin and Vienna, to July 29.”² Until that time Barnes had not only accepted the “official” version of the war’s origins, he had actively advocated military intervention even prior to Wilson’s request that the American congress declare war on Germany.

It seems that a *sine qua non* for revisionism to gain acceptance is “a more calm political atmosphere.” While there is little doubt that Barnes anticipated a similar calming of emotions following the Second World War as he experienced following the First, such calm never truly came.

Barnes complained:³

“Revisionism, when applied to the First World War, showed that the actual causes and merits of that conflict were very close to the reverse of the picture presented in the political propaganda and historical writings of the war decade. Revisionism would also produce similar results with respect to the Second World War if it were allowed to develop unimpeded. But a determined effort is being made to stifle or silence reve-

lations which would establish the truth with regard to the causes and issues of the late world conflict."

While Barnes witnessed a media and academic "blackout" when it came to articles and books that challenged the official version of World War II history, from the vantage point of 2015, it is clear that the 1950s and 1960s were a less-politically charged time. A significant body of World War II revisionism was published during this time and several such volumes including A.J.P. Taylor's *The Origins of the Second World War* (1961) were widely reviewed and discussed.

During Barnes's lifetime the conception of war changed from "regulated war" to total war. In his study of Carl Schmitt⁴, Alain de Benoist explains the principle of "regulated war":⁵

"Carl Schmitt says that [regulated war] is a war where the belligerents respect each other at war as enemies and do not treat one another as criminals, so that a peace treaty becomes possible and even remains the normal, mutually accepted end of war. War conducted according to the old law of nations follows rules governing, for example, the conduct of troops towards prisoners and civilians, the respect for neutral parties, the immunity of ambassadors, the rules of surrendering a stronghold, and the modalities of concluding a peace treaty. It almost never aims at overthrowing a sovereign or changing the government of a country, and is usually fought simply to achieve territorial objectives."

In contrast to "regulated war" is "total war," which does not recognize any limitations. The "total war" is a type of "holy war" conducted against the enemies of God.⁶ De Benoist comments, "the theory of the just war introduces a discriminatory conception of war: if there are just wars, there are also unjust wars. But it also divides humanity into two categories: against the 'infidels' and the 'barbarians' everything is permitted."⁷

Citing Schmitt's *Die Wendung zum diskriminierenden Kriegsbegriff* (*The Turn toward the Discriminatory Conception of War*), de Benoist identifies the era of the "modern just war" beginning with the Treaty of Versailles and the Allies' desire to bring Kaiser Wilhelm II to justice for having started the conflagration.

In the new conception of war it becomes "a battle between the forces of good and the forces of evil, between those who arrogate to themselves the right to judge and those who end up in the dock."⁸ The Second World War then becomes the first in which the enemy becomes "criminal." De Benoist notes, "to say that the enemy is a criminal is a way of denying him all political claims, thus disqualifying him politically. The criminal cannot claim

an opinion or an idea whose degree of truth or falsehood it may be necessary to evaluate; he is an intrinsically destructive being.”⁹

While declared a criminal, Kaiser Wilhelm escaped this new “justice” by going into exile in the Netherlands, where Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch government protected him from extradition.¹⁰ King George V however called Wilhelm “the greatest criminal in history” and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George proposed that the Allies “hang the Kaiser.”¹¹ By the close of the Second World War, exile was not a choice for the German leadership. The Allies set up a series of trials beginning with the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg with the specific intent of punishing enemy “criminals.”

World War II remains the ultimate “holy war” in the minds and consciousness of the American public. There is no defense of the Nazi; there is no claim or opinion by or in defense of the Nazi worth evaluating.

Today in various countries in Europe it is not only illegal to question the official narrative of the Holocaust but also even to express doubt about aspects of the Nuremberg trials. The media even rage about collectors of Nazi-era art¹² and military memorabilia. The Austrian government sen-



In today's political atmosphere, would the Kaiser have hanged? Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany in exile at the Dutch manor of Doorn, in civilian clothes relaxing with a cigarette. Photo September 1933.

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tenced one such collector to 10 months' imprisonment for having just such a collection.¹³

In today's political atmosphere, a simplistic "politically correct" view defines the entirety of the Second World War as a war against "racism." The super-charged topic of race reduces consideration of aspects of World War II into a simplistic caricature of history. While Hollywood seems to blur the line between "good" and "evil" in many popular films, the portrayal of the Nazi is practically always relegated to the cartoon-villain level.¹⁴

Recently the "holy war" against "racism" was expanded to target the display and sale of Confederate flags following the Dylann Roof church shooting.¹⁵ The "holy war" against the Confederacy is really a Twenty-First-Century phenomenon. The South's leaders were not viewed as forces of evil, not even in the victorious North. In fact, following General Robert E. Lee's surrender he was allowed to return to Richmond where he assumed the presidency of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University.) Even the Confederacy's President Jefferson Davis faced fairly lenient terms when considered in light of today's politically charged atmosphere. While he did serve two years' imprisonment, Davis was released on \$100,000 bail. Three years following the end of the war President Johnson released Davis from all liability through a presidential amnesty issued on December 25, 1868.

The recent "holy war" against symbols of the Confederacy resulted in various commentators complaining about the sale of other symbols of other defeated enemy regimes. Many critics asked, "Why are outlets such as Amazon and eBay still selling items with Nazi symbols?"¹⁶ Few if any commentators bothered to mention the sale of t-shirts emblazoned with the image of Che Guevara, or other items with the image of Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, or Karl Marx.

In our hyper-charged political atmosphere, various symbols have become the objects of hate. The charge of "racism" is typically all that is needed to brand an individual, a website, or a symbol with such enemy-status. In the name of tolerance and freedom, politicians and businessmen have sought out the indefensible and prohibited sale and marched in lock step to obliterate aspects of our history – and *theirs*. There can be no defense for those on the "wrong side of history." Only destructive beings, barely human, can attempt to defend the indefensible. As the causes were evil, so are those who are more interested in the facts than the rhetoric.

Harry Elmer Barnes was right when he declared that a "more calm political atmosphere" would be needed for a proper revision of the historical

record. He failed to see however that wars would become holy conflicts fought against the forces of evil. Who for a minute thinks that Kaiser Wilhelm, Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis wouldn't have been executed for their "crimes" in Twenty-First-Century America?

How much longer can it be before the propaganda-maddened crowd calls for a similar fate for revisionist historians and writers?

Notes

- ¹ Harry Elmer Barnes, "Revisionism: A Key to Peace" in *Revisionism: A Key to Peace and Other Essays* (San Francisco: Cato Institute, 1980), p. 1.
- ² Richard A. Widmann, "The Rise and Fall of Historical Revisionism Following World War I," *INCONVENIENT HISTORY*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-rise-and-fall-of-historical-revisionism/>
- ³ Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- ⁴ Alain de Benoist, *Carl Schmitt Today: Terrorism, 'Just' War, and the State of Emergency* (London: Arktos, 2013).
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
- ¹⁰ Lawrence Wilson, *The Imperial Kaiser: The Life of William II* (New York: Dorsett Press, 1963), pp. 180-181.
- ¹¹ Wilhelm II, German Emperor, Wikipedia article. Online: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelm_II,_German_Emperor
- ¹² Online: <http://www.wsj.com/articles/a-dark-niche-emerges-in-german-market-nazi-art-1432632601>
- ¹³ Online: <http://www.thelocal.at/20150703/nazi-basement-man-sentenced-to-ten-months>
- ¹⁴ See for example Quentin Tarrantino's *Inglourious Basterds* [sic]
- ¹⁵ Online: <http://www.dailycaller.com/2015/06/25/a-complete-list-of-everywhere-that-wants-the-confederate-flag-banned/>
- ¹⁶ For example see: <http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2015/06/24/amazon-bans-confederate-flags-still-sells-nazi-merchandise/>

PAPERS

Patrick Desbois and the “Mass Graves” of Jews in Ukraine

Carlo Mattogno

1) The Empty Arguments of Father Patrick Desbois

Father Patrick Desbois, an ardent champion of Judeo-Christian “friendship” and Chairman of the *Yahad-In Unum* Association, has acquired a certain notoriety in recent years due to his search for the mass graves of Jews murdered by the *Einsatzgruppen* in the Ukraine and other German theaters of operation in the years 1941-1942. Like any good Judeophile, he enjoys close relations with Israel, which showers him with awards and praise in return.¹

Notwithstanding this lavish support of the philo-Semitic and philo-Jewish Punch-and-Judy show, Desbois has come under criticism in his country of origin, France.

The 19 June 2009 issue of *Le Monde des Livres*, p. 2, published an article by Thomas Wieder entitled “Querelle autour du Père Desbois”² [“Dispute Surrounding Father Desbois”], which begins as follows:

“It is rare for Le Monde to be compelled to return to a work upon which a review has already been reviewed in its columns. The occasion presents itself today, by reason of the growing controversy, now several weeks old, regarding a book, Porteur de mémoires [Bearer of Memories] published by Michel Lafon, 2007, [Title has been published as Holocaust by Bullets in its English edition –Ed.] and its author, Father Patrick Desbois.

On 2 November 2007, under the title ‘A Priest Sets an Example for the Historians’, Le Monde des Livres published a laudatory review of Father Desbois’s book. This Catholic priest, director of the National Service for Relations with Judaism at the Conference of Bishops of France, describes the research conducted by himself in Ukraine starting in 2002, ‘on the traces of the Shoah by bullets,’ intended to locate the graves containing the corpses of more than one million Jews murdered during the Second World War. The author of the article, Alexandra

Laignel-Lavastine, speaks of an 'extraordinary undertaking,' likely to 'upset our preconceived ideas' on this aspect of the genocide.

Almost two years later, and after two visits to the Ukraine with Patrick Desbois and his group – first in May, and later in August 2008 – Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine declares that she 'was mistaken.' She makes this announcement, first of all, in 'La fabrique de l'histoire' ['The History Factory'], on France Culture, on 27 May. After the broadcast, she was informed that her 'collaboration' in the seminar sponsored by the Sorbonne with the historian Edouard Husson and Father Desbois in the fall of 2008 was to be 'terminated effective immediately.' Desbois, who refused to participate in the broadcast, has now become the target of criticism on several points."

Some regard the notion of a "Shoah by bullets," popularized by Desbois and disputed by the majority of the specialists, as "sloganeering." Other criticisms are methodological in nature and relate to Desbois's alleged tendency to depict himself as a "pioneer" while ignoring all the historians who studied this problem well before he did.

With regard to this reproach, Patrick Desbois maintains his composure. "I am not a historian," he says, attributing the whole affair to a "misunderstanding," a term borrowed from Anne-Marie Revcolevschi,* general director of the Foundation for the Memory of the *Shoah*, one of the organizations providing financial support to the Yahad-In Unum association,† chaired by Desbois since 2004. She explains:

"There is no need to require Father Desbois to be something which he is not. His undertaking is that of a man of the cloth and he has the right to follow his own methodology, which is not identical to that followed by university professors."

It is precisely this methodology which is causing consternation at the present time.

This consternation relates, in particular, to Desbois's tendency to ignore Ukrainian memorials [which already existed] ("to give the impression that the great majority of these graves in Ukraine had been unknown until that time," thus exaggerating "the scope of his discoveries" with recourse to a few "minor adjustments of the truth") while omitting the fact of the complicity of the Ukrainian population with the Nazis, to avoid "laying the blame on our courageous Ukrainian witnesses," in Desbois's words.

* <http://www.lemonde.fr/sujet/65f2/anne-marie-revcolevschi.html>

† <http://www.lemonde.fr/sujet/669b/yahad-in-unum.html>

On the other hand, Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine “expresses doubt as to the scholarly value of interviews sometimes carried out “in a climate of intimidation,” due to the presence of an “armed bodyguard wearing camouflage,” an accusation rejected by Desbois as a “calumny.”

What should be noted here is that Desbois is not a historian, but a “man of the cloth,” who has, for his research, adopted a methodology based, not on scholarly standards, but, rather, on religious faith.

2) Aktion 1005 and “Negationism”

In the booklet entitled *Operation 1005*,³ Desbois and Levana Frenk concern themselves with the so-called *Aktion 1005*, an alleged

*“code word for an operation intended to wipe out the traces of the murder of millions of persons in occupied Europe,”*⁴

allegedly directed by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, through an operational unit commonly known as Sonderkommando 1005.⁵

In fact, the authors say nothing about *Aktion 1005*, but restrict themselves to compiling a biography of Blobel. The objective of their book seems in fact to consist of establishing a correlation between the above-mentioned operation and “Holocaust denial”.⁶

“The operation of wiping out the traces and eliminating the bodies had direct implications, in part, upon the development of negationism, and, in part, upon the phenomena of memory. Eliminating the traces was equivalent to denying the victim their right to burial and relegating them to oblivion. On the other hand, negationism had already been committed through the process of ‘Vernichtung,’ of reducing to a nullity and annihilating all traces of the dead, without precedence in the history of genocide.”

The passage quoted above must therefore be kept in mind in any consideration of Desbois’s famous research work in the Ukraine as a sort of response to “negationism,” a term invented by the defenders of traditional Holocaust lore to discredit revisionism. The only real *negationism* is that professed by those who, out of intolerance, *deny* other people’s right to freedom of expression, *denying*, out of pseudo-religious obtuseness and bad faith, the very foundations of historiographical and scholarly methodology itself.

The picture is becoming increasingly clear: Desbois is a “man of faith” who adopts a “faith-based” methodology for the express purpose of denying revisionism.

3) Numerical Nonsense

The folder accompanying the exhibition entitled *Les Fusillades Massives en Ukraine (1941-1944): La Shoah par Balles*, (*The Mass Shootings in Ukraine (1941-1944): The Shoah by Bullets*), held at Paris on 20-30 June 2007, supplies the following information in this regard:⁷

"Between 1941 and 1944, approximately one and a half million Ukrainian Jews were murdered during the German invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany. The immense majority were shot by the Einsatzgruppen (mobile killing units deployed in the Eastern theater), the Waffen-SS, the German police and by local collaborators. Only a minority were killed after deportation to the extermination camps. [...] Since 2004, Father Patrick Desbois and the Yahad-In Unum research group found numerous Ukrainian witnesses who had seen the massacres or who had been called up [for temporary labor service] during the execution of the Jews. The testimonies gathered by the Yahad, systematically compared with written documentation, have enabled the discovery of more than five hundred previously forgotten mass graves and the collection of material evidence relating to the genocide (weapons, cartridge cases, ammunition). It has finally become possible to preserve and respect the burial of the victims [...]." (Emphasis added)

If words still have any meaning, the presumed "discovery of *more than five hundred mass graves*" is a shameless lie. As we shall see, with the exception of 15 graves, with regard to which many objections can nevertheless still be raised, Desbois never located *one single grave*, but rather, areas in meadows, woods or agricultural lands in which he *claims* mass graves exist, based on mere testimonies, the reliability of which we shall now examine. Even the number of alleged victims is absurd. In his numerical tally of Holocaust victims, under the heading of "Open Air Executions," Raul Hilberg supplies the total figure of "more than 1,300,000," which includes:⁸

"Einsatzgruppen, other heads of the SS and Police, Rumanian and German armies in mobile operations; shootings in Galicia during the deportations; executions of prisoners of war and shootings in Serbia and elsewhere."

It is therefore impossible to understand how one could arrive at the figure of 1.5 million victims in the Ukraine alone.

It gets worse. Desbois describes himself as a "man of the cloth," who adopts a "faith-based" methodology to combat revisionism, with recourse, euphemistically speaking, to certain "adjustments of the truth." And he does this on a vast scale, as we shall soon see.

The Italian translation of Desbois's book *Porteur de mémoires*, mentioned above, was published with the title "*Fucilateli tutti*" *La prima fase della Shoah raccontata dai testimoni*⁹ [*Shoot Them All: The Initial Phase of the Shoah as Narrated by Witnesses*]. The author describes his indefatigable search for eyewitnesses in the Ukraine, who, in filmed interviews, are said to have told him of the locations of the alleged mass graves of Jews shot by the *Einsatzgruppen*.

The motivation alleged to have impelled him to conduct this undertaking – the desire to find the final resting place of his grandfather, a POW, in a concentration camp at Rawa Ruska, in the Ukraine – is a rather facile pretext. Desbois in fact tells us that, finding himself in Częstochowa, in central-southern Poland, during a nighttime walk, he asked his companions where they were: "Someone turned to me and answered: 'Not far from the Ukraine.'" This response is said to have shocked him, by suddenly re-awakening old memories (pp. 35-36). In reality, Częstochowa is nearly 350 kilometers away from the Ukraine as the crow flies. It is closer to Germany (less than 290 km away) than the Ukraine. Desbois's account is therefore merely a literary fiction.

4) The Eyewitnesses

Desbois supplies additional important information in this regard:

"The witnesses whom we interviewed fell into three different categories: Indirect witnesses, who had not been present during the shootings, but who had heard tell of them or who saw the Jews being taken away. This class includes witnesses who described, for example, police removing Jews from their houses and taking them away.

Direct eyewitnesses: this class includes those who saw the shootings personally. [...]. The majority of our witnesses fell into this class.

Finally, there were the others: civilians drafted for a day or a week, most of them boys." (p. 90)

The direct eyewitnesses, however, "were only six, seven or eight years old at the time of the events in question"! (pp. 89-90). In one case, only five years old, such as Maria Kedrovska, born in 1937 (p. 259, 261). This fact is repeatedly mentioned in the book:

"[...] as children, were present at the murder of their Jewish neighbors [...]" (p. 121)

"[...] from their recollections, recalled through the eyes of the children that they were at that time [...]" (p. 131)

"The Germans shouted at the children not to look [...]" (p. 156)

"When I was a little girl, I saw them taking Jews away on carts [...]"
(p. 166)

"With other children, we went to see what was happening." (p. 170)

"A little girl at the time, she remembers running behind the carts full of bodies right up to the entrance to the cemetery." (p. 220)

How reliable can these old childhood memories possibly be? Their recollections, more than sixty years later, are now indissolubly confused with what they heard or read later, a fact made obvious by their own declarations:

"Only much later did we learn what had happened" (p. 148)

"My father, who died in 1980, was the person who told me [...]" (p. 203)

"I didn't see it personally, but someone spoke to me about it [...]" (p. 216)

"I didn't see it directly, but the villagers told me about it" (p. 245)

"From rumors going around [...]" (p. 186)

These alleged "eyewitness testimonies" are thus clearly invalidated by the rumors circulating post-war. Desbois himself notes:

"After the Germans abandoned an area, the Soviets opened the graves in village after village and conducted an investigation, interviewing victims, persons affected, and the survivors. They then drew up reports establishing the facts.

Sometimes, they were divined from the maps upon which the locations of the mass graves were indicated by crosses. But are these Soviet documents reliable? This type of material has been largely discredited by the Katyn Forest affair, introduced during the proceedings of the Nuremberg Trial." (p. 134)

On 13 April 1943, in the Katyn Forest, near Smolensk in the Soviet Union, the Germans, acting on information obtained from the local population, discovered seven mass graves containing a total of 4,143 bodies. The investigation (during which the bodies were examined by a commission consisting of forensic experts from 12 European countries, by a Commission of the Polish Red Cross and by American, British and Canadian officers selected from among POWs) showed that the crime had been committed by the Soviets. When the Soviets subsequently reoccupied the territory of Smolensk, the bodies at Katyn were once again exhumed and a commission was drawn up consisting solely of Soviet citizens (the Burdenko Commission), to shift responsibility for the massacre onto the Germans.

On 15 January 1944, they also invited a group of Western journalists. This large-scale propaganda exercise in the falsification of history is still attested to in the 38 booklets relating to the Katyn case, which are still located in the State Archives of the Russian Federation. At Nuremberg, the Katyn massacre, shamelessly attributed to the Germans by the Soviets, was debated in several sessions of the Nuremberg Trial.¹⁰

The value of the above-mentioned Soviet reports can readily be assessed. There is no doubt, therefore, that the witnesses interviewed by Desbois, who were mostly mere adolescents at the time, were heavily influenced by this propaganda.

A few of the witnesses were also researchers after their own fashion, such as Polina Savchenko, “who had a passionate interest in the history of the *Shoah*” (p. 165), or Adolf Wislowski, who “gathered articles relating to the killing of the Jews” (p. 139), which can only have influenced their testimony.

Their tales are full of obviously apocryphal horrifying or edifying anecdotes, such as the story of the

“[...] man who had seen a local Volksdeutscher take a childhood friend into the camp and shoot him, after which [the child] was forced to pick a cartful of sunflowers [!] to burn his friend and all the Jews who had been killed over the past week.” (p. 152)

Or that of the Jewess who, indifferent to the mass executions, wandered around calmly begging with her three children near the barracks housing the Gestapo. The “head of the Gestapo” shouted at her:

“Jews? The woman nodded, yes. Then he took his pistol and killed them all, right there, right in front of my doorway.” (p. 125)

Truly a suicide looking for a place to happen.

Or the story, a truly plaintive one, of the Jewish child, “aware” that his friend Anna was watching his execution together with her friends, concealed in a nearby hayloft, waved goodbye to her before being shot; since they were watching “through cracks in the slats,” and could not be seen from the outside, he was able to “make a brief gesture in their direction, as if to wave goodbye, after which he shouted: “Goodbye!” The murderers fired at that moment. (p. 213)

All this is said to have taken place in the face of imminent death by shooting, in which a true “silence of the tomb” must have reigned, enabling them to hear the child’s words, from a distance, through the cracks in the hayloft.

Obviously, this little fairy tale is then said to have “almost broken” Desbois’s heart (p. 213), just like this one, no doubt:

“When the neighbors read ‘kilometer 11,’ the Germans had already blocked the road. All traffic was prohibited during the executions. The only vehicles authorized to continue along the road were loaded with Jews. They glimpsed little Dora on the other side of the barrier. She was naked. In the freezing cold, she begged the Germans to give her back her cloak: ‘Give me my cloak, I’ll give you my shoes in exchange!’ But the Germans never listened to any of the pleading victims. Dora was shot.” (p. 275)

But if the road was blocked and all traffic was prohibited, how could the “neighbors” have seen and heard such a scene, which occurred, be it noted, in the midst of a crowd of 1,500 persons?¹¹

Not to mention the little fairy tale of the bodies piled up on top of each other and stamped on like grapes in a vat:

“There were thirty of us Ukrainian young people, we had to stamp on the bodies of the Jews with our bare feet and throw a thin layer of dirt over them, so that the other Jews could lie down.”

The following is Desbois’s comment:

“I could never have imagined that the Germans would have forced Ukrainian children to stamp on the bodies of Jews with their bare feet, as if they were Beaujolais grapes at harvest time.” (p. 102)

Does this require any comment at all? Alternatively, the bodies were “thrown” into the graves (p. 94), in which case it was unnecessary to “stamp” on them, but they had to be arranged in regular layers; or they were “arranged” (p. 185), in which case, it was unnecessary to “stamp” on them.

A bit of a digression here: an Internet site known as *Holocaust Controversies*, where the principal prize-winner for obtuseness and bad faith is a certain Roberto Muehlenkamp,¹² a member of the site’s resident Holocaust “affirmer” crew adduces this testimony as a “concordant proof” of the “method of killing” employed by the commandants of the SS *Einsatzgruppen* and Police in the Ukraine.¹³ The “stamping” method (p. 100) is said to confirm that of “*Sardinenpackung*,” or sardine packing, said to have been practiced by Friedrich Jeckeln, *Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer* with the German Army Group South in Russia, and vice versa. Evidence of these claims is said to be provided by two sources explaining exactly what “sardine packing” consists of. The first says that the victims

*“were forced to undress and to lie face-down in layers in the graves, after which they received a bullet in the back of the neck. Another layer of victims [sic!] were then forced to lie face-down on top of the layer which had just been killed [sic!] and were then shot; the procedure continued until the grave was filled.”*¹⁴

The second source repeats the same story, but adds that “they used Russian machine guns because the belt held fifty bullets and they could select semi-automatic fire,” which is also included as falling into the definition of “sardine packing.”¹⁵

In this way, the *Holocaust Controversies* Internet site fails to note that this contradicts one of the cardinal assertions underlying Desbois’s investigations, as we shall soon see (in § 9): the alleged incriminating implications of the *German* cartridge casings found by the said Desbois.

It is odd that the “method” in question did not enlist the labor of the Jewish victims themselves, and that not even the Jews forced to lie down on top of the layer of bodies to be shot in turn were compelled to “stamp” on the bodies forming the underlying layer.

It might be added that if “sardine packing” were really a “method,” it should have been in general use throughout the Ukraine; but not a single one of Desbois’s witnesses even mentions it; on the contrary, some of the witnesses openly contradict it. For example, Stanislav claims that the victims were killed “on their knees in front of the graves, facing forward, towards the grave” (p. 224). Nikolaj Olkhuski declared that the Germans “all shot at the same time” (p. 94) at the Jewish victims on the edge of the grave, who then fell into the ditch, some of them still alive (pp. 94-95). The same method is confirmed by Ivan Fedossievich Lichnitski, according to whom, in the ditch, a group of Jews “were forced to distribute the Jews lengthwise, covering the entire breadth of the grave” (p. 173), precisely because they had been shot at the edge of the ditch.

Thus, precisely and solely this method justifies the folk legend, referred to by many witnesses, of the mass graves covered by dirt which moved for three days, because the victims were buried alive (p. 81, 109, 175, 274), with the variants of two days (p. 187), or four days (p. 267); or of the use of a “well” instead of a mass grave (p. 263), evidence of extraordinary vitality on the part of the victims, to say the least: buried alive, three days below ground, without air, after being deliberately “stamped” on, like grapes in a wine vat! If to this be added the shot in the back of the neck inflicted upon every single victim, buried alive in mass graves, for three days, only zombies would be capable of such movement.

The witness Maria, by contrast, asserts:

"No, they didn't shoot them one by one, but with bursts of sub-machine-gun fire. They didn't use rifles, but sub-machine guns." (p. 205)

Another refutation of the "sardine packing" method.

To conclude our review of the imaginative anecdotes reported by Desbois, the witness Evgenja Nazarenko, in 1943, at age 9, is said to have been abandoned, alone, by her mother, near an execution site at Busk, in the province of Leopoli¹⁶, to allow her (the mother) to see whether or not her husband, the child's father, would also be shot, thus risking the life of the little girl (pp. 218, 241, 246).

And what can one say about the stories of Jews walled up alive (pp. 266-267) or suffocated with "Eiderdowns," *i.e.*, feather-bed quilts [sic!]? Desbois even entitles the paragraphs in question *"The Shoah by Suffocation"*! (p. 267).

No testimony is nonsensical enough to be rejected by the good priest, and certainly never as, well, not as an outright fairy tale (borrowing the priest's attitude of "Christian charity" for a moment), but at least as dubious or suspicious-sounding.

Everything his decrepit ex-child "witnesses" tell him sixty years later is sacrosanct Truth, like the Gospels (or the Talmud).

5) The Busk Eyewitnesses

Claiming credit for having discovered new witnesses, Desbois declares:¹⁷

"These direct witnesses have never been heard and do not appear in any archive document."

In the book, as indicated above, he mentions the (propagandistic) investigations of the various Soviet War Crimes Commissions. On p. 222, he comes back to this topic, writing:

"The names of the other witnesses, other than Busk – those whose depositions were signed before the city prosecutor in 1944. The prosecutor interrogated the Ukrainian witnesses who lived in Via Chevtchenko, the long street running past the Jewish cemetery. In 2006, without having been aware of this, we knocked at the same doors where the prosecutor had introduced himself sixty-two years before. The concordance of the testimony is stupefying, in terms of both the underlying questions and the form."

But how then could he pretend that his witnesses had "never been heard" before?

This "adjustment of the truth" implies another – one even more serious.

It should be noted that the city of Busk is of capital importance in Desbois's research, because, as we shall see in § 10, it was the only locality in which any mass graves were ever opened. He declares that "it is in this city that we carried on our research for three years" (p. 210) and he then informs us that "over the course of the investigations at Busk, we met a multitude of eyewitnesses" (p. 216). We are entitled to assume that, for the purposes of his book, Desbois selected the most representative from among this "multitude of witnesses." In fact, in Chapter 17, entitled "Busk," he mentions six of them:

1) Anna (last name not indicated), interviewed on 29 April 2004 (pp. 210-213): this is the same "witness" who, as a child, is said to have witnessed a shooting while concealed in a hayloft, described above.

2) Anton Davidovich, interviewed on 5 May 2005 (pp. 214-215): a self-styled "little friend" of Anna's, who is said to have shared the same experience with her ("there were five of us children in the hayloft," p. 214).

3) Polina (last name not indicated), interviewed on 30 August 2006. Desbois repeats the story, told him by Anton Davidovich, of Jews being reduced to "sexual objects" by the Germans:

"These women were not killed at Busk but in a little copse five kilometers away. By the time the Germans left the city, they were all pregnant. Since the Germans did not feel like shooting them, they entrusted the job of murdering them to a group from Sokal." (p. 215)

Desbois comments:

"This information is said to have found confirmation one year later, on 30 August 2006, when we met Polina, who lived at Tchuchmani, a small city six kilometers from Busk, not far from the copse in which the little Jewish girls were murdered."

Since the witness Davidovich did *not* witness the alleged shooting, Anna's "confirmation" presupposes that she was at least an eyewitness of the event. But these are her exact words:

"There were shootings in the forest. I did not see them personally, but someone told me about them." (p. 216)

For Desbois, therefore, a rumor *confirms* another rumor, and the two combined constitute *proof* demonstrating the reality of the alleged event, even if both "testimonies" were given over sixty years later!

Scientifically, this is an aberrant "faith-based" methodological principle, but not for a "person of great faith."

4) Evgenja (last name not indicated) is the child abandoned by her mother near an execution ground, as described above (pp. 216-218).

5) Stepan Davidovski (pp. 218-220) is an indirect witness.

6) Lydia (last name not indicated), interviewed on 16 April 2006 (pp. 221-222), was a child at the time of the alleged incident (p. 221) and did not see the executions, but indicated the location of the mass graves, according to Desbois.

Of these six witnesses, four were children at the time, while the ages of the other two are unknown.

The above-alleged “concordance of testimony” later mentioned by Desbois, means, therefore, that the Soviet prosecutor had interrogated the children “sixty-two years before”!

I shall return to the matter of the mass graves at Busk in § 10.

6) The Shooting of the Italian Soldiers

On p. 133, Desbois writes:

“At a curve in a road, next to a garage, we met another old man, Adolf. Thin, short in stature and with short hair, he is a self-proclaimed ‘militant of memory’. He invited us in, saying that he still had some Polish newspaper articles mentioning the body-burning squad. He shows them to us and says, ‘I was present at the execution of the Italians. I climbed up into an oak tree with some friends and I saw the Italian soldiers’. We began to realize the extent of the massacre. The testimonies all agree, and, even if no one is able to reconstruct what happened, they nevertheless inform us of what had happened.” (Emphasis added)

Another example of Desbois’s “faith-based” methodology in action.

His witness continues as follows:

“At this point, I salvaged the text of a survivor, Wells. This Jew worked in the camp of Janowska, an extermination camp at Leopoli. Book in hand, I followed the itinerary described by the writer, until we arrived at the same forest. Another confirmation.” (Emphasis added)

Before commenting on this last paragraph, “Adolf’s eyewitness testimony” really ought to be quoted:

“And the executions of the Italians?

They were in uniform with their plumed hats; the poor boys didn’t know that they were about to be killed and they undressed calmly. Their clothes were thrown into boxes. Since it was feared that they might escape, there were more Germans than usual. At any rate, they were led out in front of the graves as usual. We were amazed how resigned they were.” (p. 135)

The translator of the Italian edition of the Desbois's book, Carlo Saletti, informs the reader in a note:

"According to the reports drawn up by the Soviet investigatory commission, the Germans murdered several thousand Italian soldiers at the sites utilized at Leopoli in the weeks following September 8th. The news was carried by Soviet sources in 1986-87, causing a sensation in our country. The then Minister of Defense, Giovanni Spadolini, created an investigatory commission intended to shed light on the reliability of this information. [...]. The findings of this investigatory commission cast doubt upon the alleged mass executions (note 47 on p. 133).

On this topic, Erika Lorenzon wrote:¹⁸

"The debate which followed served to awaken people's interest in the Third Reich, and the fate of Italian POWs in the Soviet Union, with numerous articles in the Italian daily newspapers. While the preceding denunciations had produced a muted response, the communiqués of January 1987 were widely taken up and discussed by the Italian mass media, awakening a wave of emotion and raising many questions: the Soviet revelations, suitably verified, might shed light on the fate of thousands of Italian soldiers listed as missing on the Eastern Front. The Ministry of Defense, at that time headed by Giovanni Spadolini, thus formed an investigatory commission, presided over by Under-Secretary Tommaso Bisaglio, then by Senator Angelo Pavan, together with military and academic authorities who had participated in the war, such as Giulio Bedeschi, Mario Rigoni Stern and Nuto Revelli. In June of the following year, the latter published his findings in a report declaring that the massacre perpetrated against Italian soldiers at Leopoli should be considered assertions not yet basically proven; this statement, however, is counterbalanced by a minority report written by Lucio Ceva, Rigoni Stern and Revelli, who considered that the massacre could not be completely disproven, 'although there are still reasonable grounds for doubt which make it impossible to consider the matter proven.'"

But an asserted, unproven event remains just a rumor, because neither the testimonies repeated by the Soviets, nor the testimonies considered to constitute "concordance of evidence" by Desbois, has any value as proof. In practice, the good priest has simply collected a *concordance of rumor*.

I shall return to Wells's alleged "confirmation" somewhat later.

7) State Secrets and Open Secrets

Desbois claims credit for this “discovery” as well:

*Another fact of capital importance: we have demolished the myth of the secret Shoah in the East. In effect, the executions took place in the light of day, in the village or just outside.*¹⁹

This is said to constitute proof of the presence of the above-mentioned Ukrainians at the executions.

Desbois explicitly states that:

“[T]he Germans took no precautions against the possibility that the [Ukrainians] forced to participate in the killings might reveal their secrets afterwards. The persons forced to participate were neither Ukrainian police, nor collaborators, nor auxiliaries; most of them were children, both girls and boys, or little boys, whose labor was used for one or two days after being taken from their homes, early in the morning, by an armed man. These were not the ones who watched from the windows of their houses as the columns of Jews marched to the graves, or who climbed trees or hid behind bushes. They were often present on the site to start with, well before the shootings, remaining beside the Jews and their executioners, sometimes just a few meters away, sitting on the grass.” (pp. 99-100)

He moreover stated that “in some cases, more than fifty young people were used for their labor” (p. 100), adding that the persons forced to participate were not killed (pp. 136, 178). Therefore, there was no secrecy, and nothing to be kept secret.

All the persons forced to participate, according to Ivan Lichnitski, by German order,

“took empty buckets and beat on them to make a noise, to cover up the blows and screams.” (p. 183)

This witness also claims to have remained concealed in the usual barn overlooking the execution site, so that he saw what happened. In response to the remark that “it was a miracle that they weren’t killed,” he said:

“And how. They even saw us, shot at us, but thanks to God they didn’t capture us.” (p. 176)

We are thus invited (or expected) to believe that the Germans released direct eyewitnesses, who had witnessed the entire course of the executions, “remaining side by side with the Jews and their murderers, sometimes just a few meters away, seated on the grass,” eyewitnesses who were then drafted again for the next round of executions (pp. 177-178), but shot at

children who witnessed the shootings only by chance, partially and at some considerable distance!

8) Desbois and the Witness Wells-Weliczker

Desbois tells of his meeting in New York with Leon Wells, who writes under the pen name of “Weliczker,” author of a book entitled *Brigada Śmierci. Pamiętnik (The Death Brigade. A Diary, Łódź, 1946, published in Italian in 1960 under the title Comando speciale 1005, Editori Riuniti, Rome.*

With reference to Desbois’s book, Wells writes as follows:

“I consider his work, which has been used as a guide for years, in addition to reporting some of the very first eyewitness testimonies, a history book, and I did not believe that the author was still alive.” (p. 137, emphasis added)

I intend to analyze this alleged “history book” in another article.

Here I shall limit myself to examining Weliczker’s answers to Desbois, which I shall number for purposes of simplifying the discussion.

“He describes the Jewish commander who burned other Jews alive. He told me that other Jews called him Baby.”^[20] At the time, he was little more than a teenager.^[21]

I asked him: ‘Whatcha doin’, Baby?’

[1] I pulled the teeth out of Jews after disinterring them, collected the teeth in a bag which I gave to the Germans, every evening.

[2] And it took a long time, because there were ninety thousand bodies.

[3] I had a friend, younger than me, named Tzaler,^[22] ‘accountant.’ His job was to count the bodies, at the end of the day, and jot down the number in a little notebook.

He counted the bodies? And what happened to him?

He looks discomfited. He seems disturbed. ‘Of course, they killed him.’

I told him that I had heard that the ‘counters’ were eliminated.

‘Yes,’ he continued, ‘to eliminate all trace of the numbers.’

[4] They made you sleep in tents, to prevent you from seeing that the people they were killing were Jews?

[5] Yes, but I, who was just a little kid, succeeded in seeing something between the sheets of canvas, I saw the executions, and afterwards, I had to go out, undress them and burn them. It took six months.”²³

Point [1]. In his book, Weliczker makes no specific mention of “gold teeth,” but, rather, of “precious metals, such as gold or platinum,” which

was not “disinterred,” but rather, found among the crematory ashes and placed, not in a “little bag,” but rather, in “special sieve”; Weliczker performed none of these tasks, since “in the evening, the sergeant²⁴ took it [*the sieve full of precious metals*], delivering it to the squad leader.”²⁵ The recovery of the precious metals was performed by the “ashes column,” of which Weliczker formed no part.

Point [2]. The figure of 90,000 bodies is not mentioned in the book, and is not the sum of the sums mentioned, a total of approximately 5,100,²⁶ plus “thousands,”²⁷ an order of magnitude far removed from 90,000. What is more, this figure is in contradiction with the procedures described by Weliczker. In fact, he claims that it took three days to eliminate 700 bodies in June of 1943 (exhumation, cremation, sifting the ashes, filling and leveling the mass graves)²⁸ and another three days to eliminate 750 bodies in August,²⁹ so that the average was 250 bodies a day, not counting Sunday, which was a holiday!³⁰ It follows that the elimination of 90,000 bodies would have required 360 working days, or 420 days including Sundays, that is, 14 months. But Weliczker only spent 5 months in the “death brigade.”

Point [3]. In this regard, Weliczker’s book states as follows:³¹

“On the other side, the body counter, or ‘accountant,’ with a pencil and piece of paper in his hand. His job was to note the number of cremated bodies. He couldn’t tell the policeman how many bodies had been burned during the day. In the evening, he had to present the Untersturmfuehrer with a detailed report. He could not, however, remember how many bodies had been burned in the past few days. If the Untersturmfuehrer asked him the next day, he was supposed to say that he had forgotten.”

There is no mention of any shooting of the “accountant.” On the other hand, the possible shooting of the “accountants” would not have sufficed to ensure “no trace of the numbers remained.” This story is, in fact, a bit disingenuous: the “accountant” could easily have told Weliczker himself – who, by his own account, made regular entries in a diary:³²

“A few days afterwards, I took out my notes and reorganized them while I was on duty with the ‘Death Brigade’. I owe this diary to my duties as barracks guard: I took delivery of the paper and pencils used by the ‘accountants’ every day to jot down the number of bodies thrown into the flames.”

This means that he was in direct contact with the “accountants” precisely by virtue of his duties; since the task of diary-keeping, performed by him-

self personally, was ultimately intended to gather evidentiary material against the Germans, he could easily have transcribed the number of bodies cremated each day, and presented the diary as a complete statistical record of the cremations [at a later time].

Point [4]. The motivation suggested by Desbois and declared to be the truth by Weliczker for the fact that the “Death Brigade” slept in tents (to prevent them from witnessing the killings of the Jews) is contradicted by the book itself, which says:³³

“I will describe the appearance and organization of the new Lager. Every tent was nine meters long and six meters wide. Eighty men lived in one tent; the rest were housed in the other, intended for the ‘follow-up team’, specialists, service men and a few workmen, the great majority of whom had nothing to do with the bodies, at least not directly. One third of the second tent was taken up by a small office, which was separated from the rest of the tent by a wall. We also had electric light.”

The tents were therefore intended to fulfill a simple logistical function, since they were used to house men and materials.

Point [5]. In the book, the scene takes place in the barracks, the doors of which were covered “with cloaks and coats” [?]:³⁴

“A few of us watched through the cracks in the roof, and described the scene to the others.”

Weliczker later says that, after the pitching of the tents, during the executions, the men from the “brigade” were compelled to enter the tents to avoid being present [during the executions], but on this occasion he makes no claim of anyone spying through any cracks; rather, he refers to what they “heard.”³⁵

There are many obvious contradictions, but Desbois raises no objections whatsoever.

And yet, according to him, Weliczker’s little book would henceforth be “used as a guidebook for years to come,” so that one must assume that he knows it almost by heart.

Now let us return to Weliczker’s alleged “confirmation” of the shootings of the Italian soldiers. Following the route described by himself, Desbois is said to have arrived “at the same little wood,” that is, in the Lysynytychi Forest, just outside Lvov. In reality, Weliczker’s book mentions neither the Lysynytychi Forest, nor any bodies of Italian soldiers. According to him, the exhumation-cremations are supposed to have taken place in a “great deep gorge” in 18 August 1943,³⁶ in the Krzywicki Forest,³⁷ at Wól-

ka,³⁸ Jaryczow,³⁹ Piaski,⁴⁰ and Szczerce⁴¹. But this doesn't "confirm" anything.

What really takes the cake is when Desbois, writing on p. 134, claims that, "the Lysynytschi Forest was the site of the massacre which cost the lives of over 90,000 people," thus repeating an oral testimony from Weliczker which is flatly contradicted by Weliczker's own written testimony!

Again, omissions and lies are brushed off as merely a few more "adjustments of the truth"!

9) "Proofs of Genocide": Cartridge Casings!

Desbois describes his genius for intuition in the following terms:

"I couldn't get a wink of sleep all night. Did the Germans just throw their cartridge casings away? Auditing the archives was my job. I started researching the German and Soviet documents. I asked a few specialists, I studied the records of the existing testimonies. There was no mention of the Germans gathering up their cartridge casings. A glimmer of hope! I became convinced that there must still be cartridge casings, concealed beneath the Ukrainian soil, and that wherever there was a cartridge casing, a murder had been committed." (pp. 69-70, emphasis added).

This is another aberrant methodological principle, the application of which by the naive priest approaches the level of the ridiculous:

"The Germans only used one shot to kill a Jew. Three hundred cartridge casings, three hundred bullets: here, three hundred people were murdered. The feelings of shock I experienced would not go away. There was not a single Soviet cartridge casing. The proofs of genocide are so flagrant, so tangible!" (pp. 70-71, emphasis added).

But if the "sardine packing" story is to be taken seriously, with the corollary of killing by means of a shot to the back of the neck using Soviet machine pistols, the absence of Soviet cartridge casings would be evidence against the genocide!

On p. 72, Desbois asserts:

"We counted six hundred cartridge casings that day, at the restaurant. Guillaume climbed up onto the table to photograph them from above. I realized that we had a duty to collect all these traces, the traces of the murders, all these cartridge casings, equivalent to an equal number of proofs of the Shoah by shooting." (Emphasis added)

Thus, according to this “faith-based methodology, mere “traces,” amounting to something much less than real evidence, are transformed into “proof”!

On the other hand, the principle of “one cartridge casing = one death” is contradicted by both Desbois himself, and by several of his witnesses. In fact, he writes:⁴²

“The methods utilized by these mobile killing units varied. In general, the victims, once they had been gathered together, were lined up on the edge of a mass grave and killed with a pistol shot in the back of the neck or with a machine pistol. Mortally wounded, they fell into the pit. But Blobel did not like this procedure. After the war, he declared that he had personally refused to use ‘specialists in shooting in the back of the neck’ to avoid placing ‘personal responsibility’ upon his men. Ohlendorf, Blobel and Haensch declared that they preferred mass shootings at a distance.”

For Desbois, therefore, the rumors repeated by the “witnesses” and the cartridge casings are “convergent proofs of genocide,” while cartridge casings are “tangible proofs of massacre” (p. 75).

He is well aware of the irremediable inconsistency of these “proofs,” but – and this is the basic problem underlying his research – “since they were not permitted to open the graves” (p. 76), he had to content himself with merely superficial traces, such as cartridge casings or the statements of witnesses.

But why not open the graves?

10) The Mass Graves

Desbois claims that he visited London on 5 October 2006 to meet Rabbi Schlesinger:

“The rabbi sat down slowly, seriously and silently, and began to examine various documents, written by hand in Yiddish on yellow and white sheets, which had been arranged on his desk for some time. These were opinions from international Orthodox rabbinical case law regarding the bodies of Jews killed during the Shoah. Holding a yellow[ed] sheet in one hand, he raised his eyes and explained to me in English that it had been established that the Jews murdered under the Third Reich were considered tsadiqim, or ‘saints,’ and that they had been granted the fullness of eternal life. For this reason, their graves, wherever they

were, whether beneath a highway or a garden, must be left intact, so that their peace might not be disturbed." (pp. 161-162)

But these "opinions" had already been violated by Desbois some months before. In the paragraph entitled "*August 2006. Archaeological Investigation and Re-Opening of the Graves*" (pp. 224-228), he describes, in fact, the re-opening of the mass graves of Busk, performed under the supervision of the son of Rabbi Meshi Zahav, founder of the Israeli organization *Zaka*, which "ensures that the burials of the victims were conducted according to Jewish law" (note 77 on p. 225).

Desbois explains that,

"Jewish law, halakhah, states that in no case may the bodies be moved, particularly, with reference to the victims of the Shoah. Orthodox Jewish tradition establishes that the remains of the victims of the Shoah rest in the fullness of God, and that any moving of their remains disturbs their rest. Thus, the archaeologist was only permitted to work on the surface of the bodies, taking care not to move the bones." (p. 225)

I shall not dwell upon this singular ban, halfway between superstition and ceremonial magic (on the one hand, the rabbi has the power to cause the victims to enjoy "the fullness of God," while on the other hand, moving their bodies "disturbs" this fullness, as if the bones could exert an influence over the soul!); rather, I shall proceed immediately with the motivation for re-opening the graves: "so that it would no longer be possible to doubt [the reality of the *Shoah*] because of the lack of material confirmation" (p. 224).

Finally, after chattering about the witnesses and the cartridge casings, Desbois presents his true and proper "material confirmation." Let's see what it is. After declaring that the archaeologist "estimated"[sic] the number of graves at 17 (instead of 15), Desbois says that they contain approximately 1,750 persons, most of them women and children (pp. 225-226).

He then describes the discoveries:

"The bodies began to come to light: one, then another, then yet another one. [...] We succeed in establishing whether the victim was a man, woman or child, and particularly, the cause of death. The signs of the bullet impacts and the position of the bodies showed that they died as a result of shooting, or, in some cases, because they were buried alive. Various groups of women were found in the act of protecting their infants from the shovelfuls of sand. These macabre discoveries lasted three weeks." (p. 226, emphasis added)

Desbois nevertheless personally admits that "it was not possible to conduct the investigation as it should been performed, since we had to follow Jew-

ish law, which prohibited us from moving the bones” (p. 227), which means that the investigation is valueless from the point of view of forensics.

It should be added that Desbois’s statements are in contradiction to those of the witness Stanislav, who claims that the Jews,

“had to gather their belongings in a pile and were then compelled to kneel before the graves in groups of ten or less, facing the graves. They were then killed with machine pistols.” (pp. 223-224)

This method of execution is incompatible with the findings mentioned by Desbois, since it presupposes moving the dead bodies around, and arranging them along the entire surface area of the mass grave; for this reason, the “position of the bodies” in the grave” proves nothing, nor were any skeletons found “in the act of protecting their infants from the shovelfuls of sand.”

On p. 188, a witness reports that “the *Rada* [Ukrainian Parliament] has recognized the genocide of the Ukrainian people during the famine of 1932 and 1933,” the so-called *Holodomor*, “the terrible famine which struck the Ukraine in 1932 and 1933. This was the worst catastrophe which ever struck the Ukrainian nation in modern history, since it involved the deaths of several million people (estimates vary widely). According to various historians and the Ukrainian government itself, the famine was intentionally caused by the policies of Soviet Dictator Stalin, in such a way as to enable consideration of the famine a true and proper genocide.”⁴³

What is certain is that the number of deaths caused by the genocidal famine was enormously greater than that of the “*Shoah* by bullets” and that



Fig. 1: Aerial Photograph showing the 15 grave sites

women and children also died, both Ukrainians and Jews. On the other hand, the graves at Busk were discovered “in an old Jewish cemetery.”

But then, without a forensic investigation, how can one state that the bones in question belonged to Jews shot by the Germans?

Strangely, in the photographic appendix to his book, Desbois fails to publish a single photograph – either of the re-opened graves, or the bones – but rather, only 4 photographs of cartridge casings (3 of which were found at Khvativ and a single photograph showing at least 30 cartridge casings, at Busk).

A few interesting photographs may be found on the Internet, however, particularly an aerial photograph showing the 15 grave sites (Fig. 1).⁴⁴

These are the comments accompanying the photograph on the Internet:

“Aerial view of the Busk site, in the Lvov region, where 15 mass graves were found in an old Jewish cemetery. An expert report ordered by the Shoah Memorial in 2006 showed the presence of Jewish victims killed by German bullets between 1942 and 1943. At the request of the Shoah Memorial in August 2006 an expert report was drawn up under the responsibility of Yahad-in Unum, by Ukrainian archaeologists from the Civil Society for Research into War Victims [called] ‘Memory,’ under the supervision of the Zaka organization, guarantor of respect for the bodies of the victims according to Jewish law.”

In reality, as I have explained above, no “expert report” was ever published. For purposes of comparison, please see the expert study performed by the Germans at Vinnitsa, where 97 mass graves were discovered, at



Fig. 2: Skeletons in a mass grave.

three different locations in June 1943 containing the bodies of 9,432 Ukrainians murdered by the Soviets. As in the case of Katyn, the Germans compiled the findings of the investigations in an extremely well-documented 282-page publication organized in three parts.⁴⁵

The Katyn inquest,⁴⁶ which is also available on the Internet,⁴⁷ and an equally meticulous expert report.

Let us return to Desbois.

From the aerial photograph of the Busk site, it is possible to estimate that the 15 graves (considering their dimensions and the average size of a human being) were rather small, with a total surface area of approximately 300 square meters.

Another image (Fig. 2), taken from ground level, shows the skeletons in a mass grave.⁴⁸ This grave is bigger, with an estimated surface area of approximately 40 square meters. Another photograph depicts Desbois on the edge of this grave.⁴⁹

The skeletons are not piled up on top of each other, but rather, randomly dispersed; assuming a density of 4 skeletons every 3 square meters, the 15 mass graves would only have contained 400 bodies in total. If the graves contained 1,750 each, as claimed by Desbois, this would mean that every grave contained 4 layers of bodies. But since they were not permitted to move the bodies, Desbois and his archaeologists had no way of knowing what lay beneath the layer or skeletons they were looking at. So how did they arrive at the figure of 1,750 skeletons?

The answer probably lies in the fact that, as stressed by Prof. Edouard Husson, the above-mentioned investigation

*“succeeded in confirming the testimony of the witnesses and the investigation of the 1944-45 Soviet Commission regarding the massacre of the last 1,700 Jews.”*⁵⁰

A “confirmation” discredited in advance.

He adds that the findings of the investigation

“dated 3 October 2007 have been examined at the Sorbonne by specialists in history, Second World War weaponry, ballistics experts, specialists in forensic medicine, and archaeologists.”

The findings of this examination must not be very exciting, since we still haven’t heard anything about them two years later.

It is, however, a fact that the good priest, in his “archaeological investigation,” never even bothered to indicate the dimensions of the mass graves, and, having finished his study, was unfortunately “compelled”

“to cover up the graves with a particular [form of] tar, utilized for the asphaltting of airport runways, in such a way as to guarantee that no one searching for gold could ever again disturb the dead in their repose.” (p. 227)

Of course, this also guarantees that the graves will never again be opened to perform a forensic-medical expert examination intended to ascertain whom the skeletons belonged to, when they died, and the cause of death.

As for Desbois’s witnesses, one must wonder as to the extent to which they, too, may have had recourse to little “adjustments of the truth”: Desbois was looking for mass graves, and they showed him mass graves.

Of Jews? The “archaeological investigation” described by Desbois in his book never proves this.

The witness Stanislav furthermore declared that the execution of “thousands of Jews” at Busk lasted “for over a week” in May 1943, and that there were “approximately ten graves” in the Jewish cemeteries (pp. 223-224). Ignoring the number of alleged victims and graves, his assertion that “the executions lasted over a week” is in flagrant contradiction with the Holocaust claim that the executions occurred on 21 May 1943,⁵¹ which is hard to reconcile with either the numbers or dimensions of the graves, eight of which have a total estimated surface area of approximately 100 square meters, on average little more than 12 square meters each. Why would the Germans have bothered digging so many small graves if they needed to shoot over 1,700 people total?

Fig. 1 shows that the majority of the graves are very close together, separated only by a wall of earth: this indicates successive rather than a single digging operation; in that case, the dividing walls would have been knocked down to create larger graves.

I do not wish to imply that the graves in question could not contain the remains of Jews shot by the Germans: I simply state that Desbois has provided virtually no support for this particular conclusion.

11) The Cremations

In Chapter 16, Desbois concerns himself with the alleged *Aktion 1005*, already mentioned above. We learn that

“the Third Reich decided to entrust the destruction of the traces of their victims to highly qualified, trained personnel.” (p. 201, emphasis added).

This is a rather strange thing to say about Blobel, who had absolutely no competence in the field of cremation. As I have remarked above, at the time, according to Holocaust historiography, the Topf & Söhne company, the most important German builder of crematory ovens at the time, and its head engineer, Kurt Prüfer, an extremely highly qualified specialist in cremation, rendered their services at Auschwitz, concurrently with the extermination of the Jews. Notwithstanding this fact, the SS, for the huge task of cremating hundreds of thousands of bodies, instead of consulting real cremation specialists – particularly Prüfer himself or his colleague, Fritz Sander, certified engineer and designer, in October 1942, of a “Crematory furnace for bodies, capable of continuous functioning and intended for mass use” (*Kontinuierlich arbeitender Leichen-Verbrennungsofen für Massenbetrieb*),⁵² is said to have had recourse to a poor semi-drunken dervish, who, as Desbois himself remarks, had “never even studied architecture,” as he later declared at Nuremberg during the *Einsatzgruppen* trial, but had simply attended a “state technical school at Barmen-Eberfeld, where he began a half-year [course of study], during the winter of 1913-1914, before joining the army.”⁵³

Desbois, incredibly, adds:

“*Aktion 1005 was kept secret, the SS communicated with Berlin in code: the number of clouds indicated that of the re-opened graves, and the quantity of rain indicated the number of bodies that had been burned.*” (p. 201)

Where did Desbois ever get this poppycock? From some senile “eyewitness”? What rubbish!

And if the shootings were committed “in the light of day,” if their secrecy was a “myth,” why were the cremations so concealed?

According to Desbois, *Aktion 1005* units followed “approximately the same itinerary as the *Einsatzgruppen*,” in search of the mass graves: but how many graves did they succeed in eliminating the “traces” of? Desbois doesn’t even express an opinion on this fundamental problem, not even “approximately.” The only “proof” he produces is a photograph depicting him on the ruins of a little wall in open countryside. This is the caption:⁵⁴

“*14 July 2006. We find the traces of the chicken coop in which the Soviet POWs employed in Aktion 1005 were burned!*”

What proof! Truly overwhelming! This is how Desbois proves the reality of *Aktion 1005* according to the “faith-based method.”

12) The Belzec Threshing Machine

This is really a shocking “discovery.” At Belzec, an anonymous witness (“the son of one of these peasants” whose horses were requisitioned by the camp command) told Desbois

“that he had seen threshing machines in operation inside [the camp]. The Nazis used them to sift the ashes and find gold fillings and teeth.” (p. 46).

This story has really got to be true, because it was “confirmed” to the good priest by no less than a “peasant” (not by his son, who was supposed to have seen them!), at Tomaszów, near Belzec:

“The commandant of Belzec camp requisitioned my thresher. He gave me a receipt telling me I could get it back later. After a few months, since no more trainloads of Jews were arriving at the camp, I went to the camp entrance to get my machine back. The Germans told me to go into a warehouse where there were about ten machines like mine. There were poor Jews who turned the cranks. But instead of wheat, there were the ashes of the Jews.”

In view of these extremely important “material proofs,” attested to by two concordant rumors, Desbois did everything he could to get his hands on them:

“That day, I decided to load three of these machines onto a white van, one of which is now on exhibit at the Shoah Memorial at Paris.” (p. 200)

The good priest must have failed to notice one not-exactly irrelevant detail: according to the official historiography concerning Belzec, the gold teeth were extracted from the victims *before* burial (followed by subsequent disinterment and cremation). [For example], in this regard, the witness Rudolf Reder, declares as follows in a small book of “recollections” published in 1946:⁵⁵

“All along the path from the gas chambers to the graves, for several hundred meters, there were dentists equipped with pincers. They stopped the workers dragging the corpses, opened the mouths of the bodies, looked inside and pulled out the gold, which they then threw in a little chest.”

On the other hand, the peasant found somebody to fob his old fairy tales off on, no doubt with suitable payment.

13) More Deaths = More Money

Desbois describes his financiers as follows:⁵⁶

"We have received enormous support from various organizations, particularly the Foundation for the Memory of the Shoah, and from Madame Veil, who ensured that we became well-known to the media, as well as by other foundations and personages, in the Christian world as well. Nevertheless, we had to be really active to make ends meet, because whether or not we find the bodies will depend upon our financial situation. We were thus compelled to carry on an active search for funds to raise the funds, since the entire organization is completely transparent (emphasis added)."

In other words, the more deaths, the more money. And the more deaths, the more notoriety. Which, based on the pretense that indicating the location of a few alleged mass graves [on a map] is equivalent to "the discovery of mass graves" and, therefore, proof of mass murder. Desbois vividly describes his public appearances exhibiting his "discoveries." He appeared "before representatives from the Claims Conference" at New York (p. 122) and at the *Holocaust Museum* at Washington, D.C. (p. 123). In this regard, very modestly, he comments:

"At these meetings, before all our researchers, I realized the significance of my discoveries to the history of the Shoah. One after the other, they listed, with all their erudite language, what I had discovered on the camp. Meetings like this helped me become aware of the importance of my work. It became clear to me that I could no longer proceed merely empirically, no matter how useful that might be. My methods had to be more 'professional.'" (p. 125)

Desbois then describes the manner in which he received the praise of German researchers at Munich (p. 126), as well as Israeli praise at the *Yad Vashem* Memorial (p. 126) and French praise at the *Shoah* Memorial at Paris (pp. 126-127). We are not informed as to whether the notoriety goes solely to the Ukrainian procurers of (alleged) mass graves. And the same could be said of Desbois's relations with the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., which, in its 2007 annual report, reports that Desbois has "identified 700 graves and execution sites" and that it "estimates that more than 2,000 exist [but] have never been found."⁵⁷

It may be a "sin to think evil," but there is no doubt that the alleged 1,300 alleged "sites still awaiting discovery" represent the promise of renewed financing and notoriety for Desbois.⁵⁸

To erase these shadows clouding his moral character, all Desbois need do is visit the Gaza Strip with his research caravan and look for Israeli cartridge casings: “one cartridge casing= one dead Palestinian.”

In that case, we could, at least, believe in his good faith.

Notes

Originally published in 2009 as “Patrick Desbois e le ‘fosse comuni’ di ebrei in Ucraina”; English translation by Carlos Porter.

- ¹ See <http://www.yahadinunum.org/>
- ² Available for consultation at: <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/7496059/Le-Monde> – Des-Libres-19-06-2009.
- ³ Patrick Desbois, Levana Frenk, *Opération 1005. Des techniques et des hommes au service de l’effacement des traces de la Shoah. Les études du Crif*, 2005. Text available at: http://www.crif.org/pdf/etude_3_1ere.pdf.
- ⁴ *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust. Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*. By Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, Julius H. Schoeps. Head Director: Israel Gutman. Argon Verlag, Berlin, 1993, Vol. I, p. 10.
- ⁵ This pretext is refuted in my study on the topic, entitled “*Azione Reinhard*” e “*Azione 1005*.” Effepi, Genoa, 2008.
- ⁶ P. Desbois, L. Frenk, *Opération 1005. Des techniques et des hommes au service de l’effacement des traces de la Shoah*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- ⁷ Temporary exhibition, 20 June-30 November 2007. *Les fusillades massives en ukraine (1941-1944) : la Shoah par balles*, http://www.memorialdelaShoah.org/upload/medias/fr/CP_Ukraine.pdf.
- ⁸ R. Hilberg, *La distruzione degli Ebrei d’Europa*. Giulio Einaudi editore. Turin, 1995, p. 1318.
- ⁹ Marsilio, Venice, 2009.
- ¹⁰ See, for example, vol. VII, p. 470 (Conclusions of the Soviet Investigating Commission, and Document URSS-54) from the First Nuremberg Trial, German edition. See also: Robert Faurisson, “Katyn à Nuremberg,” in: *Revue d’Histoire Révisionniste*, no.2, August-September-October 1990, pp. 138-144.
- ¹¹ According to the *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 823, 1,500 Krimchaki were shot at Simferopol on 9 December 1941.
- ¹² See in this regard my article “Belzec e le Controversie olocaustiche di Roberto Muehlenkamp,” in: <https://codoh.com/library/document/belzec-e-le-controversie-olocaustiche-di-roberto-muehlenkamp/>
- ¹³ Father Patrick Desbois – Part 2: The Requisitioned, in: <http://holocaustcontroversies.blogspot.com/2008/10/father-patrick-desbois-part-2.html>
- ¹⁴ <http://www.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/places/ftp.py?places//latvia/rumbula/massacre.411130>
- ¹⁵ http://www.rumbula.org/Chapter_8_Rumbula.doc
- ¹⁶ Italian name of Lviv; Lwów in Polish, L’vov (or Lvov) in Russian, Lemberg in German.

- ¹⁷ Une interview de Patrick Desbois, by François Delpla, 4 June 2009, in: http://www.delpla.org/article.php3?id_article=415.
- ¹⁸ E. Lorenzon, *Gli Internati Militari Italiani e la memoria di una "storia produdente,"* in: <http://www.centrostudiluccini.it/pubblicazioni/memoriamemoire/1/internati.pdf>.
- ¹⁹ Une interview de Patrick Desbois, by François Delpla, 4 June 2009, in: http://www.delpla.org/article.php3?id_article=415.
- ²⁰ The book contains no mention of this nickname.
- ²¹ At the time of his joining the "Death Brigade," on 15 June 1943, Weliczker was 18 years and 3 months old, having been born on 10 March 1925.
- ²² *Zahler* means "payor;" the name should be *Zähler*, "counter."
- ²³ In the book, five months, from 15 June to 20 November 1943. L. Weliczker, *Comando speciale 1005*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- ²⁴ That is, the head of the *Kommando*.
- ²⁵ L. Weliczker, *Comando speciale 1005*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 47, 55, 59, 69, 77.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23: "It was a mass grave, with thousands of bodies."
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-45.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 57, 64.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- ³⁶ L. Weliczker, *Comando speciale 1005*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 59.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 72.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 77.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ⁴² Patrick Desbois, Levana Frenk, *Opération 1005. Des techniques et des hommes au service de l'effacement des traces de la Shoah*. Les études du Crif, 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- ⁴³ Ukrainian Embassy in the Republic of Italy, *Holodomor 1932-33 – Genocidio contro popolo*, in: <http://www.mfa.gov.ua/italy/itl/17215.htm>.
- ⁴⁴ *Les fusillades massives des juifs en Ukraine 1941-1944. La Shoah par balles*, in <http://www.memorialdelaShoah.org/upload/minisites/ukraine/documents.htm>.
- ⁴⁵ *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Winniza*. Berlin, 1944.
- ⁴⁶ *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn*, Berlin 1943.
- ⁴⁷ *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn*, in: <http://www.katyn.ru/index.php?go=Pages&in=view&id=831&page=0>
- ⁴⁸ *Les fusillades massives des juifs en Ukraine 1941-1944. La Shoah par balles*, in <http://www.memorialdelaShoah.org/upload/minisites/ukraine/exposition5-desbois.htm>
- ⁴⁹ 2007 annual report of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, in: <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/press/annualreport/2007/report.pdf>,

- ⁵⁰ *Rapport sur la création et le développement du Centre de ressources pour la recherche et l'enseignement sur la Shoah à l'Est (Paris-Sorbonne/Yahad-In Unum). Remis par le Professeur Edouard Husson au Professeur Georges Molinié, Président de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne. Settembre 2009, in:* <http://www.Shoahparballes.com/dl/2009/09/rapport-crersl.doc>.
- ⁵¹ *Querelle autour du Père Desbois*, article cited.
- ⁵² See, in this regard, my study *Le camere a gas di Auschwitz*. Edizioni Effepi, Genoa, 2009, pp. 403-407.
- ⁵³ Patrick Desbois, Levana Frenk, *Opération 1005. Des techniques et des hommes au service de l'effacement des traces de la Shoah*, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Blobel suffered from "cirrhosis of the liver undoubtedly caused by excessive drinking," p. 17.
- ⁵⁴ Photographic insert from an outside source. The story is narrated on pp. 205-206.
- ⁵⁵ Roberto Sforini, *Il sabba di Belzec*. Edizioni Shtetl, Milan, 2004, p. 123
- ⁵⁶ Père P. Desbois: "Nous avons aussi nos ennemis." Par Carroll Azoulay pour Guysen International News. June 1, 2009, in: <http://www.guysen.com/articles.php?sid=10016>.
- ⁵⁷ In: <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/press/annualreport/2007/report.pdf>.
- ⁵⁸ In an interview conducted by Carroll Azoulay for Guysen International News on 1 June 2009, Desbois stated that "for one official execution there were perhaps 10 undeclared executions." Père P. Desbois: "Nous avons aussi nos ennemis," in: <http://www.guysen.com/articles.php?sid=10016>.

Winston Churchill Discreetly Veiled, Part 2

Ralph Raico

Conclusion of Winston Churchill Discreetly Veiled, Part 1 (see No. 2)

Embroiding America in War – Again

In September 1939, Britain went to war with Germany, pursuant to the guarantee which Chamberlain had been panicked into extending to Poland in March. Lloyd George had termed the guarantee “hare-brained,” while Churchill had supported it. Nonetheless, in his history of the war Churchill wrote:¹

“Here was decision at last, taken at the worst possible moment and on the least satisfactory ground which must surely lead to the slaughter of tens of millions of people.”

With the war on, Winston was recalled to his old job as First Lord of the Admiralty. Then, in the first month of the war, an astonishing thing happened: the president of the United States initiated a personal correspondence not with the Prime Minister, but with the head of the British Admiralty, by-passing all the ordinary diplomatic channels.²

The messages that passed between the president and the first lord were surrounded by a frantic secrecy, culminating in the affair of Tyler Kent, the American cipher clerk at the US London embassy who was tried and imprisoned by the British authorities. The problem was that some of the messages contained allusions to Roosevelt’s agreement – even before the war began – to a blatantly unneutral cooperation with a belligerent Britain.³

On June 10, 1939, George VI and his wife, Queen Mary, visited the Roosevelts at Hyde Park. In private conversations with the King, Roosevelt promised full support for Britain in case of war. He intended to set up a zone in the Atlantic to be patrolled by the US Navy, and, according to the King’s notes, the president stated that “if he saw a U boat he would sink her at once & wait for the consequences.” The biographer of George VI, Wheeler-Bennett, considered that these conversations “contained the germ of the future Bases-for-Destroyers deal, and also of the Lend-Lease Agreement itself.”⁴ In communicating with the First Lord of the Admiralty, Roosevelt was aware that he was in touch with the one member of Chamberlain’s cabinet whose belligerence matched his own.

In 1940, Churchill at last became Prime Minister, ironically enough when the Chamberlain government resigned because of the Norwegian fiasco – which Churchill, more than anyone else, had helped to bring about.⁵ As he had fought against a negotiated peace after the fall of Poland, so he continued to resist any suggestion of negotiations with Hitler. Many of the relevant documents are still sealed – after all these years⁶ – but it is clear that a strong peace party existed in the country and the government. It included Lloyd George in the House of Commons, and Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, in the Cabinet. Even after the fall of France, Churchill rejected Hitler's renewed peace overtures. This, more than anything else, is supposed to be the foundation of his greatness. The British historian John Charmley raised a storm of outraged protest when he suggested that a negotiated peace in 1940 might have been to the advantage of Britain and Europe.⁷ A Yale historian, writing in the *New York Times Book Review*, referred to Charmley's thesis as "morally sickening."⁸ Yet Charmley's scholarly and detailed work makes the crucial point that Churchill's adamant refusal even to listen to peace terms in 1940 doomed what he claimed was dearest to him – the Empire and a Britain that was non-socialist and independent in world affairs. One may add that it probably also doomed European Jewry.⁹ It is amazing that seventy-five years after the fact, there are critical theses concerning World War II that are off-limits to historical debate.

Lloyd George, Halifax, and the others were open to a compromise peace because they understood that Britain and the Dominions alone could not defeat Germany.¹⁰ After the fall of France, Churchill's aim of total victory could be realized only under one condition: that the United States become embroiled in another world war. No wonder that Churchill put his heart and soul into ensuring precisely that.

After a talk with Churchill, Joseph Kennedy, American ambassador to Britain, noted:

"Every hour will be spent by the British in trying to figure out how we can be gotten in."

When he left from Lisbon on a ship to New York, Kennedy pleaded with the State Department to announce that if the ship should happen to blow up mysteriously in the mid-Atlantic, the United States would not consider it a cause for war with Germany. In his unpublished memoirs, Kennedy wrote:¹¹

"I thought that would give me some protection against Churchill's placing a bomb on the ship."



Churchill at the Cairo conference with Chiang Kai-shek and Franklin D. Roosevelt, November 25, 1943. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

Kennedy's fears were perhaps not exaggerated. For, while it had been important for British policy in World War I, involving America was the *sine qua non* of Churchill's policy in World War II. In Franklin Roosevelt, he found a ready accomplice.

That Roosevelt, through his actions and private words, evinced a clear design for war before December 7, 1941, has never really been in dispute. Arguments have raged over such questions as his possible foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack. In 1948, Thomas A. Bailey, diplomatic historian at Stanford, already put the real pro-Roosevelt case:¹²

"Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor [...]. He was like a physician who must tell the patient lies for the patient's own good [...]. The country was overwhelmingly noninterventionist to the very day of Pearl Harbor, and an overt attempt to lead the people into war would have resulted in certain failure and an almost certain ousting of Roosevelt in 1940, with a complete defeat of his ultimate aims."

Churchill himself never bothered to conceal Roosevelt's role as co-conspirator. In January 1941, Harry Hopkins visited London. Churchill described

him as “the most faithful and perfect channel of communication between the President and me [...] the main prop and animator of Roosevelt himself”.¹³

“I soon comprehended [Hopkins’s] personal dynamism and the outstanding importance of his mission [...] here was an envoy from the President of supreme importance to our life. With gleaming eye and quiet, constrained passion he said: ‘The President is determined that we shall win the war together. Make no mistake about it. He has sent me here to tell you that at all costs and by all means he will carry you through, no matter what happens to him – there is nothing that he will not do so far as he has human power.’ There he sat, slim, frail, ill, but absolutely glowing with refined comprehension of the Cause. It was to be the defeat, ruin, and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties and aims.”

In 1976, the public finally learned the story of William Stephenson, the British agent code named “Intrepid,” sent by Churchill to the United States in 1940.¹⁴ Stephenson set up headquarters in Rockefeller Center, with orders to use any means necessary to help bring the United States into the war. With the full knowledge and cooperation of Roosevelt and the collaboration of federal agencies, Stephenson and his 300 or so agents “intercepted mail, tapped wires, cracked safes, kidnapped, [...] rumor mongered” and incessantly smeared their favorite targets, the “isolationists.” Through Stephenson, Churchill was virtually in control of William Donovan’s organization, the embryonic US intelligence service.¹⁵

Churchill even had a hand in the barrage of pro-British, anti-German propaganda that issued from Hollywood in the years before the United States entered the war. Gore Vidal, in *Screening History*, perceptively notes that starting around 1937, Americans were subjected to one film after another glorifying England and the warrior heroes who built the Empire. As spectators of these productions, Vidal says: “We served neither Lincoln nor Jefferson Davis; we served the Crown.”¹⁶ A key Hollywood figure in generating the movies that “were making us all weirdly English” was the Hungarian émigré and friend of Churchill, Alexander Korda.¹⁷ Vidal very aptly writes:¹⁸

“For those who find disagreeable today’s Zionist propaganda, I can only say that gallant little Israel of today must have learned a great deal from the gallant little Englanders of the 1930s. The English kept up a propaganda barrage that was to permeate our entire culture [...]

Hollywood was subtly and not so subtly infiltrated by British propagandists."

While the Americans were being worked on, the two confederates consulted on how to arrange for direct hostilities between the United States and Germany. In August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met at the Atlantic conference. Here they produced the Atlantic Charter, with its "four freedoms," including "the freedom from want" – a blank-check to spread Anglo-American *Sozialpolitik* around the globe. When Churchill returned to London, he informed the Cabinet of what had been agreed to. Thirty years later, the British documents were released. Here is how the *New York Times* reported the revelations:

*"Formerly top secret British Government papers made public today said that President Franklin D. Roosevelt told Prime Minister Winston Churchill in August, 1941, that he was looking for an incident to justify opening hostilities against Nazi Germany. [...] On August 19 Churchill reported to the War Cabinet in London on other aspects of the Newfoundland [Atlantic Charter] meeting that were not made public. [...] 'He [Roosevelt] obviously was determined that they should come in. If he were to put the issue of peace and war to Congress, they would debate it for months,' the Cabinet minutes added. 'The President had said 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 to be done to force an incident.'"*¹⁹

On July 15, 1941, Admiral Little, of the British naval delegation in Washington, wrote to Admiral Pound, the First Sea Lord: "the brightest hope for getting America into the war lies in the escorting arrangements to Iceland, and let us hope the Germans will not be slow in attacking them." Little added, perhaps jokingly:

"Otherwise I think it would be best for us to organize an attack by our own submarines and preferably on the escort!"

A few weeks earlier, Churchill, looking for a chance to bring America into the war, wrote to Pound regarding the German warship *Prinz Eugen*: "It would be better for instance that she should be located by a US ship as this might tempt her to fire on that ship, thus providing the incident for which the US government would be so grateful."²⁰ Incidents in the North Atlantic did occur, increasingly, as the United States approached war with Germany.²¹

But Churchill did not neglect the “back door to war” – embroiling the United States with Japan – as a way of bringing America into the conflict with Hitler. Sir Robert Craigie, the British ambassador to Tokyo, like the American ambassador Joseph Grew, was working feverishly to avoid war. Churchill directed his foreign secretary, Anthony Eden, to whip Craigie into line:²²

“He should surely be told forthwith that the entry of the United States into war either with Germany and Italy or with Japan, is fully conformable with British interests. Nothing in the munitions sphere can compare with the importance of the British Empire and the United States being co-belligerent.”

Churchill threw his influence into the balance to harden American policy towards Japan, especially in the last days before the Pearl Harbor attack.²³ A sympathetic critic of Churchill, Richard Lamb, has recently written:²⁴

“Was [Churchill] justified in trying to provoke Japan to attack the United States? [...] in 1941 Britain had no prospect of defeating Germany without the aid of the USA as an active ally. Churchill believed Congress would never authorize Roosevelt to declare war on Germany. [...] In war, decisions by national leaders must be made according to their effect on the war effort. There is truth in the old adage: ‘All’s fair in love and war.’”

No wonder that, in the House of Commons, on February 15, 1942, Churchill declared, of America’s entry into the war:²⁵

“This is what I have dreamed of, aimed at, worked for, and now it has come to pass.”

Churchill’s devotees by no means hold his role in bringing America into World War II against him. On the contrary, they count it in his favor. Harry Jaffa, in his uninformed and frantic apology, seems to be the last person alive who refuses to believe that the Man of Many Centuries was responsible to any degree for America’s entry into the war: after all, wasn’t it the Japanese who bombed Pearl Harbor?²⁶

But what of the American Republic? What does it mean for us that a president collaborated with a foreign head of government to entangle us in a world war? The question would have mattered little to Churchill. He had no concern with the United States as a sovereign, independent nation, with its own character and place in the scheme of things. For him, Americans were one of “the English-speaking peoples.” He looked forward to a common citizenship for Britons and Americans, a “mixing together,” on the road to Anglo-American world hegemony.²⁷

But the Churchill-Roosevelt intrigue should, one might think, matter to Americans. Here, however, criticism is halted before it starts. A moral postulate of our time is that in pursuit of the destruction of Hitler, all things were permissible. Yet why is it self-evident that morality required a crusade against Hitler in 1939 and 1940, and not against Stalin? At that point, Hitler had slain his thousands, but Stalin had already slain his millions. In fact, up to June, 1941, the Soviets behaved far more murderously toward the Poles in their zone of occupation than the Nazis did in theirs. Around 1,500,000 Poles were deported to the Gulag, with about half of them dying within the first two years. As Norman Davies writes: "Stalin was outpacing Hitler in his desire to reduce the Poles to the condition of a slave nation."²⁸ Of course, there were balance-of-power considerations that created distinctions between the two dictators. But it has yet to be explained why there should exist a double standard ordaining that compromise with one dictator would have been "morally sickening," while collaboration with the other was morally irreproachable.²⁹

"First Catch Your Hare"

Early in the war, Churchill declared: "I have only one aim in life, the defeat of Hitler, and this makes things very simple for me."³⁰ "Victory – victory at all costs," understood literally, was his policy practically to the end. This points to Churchill's fundamental and fatal mistake in World War II: his separation of operational from political strategy. To the first – the planning and direction of military campaigns – he devoted all of his time and energy; after all, he did *so* enjoy it. To the second, the fitting of military operations to the larger and much more significant political aims they were supposed to serve, he devoted no effort at all.

Stalin, on the other hand, understood perfectly that the entire purpose of war is to enforce certain political claims. This is the meaning of Clausewitz's famous dictum that war is the continuation of policy by other means. On Eden's visit to Moscow in December 1941, with the *Wehrmacht* in the Moscow suburbs, Stalin was ready with his demands: British recognition of Soviet rule over the Baltic states and the territories he had just seized from Finland, Poland, and Romania. (They were eventually granted.) Throughout the war he never lost sight of these and other crucial political goals. But Churchill, despite frequent prodding from Eden, never gave a thought to his, whatever they might be.³¹ His approach, he explained, was that of Mrs. Glass's recipe for Jugged Hare: "First catch your hare."³² First beat Hitler, then start thinking of the future of Britain and Europe. Church-

ill put in so many words: “the defeat, ruin, and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties and aims.”

Tuvia Ben-Moshe has shrewdly pinpointed one of the sources of this grotesque indifference:³³

“Thirty years earlier, Churchill had told Asquith that [...] his life’s ambition was ‘to command great victorious armies in battle.’ During World War II he was determined to take nothing less than full advantage of the opportunity given him – the almost unhampered military management of the great conflict. He was prone to ignore or postpone the treatment of matters likely to detract from that pleasure. [...] In so doing, he deferred, or even shelved altogether, treatment of the issues that he should have dealt with in his capacity as Prime Minister.”

Churchill’s policy of all-out support of Stalin foreclosed other, potentially more favorable approaches. The military expert Hanson Baldwin, for instance, stated:³⁴

“There is no doubt whatsoever that it would have been in the interest of Britain, the United States, and the world to have allowed – and indeed, to have encouraged – the world’s two great dictatorships to fight each other to a frazzle. Such a struggle, with its resultant weakening of both Communism and Nazism, could not but have aided in the establishment of a more stable peace.”

Instead of adopting this approach, or, for example, promoting the overthrow of Hitler by anti-Nazi Germans – instead of even considering such alternatives – Churchill from the start threw all of his support to Soviet Russia.

Franklin Roosevelt’s fatuousness towards Joseph Stalin is well-known. He looked on Stalin as a fellow “progressive” and an invaluable collaborator in creating the future New World Order.³⁵ But the neo-conservatives and others who counterpose to Roosevelt’s inanity in this matter Churchill’s Old World cunning and sagacity are sadly in error. Roosevelt’s nauseating flattery of Stalin is easily matched by Churchill’s. Just like Roosevelt, Churchill heaped fulsome praise on the Communist murderer, and was anxious for Stalin’s personal friendship. Moreover, his adulation of Stalin and his version of Communism – so different from the repellent “Trotskyite” kind – was no different in private than in public. In January 1944, he was still speaking to Eden of the “deep-seated changes which have taken place in the character of the Russian state and government, the new confidence which has grown in our hearts towards Stalin.”³⁶ In a letter to his

wife, Clementine, Churchill wrote, following the October 1944 conference in Moscow:³⁷

"I have had very nice talks with the old Bear. I like him the more I see him. Now they respect us & I am sure they wish to work with us."

Writers like Isaiah Berlin, who try to give the impression that Churchill hated or despised all dictators, including Stalin, are either ignorant or dishonest.³⁸

Churchill's supporters often claim that, unlike the Americans, the seasoned and crafty British statesman foresaw the danger from the Soviet Union and worked doggedly to thwart it. Churchill's famous "Mediterranean" strategy – to attack Europe through its "soft underbelly," rather than con-



Triple handshake, with, from left to right, Winston Churchill, President Harry S. Truman, and Generalissimus Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference. [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

centrating on an invasion of northern France – is supposed to be the proof of this.³⁹ But this was an *ex post facto* defense, concocted by Churchill once the Cold War had started: there is little, if any, contemporary evidence that the desire to beat the Russians to Vienna and Budapest formed any part of Churchill's motivation in advocating the "soft underbelly" strategy. At the time, Churchill gave purely military reasons for it.⁴⁰ As Ben-Moshe states: "The official British historians have ascertained that not until the second half of 1944 and after the Channel crossing did Churchill first begin to consider preempting the Russians in southeastern Europe by military means."⁴¹ By then, such a move would have been impossible for several reasons. It was another of Churchill's bizarre military notions, like invading Fortress Europe through Norway, or putting off the invasion of northern France until 1945 – by which time the Russians would have reached the Rhine.⁴²

Moreover, the American opposition to Churchill's southern strategy did not stem from blindness to the Communist danger. As General Albert C. Wedemeyer, one of the firmest anti-Communists in the American military, wrote:⁴³

"if we had invaded the Balkans through the Ljubljana Gap, we might theoretically have beaten the Russians to Vienna and Budapest. But logistics would have been against us there: it would have been next to impossible to supply more than two divisions through the Adriatic ports. [...] The proposal to save the Balkans from communism could never have been made good by a "soft underbelly" invasion, for Churchill himself had already cleared the way for the success of Tito [...who] had been firmly ensconced in Yugoslavia with British aid long before Italy itself was conquered."

Wedemeyer's remarks about Yugoslavia were on the mark. On this issue, Churchill rejected the advice of his own Foreign Office, depending instead on information provided especially by the head of the Cairo office of the SOE – the Special Operations branch – headed by a Communist agent named James Klugman. Churchill withdrew British support from the Loyalist guerrilla army of General Mihailovic and threw it to the Communist Partisan leader Tito.⁴⁴ What a victory for Tito would mean was no secret to Churchill.⁴⁵ When Fitzroy Maclean was interviewed by Churchill before being sent as liaison to Tito, Maclean observed that, under Communist leadership, the Partisans'

"ultimate aim would undoubtedly be to establish in Yugoslavia a Communist regime closely linked to Moscow. How did His Majesty's Gov-

ernment view such an eventuality? [...] Mr. Churchill's reply left me in no doubt as to the answer to my problem. So long, he said, as the whole of Western civilization was threatened by the Nazi menace, we could not afford to let our attention be diverted from the immediate issue by considerations of long-term policy. [...] Politics must be a secondary consideration."⁴⁶

It would be difficult to think of a more frivolous attitude to waging war than considering "politics" to be a "secondary consideration." As for the "human costs" of Churchill's policy, when an aide pointed out that Tito intended to transform Yugoslavia into a Communist dictatorship on the Soviet model, Churchill retorted: "Do you intend to live there?"⁴⁷

Churchill's benign view of Stalin and Russia contrasts sharply with his view of Germany. Behind Hitler, Churchill discerned the old specter of Prussianism, which had caused, allegedly, not only the two world wars, but the Franco Prussian War as well. What he was battling now was "Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism," the "two main elements in German life which must be absolutely destroyed."⁴⁸ In October 1944, Churchill was still explaining to Stalin that: "The problem was how to prevent Germany getting on her feet in the lifetime of our grandchildren."⁴⁹ Churchill harbored a

*"confusion of mind on the subject of the Prussian aristocracy, Nazism, and the sources of German militarist expansionism [...his view] was remarkably similar to that entertained by Sir Robert Vansittart and Sir Warren Fisher; that is to say, it arose from a combination of almost racialist antipathy and balance of power calculations."*⁵⁰

Churchill's aim was not simply to save world civilization from the Nazis, but, in his words, the "indefinite prevention of their [the Germans'] rising again as an Armed Power."⁵¹

Little wonder, then, that Churchill refused even to listen to the pleas of the anti-Hitler German opposition, which tried repeatedly to establish liaison with the British government. Instead of making every effort to encourage and assist an anti-Nazi coup in Germany, Churchill responded to the feelers sent out by the German resistance with cold silence.⁵² Reiterated warnings from Adam von Trott and other resistance leaders of the impending "bolshevization" of Europe made no impression at all on Churchill.⁵³ A recent historian has written, "by his intransigence and refusal to countenance talks with dissident Germans, Churchill threw away an opportunity to end the war in July 1944."⁵⁴ To add infamy to stupidity, Churchill and

his crowd had only words of scorn for the valiant German officers even as they were being slaughtered by the Gestapo.⁵⁵

In place of help, all Churchill offered Germans looking for a way to end the war before the Red Army flooded into central Europe was the slogan of *unconditional surrender*. Afterwards, Churchill lied in the House of Commons about his role at Casablanca in connection with Roosevelt's announcement of the policy of unconditional surrender, and was forced to retract his statements.⁵⁶ Eisenhower, among others, strenuously and persistently objected to the unconditional surrender formula as hampering the war effort by raising the morale of the *Wehrmacht*.⁵⁷ In fact, the slogan was seized on by Goebbels, and contributed to the Germans' holding out to the bitter end.

The pernicious effect of the policy was immeasurably bolstered by the Morgenthau Plan, which gave the Germans a terrifying picture of what "unconditional surrender" would mean.⁵⁸ This plan, initialed by Roosevelt and Churchill at Quebec, called for turning Germany into an agricultural and pastoral country; even the coal mines of the Ruhr were to be wrecked. The fact that it would have led to the deaths of tens of millions of Germans made it a perfect analog to Hitler's schemes for dealing with Russia and the Ukraine.

Churchill was initially averse to the plan. However, he was won over by Professor Lindemann, as maniacal a German-hater as Morgenthau himself. Lindemann stated to Lord Moran, Churchill's personal physician:⁵⁹

"I explained to Winston that the plan would save Britain from bankruptcy by eliminating a dangerous competitor. [...] Winston had not thought of it in that way, and he said no more about a cruel threat to the German people."

According to Morgenthau, the wording of the scheme was drafted entirely by Churchill. When Roosevelt returned to Washington, Hull and Stimson expressed their horror, and quickly disabused the president. Churchill, on the other hand, was unrepentant. When it came time to mention the Morgenthau Plan in his history of the war, he distorted its provisions and, by implication, lied about his role in supporting it.⁶⁰

Beyond the issue of the plan itself, Lord Moran wondered how it had been possible for Churchill to appear at the Quebec conference "without any thought out views on the future of Germany, although she seemed to be on the point of surrender." The answer was that "he had become so engrossed in the conduct of the war that little time was left to plan for the future".⁶¹

"Military detail had long fascinated him, while he was frankly bored by the kind of problem which might take up the time of the Peace Conference. [...] The P. M. was frittering away his waning strength on matters which rightly belonged to soldiers. My diary in the autumn of 1942 tells how I talked to Sir Stafford Cripps and found that he shared my cares. He wanted the P. M. to concentrate on the broad strategy of the war and on high policy. [...] No one could make [Churchill] see his errors."

War Crimes Discreetly Veiled

There are a number of episodes during the war revealing of Churchill's character that deserve to be mentioned. A relatively minor incident was the British attack on the French fleet, at Mers-el-Kebir (Oran), off the coast of Algeria. After the fall of France, Churchill demanded that the French surrender their fleet to Britain. The French declined, promising that they would scuttle the ships before allowing them to fall into German hands. Against the advice of his naval officers, Churchill ordered British ships off the Algerian coast to open fire. About 1500 French sailors were killed. This was obviously a war crime, by anyone's definition: an unprovoked attack on the forces of an ally without a declaration of war. At Nuremberg, German officers were sentenced to prison for less. Realizing this, Churchill lied about Mers-el-Kebir in his history, and suppressed evidence concerning it in the official British histories of the war.⁶² With the attack on the French fleet, Churchill confirmed his position as the prime subverter through two world wars of the system of rules of warfare that had evolved in the West over centuries.

But the great war crime which will be forever linked to Churchill's name is the terror-bombing of the cities of Germany that in the end cost the lives of around 600,000 civilians and left some 800,000 seriously injured.⁶³ (Compare this to the roughly 70,000 British lives lost to German air attacks. In fact, there were nearly as many Frenchmen killed by Allied air attacks as there were Englishmen killed by Germans.⁶⁴) The plan was conceived mainly by Churchill's friend and scientific advisor, Professor Lindemann, and carried out by the head of Bomber Command, Arthur Harris ("Bomber Harris"). Harris stated: "In Bomber Command we have always worked on the assumption that bombing anything in Germany is better than bombing nothing."⁶⁵ Harris and other British airforce leaders boasted that Britain had been the pioneer in the massive use of strategic bombing. J.M. Spaight, former principal assistant secretary of the Air Ministry, noted that while the Germans (and the French) looked on air power as largely an ex-



Churchill among the ruins. Winston Churchill looks over the Rhine from the ruins of the west end of the bridge at Wesel during a visit to the front. Photo: 25 March 1945. By US Army Signal Corps photographer Post-Work: User:W.wolny [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

tension of artillery, a support to the armies in the field, the British understood its capacity to destroy the enemy's home-base. They built their bombers and established Bomber Command accordingly.⁶⁶

Brazenly lying to the House of Commons and the public, Churchill claimed that only military and industrial installations were targeted. In fact, the aim was to kill as many civilians as possible – thus, “area” bombing, or “carpet” bombing – and in this way to break the morale of the Germans and terrorize them into surrendering.⁶⁷

Harris at least had the courage of his convictions. He urged that the government openly announce that:

*“the aim of the Combined Bomber Offensive [...] should be unambiguously stated [as] the destruction of German cities, the killing of German workers, and the disruption of civilized life throughout Germany.”*⁶⁸

The campaign of murder from the air leveled Germany. A thousand-year-old urban culture was annihilated, as great cities, famed in the annals of science and art, were reduced to heaps of smoldering ruins. There were high points: the bombing of Lübeck, when that ancient Hanseatic town “burned like kindling”; the 1000-bomber raid over Cologne, and the fol-

lowing raids that somehow, miraculously, mostly spared the great Cathedral but destroyed the rest of the city, including thirteen Romanesque churches; the firestorm that consumed Hamburg and killed some 42,000 people. No wonder that, learning of this, a civilized European man like Joseph Schumpeter, at Harvard, was driven to telling "anyone who would listen" that Churchill and Roosevelt were destroying more than Genghis Khan.⁶⁹

The most infamous act was the destruction of Dresden, in February 1945. According to the official history of the Royal Air Force: "The destruction of Germany was by then on a scale which might have appalled Attila or Genghis Khan."⁷⁰ Dresden, which was the capital of the old kingdom of Saxony, was an indispensable stop on the Grand Tour, the baroque gem of Europe. The war was practically over, the city filled with masses of helpless refugees escaping the advancing Red Army. Still, for three days and nights, from February 13 to 15, Dresden was pounded with bombs. At least 30,000 people were killed, perhaps as many as 135,000 or more. The Zwinger Palace; Our Lady's Church (*die Frauenkirche*); the Bruhl Terrace, overlooking the Elbe where, in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, Uncle Pavel went to spend his last years; the Semper Opera House, where Richard Strauss conducted the premiere of *Rosenkavalier*; and practically everything else was incinerated. Churchill had fomented it. But he was shaken by the outcry that followed. While in Georgetown and Hollywood, few had ever heard of Dresden, the city meant something in Stockholm, Zurich, and the Vatican, and even in London. What did our hero do? He sent a memorandum to the Chiefs of Staff:⁷¹

"It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed. Otherwise, we shall come into control of an utterly ruined land. [...] The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing. [...] I feel the need for more precise concentration upon military objectives [...] rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive."

The military chiefs saw through Churchill's contemptible ploy: realizing that they were being set up, they refused to accept the memorandum. After the war, Churchill casually disclaimed any knowledge of the Dresden bombing, saying: "I thought the Americans did it."⁷²

And still the bombing continued. On March 16, in a period of 20 minutes, Würzburg was razed to the ground. As late as the middle of April,

Berlin and Potsdam were bombed yet again, killing another 5,000 civilians. Finally, it stopped; as Bomber Harris noted, there were essentially no more targets to be bombed in Germany.⁷³ It need hardly be recorded that Churchill supported the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which resulted in the deaths of another 100,000 or more civilians. When Truman fabricated the myth of the “500,000 U.S. lives saved” by avoiding an invasion of the Home Islands – the highest military estimate had been 46,000 – Churchill topped his lie: the atom-bombings had saved 1,200,000 lives, including 1,000,000 Americans, he fantasized.⁷⁴

The eagerness with which Churchill directed or applauded the destruction of cities from the air should raise questions for those who still consider him the great “conservative” of his – or perhaps of all – time. They would do well to consider the judgment of an authentic conservative like Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, who wrote:⁷⁵

“Non-Britishers did not matter to Mr. Churchill, who sacrificed human beings – their lives, their welfare, their liberty – with the same elegant disdain as his colleague in the White House.”

1945: The Dark Side

And so we come to 1945 and the ever-radiant triumph of Absolute Good over Absolute Evil. So potent is the mystique of that year that the insipid welfare states of today’s Europe clutch at it at every opportunity, in search of a few much-needed shreds of glory.

The dark side of that triumph, however, has been all but suppressed. It is the story of the crimes and atrocities of the victors and their protégés. Since Winston Churchill played a central role in the Allied victory, it is the story also of the crimes and atrocities in which Churchill was implicated. These include the forced repatriation of some two million Soviet subjects to the Soviet Union. Among these were tens of thousands who had fought with the Germans against Stalin, under the sponsorship of General Vlasov and his “Russian Army of Liberation.” This is what Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote in *The Gulag Archipelago*:⁷⁶

“In their own country, Roosevelt and Churchill are honored as embodiments of statesmanlike wisdom. To us, in our Russian prison conversations, their consistent shortsightedness and stupidity stood out as astonishingly obvious [...] what was the military or political sense in their surrendering to destruction at Stalin’s hands hundreds of thousands of armed Soviet citizens determined not to surrender?”

Most shameful of all was the handing over of the Cossacks. They had never been Soviet citizens, since they had fought against the Red Army in the Civil War and then emigrated. Stalin, understandably, was particularly keen to get hold of them, and the British obliged. Solzhenitsyn wrote of Winston Churchill:

*"He turned over to the Soviet command the Cossack corps of 90,000 men. Along with them he also handed over many wagonloads of old people, women, and children. [...] This great hero, monuments to whom will in time cover all England, ordered that they, too, be surrendered to their deaths."*⁷⁷

The "purge" of alleged collaborators in France was a blood-bath that claimed more victims than the Reign of Terror in the Great Revolution – and not just among those who in one way or other had aided the Germans: included were any right-wingers the Communist resistance groups wished to liquidate.⁷⁸

The massacres carried out by Churchill's protégé Tito must be added to this list: tens of thousands of Croats, not simply the Ustasha, but any "class-enemies," in classical Communist style. There was also the murder of some 20,000 Slovene anti-Communist fighters by Tito and his killing squads. When Tito's Partisans rampaged in Trieste, which he was attempting to grab in 1945, additional thousands of Italian anti-Communists were massacred.⁷⁹

As the troops of Churchill's Soviet ally swept through central Europe and the Balkans, the mass deportations began. Some in the British government had qualms, feeling a certain responsibility. Churchill would have none of it. In January 1945, for instance, he noted to the Foreign Office:⁸⁰

"Why are we making a fuss about the Russian deportations in Rumania of Saxons [Germans] and others? [...] I cannot see the Russians are wrong in making 100 or 150 thousand of these people work their passage. [...] I cannot myself consider that it is wrong of the Russians to take Rumanians of any origin they like to work in the Russian coal-fields."

About 500,000 German civilians were deported to work in Soviet Russia, in accordance with Churchill and Roosevelt's agreement at Yalta that such slave labor constituted a proper form of "reparations."⁸¹

Worst of all was the expulsion of some 15 million Germans from their ancestral homelands in East and West Prussia, Silesia, Pomerania, and the Sudetenland. This was done pursuant to the agreements at Tehran, where Churchill proposed that Poland be "moved west," and to Churchill's acqui-

escence in the Czech leader Eduard Benes's plan for the "ethnic cleansing" of Bohemia and Moravia. Around one-and-a-half to two million German civilians died in this process.⁸² As the Hungarian liberal Gaspar Tamas wrote, in driving out the Germans of east-central Europe, "whose ancestors built our cathedrals, monasteries, universities, and railroad stations," a whole ancient culture was effaced.⁸³ But why should that mean anything to the Churchill devotees who call themselves "conservatives" in America today?

Then, to top it all, came the Nuremberg Trials, a travesty of justice condemned by the great Senator Robert Taft, where Stalin's judges and prosecutors – seasoned veterans of the purges of the 30s – participated in another great show-trial.⁸⁴

By 1946, Churchill was complaining in a voice of outrage of the happenings in eastern Europe:

"From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended over Europe."

Goebbels had popularized the phrase "iron curtain," but it was accurate enough.

The European continent now contained a single, hegemonic power. "As the blinkers of war were removed," John Charmley writes, "Churchill began to perceive the magnitude of the mistake which had been made."⁸⁵ In fact, Churchill's own expressions of profound self-doubt comport oddly with his admirers' retrospective triumphalism. After the war, he told Robert Boothby: "Historians are apt to judge war ministers less by the victories achieved under their direction than by the political results which flowed from them. Judged by that standard, I am not sure that I shall be held to have done very well."⁸⁶ In the preface to the first volume of his history of World War II, Churchill explained why he was so troubled:⁸⁷

"The human tragedy reaches its climax in the fact that after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and of the victories of the Righteous Cause, we have still not found Peace or Security, and that we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted."

On V-E Day, he had announced the victory of "the cause of freedom in every land." But to his private secretary, he mused: "What will lie between the white snows of Russia and the white cliffs of Dover?"⁸⁸ It was a bit late to raise the question. Really, what are we to make of a statesman who for years ignored the fact that the extinction of Germany as a power in Europe entailed [...] certain consequences? Is this another Bismarck or Metternich

we are dealing with here? Or is it a case of a Woodrow Wilson *redivivus* – of another Prince of Fools?

With the balance of power in Europe wrecked by his own policy, there was only one recourse open to Churchill: to bring America into Europe permanently. Thus, his anxious expostulations to the Americans, including his Fulton, Missouri “Iron Curtain” speech. Having destroyed Germany as the natural balance to Russia on the continent, he was now forced to try to embroil the United States in yet another war – this time a Cold War, that would last 45 years, and change America fundamentally, and perhaps irrevocably.⁸⁹



Churchill sits on one of the damaged chairs from Hitler's bunker in Berlin.

By No 5 Army Film and Photographic Unit, Malindine E G (Capt), Lockyear W T (Capt) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

The Triumph of the Welfare State

In 1945, general elections were held in Britain, and the Labor Party won a landslide victory. Clement Attlee and his colleagues took power and created the socialist welfare state. But the socializing of Britain was probably inevitable, given the war. It was a natural outgrowth of the wartime sense of solidarity and collectivist emotion, of the feeling that the experience of war had somehow rendered class structure and hierarchy – normal features of any advanced society – obsolete and indecent. And there was a second factor – British society had already been to a large extent socialized in the war years, under Churchill himself. As Ludwig von Mises wrote:⁹⁰

“Marching ever further on the way of interventionism, first Germany, then Great Britain and many other European countries have adopted central planning, the Hindenburg pattern of socialism. It is noteworthy that in Germany the deciding measures were not resorted to by the Nazis, but some time before Hitler seized power by Bruning [...] and in Great Britain not by the Labour Party but by the Tory Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill.”

While Churchill waged war, he allowed Attlee to head various Cabinet committees on domestic policy and devise proposals on health, unemployment, education, etc.⁹¹ Churchill himself had already accepted the master-blueprint for the welfare state, the Beveridge Report. As he put it in a radio speech:⁹²

“You must rank me and my colleagues as strong partisans of national compulsory insurance for all classes for all purposes from the cradle to the grave.”

That Mises was correct in his judgment on Churchill's role is indicated by the conclusion of W. H. Greenleaf, in his monumental study of individualism and collectivism in modern Britain. Greenleaf states that it was Churchill who

“[...] during the war years, instructed R. A. Butler to improve the education of the people and who accepted and sponsored the idea of a four-year plan for national development and the commitment to sustain full employment in the post-war period. As well he approved proposals to establish a national insurance scheme, services for housing and health, and was prepared to accept a broadening field of state enterprises. It was because of this coalition policy that Enoch Powell referred to the veritable social revolution which occurred in the years

1942–44. Aims of this kind were embodied in the Conservative declaration of policy issued by the Premier before the 1945 election."⁹³

When the Tories returned to power in 1951, "Churchill chose a Government which was the least recognizably Conservative in history."⁹⁴ There was no attempt to roll back the welfare state, and the only industry that was really reprivatized was road haulage.⁹⁵ Churchill "left the core of its [the Labor government's] work inviolate."⁹⁶ The "Conservative" victory functioned like Republican victories in the United States, from Eisenhower on – to consolidate socialism. Churchill even undertook to make up for "deficiencies" in the welfare programs of the previous Labor government, in housing and public works.⁹⁷ Most insidiously of all, he directed his leftist Labor Minister, Walter Monckton, to appease the unions at all costs. Churchill's surrender to the unions, "dictated by sheer political expediency," set the stage for the quagmire in labor relations that prevailed in Britain for the next two decades.⁹⁸

Yet, in truth, Churchill never cared a great deal about domestic affairs, even welfarism, except as a means of attaining and keeping office. What he loved was power, and the opportunities power provided to live a life of drama and struggle and endless war.

There is a way of looking at Winston Churchill that is very tempting: that he was a deeply flawed creature, who was summoned at a critical moment to do battle with a uniquely appalling evil, and whose very flaws contributed to a glorious victory – in a way, like Merlin in C.S. Lewis's great Christian novel, *That Hideous Strength*.⁹⁹ Such a judgment would, I believe, be superficial. A candid examination of his career, I suggest, yields a different conclusion: that, when all is said and done, Winston Churchill was a Man of Blood and a politico without principle, whose apotheosis serves to corrupt every standard of honesty and morality in politics and history.

This essay, which originally appears in *The Costs of War: America's Pyrrhic Victories*, is respectfully dedicated to the memory of Henry Regnery, who was, of course, not responsible for its content. It is republished with permission by its author.

Notes

- ¹ Winston Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, vol. 1, *The Second World War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), p. 347. Churchill commented that the guarantee was extended to a Poland "which with hyena appetite had only six months before joined in the pillage and destruction of the Czechoslovak State." He was referring to the annexation of the Teschen district, by which Poland had re-

claimed the ethnically Polish areas of that bizarre concoction Churchill was pleased to dignify as “the Czechoslovak State.”

- ² David Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. 1, *The Struggle for Power* (Bullsbrook, Western Australia: Veritas, 1987), pp. 193–96.
- ³ James Leutze, “The Secret of the Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence: September 1939 – May 1940,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 10, no. 3 (July 1975): 465–91; Leutze concludes that this was the real reason the two governments colluded to silence Tyler Kent.
- ⁴ John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI: His Life and Reign* (New York: St. Martin's, 1958), pp. 390–92. Wheeler-Bennett added: “On his return to London the King communicated the essence of his talks with the President to the proper quarters, and so greatly did he esteem their importance that he carried the original manuscript of his notes about him in his dispatch case throughout the war.”
- ⁵ Hart, “The Military Strategist,” p. 208.
- ⁶ John Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1993), p. 423.
- ⁷ See also Charmley's review of Clive Ponting's work, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, May 13, 1994, p. 8.
- ⁸ Gaddis Smith, “Whose Finest Hour?” *New York Times Book Review*, August 29, 1993, p. 3.
- ⁹ On March 27, 1942, Goebbels commented in his diary on the destruction of the European Jews, which was then underway: “Here, too, the Führer is the undismayed champion of a radical solution necessitated by conditions and therefore inexorable. Fortunately, a whole series of possibilities presents itself for us in wartime that would be denied us in peacetime. We shall have to profit by this.” He added: “the fact that Jewry's representatives in England and America are today organizing and sponsoring the war against Germany must be paid for dearly by its representatives in Europe – and that's only right.” *The Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, Louis P. Lochner ed. and trans. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1948), p. 148.
- ¹⁰ Paul Addison, “Lloyd George and Compromise Peace in the Second World War,” in *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays*, A.J.P. Taylor, ed. (New York: Atheneum, 1971), pp. 359–84. Churchill himself told Stalin in 1944: “We never thought of making a separate peace even the year when we were all alone and could easily have made one without serious loss to the British Empire and largely at your expense.” *Ibid.*, p. 383.
- ¹¹ Irving, *Churchill's War*, pp. 193, 207.
- ¹² Thomas A. Bailey, *The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 13. A recent writer has commented on Bailey's position: “In reality, when Roosevelt and other presidents lied, they did it for their own good, or what they believed to be their own good. But they were often mistaken because they have tended to be at least as shortsighted as the masses [...] Roosevelt's destroyer deal marked a watershed in the use and abuse of presidential power, foreshadowing a series of dangerous and often disastrous adventures abroad.” Robert Shogan, *Hard Bargain* (New York: Scribner's, 1995), pp. 271, 278. The classical revisionist case on Roosevelt's war policy was presented in Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt*

- and the Coming of War 1941 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949); and *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, Harry Elmer Barnes, ed. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953), among other works.
- ¹³ Winston S. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, vol. 3, *The Second World War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 23–24.
 - ¹⁴ William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).
 - ¹⁵ Irving, *Churchill's War*, pp. 524–27.
 - ¹⁶ Gore Vidal, *Screening History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p.40.
 - ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
 - ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 - ¹⁹ “War-Entry Plans Laid to Roosevelt,” *New York Times*, January 2, 1972.
 - ²⁰ Beesly, *Room 40*, p. 121 n. 1.
 - ²¹ See, for instance, William Henry Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), pp. 124–47.
 - ²² Richard Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1991), p. 149.
 - ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 147–62.
 - ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.
 - ²⁵ Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade*, p. 177. On Churchill's use of the “backdoor to war” for the United States, see John Costello, *Days of Infamy. MacArthur, Roosevelt, Churchill – The Shocking Truth Revealed* (New York: Pocket Books, 1994). On the question of Pearl Harbor, it is interesting to note that even as “mainstream” a historian as Warren F. Kimball, editor of the Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence, writes: “Doubts have not yet been laid to rest concerning still-closed British intelligence files about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor: information that Churchill may have chosen not to pass on to the Americans in the hope that such an attack would draw the United States into war.” See also Warren F. Kimball, “Wheel within a Wheel: Churchill, Roosevelt, and the Special Relationship,” in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 298, where Kimball cites James Rusbridger and Eric Nave, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into World War II* (New York: Summit, 1991). Kimball complains that, despite written requests from him and other historians, British government files on relations with Japan in late 1941 remain closed. *Churchill*, p. 546 n. 29. Robert Smith Thompson, in *A Time for War: Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), presents a useful recent account of the coming of the war with Japan.
 - ²⁶ Jaffa, “In Defense of Churchill,” p. 277.
 - ²⁷ Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 538.
 - ²⁸ Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 2, *1795 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 447–53.
 - ²⁹ For a critique of the view that Hitler's aim was to “conquer the world,” see Geoffrey Stoakes, *Hitler and the Quest for World Domination* (Leamington Spa, England: Berg, 1986).
 - ³⁰ Taylor, “The Statesman,” p. 43.

- ³¹ For instance, in May 1944, Eden protested to Churchill, regarding the prospect of the "Communization of the Balkans": "We must think of the after-effect of these developments, instead of confining ourselves as hitherto to the short-term view of what will give the best dividends during the war and for the war." Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 538.
- ³² Ben-Moshe, *Churchill: Strategy and History*, pp. 236–37.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 241.
- ³⁴ Hanson W. Baldwin, *Great Mistakes of the War* (New York: Harper, 1949), p. 10.
- ³⁵ Roosevelt's attitude is epitomized in his statement: "If I give him [Stalin] everything I possibly can, and ask nothing of him in return, [then] *noblesse oblige*, he won't try to annex anything and will work with me for a world of peace and democracy." Robert Nisbet, *Roosevelt and Stalin: The Failed Courtship* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1988), p. 6. Joseph Sobran's remarks in his brief essay, "Pal Joey," *Sobran's* 2, no. 8 (August 1995): pp. 5–6, are characteristically insightful.
- ³⁶ Ben-Moshe, *Churchill: Strategy and History*, pp. 287–88, 305–6.
- ³⁷ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 665.
- ³⁸ Isaiah Berlin, "Winston Churchill," in *Ibid.*, *Personal Impressions*, Henry Hardy, ed. (New York: Viking, 1980), p. 16., where Churchill is quoted as saying of Stalin that he is "at once a callous, a crafty, and an ill-informed giant." Note, however, that even this quotation shows that Churchill placed Stalin in an entirely different category from the unspeakably evil Hitler. In fact, as the works by Charmley, Ponting, and Ben-Moshe amply demonstrate, until the end of the war Churchill's typical attitude toward Stalin was friendly and admiring. Berlin's essay, with its mawkish infatuation with "the largest human being of our time," has to be read to be believed. An indication of one source of Berlin's passion is his reference to Churchill's sympathy for "the struggle of the Jews for self-determination in Palestine."
- ³⁹ Cf. Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, pp. 572–73, on "Operation Armpit," the extension of the Italian campaign and a thrust towards Vienna; Charmley concludes that, contrary to Churchill's Cold War defenders: "there is little evidence to show that Churchill's support for 'Armpit' was based upon political motives [...] [He supported it] for the reason which any student of his career will be familiar with – it fired his imagination."
- ⁴⁰ Cf. Taylor, "The Statesman," pp. 56–57: "According to one version, Churchill was alarmed at the growth of Soviet power and tried to take precautions against it, if not in 1942 at least well before the end of the war[...]. It is hard to sustain this view from contemporary records. Churchill never wavered from his determination that Nazi Germany must be utterly defeated[...]. Churchill had no European policy in any wider sense. His outlook was purely negative: the defeat of Germany[...]. With Churchill it was always one thing at a time." See also Ben-Moshe, *Churchill: Strategy and History*, pp. 292–99, on the southern strategy not being aimed at forestalling Soviet gains.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.
- ⁴² An instance of the lengths to which Churchill's apologists will go is provided by John Keegan, in "Churchill's Strategy," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds.,

p. 328, where he states of Churchill: "Yet he never espoused any truly unwise strategic course, nor did he contemplate one. His commitment to a campaign in the Balkans was unsound, but such a campaign would not have risked losing the war." Risking losing the war would appear to be an excessively stringent criterion for a truly unwise strategic course.

- ⁴³ Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* (New York: Holt, 1958), p. 230. Everyone else was against Churchill's plan, including his own military advisors. Brooke pointed out to his chief that, if they followed through with his idea, "we should embark on a campaign through the Alps in winter." Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 625.
- ⁴⁴ Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*, pp. 250–75.
- ⁴⁵ Churchill's own Foreign Office informed him that: "we would land ourselves with a Communist state closely linked to the USSR after the war who would employ the usual terrorist methods to overcome opposition." *Ibid.*, p. 256. Anthony Eden told the Cabinet in June 1944: "If anyone is to blame for the present situation in which Communist-led movements are the most powerful elements in Yugoslavia and Greece, it is we ourselves." British agents, according to Eden, had done the work of the Russians for them. Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 580.
- ⁴⁶ Fitzroy Maclean *Eastern Approaches* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), p. 281.
- ⁴⁷ Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*, p. 259. Churchill believed Tito's promises of a free election and a plebiscite on the monarchy; above all, he concentrated on a single issue: killing Germans. See also Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 558.
- ⁴⁸ On September 21, 1943, for instance, Churchill stated: "The twin roots of all our evils, Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism, must be extirpated. Until this is achieved, there are no sacrifices we will not make and no lengths in violence to which we will not go." Russell Grenfell, *Unconditional Hatred* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1953), p. 92.
- ⁴⁹ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 675.
- ⁵⁰ Watt, "Churchill and Appeasement," p. 210.
- ⁵¹ In a memorandum to Alexander Cadogan, of the Foreign Office; Richard Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace, 1935–1945* (Salisbury, England: Michael Russell, 1987), p. 133.
- ⁵² Peter Hoffmann, *German Resistance to Hitler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 95–105; *Ibid.*, *The History of the German Resistance*, Richard Barry, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 205–48; and *Ibid.*, "The Question of Western Allied Co-Operation with the German Anti-Nazi Conspiracy, 1938–1944," *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 2 (1991): 437–64.
- ⁵³ Giles MacDonogh, *A Good German: Adam von Trott zu Solz* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1992), pp. 236–37.
- ⁵⁴ Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*, p. 292. Lamb argues this thesis at length and persuasively in his *The Ghosts of Peace, 1935–1945*, pp. 248–320. A less conclusive judgment is reached by Klemens von Klemperer, *German Resistance against Hitler: The Search for Allies Abroad 1938–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), esp. pp. 432–41, who emphasizes the difficulties in the way of any

agreement between the British government and the German resistance. These included, in particular, the loyalty of the former to its Soviet ally and the insistence of the latter on post-war Germany's keeping ethnically German areas, such as Danzig and the Sudetenland.

- ⁵⁵ Marie Vassiltchikov, who was close to the conspirators, in her *Berlin Diaries, 1940–1945* (New York: Knopf, 1987), p. 218, expressed her bafflement at the line taken by the British: “The Allied radio makes no sense to us: they keep naming people who, they claim, took part in the plot. And yet some of these have not yet been officially implicated. I remember warning Adam Trott that this would happen. He kept hoping for Allied support of a ‘decent’ Germany and I kept saying that at this point they were out to destroy Germany, any Germany, and would not stop at eliminating the ‘good’ Germans with the ‘bad.’”
- ⁵⁶ Ben-Moshe, *Churchill: Strategy and History*, pp. 307–16. See also Anne Armstrong, *Unconditional Surrender* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, [1961] 1974); and Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace, 1935–1945*, pp. 215–35. Among the strongest wartime critics of the unconditional surrender policy, as well as of the bombing of civilians, was the military expert, Liddell Hart; see Brian Bond, *Liddell Hart: A Study of his Military Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1977), pp. 119–63.
- ⁵⁷ Lamb, *The Ghosts of Peace, 1935–1945*, p. 232.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 236–45.
- ⁵⁹ Lord Moran, *Churchill: The Struggle for Survival, 1940–1965* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), pp. 190–91. Churchill's ready acceptance of this specious argument casts considerable doubt on the claim of Paul Addison, *Churchill on the Home Front*, p. 437, that Churchill was “schooled” in free-trade doctrines, which were “ingrained” in him. More consistent with the evidence, including his outright rejection of free trade beginning in 1930, is that Churchill used or cast aside the economic theory of the market economy as it suited his political purposes.
- ⁶⁰ Moran, *Churchill: The Struggle for Survival, 1940–1965*, pp. 195–96.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193. That the spirit at least of the Morgenthau Plan continued to guide Allied policy in post-war Germany is shown in Freda Utley's *The High Cost of Vengeance* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1949).
- ⁶² Lamb, *Churchill as War Leader*, pp. 63–73. See also Ponting, *Churchill*, pp. 450–54; and Hart, “The Military Strategist,” pp. 210–21.
- ⁶³ The “British obsession with heavy bombers” had consequences for the war effort as well; it led, for instance, to the lack of fighter planes at Singapore. Taylor, “The Statesman,” p. 54. On the whole issue, see Stephen A. Garrett, *Ethics and Airpower in World War II: The British Bombing of German Cities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). See also Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (New York: Dial Press, 1979); David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (New York: Ballantine, 1963); and Benjamin Colby, *'Twas a Famous Victory* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974), pp. 173–202. On the British use of airpower to “pacify” colonial populations, see Charles Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness’: Air Control in the Middle East between the Wars,” in *Warfare, Diplomacy, and Politics: Essays in Honor of A.J.P. Taylor*, Chris Wrigley, ed. (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986), pp. 142–62.

- ⁶⁴ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 620.
- ⁶⁵ Hastings, *Bomber Command*, p. 339. In 1945, Harris wrote: "I would not regard the whole of the remaining cities of Germany as worth the bones of one British grenadier." *Ibid.*, p. 344. Harris later wrote "The Germans had allowed their soldiers to dictate the whole policy of the Luftwaffe, which was designed expressly to assist the army in rapid advances[...]. Much too late in the day they saw the advantage of a strategic bombing force." Hughes, *Winston Churchill: British Bulldog*, p. 189.
- ⁶⁶ J.M. Spaight, *Bombing Vindicated* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1944), p. 70–71. Spaight declared that Britons should be proud of the fact that "we began to bomb objectives on the German mainland before the Germans began to bomb objectives on the British mainland." Hitler, while ready enough to use strategic bombing on occasion, "did not want [it] to become the practice. He had done his best to have it banned by international agreement." *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 60. Writing during the war, Spaight, of course, lied to his readers in asserting that German civilians were being killed only incidentally by the British bombing.
- ⁶⁷ On February 14, 1942, Directive No. 22 was issued to Bomber Command, stipulating that efforts were now to be "focused on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular of the industrial workers." The next day, the chief of the Air Staff added: "Ref the new bombing directive: I suppose it is dear that the aiming points are to be the built-up areas, not, for instance, the dockyards or aircraft factories." Garrett, *Ethics and Air Power in World War II*, p. 11. By lying about the goal of the bombing and attempting a cover-up after the war, Churchill implicitly conceded that Britain had committed breaches of the rules of warfare. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.
- ⁶⁹ Richard Swedberg, *Schumpeter: A Biography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 141.
- ⁷⁰ Garrett, *Ethics and Air Power in World War II*, p. 202.
- ⁷¹ Hastings, *Bomber Command*, pp. 343–44. In November, 1942, Churchill had proposed that in the Italian campaign: "All the industrial centers should be attacked in an intense fashion, every effort being made to render them uninhabitable and to terrorise and paralyse the population." Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 614.
- ⁷² To a historian who wished to verify some details, Churchill replied: "I cannot recall anything about it. I thought the Americans did it. Air Chief Marshal Harris would be the person to contact." Rose, *Churchill: The Unruly Giant*, p. 338.
- ⁷³ Garrett, *Ethics and Air Power in World War II*, p. 21.
- ⁷⁴ See Barton J. Bernstein, "A postwar myth: 500,000 U.S. lives saved," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 42, no. 6 (June/July 1986): 38–40; and, *Ibid.*, "Wrong Numbers," *The Independent Monthly* (July 1995): 41–44. See also, *Ibid.*, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History: Stimson, Conant, and Their Allies Explain the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 35–72, where the point is made that a major motive in the political elite's early propaganda campaign justifying the use of the atomic bombs was to forestall a feared retreat into "isolationism" by the American people. It is interesting to note that Richard Nixon, sometimes known as the "Mad Bomber" of Indo-China, justified "deliberate attacks on civilians" by cit-

- ing the atomic bombings of the Japanese cities, as well as the attacks on Hamburg and Dresden. Richard M. Nixon, "Letters to the Editor," *New York Times*, May 15, 1983.
- ⁷⁵ Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, *Leftism Revisited: From de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Pol Pot* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1990), p. 281. This work contains numerous perceptive passages on Churchill, e.g., pp. 261–65, 273, and 280–81, as well as on Roosevelt.
- ⁷⁶ Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, Thomas P. Whitney, trans. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 1–2, p. 259n.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 259–60.
- ⁷⁸ Sisley Huddleston, *France: The Tragic Years, 1939–1947* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1955), pp. 285–324.
- ⁷⁹ See, for instance, Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 1995), pp. 192–93.
- ⁸⁰ Ponting, *Churchill*, p. 665.
- ⁸¹ Herbert Mitzka, *Zur Geschichte der Massendeportationen von Ostdeutschen in die Sowjetunion im Jahre 1945* (Einhäusen: Atelier Hübner, 1986). On other crimes against German civilians in the aftermath of the war, see, among other works, Heinz Nawratil, *Die deutschen Nachkriegsverluste unter Vertriebenen, Gefangenen, und Verschleppten* (Munich/Berlin: Herbig, 1986); John Sack, *An Eye for an Eye* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); and James Bacque, *Verschwiegene Schuld: Die alliierte Besatzungspolitik in Deutschland nach 1945*, Hans-Ulrich Seebohm, trans. (Berlin/Frankfurt a. M.: Ullstein, 1995).
- ⁸² Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans. Background, Execution, Consequences* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).
- ⁸³ Gaspar M. Tamas, "The Vanishing Germans," *The Spectator*, May 6, 1989, p. 15.
- ⁸⁴ Critiques of the Nuremberg Trials are included in Lord Hankey, *Politics, Trials, and Errors* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), and F.J.P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism: The Development of Total Warfare from Sarajevo to Hiroshima* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1968).
- ⁸⁵ Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 622.
- ⁸⁶ Robert Boothby, *Recollections of a Rebel* (London: Hutchison, 1978), pp. 183–84.
- ⁸⁷ Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, pp. iv – v.
- ⁸⁸ Nisbet, *Roosevelt and Stalin: The Failed Courtship*, p. 106.
- ⁸⁹ Cf. Robert Higgs, "The Cold War Economy: Opportunity Costs, Ideology, and the Politics of Crisis," *Explorations in Economic History* 31 (1994): 283–312.
- ⁹⁰ Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949), p. 855.
- ⁹¹ Charmley, *Churchill: The End of Glory*, p. 610, 618. Cf. Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 281: "When the Churchill Coalition was formed in May 1940 it gave progressivism a central political role which it had lacked since 1914[...]. The people's war brought a people's government in which ordinary Labour and good Liberals

were the ascendant elements[...]. Anti-appeasement was the dominant myth; it helped displace the Guilty Men of Munich; and it prepared the ground for the overthrow of the Chamberlain consensus in domestic policy too. Keynes suddenly moved to a pivotal position inside the Treasury. Labour's patriotic response to the common cause was symbolised by the massive presence of Ernest Bevan as Minister of Labour."

⁹² Addison, "Churchill and Social Reform," p. 73. Addison states: "By the spring of 1945 the Coalition government had prepared draft bills for comprehensive social insurance, family allowances, and a national health service." As Leader of the Opposition for the next six years, "in social policy [Churchill] invariably contested the Labour Party's claim to a monopoly of social concern, and insisted that the credit for devising the post-war welfare state should be given to the wartime Coalition, and not to the Attlee government." For a contrasting view, see Kevin Jeffreys, *The Churchill Coalition and Wartime Politics, 1940–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

⁹³ Greenleaf, *The British Political Tradition*, pp. 254–55.

⁹⁴ Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians*, p. 258.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254. Roberts points out that "when the iron and steel industries were denationalized in 1953, they effectively continued to be run via the Iron and Steel Board."

⁹⁶ Roy Jenkins, "Churchill: The Government of 1951–1955," in *Churchill*, Blake and Louis, eds., p. 499.

⁹⁷ Addison, "Churchill and Social Reform," p. 76.

⁹⁸ Roberts, *Eminent Churchillians*, pp. 243–85.

⁹⁹ C.S. Lewis, *That Hideous Strength: A Modern Fairy-Tale for Grown-Ups* (New York: Collier, [1946] 1965), p. 291.

The Myth of the Big Business-Nazi Axis

Kerry R. Bolton

The party-line of the Left is that Fascism and Nazism were the last resort of Capitalism.¹ Indeed, the orthodox Marxist critique does not go beyond that. In recent decades there has been serious scholarship within orthodox academe to understand Fascism as a doctrine. Among these we can include Roger Griffin,² Roger Eatwell,³ and particularly Zeev Sternhell.⁴ The last in particular shows that Fascism derived at least as much from the Left as from the Right, emerging from Italy but also in particular from Francophone Marxists as an effort to transcend the inadequacies of Marxism as an analysis of historical forces.

Among the National Socialists in Germany, opposition to international capital figured prominently from the start. The National Socialists, even prior to adopting that name, within the small group, the German Workers' Party, saw capital as intrinsically anti-national. The earliest party program, in 1919, stated that the party was fighting "against usury [...] against all those who make high profits without any mental or physical work," the "drones" who "control and rule us with their money." It is notable that even then the party did not advocate "socialization" of industry but profit-sharing and unity among all classes other than "drones."⁵ As the conservative spokesman Oswald Spengler pointed out, Marxism did not wish to transcend capital but to expropriate it. Hence the spirit of the Left remained capitalist or money-centered.⁶ The subordination of money to state policy was something understood in Germany even among the business elite, and large sections of the menial class; quite different to the concept of economics understood among the Anglophone world, where economics dominates state policy.

Hitler was continuing the tradition of the German economic school, which the German Workers' Party of Anton Drexler and Karl Harrer had already incorporated since the party's founding in 1919. Hitler wrote in 1924 in *Mein Kampf* that the state would ensure that "capital remained subservient to the State and did not allocate to itself the right to dominate national interests. Thus, it could confine its activities within the two following limits: on the one side, to ensure a vital and independent system of national economy and, on the other, to safeguard the social rights of the workers." Hitler now realized the distinction between productive capital and speculative capital, from Feder who had been part of a political lecture



Adolf Hitler in discussion with Reich Minister of Economics and Reichsbank President Dr. Hjalmar Schacht in 1936

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series organized by the army. Hitler then understood that the dual nature of capital would have to be a primary factor addressed by any party for reform.⁷ The lecture had been entitled “The Abolition of Interest-Servitude.”⁸ A “truth of transcendental importance for the future of the German people” was that “the absolute separation of stock-exchange capital from the economic life of the nation would make it possible to oppose the process of internationalization in German business without at the same time attacking capital as such [...]”⁹ While Everette Lemons, apparently a libertarian, quotes this passage from *Mein Kampf*, he claims that Hitler loathed capitalism, whether national or international. As illustrated by the passage above, Hitler drew a distinction between creative and speculative capital, as did the German Workers’ Party before he was a member.

National economy was a widely held legacy of the German school of economics founded by Friedrich List in the 19th Century, the aim being national autarchy as distinct from the English school of international free trade.¹⁰ National economy governed German thinking like Free Trade governed British thinking. At a glance, List stated:¹¹

“I would indicate, as the distinguishing characteristic of my system, NATIONALITY. On the nature of nationality, as the intermediate inter-

est between those of individualism and of entire humanity, my whole structure is based."

It was an aim that German businessmen readily embraced.

Because the Hitler regime would not or could not fulfill the entirety of the NSDAP program, and because Feder was given a humble role as an under-secretary in the economics ministry, there is a widespread assumption that the regime was a tool of big capital. The Marxist interpretation of the Third Reich as a tool of monopoly capital has been adopted and adapted by their opposite number, libertarians, particularly aided by the book of the Stanford research specialist Dr. Antony Sutton. Sutton followed up his *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*,¹² detailing dealings between U.S. and other business interests and the Bolshevik regime, with *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*.¹³ Many libertarians welcome the second book as showing that Hitler was just as much a "socialist" as the Bolsheviks and that both had the backing of the same big-business interests that pursue a "collectivist" state. Lemons, for example, argues that Hitler's anti-capitalism was an implementation of many of the ideas in Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, thereby indicating an ignorance of German economic theory.¹⁴ Lemons refers to Hitler's "communist style" economy.¹⁵

Henry Ford – an Early Nazi Party Sponsor?

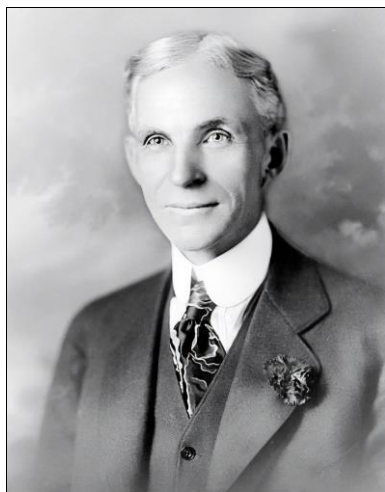
If there was any wealthy American who should or could have funded Hitler it was Henry Ford Sr. Indeed, Ford features prominently in allegations that Hitler received financial backing from wealthy elites. But Ford was not part of the financial elite. He was an industrialist who challenged Wall Street. If he had backed Hitler that would have been an example of a conflict between "industrial capital" and "financial capital" that Ford had himself recognized, and that Hitler had alluded to in *Mein Kampf*. Not only did his newspaper the *Dearborn Independent*, under the editorship of W. J. Cameron, run a series of ninety-one articles on the "Jewish question," but that series was issued as a compendium called *The International Jew*, which was translated into German. Such was the pressure from Jewish Wall Street interests on the Ford Motor Company that Ford recanted, and falsely claimed that he had not authorized the series in his company newspaper.¹⁶ Yet Ford never funded the Hitlerites, despite several direct, personal appeals for aid on the basis of "international solidarity" against Jewish influence.

Sutton did an admirable job of tracing direct and definitive links between Wall Street and the Bolsheviks. However, perhaps in his eagerness to show the common factor of “socialism” between National Socialists and Bolsheviks, and the way Wall Street backed opposing movements as part of a Hegelian dialectical strategy,¹⁷ Sutton seems to have grasped at straws in trying to show a link between plutocrats and Nazis. Sutton repeats the myth of Ford backing of the Hitlerite party that had been in circulation since the 1920s. As early as 1922 *The New York Times* reported that Ford was funding the embryonic National Socialist party, and the *Berliner Tageblatt* called on the U.S. ambassador to investigate Ford’s supposed interference

in German affairs.¹⁸ The article in its entirety turns out to be nothing but the vaguest of rumor-mongering, of making something out of nothing at all, but it is still found to be useful by those perpetrating the myth of big-money backing for Hitler.¹⁹ Dr. Sutton quotes the vice president of the Bavarian Diet, Auer, testifying at the trial of Hitler after the Munich *Putsch* in February 1923, that the Diet long had had information that Hitler was being financed by Ford. Auer alluded to a Ford agent seeking to sell tractors having been in contact with Dietrich Eckart in 1922, and that shortly after Ford money began going to Munich.²⁰ Having provided no evidence whatsoever, Sutton states that “these Ford funds were used by Hitler to foment the Bavarian rebellion.”²¹

Scott Nehmer, who had his dream of an academic career aborted because he would not write his doctoral thesis according to the preconceptions of his supervisor, undertook a convincing examination of the allegations regarding the supposed link during World War II between the Third Reich, Ford, and General Motors.²² His would-be dissertation was published as a book. However, it is indicative of the poor shape of scholarship in tertiary education, and not only in the USA. Mr. Nehmer writes of his recent predicament:²⁴

“I intended to write my book solely concentrating on the patriotism of Ford and General Motors during World War II but my plans were al-



Portrait of Henry Ford (ca. 1919)

*By Hartsook, photographer.
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tered causing me to emphasize how Marxist ideology combined with sensationalism has smeared Ford and GM. The book was conceived as a PhD in history dissertation for Central Michigan University. Almost from its inception my advisor, Eric Johnson,^[23] attempted to force me to libel the Ford Motor Company. He ordered me to accuse Ford of betraying the United States during World War II using falsehoods based on the faulty implications of sensationalist journalists."

What these accounts of the funding of the Nazi party and even of the Third Reich war machine amount to are descriptions of interlocking directorships and the character of what is today called globalization. Hence, if Ford, General Electric, ITT, General Motors, and Standard Oil are somehow linked to AEG, I. G. Farben, Krupp, etc., it is then alleged that Rockefeller, Ford, and even Jewish financiers such as James Warburg, were directly involved in a conspiracy to aid Nazi Germany. To prove the connections, Sutton has a convenient table which supposedly shows "Financial links between U.S. industrialists and Adolf Hitler." For example Edsel Ford, Paul M. Warburg and two others in the USA are listed as directors of American I.G. while in Germany I.G. Farben reportedly donated 400,000 R.M. to Hitler via the Nationale Treuhand; *ipso facto* Edsel Ford and Paul Warburg were involved in funding Hitler.²⁵ The connections do not seem convincing. They are of an altogether different character than the connections Sutton previously documented between Wall Street and the Bolsheviks.

The story behind the Henry Ford-Nazi legend has been publicly available since 1938. Kurt Ludecke had been responsible for attempting to garner funds for the fledgling Nazi party since joining in 1922. In 1934 he had fallen out with Hitler, had been incarcerated, and then left Germany for the USA, where he wrote his memoirs, *I Knew Hitler*.²⁶ He sought out possible funding especially in the USA, met Hiram Wesley Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, the organization, then 5,000,000 strong, impressing him as a good money-making racket for its recruiters, who got 20% commission on membership fees.²⁷ He met Czarist supporters of Grand Duke Cyril, claimant to the Russian throne, in Paris,²⁸ and in Britain several aristocrats suspicious of Jewish influence: the Duke of Northumberland, and Lord Sydenham.²⁹ Money was not forthcoming from any of them. Indeed, Ludecke traveled about perpetually broke.

Ludecke met Ford in 1922. He attempted to persuade Ford that international solidarity was needed to face the Jewish issue, and that the Hitler movement had the best chance of success. Ford could not relate to the political requirements and while listening had no interest in providing funds.

It is evident from Ludecke that all of the party's hopes had been pegged on Ford's financial backing. Ford's series on *The International Jew* was much admired in Nazi circles. Hitler also greatly admired Ford as an industrial innovator, a picture of the industrialist hanging up in Hitler's office; something that is seen as of great significance to those seeking a Nazi connection.³⁰

James Pool, on the subject of the funding of Hitler, spends thirty pages attempting to show that Ford *might* have given money to the *NSDAP* on the sole basis that he was anti-Jewish. He frequently cites Ludecke, but decides to ignore what Ludecke stated on Ford. Pool states that Frau Winifred Wagner had told him in an interview that she had arranged for Ludecke to meet Ford, which is correct, but it is evident that her claim that Ford gave Hitler money is pure assumption. Pool conjectures that the money was given by Ford to Hitler via Boris Brasol, an anti-Semitic Czarist jurist, who in 1918 had worked for U.S. Military Intelligence, and had who maintained contact with both the Nazi party and was U.S. representative for Grand Duke Cyril. Again Pool is making assumptions, on the basis that Brasol was employed by Ford. Pool's "evidence" is the same as that used by Sutton; contemporary newspaper accounts of rumors and allegations.³¹

Had Ludecke succeeded in gaining funds from Ford that would not only have not been an example of funding from Wall Street and international finance, but it would have been an example of how not all wealthy individuals are part of the world's banking nexus. Ford definitely was not, and drew a distinction between creative and destructive capital. Despite his ignominious surrender and groveling to Jewish interests when the pressure mounted due to his publication of *The International Jew*, in 1938 Ford described to *The New York Times* the dichotomy that existed between the two forms of capital:³²

"Somebody once said that sixty families have directed the destinies of the nation. It might well be said that if somebody would focus the spotlight on twenty-five persons who handle the nation's finances, the world's real war makers would be brought into bold relief. There is a creative and a destructive Wall Street. [... I]f these financiers had their way we'd be in a war now. They want war because they make money out of such conflicts – out of the human misery such wars bring."

Sutton dismissed this, writing: "On the other hand, when we probe behind these public statements we find that Henry Ford and son Edsel Ford have been in the forefront of American businessmen who try to walk both sides of every ideological fence in search of profit. Using Ford's own criteria,

the Fords are among the ‘destructive’ elements.”³³ Contrary to Sutton, however, Pool states that Ford executives had been strongly opposed to their boss’s anti-Jewish campaign, and they persuaded him to drop the campaign in the late 1920s. In the forefront of this was his son, Edsel who owned 41% of the stock.³⁴

Ford’s actions show that he was opposed to the forces of war. He did not do himself any favors by opposing the “destructive Wall Street.” In 1915 Ford chartered the *Oscar II*, otherwise known as the Ford “Peace Ship,” in the hope of persuading the belligerents of the world war to attend a peace conference. The mission received mostly ridicule. Those aboard, including Ford, were wracked with influenza. Ford continued to fund the “Peace Ship” as it traveled around Europe for two years, and despite the ridicule was widely regarded as a sincere, if naïve, pacifist. Dr. Sutton does not mention Ford’s “Peace Ship” or his peace campaign during World War I. Therefore, when he was an early supporter of the America First Committee,³⁵ founded in 1940 to oppose Roosevelt’s efforts to entangle the USA in a war against Germany, he was too easily dismissed as pro-Nazi, as was America First.³⁶ Very prominent Americans joined from a variety of backgrounds, including General Robert A. Wood, president of Sears Roebuck, and among the most active, aviation hero Charles Lindbergh. Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas was a regular speaker at rallies. Many Congressmen and Senators resisted the Roosevelt war machine. They included pacifists, liberals, Republicans, Democrats, conservatives. Of Henry Ford, George Eggleston, an editor of *Reader’s Digest*, *Scribner’s Commentator*, and formerly of *Life*, and a major figure in America First, recalled that so far from being a “Nazi,” Ford expressed the hope that there would be a “parliament of man,” “a world-wide spirit of brotherhood, and an end to armed conflict.”³⁷

J. P. Morgan & Co. – Thomas Lamont

Thomas W. Lamont, senior partner in J. P. Morgan, was in the forefront of Wall Street agitation for war. Lamont, a supporter of Roosevelt’s New Deal, was a keen protagonist of internationalism. Speaking to the Academy of Political Sciences at the Astor Hotel in New York on 15 November 1939, he stated that the war against Germany was the consequence of the failure of the Versailles treaty and the rise of economic nationalism. In contrast to Old Guard Republicans such as ex-president Herbert Hoover, Lamont did not believe that it was possible to negotiate with Hitler. How-

ever, the military defeat of Hitler would not suffice. The USA must abandon isolationism and embrace “internationalism.”³⁸

Lamont indeed had it right: international capital versus economic nationalism. The latter now included imperialism, and all autarchic trading blocs and empires. International finance could no longer be constrained by empires and trading blocs. But the world order that Woodrow Wilson had tried to inaugurate after World War I with his “Fourteen Points” and the League of Nations, based around international free trade, had been repudiated even by his own country.³⁹ The Axis states were building autarchic economic blocs, and had been instituting barter among states, including those that they had occupied. Roosevelt was to candidly state to Churchill during the discussions on the “Atlantic Charter” that the post-war world would not tolerate any empires including the British, and would be based on free trade. He stated unequivocally that the war was being fought over the premise of free trade.⁴⁰ Roosevelt stated to Churchill, as related by the president’s son, Elliott Roosevelt:⁴¹

“Will anyone suggest that Germany’s attempt to dominate trade in central Europe was not a major contributing factor to war?”

Apparently, the cause of the war was not Pearl Harbor, nor the invasion of Poland. Roosevelt made it clear that international free trade would be the foundation of the post-war world, and empires would be passé.

General Motors – James D. Mooney

Another alleged enthusiast for Nazi Germany was James D. Mooney, vice president of General Motors, in charge of European operations. General Motors plays a large role in the alleged nexus between the Nazis and Big Business because of its European affiliates operating in German-occupied countries during the war. Such was Mooney’s supposed enthusiasm for Nazism that he allegedly regarded himself as a future “Quisling” in the USA in the event of a German victory.⁴² The most extraordinary nonsense has been widely repeated that Mooney practiced how to technically achieve a Nazi salute and “Sieg Heil” in front of his hotel mirror prior to meeting Hitler in 1934. How Edwin Black knows this is not stated.⁴³

It is evident that, utilizing his world-wide connections, Mooney embarked on private diplomacy with the intent of avoiding war. However, already in 1938 a G.M. executive, likely to have been Mooney, approached the British War Office to discuss British requirements in the event of war with Germany. From what is indicated by Mooney’s unpublished autobiog-

raphy, it seems that, unsurprisingly, a major concern was the German method of trade. A biographer states of this:

Mooney took the opportunity at the dinner to deliver his own “blockbuster”: if the Germans could negotiate some form of gold loan, would they be willing to stop their subsidized exports and special exchange practices which were so annoying to foreign traders, particularly the U.K. and the U.S? Whilst Mooney clearly honestly believed that this might ensure peace, in truth the practices had had a deleterious effect on General Motors’s extraction of profit out of Germany[...].⁴⁴

Mooney formulated a list of recommendations to ease tensions. Significantly, most of the list involves the return of Germany to the world trading and banking system:

1. Limitation of armaments.
2. Non-aggression pacts.
3. Move into trade practices of western nations:
 - a. Free exchange
 - b. Discontinue subsidized exports
 - c. Move into most-favored-nation practices.
 - d. Discharge foreign obligations (pay debts).⁴⁵

It seems evident that Mooney was acting as an emissary for international capital, if not also as an intelligence agent for the U.S.A. and/or Britain. Some efforts were made by Walther Funk of the Reichsbank to compromise on terms of trade and finance, but war intervened. On February 4, 1939 Mooney stated before an annual banquet of the American Institute of Banking that an accommodation with Hitler could not be reached.⁴⁶

Reich Commissioner for the Handling of Enemy Property

Allied-affiliated corporations such as Opel, affiliated with General Motors, operating in German-occupied Europe during the war did so under control of the Reich Commissioner for the Handling of Enemy Property.

German state decrees of June 24 and 28, 1941 blocked the assets of American companies, following the blocking of German assets in the USA on June 14, 1941.

In a review for the U.S. National Archives. Dr. Greg Bradsher states that American company and bank assets were seized by a December 11, 1941 amendment to the “Decree Concerning the Treatment of Enemy Property of January 15, 1940.” U.S. corporate and bank assets were controlled by the *Reichskommissar für die Behandlung Feindlichen Vermoe-*

gens, which was part of the Ministry of Justice. Such trusteeship was part of international law. The *Reichskommissar* acted as trustee for the property of enemy aliens, in accordance with the German war effort until the end of hostilities, after which they would be returned to the owners with proper accounting. A custodian was appointed for each enterprise, who rendered financial accounts to the *Reichskommissar* every six months. However, other enterprises were confiscated outright by the Reich Ministry of Economics.⁴⁷

*“By March 1, 1945, the Reichskommissar’s office had taken under administration property in excess of RM 3.5 billion. On that date, the approximately RM 945 million of US property was administered by the Reichskommissar’s Office and another RM 267 million of US property was not administered by the Reichskommissar’s office.”*⁴⁸

Therefore, foreign corporations were hardly free to pursue their profits during war-time. Communication with the home office of the corporation was discontinued. Nonetheless, the argument persists that such corporations as Ford and General Motors were in league with the enemy during the war.⁴⁹ On the basis that the same German directors of Opel in Germany prior to the war were approved by the Reich office during the war, and that Alfred P. Sloan and Mooney remained theoretically on the Opel board, this is deemed sufficient to show collusion.⁵⁰ While Dr. Bradsher is unsure as to what happened to the profits, according to the Dividend Law of 1934, corporations were restricted on the amount of profits and dividends payable to shareholders to 6%. The remainder of profits had to be reinvested into the enterprise or used to buy Government bonds.⁵¹ In short, the foreign-affiliated corporations were run by and for Germany as one would expect, and according to the aim of national autarchy.

Dr. Sutton tries to resolve many contradictions and paradoxes by stating that they are part of a Hegelian dialectical process learned in Germany during the early 19th century by scions of Puritan finance who founded the Yale-based Skull and Bones Lodge 322.⁵² Hence, the reason why sections of Big Business dealt with both National Socialist Germany and the USSR; they were promoting controlled conflict that would result in a dialectical globalist synthesis.⁵³

Fritz Thyssen

Sutton quotes Fritz Thyssen as to why he supported Hitler, but does not see that the motives are different from Wall Street’s. Thyssen, and other indus-

trialists such as Krupp, who funded Hitler, did so openly and for patriotic reasons. Thyssen wrote, as cited by Sutton:⁵⁴

"I turned to the National Socialist party only after I became convinced that the fight against the Young Plan was unavoidable if complete collapse of Germany was to be prevented."

The Young Plan for the payment of World War I reparations was regarded as the means of controlling Germany with American capital.⁵⁵ Thyssen is hardly an example of a nexus between Nazism and international capitalism; to the contrary, it shows that German business was motivated by patriotic sentiment to an extent that American business was not then and is today lesser still.

Thyssen was a Catholic motivated by the Church's social doctrine that sought an alternative to both Marxism and monopoly capitalism. Like many others throughout the world of all classes, Thyssen found the corporatist doctrines of Fascism and National Socialism to reflect Church doctrine on social justice. Thyssen was a member of the conservative National People's Party. While one of the few industrialists who donated to the *NSDAP*, at a late date, even this was meagre. The denazification trials in 1948 found that Thyssen donated about 650,000 Reichsmarks to various right-wing parties and groups, of which there were many, including the *NSDAP*, between 1923 and 1932. He was an adherent of the corporatist theories of Austrian philosopher Othmar Spann. In 1933 Thyssen was asked by the *NSDAP* to set up an Institute for Corporatism in Düsseldorf.⁵⁶ However, this was regarded as rivalling the Labor Front and was closed in 1936. In 1940, after having emigrated from Germany, Thyssen and his wife were captured in France and incarcerated in Germany for the duration of the war.

Prescott Bush

A figure that is associated with Thyssen is Prescott Bush. Because he was, like his sons Presidents George H. W. and George W. Bush, initiated into Lodge 322, vastly nonsensical theories has been woven around the Yale secret society, a.k.a. The Order of the Skull and Bones, as a pro-Nazi death cult, and the scions of influential families as part of an international Nazi conspiracy for world domination.

Prescott Bush was partner with W. Averell Harriman in Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., and the Union Banking Corporation. UBC acted as a clearinghouse for Thyssen interests. Because of this UBC's assets were

seized by the U.S government during the war. That Thyssen languished in Nazi concentration camps for the duration of the war is disregarded by those who seek a Wall Street connection with Hitler via Thyssen. Hence, *The Guardian* claimed to have new revelations in 2004 which turn out as nothing, with the focus on Thyssen being the businessman who “financed Hitler to power.” However, again more is said of the character of international capital than of big business backing for Hitler. *The Guardian* article states:⁵⁸

“Erwin May, a treasury attaché and officer for the department of investigation in the APC,^[57] was assigned to look into UBC’s business. The first fact to emerge was that Roland Harriman, Prescott Bush and the other directors didn’t actually own their shares in UBC but merely held them on behalf of Bank voor Handel. Strangely, no one seemed to know who owned the Rotterdam-based bank, including UBC’s president.

May wrote in his report of August 16 1941:

‘Union Banking Corporation, incorporated August 4 1924, is wholly owned by the Bank voor Handel en Scheepvaart NV of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. My investigation has produced no evidence as to the ownership of the Dutch bank. Mr. Cornelis [sic] Lievense, president of UBC, claims no knowledge as to the ownership of the Bank voor Handel but believes it possible that Baron Heinrich Thyssen, brother of Fritz Thyssen, may own a substantial interest.’

May cleared the bank of holding a golden nest egg for the Nazi leaders but went on to describe a network of companies spreading out from UBC across Europe, America and Canada, and how money from voor Handel traveled to these companies through UBC.

By September May had traced the origins of the non-American board members and found that Dutchman H. J. Kouwenhoven – who met with Harriman in 1924 to set up UBC – had several other jobs: in addition to being the managing director of voor Handel he was also the director of the August Thyssen bank in Berlin and a director of Fritz Thyssen’s Union Steel Works, the holding company that controlled Thyssen’s steel and coal-mine empire in Germany.”

The connections are tenuous at best, but of the same character as the other supposed associations between transnational corporations and the Third Reich.

Who Paid the Nazi Party?

Like the assumption that Ford could have funded Hitler because they had similar views about Jews, Pool also makes the same assumption about Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, Schacht's friend, because Norman was also antagonistic towards Jews (and the French). He deplored the economic chaos wrought on Germany by the Versailles *diktat* and the adverse impact that was having on world trade. On that score, *he* could have funded the Nazi party, but there is no evidence for it. Pool's book is useful however insofar as he shows, despite himself, that the Nazi party was *not* a tool of big business.

I. G. Farben, for example, often depicted as one of the plutocratic wire-pullers of the Nazi regime, and as the center of a Third Reich industrial death machine, was headed by liberals. Pool states that from its formation in 1925 I.G. Farben gave funding to all parties *except* the Nazis and the Communists. Not until 1932, with the *NSDAP* as the biggest party in parliament, did two representatives of the firm meet Hitler to get his views on the production of synthetic fuel.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, Hitler was in favor, given that it was an important factor in an autarchic economy. However, the matter of funds for the party was not raised.

The upshot that we learn from Pool in regard to Nazi party funding is that, quoting economist Paul Drucker:⁶⁰

"The really decisive backing came from sections of the lower middle classes, the farmers, and working class. [...] As far as the Nazi Party is concerned there is good reason to believe that at least three-quarters of its funds, even after 1930, came from the weekly dues. [...] And from the entrance fees to the mass meetings from which members of the upper classes were always conspicuously absent."

Ludecke, despite his repudiation of Hitler, nonetheless cogently pointed out the difference in world-views between National Socialism and liberal capitalism. He wrote that the "newly legalized concept of property rights in Germany differs radically from the ideas of orthodox capitalism, though Marxian groups in particular persist in the erroneous contention that the Hitler system is a phase of the reaction designed to enforce the stabilization of capitalism." He pointed out that "this planned economy signifies complete State control of production, agriculture, and commerce; of exports, imports, and foreign markets; of prices, foreign exchange, credit, rates of interest, profits, capital investments, and merchandizing of all kinds [...]."⁶¹ Ludecke quotes from an article in the Council of Foreign Relations journal *Foreign Affairs* (July 1937) that "the German conception of capital-

ism was always essentially different from the Anglo-Saxon, because it was developed under an entirely different conception of the state and government [...].” Interestingly, the *Foreign Affairs* writer pointed out that what Hitler enacted was the consolidation of what had already been put in place by Social Democracy.⁶² There were Social Democratic governments that had undertaken similar measures. Anyone familiar with New Zealand’s first Labor Government, assuming power about the same time as Hitler, could easily assume that what the *Foreign Affairs* writer is describing is the Labor Government’s economic policies.

Hjalmar Schacht

A *direct* link between international capital and the Hitler regime was Hjalmar Schacht. He is instructive as to how the global banking nexus sought to co-opt the Nazi state, and how it failed. While researchers have focused on the first, they have neglected the implications of the latter. Sutton states that “Schacht was a member of the international financial elite that wields its power behind the scenes through the political apparatus of a nation. He is a key link between the Wall Street elite and Hitler’s inner circle.”⁶³ Schacht was a major figure in the creation of the Bank for International Settlements. The presence of German delegates to that institution during World War II is a primary element of this alleged Nazi-Wall Street nexus. One could say, and some do, the same about the International Committee of the Red Cross⁶⁴ and Interpol⁶⁵ during the war.

It is tempting to speculate as to whether Schacht was planted in the National Socialist regime to derail the more-strident aspects of the *NSDAP* ideology on international capitalism. It is unreasonable to claim that Hitler betrayed the National Socialist fight against international capital, because the full economic program of the *NSDAP* was not fulfilled. There is always going to be a difference in perspective as to what can be achieved when one is not in government. Schacht was obliged to work within National Socialist parameters and could not help but achieve some remarkable results. Like Montagu Norman and others, he was also concerned that the economic chaos in Germany engendered by the post-war Versailles *diktat* was having an adverse impact on world trade. Sutton does not mention that he ended up in a concentration camp because of his commitment to international capital. At least Higham states early in his book that “Hjalmar Schacht spent much of the war in Geneva and Basle pulling strings behind the scenes. However, Hitler correctly suspected him of intriguing for the

overthrow of the present regime in favor of The Fraternity⁶⁶ and imprisoned him late in the war.”⁶⁷

Hitler re-appointed Hjalmar Schacht as president of the Reichsbank in 1933, and in 1934 as minister of economics. Schacht wrote after the war:⁶⁸

“National Socialist agitators led by Gottfried Feder had carried on a vicious campaign against private banking and against our entire currency system. Nationalization of banks, abolition of bondage to interest payments and introduction of state Giro ‘Feder’ money, those were the high-sounding phrases of a pressure group which aimed at the overthrow of our money and banking system. To keep this nonsense in check, [I] called a bankers’ council, which made suggestions for tighter supervision and control over the banks. These suggestions were codified in the law of 1934 [...] by increasing the powers of the bank supervisory authority. In the course of several discussions, I succeeded in dissuading Hitler from putting into practice the most foolish and dangerous of the ideas on banking and currency harbored by his party colleagues.”



Hjalmar Schacht testifying for the defendant Friedrich Flick, said the industrialist contributed to the Nazi Party's campaign fund in 1933 because Hitler promised to protect private industry and to eliminate all strikes. Date: 21 July 1947, Provenance: From Public Relations Photo Section, Office Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, Nuernberg, Germany, APO 696-A, US Army. Photo No. OMT-V-W-16. [Public Domain] via Wikimedia Commons

What Schacht did introduce was the MEFO bill. Between 1934 and 1938 12,000,000 bills had been issued at 3,000,000 bills per year. MEFO bills were used specifically to facilitate the exchange of goods.⁶⁹ However, once full employment had been achieved, Schacht wanted to return to orthodox finance. Hitler objected, and it was agreed that Schacht would continue as president of the Reichsbank until 1939, on the assurance that the MEFO

issue would be halted when 12,000,000 bills had been reached.⁷⁰ After the war Schacht assured readers that fiat money such as the MEFO,⁷¹ like barter, should not become the norm for the world, despite their successes in Germany.

Likewise, Schacht opposed the autarchic aims of National Socialism. Schacht was, in short, ideologically inimical to the *raison d'être* of National Socialism. Today he would be a zealous exponent of globalization along with David Rockefeller and George Soros. He wrote after the war:⁷²

"Exaggerated autarchy is the greatest obstacle to a world-wide culture. It is only culture which can bring people closer to one another, and world trade is the most powerful carrier of culture. For this reason I was unable to support those who advocated the autarchistic seclusion of a hermitage as a solution to Germany's problems."

Yet Schacht was also responsible during six years for re-establishing Germany's economy, and among the achievements which were in accord with National Socialism was the creation of bi-lateral trade agreements based on reciprocal credits. Schacht wrote of this:⁷³

"In September 1934 I introduced a new foreign trade programme which made use of offset accounts, and book entry credit. [...]"

My plan was to some extent a reversion to the primitive barter economy, only the technique was modern. The equivalent value of imported goods was credited to the foreign supplier in a German banking account, and vice versa foreign buyers of German goods could make payment by means of these accounts. No movement of money in marks or foreign currency took place. All was done through credits and debits in a bank account. Thus no foreign exchange problem came into being."

Schacht then hints at what would result in a clash of systems, and world war:⁷⁴

"Those interested in the exchange of goods came into conflict with those interested solely in money. There was soon a battle royal between the exporters who sold goods to Germany, and the creditors who wanted their interest. Both parties demanded to be given preference, but the decision always went in favor of foreign trade."

I concluded special agreements with a number of states which were our principal sources of raw materials and foodstuffs. Anyone who wished to sell raw materials to Germany had to purchase German industrial products. Germany could pay for goods from abroad only by means of home-produced goods, and was thus able to trade only with countries

prepared to participate in this bilateral programme. There were many such countries. The whole of South America, and the Balkans were glad to avail themselves of the idea, since it favoured their raw materials production. By the spring of 1938 there were no less than 25 such offset account agreements with foreign countries, so that more than one half of Germany's foreign trade was conducted by means of this system. This trade agreement system in which two countries – Germany and one foreign country – were always involved, has entered economic history under the name of 'bilateral' trading policy."

It created much ill-feeling in countries which were not part of the system. These were precisely those countries who were Germany's main competitors in world markets, and who had hitherto attempted to effect repayment of their loans by imposing special charges on their imports from Germany. The countries participating in bilateral trade were not amongst those which had granted Germany loans. They were primary producers or predominantly agrarian, and had hitherto scarcely been touched by industrialisation. They utilised the bilateral trading system to accelerate their own industrial development by means of machines and factory installations imported from Germany.⁷⁵

However, Schacht was not even in favor of the permanence of this great alternative method of world trade that allowed for the peaceful development of backward economies. Imagine the difference to the world today had this system been allowed to live and grow. Schacht remained a member of The Fraternity, to use Higham's term, and he worried that

*"The bilateral trading system kept the German balance of payments under control for many years, but it was not a satisfactory solution, nor was it a permanent one. It is true that it enabled Germany to preserve its industry and to feed its populace, but the system could not provide a surplus of foreign exchange. No more was ever imported than was exported. Import and export balanced out exactly in monetary terms. Thus this system achieved the very opposite of what I, in agreement with the foreign creditors, had deemed to be necessary."*⁷⁶

As if to emphasize that he had never intended to renege on his loyalty to The Fraternity, Schacht lamented apologetically:⁷⁷

"Already at the time when I introduced the bilateral trading system I made it known that I regarded it as a most inadequate and unpleasant system, and expressed the hope that it would soon be replaced by an all-round, free, multilateral trading policy. In fact the system did have

some considerable influence on the trading policies of Germany's competitors."

It seems that Schacht had unleashed forces of economic justice and equity upon the world in spite of his intentions and it could only be stopped by war. Again: "For my part I would not say that the bilateral trading system, ranks among those of my measures which are worth copying."⁷⁸ Introducing barter in world trade seems to have been the source of great shame to Schacht.

Schacht criticizes Hitler for having financed the war neither with taxation nor with the raising of loans. "Instead he chose to print banknotes,"⁷⁹ which of course is anathema to a banker such as Schacht, claiming the looming prospect of "inflation." True enough, the "inflation" did not occur because of the other state controls, but Schacht stated that it did happen – in 1945.⁸⁰ At the end of the war the bills in circulation amounted to between 40 and 60 billion marks. Schacht comments that it did not result in hyperinflation, and that the aim was to keep the level at that amount.⁸¹ Might one conclude then that the fiat money that had been issued by the Third Reich had not been the cause of inflation, but rather the destruction of German production by the end of the war? At any rate it was not until 1948 that the Allied occupation attempted currency reform, based on the recommendations of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr., by a massive devaluation of the mark. This is what had devastating consequences upon middle- and working-class Germans, and Schacht states that "malevolent intent was involved."⁸² Fiat money has long been the great bugaboo among orthodox economists. Amusingly, Schacht spent two days during the Nuremberg proceedings trying to explain the MEFO bills, and when asked for a third time, gave up and refused.⁸³

The Bank for International Settlements reports show that up to the end of the war the Reich Government used a variety of methods of finance, including what Schacht had ridiculed as "state Giro 'Feder' money." ["Feder" means "feather."]

Another interesting point made by Schacht is that, contrary to the widespread assumption, German economic recovery was not based on war expenditure. Schacht even criticizes Hitler with the assumption that he did not understand the requirements of war preparation. During 1935-1938 armaments expenditure was 21 billion RM.⁸⁴ Schacht assumes that this was due to Hitler's ignorance. The other alternative is that there was no long-term plan to wage a major war or prolonged aggression. There was no buildup of raw materials and no real war economy until 1939.

In 1939 Schacht was replaced by Dr. Walther Funk, who had served in 1932 as deputy chairman of the NSDAP's economic council under the chairmanship of Feder. The replacement of Schacht by Funk working under the direction of Göring the head of the Four Year Plan, seems to be an indication that a transitional phase had been completed and that the Government was well aware of Schacht's role as an agent for international capital. Otto D. Tolischus, writing from Berlin for *The New York Times*, commented:⁸⁵

"Dr. Schacht was ousted because he believed that Germany had reached the limit in debt-making and currency-expansion, that any further expansion spelled danger to the economic system, for which he still considered himself responsible, and that the government would have to curtail its ambitions and confine itself to the nation's means. [...]"

No authoritative explanation of the new financial policy is available so far, but judging from hints in the highest quarters, the policy is likely to proceed about as follows:

- Expand the currency circulation only for current exchange demands and not for special purposes.*
- Open the capital market for private industry and make private industry finance many tasks hitherto financed by the state, either directly or by prices on public orders, which have enabled industry to finance the expansion of new Four-Year Plan factories out of accumulated profits and reserves.*
- Create a non-interest bearing credit instrument with which the state, now having to share the capital market with private enterprise, will finance its own further orders in anticipation of increasing tax receipts from the resulting expansion of production.*

In one respect therefore, Herr Funk presumably will continue 'pre-financing' the state's orders as did Dr. Schacht, but whereas Dr. Schacht did it with bills, loans, delivery certificates and other credit instruments, all of which cost between 4½ and 5 per cent interest per year, Herr Funk proposes doing it with non-interest-eating instruments. How that is to be done is his secret, but the mere mention of interest-free credit instruments inevitably recalls the plan of Gottfried Feder which at one time fascinated Chancellor Hitler, but which Dr Schacht vetoed."

What had taken place was an ultimatum from the Reichsbank, which in January 1939 refused to grant the state any further credits.⁸⁶ This amounted to a mutiny by orthodox banking. On January 19 Schacht was removed a

president of the Reichsbank, and his position was assumed by Economics Minister Funk. Hitler issued an edict that obliged the Reichsbank to provide credit to the state.

Funk commented on Germany's monetary policy a year later:⁸⁷

"Turning from the external to the internal sector, the question, 'How is this war being financed in Germany?' is one in which the world shows a lively interest. The war is financed by work, for we are spending no money which has not been earned by our work. Bills based on labour – drawn by the Reich and discounted by the Reichsbank – are the basis of money [...]."

Broadly, it seems that Feder's ideas were being implemented. The NSDAP broke the bondage of the international gold merchants, and this was being openly discussed as the way of the future. Germany created an autarchic trading bloc both before and during the war, based on barter through a Reich clearing center. Pegging national currencies to the Reichsmark resulted in immediate wage increases in the occupied states. The Bank for International Settlements Annual Report for 1940-1941 quoted finance spokesmen from Fascist Italy and the Third Reich:⁸⁸

"The development of clearings in Europe has given rise to certain fears with regard to the future position of gold as an element in the monetary structure. It has since been noted that Germany has been able to finance rearmament and war with very slight gold reserves and that the foreign trade of Germany and Italy has been carried on largely on a clearing basis. Hence the question is being asked whether a new monetary system is being developed which will altogether dispense with the services of gold.

In authoritative statements made on this subject in Germany and Italy a distinction is drawn between different functions of gold. The president of the German Reichsbank said in a speech on 26 July 1940 that 'in any case in the future gold will play no role as a basis of European currencies, for a currency is not dependent upon its cover but on the value which is given to it by the state, i.e. by the economic order as regulated by the state.' 'It is,' he added, 'another matter whether gold should be regarded as a suitable medium for the settlement of debit balances between countries, but we shall never pursue a monetary policy which makes us in any way dependent upon gold, for it is impossible to tie oneself to a medium the value of which one cannot determine oneself.'"

After the war Schacht, while acquitted of charges at Nuremberg, did not escape the vindictiveness of the Allies, despite the testimonials of those

who stated that he was from the start an enemy of Hitler. In 1959 Donald R. Heath, American ambassador to Saudi Arabia, who had been director of political affairs for the American military government during the time of the Nuremberg trials, wrote to Schacht telling him that he had tried to intervene for Schacht with U.S. prosecutor Robert Jackson:⁸⁹

After consultation with Robert Murphy, now Under Secretary of State, and with the permission of General Clay, I went to Nürnberg to see Jackson. I told Jackson not only should you never have been brought before that tribunal but that you had consistently been working for the downfall of the Nazi regime. I told him that I had been in touch with you consistently during the first part of the war and Under Secretary of State Wells through me, and that you had passed on to me information adverse to the Nazi cause [...].”

In 1952 Schacht applied to establish a bank in Hamburg but was refused on the basis that the MEFO bills had offended banking morality. Notably, it was the Socialists who found the MEFO objectionable.⁹⁰

Who Wanted War?

If some industrialists and businessmen such as Henry Ford Sr. did not want war and supported the America First Committee, others, including those supposedly pro-Nazi, were clamoring for aid to Britain and antagonism towards Germany well before Pearl Harbor. Senator Rush D. Holt, a liberal pacifist, during the last session of the 76th Congress, exposed the oligarchs promoting belligerence against Germany. Commenting on an influential committee, Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by newspaperman William Allen White, to agitate for war against Germany, or at least “all aid short of war” to Britain, Senator Holt said the founders included “eighteen prominent bankers.” Among those present at its April 1940 founding were Henry L. Stimson, who had served as counsel for J. P. Morgan and senior Morgan partner Thomas W. Lamont.⁹¹ The campaign began on June 10, 1940, with advertisements entitled “Stop Hitler Now” appearing in newspapers throughout the USA. There was an allusion to the advertisements being paid for by “a number of patriotic American citizens.” On July 11, Senator Holt spoke to the Senate on the advertisement:⁹²

“You find it is not the little fellows who paid for this advertisement, ‘Stop Hitler Now!’ [...] Listen to these banks. The directors of these banks, or the families of directors, paid for this advertisement. Who are they? No wonder they want Hitler stopped. Director of J. Pierpont

Morgan & Co.; Director of Drexel & Co.; Director of Kuhn, Loeb Co., – Senators have heard that name before – Kuhn, Loeb & Co. international banking. No wonder Kuhn, Loeb & Co. helped finance such an advertisement. A Director of Lehman Bros., another international banking firm, helped pay for this ‘Stop Hitler’ advisement, and a number of others.”

Holt, referring to a list of names of the advertisement sponsors, stated that they are not the types who die in battle, or the fathers of those who die in battle. He named the wives of international financiers W. Averell Harriman,⁹³ H. P. Davison,⁹⁴ the late Daniel Guggenheim,⁹⁵ and John Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Other sponsors included Frederick M. Warburg,⁹⁶ a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Cornelius V. Whitney, mining magnate associated with Rockefeller and Morgan interests; and Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan Co. In communications, there was Henry Luce, publisher of *Time*, and Samuel Goldman, the Hollywood mogul. Holt described these sponsors not as “patriots,” but as “paytriots.”

In his farewell speech to the Senate, Holt nailed exactly what was behind the agitation for war against Germany, and the different attitude towards the USSR:

“Germany is a factor in world trade against England, Russia is not. [...] American boys are going to be sent once again to Europe, in the next session of Congress, not to destroy dictatorship or to preserve democracy but to preserve the balance of power and protect world trade.”

It is interesting to read now that in reply Senator Josh Lee reminded Holt that Roosevelt had promised that “no American expeditionary force would be sent to Europe.” Holt replied that Roosevelt had broken many promises.⁹⁷

A survey of the newspaper headlines also indicates those most avid in calling for U.S. war against Germany, from as early as 1938; and indeed the war hysteria that was being pushed against Germany from an early date. Apart from President Franklin D. Roosevelt promising that he would not involve the USA in another European war, out of one side one his mouth while out of the other demanding an urgent military buildup, the two individuals who stand out most prominently in war-mongering are presidential confidant and Wall Street financier Bernard M. Baruch and New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman of Lehman Brothers. In October 1938 Baruch and Roosevelt were both calling for increased military spending by the USA. In January 1939 Baruch offered \$3,300,000 of his own fortune to help equip the U.S. army. In February 1939 Roosevelt was say-

ing that U.S. involvement in helping Britain and France was “inevitable,” although hostilities were not declared until September. In May 1940, amidst war-mongering by “rabbis” and Roosevelt, “Baruch exhorts U.S. to re-arm.” In June “Lehman tells Roosevelt to send all arms asked.” A few days later James P. Warburg, of the famous banking dynasty, “says only force will stop Hitler.” In July Lehman called for compulsory military service. In January 1941 James P. Warburg “asks for speed” in rearming the USA. A few days previously Rabbi Stephen S. Wise urged “all aid short of war” to Britain, as Roosevelt asked “billions in loans to fight Axis,” and Lehman “urges speedy passage of aid measure.” In February “Jewish Institute to Plan Role in New World Order,” and “Lehman Urges Speed in Voting British Aid Bill.”⁹⁸ Lehman, U.S. diplomat Bullitt, and others of the pro-war party were pitching to the American public, overwhelmingly opposed to war, that if Britain is defeated, the USA faced impending invasion.⁹⁹ Those such as Colonel Charles Lindbergh, who showed that such alarmist claims were utter nonsense, were pilloried as “pro-Nazi.”

Conclusion

Some Wall Street luminaries who are supposed to have been “pro-Nazi” on the basis of business affiliations in Germany were among those agitating for war against Germany. Foreign business holdings were held in trust throughout the war by Germany in accordance with international law. The one individual who had convincing links with international capital, Hjalmar Schacht, was relieved of all positions by 1939 and ended up in a concentration camp. Those German businessmen who did provide funds to the Nazi party did so at a comparatively late date, and were of nationalistic sentiments in a German tradition that was alien to that of the self-interest of the English free-trade school. Even those foreign businessmen who might reasonably have been expected to fund the *NSDAP* on ideological grounds, primarily Henry Ford, did not do so, persistent allegations to the contrary.

The Third Reich was a command economy, and corporate executives became “trustees” of their firms, subject to state supervision. The *NSDAP* premise: “the common interest before self-interest” was upheld throughout the regime. Dividends and profits were limited to a large extent. While it is a widespread assumption that Hitler reneged on the “socialist” principles of the *NSDAP* program, what the regime did carry out was extensive in terms of bilateral trade, and the use of unorthodox methods of finance. The machinations of international capital, including those who were supposedly pro-German, were for war, especially if Germany could not be persuaded

to return to orthodox methods of trade and finance. War came the same year as Schacht was dismissed from office.

Notes

- ¹ See for example: "Fascism" in *ABC of Political Terms* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1982), pp. 29-30; cited in Roger Griffin, *Fascism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 282-283.
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ Roger Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Vintage, 1995).
- ⁴ Zeev Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); *Neither Left nor Right: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, 1986).
- ⁵ "Guidelines of the German Workers' Party," January 5, 1919, in Barbara M. Lane and Leila J. Rupp, *Nazi Ideology Before 1933* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), pp. 9-11.
- ⁶ Oswald Spengler [1926], *The Decline of the West* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), Vol. 2, p. 402.
- ⁷ Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (London; Hurst and Blackett, 1939), pp. 180-181.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy* (1841) online at: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/315>
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, "Author's Preface."
- ¹² Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House Publishers, 1974).
- ¹³ Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Suffolk: Broomfield Books, 1976).
- ¹⁴ Everette O. Lemons, *A Revolution in Ideological Inhumanity* (Lulu Press, 2013), Vol. 1 pp. 339-340.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 389.
- ¹⁶ Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1938), pp. 287-288.
- ¹⁷ Sutton, *How The Order Creates War and Revolution* (Bullsbrook, W. Australia: Veritas Publishing (1985). Sutton's evidence for Wall Street funding of Hitler comprises nothing other than the supposed links with Fritz Thyssen (pp. 58-63), which will be considered below.
- ¹⁸ "Berlin hears Ford is backing Hitler," *New York Times*, December 20, 1922, cited by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 90-92.
- ¹⁹ See for example: "The Constantine Report," <http://www.constantinereport.com/new-york-times-dec-20-1922-berlin-hears-ford-backing-hitler/>. Also the citing of the article in a university thesis: Daniel Walsh, "The Silent Partner: how the Ford Motor Company Became an Arsenal of Nazism," p. 4, University of Pennsylvania, http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=hist_honors
- ²⁰ Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Suffolk: Broomfield Books, 1976), p. 92.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*

- ²² Scott Nehmer, *Ford, General Motors and the Nazis: Marxist Myths about Production, Patriotism and Philosophies* (Bloomington, Indiana: Author House LLC, 2013).
- ²³ Professor Eric Johnson seems to be particularly close to Jewish interests, which might explain his outrage at Mr. Nehmer's lack of subservience. See: Central Michigan University, History Department Newsletter, "Faculty Publications and Activities," June 2010, p. 2, <https://www.cmich.edu/colleges/chsbs/history/about/documents/historynewsletter2010.pdf>
- ²⁴ Scott Nehmer, "Ford General Motors, and the Nazis," <http://scottneher.weebly.com/>
- ²⁵ Antony Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 104-105. *Trading with the Enemy* (London: Robert Hale, 1983), by Charles Higham, is along the same lines.
- ²⁶ Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1938).
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.
- ³⁰ Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 92.
- ³¹ James Pool, *Who Financed Hitler* (New York: Pocket Books, 1997), pp. 65-96.
- ³² *New York Times*, June 4, 1938; quoted by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, pp. 90-91.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ³⁴ Pool, p. 84.
- ³⁵ George T. Eggleston, *Roosevelt, Churchill and the World War II Opposition* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: The Devin-Adair Co., 19079), pp. 96-97.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 146, 147, 164, 165.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- ³⁸ Thomas Lamont, "American Business in War and Peace: Economic Peace Essential to Political Peace," speech before the Academy of Political Sciences, November 15, 1939, quoted by Peter Luddington, *Why the Good War was Good: Franklin D. Roosevelt's New World Order*, doctoral thesis, UCLA (Ann Arbor: ProQuest LLC, 2008), pp. 112-113.
- ³⁹ K. R. Bolton, "The Geopolitics of White Dispossession" in *Radix*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 108-110.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-114.
- ⁴¹ Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), p. 35.
- ⁴² Charles Higham, *Trading with the Enemy: How the Allied Multinationals supplied Nazi Germany throughout World War Two* (London: Robert Hale, 1983), pp. 166-177.
- ⁴³ Edwin Black, "Hitler's Car Maker: The Inside Story of How General Motors Helped Mobilize the Third Reich," *History News Network*, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/37935>
- ⁴⁴ James D. Mooney, *Always the Unexpected*, unpublished autobiography, ed. Louis P. Lochner, (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1948), p. 24; cited by David Hayward, *Automotive History*, "Mr. James D. Mooney: A

- Man of Missions,” http://www.gmhistory.chevytalk.org/James_D_Mooney_by_David_Hayward.html
- ⁴⁵ Mooney, *ibid.*, p. 27.
- ⁴⁶ Luddington, p. 113.
- ⁴⁷ Dr. Greg Bradsher, “German Administration of American Companies 1940-1945: A Very Brief Review,” U.S. National Archives, June 6, 2001, <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/articles-and-papers/german-administration-of-american-companies.html>
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ Rinehold Billstein, et al *Working for the Enemy: Ford, General Motors and Forced Labor in Germany during the Second World War* (Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 141.
- ⁵⁰ Anita Kugler, *Working for the Enemy*, *ibid.*, p. 36.
- ⁵¹ Richard Overy, *The Dictators* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), p.p. 438-439.
- ⁵² Antony Sutton, *How The Order Creates War and Revolution*, pp. 3-9.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, *inter alia*.
- ⁵⁴ Fritz Thyssen, *I Paid Hitler* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart Inc., n.d.) p. 88, cited by Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 25.
- ⁵⁵ Sutton, *ibid.*, p. 25.
- ⁵⁶ “Fritz Thyssen,” ThyssenKrupp; http://www.thyssenkrupp.com/en/konzern/geschichte_grfam_t2.html
- ⁵⁷ Alien Property Commission.
- ⁵⁸ “How Bush’s Grandfather Helped Hitler’s Rise to Power,” *The Guardian*, September 25, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/sep/25/usa.secondworldwar>
- ⁵⁹ Pool, pp. 336-337.
- ⁶⁰ Paul Drucker, *The End of Economic Man* (London: 1939), p. 105; quoted by Pool, p. 272.
- ⁶¹ Ludecke, p. 692.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 693.
- ⁶³ Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*, p. 18.
- ⁶⁴ Arthur Spiegelman, “WWII Documents Bolster Nazi-Red Cross Connection,” *Detroit Free Press*, August 30, 1996, p. 6A.
- ⁶⁵ Gerald L. Posner, “Interpol’s Nazi Affiliations Continued after War,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1990, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/06/opinion/1-interpol-s-nazi-affiliations-continued-after-war-137690.html>
- ⁶⁶ Higham’s term for the international financial cabal.
- ⁶⁷ Higham, pp. 9-10.
- ⁶⁸ Hjalmar Schacht, *The Magic of Money* (London: Oldbourne, 1967), p. 49; http://www.autentopia.se/blogg/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/schacht_the_magic_of_money.pdf
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁷⁵⁻⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸⁵ "The Abolition of Debt-Bonds Is the Story behind the Removal of Dr. Schacht," *Social Justice*, February 13, 1939, p. 11

⁸⁶ Schacht, p. 117.

⁸⁷ Walther Funk, "The Economic Re-Organisation of Europe," Speech: July 25, 1940.

⁸⁸ *The Bank for International Settlements Annual Report for 1940-1941*, Eleventh Annual Report, June 9, 1941, p. 96.

⁸⁹ Hjalmar Schacht, p. 107.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁹¹ "Rabid Tory Propagandists are Worst War Profiteers," *Weekly Roll-Call*, January 25, 1941, p. 6; citing *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1940.

⁹² "Aid to Britain Screech comes from Wall Street Profiteers facing loss," *Weekly Roll-Call*, February 3, 1941, p. 5.

⁹³ An elder statesman of American diplomacy under several presidents, he was a founder of Brown Brothers Harriman international bank, one of whose partners was fellow Lodge 322 initiate Prescott Bush. On account of business affiliations with German corporations such as those of Fritz Thyssen, Harriman is assumed to have been a Wall Street backer of Hitler, along with Prescott Bush. His sponsorship of war agitation shows this is not the case.

⁹⁴ Associated with J.P Morgan interests, he was a Lodge 322 initiate in 1920.

⁹⁵ Guggenheim, the copper magnate, had been a member of the National Security League, headed by J. P. Morgan, which had agitated for war against Germany during World War I.

⁹⁶ A director in Harriman railway interests.

⁹⁷ "Senator Holt in Farewell Speech calls Pro-War agitators 'Traitors'," *Weekly Roll-Call*, January 11, 1941, p. 9.

⁹⁸ "The Chronology of the Devil who wants War," *Weekly Roll-Call*, February 17, 1941, p. 2.

⁹⁹ "Prompt passage of aid bill urged," *The Pittsburgh Press*, January 26, 1941, pp. 1, 12. "U.S. envoys who saw Nazis in action fear invasion, back Lend-Lease Bill," *Pittsburgh Press*, p. 12.

COMMENT

War Criminals in Israel

Jett Rucker

Israel collects war criminals. Of course, throughout its never-ending conflicts with its neighbors, it has produced its own abundant crops of home-grown, even native, war criminals, but here, I wish to concentrate on war criminals, real and supposed, imported from other lands whose crimes even antedate Israel itself – I am interested, in fact, in war criminals whose crimes were committed, if crimes they were, in Europe during and immediately after World War II, either upon Jews or by Jews. In fact, four famous and not-so-famous cases themselves embody such a wide variety of charges, apprehensions, verdicts, trials and sentences that they will suffice for the exploration of the subject that I contemplate.

The most-famous of these accused war criminals is Adolf Eichmann, who needs no more introduction than his name. Next most-famous, perhaps, is Yitzhak Arad, a Jew from Lithuania who has lived most of his life in Israel and gained a name in certain circles of scholarly advocacy as the author of several books purporting to describe, in great detail, various phases of the historical subject embraced by the term “the Holocaust.” Next would come the late John Demjanjuk, a Gentile from Ukraine who lived most of his life in America whose citizenship in that country was twice granted, and twice revoked during the travails he experienced in the last three decades of his life while persecuted by a succession of international Holocaust avengers. The one most spared the revealing light of international notoriety, and even a trial, is one Salomon Morel, a Jew from Poland who was commandant of the post-war Zgoda/Świętochłowice concentration camp for Prussian German expellees in Poland, and also spent the latter part of his life in Israel without calling any further attention to himself, nor having it come to him in the manner experienced by the Gentiles in this list. The cases will be reviewed in the order in which they became public.

Adolf Eichmann is the only German in this group, a member of the National-Socialist Party and an officer in the infamous *Schutz Staffel*, or SS, an organization whose vast functions and enterprises encompassed carrying out most of the dealings of the German government with Jews in territories it controlled in the course of World War II. Eichmann is the only



Adolf Eichmann's extension-of-arrest hearing

Photo: 1961. By Israel Government Press Office (Israel National Photo Collection D412-001) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

one of the four cases in which Communists are not directly involved, neither as adversaries nor as allies. His case might bear a distant – and foreshortened – comparison with that of Yitzhak Arad in that he embarked on an abortive authorial enterprise in which he hoped to gain publication of his work, which appears to have been largely autobiographical. The corpus of works *about* Eichmann¹ greatly exceed in bulk and renown anything Eichmann is known even to have planned, much less realized.

Israel abducted Eichmann in Argentina in 1960, after Eichmann had been living there since the war, and secretly spirited him to Israel, where Israel proudly proclaimed its violation of Argentina's sovereignty, and proceeded to put on a show "trial" of this early Holocaust defendant, which concluded with his being sentenced to death, and duly hanged in 1961. While Israel's Gestapo, the Mossad, is known to have murdered a good number of people outside Israel, and Israel is known to have extradited a comparable number of unfortunates for crimes such as those of which Eichmann was accused, Eichmann's would appear to be the only case of covert "extradition" performed by the Mossad without the host country's knowledge or permission.

Eichmann doggedly testified at his "trial," confirming in the minds of his captors and their sympathizers his guilt for all time. The same testimony, in the minds of otherwise-motivated auditors, largely exonerated Eichmann of anything worse than carrying out his orders, and even indicted

some leaders of Jewish communities for at least as much guilt in carrying out the Holocaust as Eichmann himself could be seen to bear. While the entire process was literally terminal for Eichmann, it provided an auspicious launch not only for the Holocaust culture we observe everywhere today, but for its unlovely offspring, the aggressive young Israel. Eichmann “gave” his life for Israel, and for generations of Holocaust victims as yet unborn.

Salomon Morel’s story is much befogged by blood and smoke, arising as it does during the early 1940s when invasions, conquests and occupations from both east and west washed over his birthplace in Poland. His own area did not become subject to German occupation until after Operation Barbarossa was launched from the German side on June 22, 1941, after which he went underground in a manner that the Polish Institute of National Remembrance describes as rankly opportunist, if not outright predatory. When the gang of robbers of which he was a member was captured by the Polish People’s Army, he skedaddled over to the communist side of the resistance, leaving his brothers and fellow gang members to face the consequences. Morel found success as a communist and, when Soviet communists became the masters of Poland, Salomon Morel found his calling – and an opportunity for revenge – as a jailer.

Specifically, newly minted Colonel Morel became commandant of the Zgoda/Świętochłowice concentration camp for Prussian German expellees in Poland, a camp full, as he likely saw it, of people related to those who identified his fellow Jews as enemies and subsequently enslaved them in great numbers in the course of fighting a war that ultimately took on existential consequences for the Germans. He may also have believed the tales of mass torture or even genocide the Germans are supposed to have committed against his people.

Whatever Morel’s beliefs, the Zgoda camp became legendary as one of many counter-concentration camps for Germans in which, even if there were no gas chambers, Polish-German men, women and children died in great numbers in the most horrendous conditions imaginable, even to those who imagined horrendous conditions in the camps established by the German government. Morel and his murderous Jewish cadre of camp operatives were immortally documented in John Sack’s *An Eye for an Eye*², an account of revenge taken by Jews in Europe after World War II against people they felt were “German enough” to merit retribution for the atrocities they felt had been committed against Jews under the National Socialist policies that ruled Germany from 1933 to 1945.



John Demjanjuk hearing his death sentence. Photo: 25 April 1988. USHMM Photograph #65266, courtesy of Israel Government Press Office, [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

In 1990, however, Morel's red star began to set with the fall of the Soviet Union. By 1992, Colonel Morel could read the writing on the wall, and he lit out, as fellow Communist Yitzhak Arad had long since done (see below) for Israel, to make Aliyah. Israel met Poland's 1998 request for Morel's extradition for crimes against humanity with the response that the statute of limitations had run out.

Statutes of limitation don't apply to such as Oskar Groening or John Demjanjuk (see below), but they certainly do to Salomon Morel, especially when he is safely ensconced in the national home of the Jews, where he died a peaceful death in 2007.

John Demjanjuk was a farm boy from Ukraine, which was invaded and occupied by Germany in 1941, when Demjanjuk was 21. Demjanjuk had by that time been drafted into the Red Army that opposed the German invasion, but he became a prisoner of war of the Germans after an engagement in which his side lost. Demjanjuk's story at this time becomes, like the stories of many of the other war criminals, befogged by blood, smoke and war. At some point during this tumultuous period, however, it seems Demjanjuk took up duty, nominally on the German side, as a guard at certain concentration camps in which the occupying Germans confined and enslaved various people they felt threatened their control of the areas, including Jews. It is alleged, in fact, that the Germans deliberately killed Jews and perhaps others in such places, and the legal standards that grew

up around such allegations, on the part of parties connected with the victorious Allies, implicated even such passive agents as guards (Demjanjuk's role) in the alleged enterprise.

Demjanjuk, however, got away from all this quite handily when, in 1952, he managed to emigrate to the United States, where he became an auto worker. There he lived, worked, and raised a family in much the same manner as other Americans, native-born or immigrant alike, until Demjanjuk rashly allowed his wife Vera to return to their native Ukraine. There, Vera let it out that John, for whom his mother had been receiving survivor's benefits from the government, was still very much alive. She didn't realize that this revelation put her husband under suspicion of having been a turncoat.

Demjanjuk's mother's benefactors were not long in exacting revenge for this assault on the national treasury of the Ukrainian people committed unwittingly by the bereft mother. The authorities, in possession of Demjanjuk's postwar applications for a driver's license in East Germany, cobbled up a much-discredited "identification card" for Demjanjuk as a guard at the notorious Trawniki concentration camp, and we were off to the races. Demjanjuk's troubles with the laws of Israel, Germany and the US never ended after that.

He was extradited to Israel (the place whose statutes of limitation barred the extradition of Salomon Morel), tried there, sentenced to death, and subsequently freed by the Israeli Supreme Court's ruling that there was insufficient evidence to convict him, and a subsequent case, brought after restoration of his US citizenship from Germany, where he was again being tried in the light of "new evidence."

He died during that trial, a casualty of [...] something. Of World War II? Of Nazism? Of Communism? Of Zionism? Of American immigration law? It might seem, at least in John Demjanjuk's case, that the vises of history close from every direction imaginable. Who won the war? Who controls the apparatus of the state after the war? Who controls the media after the war? Who has the most money after the war?

Yitzhak Arad grew up Jewish in a place that was part of Poland until he was nineteen, after which it was part of Lithuania. Alone among our war criminals, Arad enjoys a reputation, at least in certain partisan quarters, as a "historian," or at least, narrator-from-the-scene, of innumerable atrocities, or resistance measures depending on your perspective, not only in the area in which he was born, but as well in Israel, in the violent gestation of which he participated quite as much, and quite as particularly, as he participated in the removal of German occupiers of his native lands, along with

other persons whose ethnic, religious or political affiliations differed from his own.

Specifically, Arad participated (in Europe, at least) in intra-resistance conflicts in which he is recorded as having killed other resistance fighters whose affiliations lacked the Soviet/communist/Jewish ones enjoyed by the partisans among whom he fought. Whether Arad committed his atrocities in the name of Jewish domination or communist domination remains ambiguous to this very day; it certainly would have been ambiguous to Arad at the time, though it is likewise unclear to what extent the distinction mattered to him.

As it turned out, Arad's communists won, but Arad took off for the Promised Land in 1945, where there was plenty of activity of the sort in which he had been successful already. Arad's side won again in 1948, when the state of Israel was born amid the ashes of Palestine, and Arad became a brigadier general in Israel's Defense Force before segueing to his career as an academic historian. Bloody times, it might be reasoned, are the better recalled and recounted when your own hands are covered with the stuff. Arad has commanded not only such credibility, but credence as well on the part of people eager to support his particular view of the events.

But back home in Lithuania, Arad's old friends the communists were ousted in 1990. But it wasn't until 2007 that historical investigators of the new regime got around to Arad's actions during World War II against *their* side of the resistance to Lithuania's many occupations. But, fortunately for Arad, his adopted country just said the claim was an anti-Semitic plot, and refused to cooperate with it.

Countries involved in the foregoing list include Argentina, Germany, Israel, Lithuania, Poland and the United States. Israel, of course, is the one common to all the cases. Israel extradites people accused of harming Jews, however peripherally and long ago that may be, or it just abducts them outright, and it sentences them to death. Those (Jews) accused of harming non-Jews, it welcomes in, and once they are safely ensconced within the walls rising even now around Eretz Israel, it rebuffs efforts to bring them to justice with impunity.

Israel's wards may plainly be seen to be, or have been, partisans. Of Israel itself, it may also be said that it is partisan – in every pejorative sense of the word.

Notes

¹ The most famous of these works is Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), but an even better account of the trial is *The*

Real Eichmann Trial by Paul Rassinier (English translation Steppingstones Publications, Silver Spring, Md., 1979).

- ² John Sack, *An Eye for an Eye: The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

REVIEWS

The Passenger*reviewed by Arthur R. Butz*

The Passenger, opera in two acts by Mieczyslaw Weinberg. Libretto by Alexander Medvedev. Based on the novel of the same name by Zofia Posmysz.

The Passenger, promoted as “a Holocaust-themed opera,” was written in the Soviet Union by Weinberg during the 1960s but, despite enthusiastic support from Dmitri Shostakovich, had to wait until 2010 to premiere, at the Bregenz Festival in Austria. Festival director David Pountney then brought it to Warsaw, London and Madrid before its US premiere in Houston in 2014, followed by a performance in New York later in 2014. It was first performed in Chicago in Feb. 2015, with Pountney as stage director.

I attended a performance for reasons that were not completely clear to me. First, like many operagoers, I view the great age of opera as having ended with Richard Strauss; some would even end it with Giacomo Puccini. I considered it likely that, on purely artistic grounds, I would not enjoy it very much. Second, my quarrel with the “Holocaust” has to do with its historicity; the problem of dramatic representation would seem, at first thought, to be unimportant, since most dramas are fictitious anyway. A statue, if invited to dinner, will not nod acceptance, let alone come, but that fact doesn’t diminish the awe that we feel for Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, which is universally considered a masterpiece.

This is a review of Weinberg’s opera, not the specific performance I saw in March 2015, so names of the performing artists are irrelevant. My final verdict on the opera’s artistic merits: not bad for a modern opera, but it isn’t about the “Holocaust.”

Polish writer Zofia Posmysz had been arrested in her late teens by the German occupation authorities, with three male comrades, for attending illegal meetings, and sent to Auschwitz in 1942, where she was quartered in a women’s camp. Of course she and her fellow inmates were not gassed. Her novel is said to be based on her experiences there, and she attended the Chicago premiere of the opera.

The heroine of the fictitious drama is camp prisoner Marta, who is the special target of Liese, a cruel German SS guard. Apart from some silly heiling while strutting around in parade black SS uniforms, and an enigmatic episode of “selection”¹, the action is on a credible level, and could correspond to many contexts of incarceration, in camps or prisons, then or today. Marta’s fiancé Tadeusz is incarcerated in the men’s camp, a fact that Liese uses wickedly, though on that I think Weinberg missed an opportunity to portray a level of evil comparable to, say, the wicked trick that Baron Scarpia plays on Puccini’s *Tosca*, though Tadeusz is eventually reported as sent to his death.



Composer Mieczysław
Weinberg. (Public domain)

In the opera Liese had married a German diplomat after the war and they were travelling as passengers on a ship to Brazil, where he was to take up a new post. Liese spies another passenger who reminds her of Marta and is terrified that her dark secret, unknown to her husband, could be exposed by this woman.²

This story is not about the “Holocaust” which, in the common understanding, is about the alleged mass physical extermination of the Jews, usually in gas chambers. I believe the failure to represent it dramatically, over many years, inheres in the nature of the allegation.

Most of us will remember *Schindler’s List*, the movie based on a novel that transformed Steven Spielberg’s image from producer of technically marvelous junk into sensitive artist. There was a terrifying scene in which the audience was encouraged to assume that a group of women was about to be gassed. Even I got scared, but then water came out of the shower-heads!

I don’t believe Spielberg was too squeamish to portray a gassing, since there was also a scene in the film showing a huge open wagon full of corpses. Also, Spielberg was the guy who presented us, in another movie, with a man being eaten, whole and alive, by a giant Great White shark. Rather, I think there are grave practical problems in representing a gassing even approximately as claimed in the legend. Robert Faurisson has described some such problems in detail.³

To give another example, in 1978 NBC televised a “docudrama” entitled “Holocaust,” and I wrote a review of it for the weekly *Spotlight* newspaper, predecessor of today’s fortnightly *American Free Press*. I wrote (May 8, 1978):

“The extermination allegation entails dramatic impossibilities. It is one thing to read in a book that the Jews didn’t resist being killed. It is quite another experience to see on our TV screens scenes where people are, as if at the supermarket or bank, quietly and cooperatively waiting in line to be machine-gunned, or calmly filing into a ‘shower’ that at least some of them know to be in reality a gas chamber.”

That expresses the problem, also, of creating a true “Holocaust opera.” If it is credible at all, it will not even aim at its target. David Poutney concedes “There some people who say you can’t make an opera on the Holocaust,” and I think those people are right, but I add that the barrier consists mainly in the absurdity of the allegations.

We should chew on that for a while. Despite the mania for talking about it, this “Holocaust” still lacks commensurate dramatic representation. I believe that all such attempts will either be ludicrous on their faces, or give us something like the Spielberg movie, which represents genocide somewhat the way a performance of *Tristan and Isolde*, abruptly ending with Act II, might represent a love story.

Notes

- ¹ Of course, it is not claimed that Polish political prisoners were “gassed” or “exterminated.” However as early internees they were hard hit by the typhus epidemics of 1942-43.
- ² For sources and more commentary see the articles by John von Rhein and Howard Reich in the *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 18 & 26, 2015.
- ³ Robert Faurisson, “The Mechanics of Gassing,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 23-30, Spring 1980. Online: <https://codoh.com/library/document/the-mechanics-of-gassing/>

Angry Sledge-Hammer Revisionism

Germar Rudolf

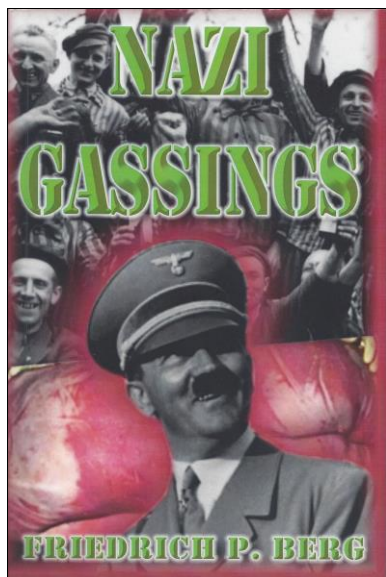
Nazi Gassings: Thoughts on Life and Death by Friedrich Paul Berg, CreateSpace, 2015, 201 pp.

For several decades now, Friedrich Berg has started arguments with fellow revisionists about certain technical issues of relevance to the orthodox Holocaust narrative. Usually, these arguments were hidden from public view, as they took place mainly in email exchanges between the parties involved and some bystanders Berg tried to drag into the fray. The last of these exchanges – with Robert Faurisson and Fred Leuchter as his main adversaries – took place only a few weeks before writing these lines. It had been triggered by Berg's having read for the first time my critical edition of the *Leuchter Report* – ten years after its first edition had been published. I spare the reader the details of this or earlier polemic altercations, in particular since Berg's language is often disrespectful and abusive.

During an earlier episode of these Bergian temper tantrums, I tried to understand the reason for these repeated nasty attacks Berg launches against individuals who by all reckonings should be his revisionist friends and allies. I even discussed Berg's behavior with a psychologist specializing in analyzing the underlying reasons for the misbehaviors of troubled children and adolescents. Her conclusion was that Berg's immature behavior points to a severe lack of self-confidence and an inferiority complex. His screaming contests with other revisionists clearly indicate that he thinks his important technical findings are being misunderstood or even ignored by the revisionist community – a thought wholly at odds with the facts. The idea therefore crossed my mind to help boost Berg's self-perception and reputation by helping him publish a fine monograph containing all his major and minor contributions to revisionism. I suggested this to him more than a year ago. His reaction was that all he had to say is posted on his website www.nazigassings.com. He insisted that I take his material as posted and put it somehow into book form. It goes without saying that this is not the way publishers or editors work. They might be able to turn a mediocre manuscript into a respectable book, but creating a book from disorganized scrapbook-like postings on a website is not their job. That clearly is the author's obligation. Berg, however, was not willing to do it.

But he now has found someone else to do that job for him. This person disclaimed all responsibility for the book's style and contents, explaining to me that the book is exactly what Berg had ordered it to be. So I won't reveal the editor's name here. Whatever the orders were, if we look at the actual book, it becomes clear that a no-frills-approach to book creation was chosen that couldn't be any cheaper. The book has no table of contents, no footnotes, no bibliography, and only occasionally gives references to sources quoted. The text is set with wide margins (perhaps to boost the page count) and is not hyphenated. Punctuation is haphazard, spelling errors are frequent, and references to webpages and websites are usually not spelled out but contained as embedded links in the original web texts. They are still functioning links in the book's Kindle version, but in the printed version they simply show as bold and underlined text, which makes them useless to the reader of the hard copy. I have not checked any of the links as to whether they are still correct, but on p. 139 this book contains a spelled-out link to John C. Ball's former website air-photo.com which has been defunct for almost a decade. Hence it is probably safe to assume that many of the links contained in the Kindle edition are outdated as well. The book's illustrations are of low resolution, as is common for websites from which they were taken, but not conducive for printed books.

The editor confirmed that the book is basically a cut-and-paste assembly of various web texts from Berg's website. If any editing was done, it was very superficial. The cover design is cheap and ugly. The back cover, which should contain an interest-piquing summary of the book, simply is identical to the text on the book's first text page. The text of the first 13 pages is repeated at the very end of the book. This is only the most striking instance of repetitions, of which there are many throughout the book, some verbatim, some by basic contents. I've marked my hard copy with "repeated" notes in its wide margins whenever I ran into something I had read already earlier, and the book is full of them. The question, for instance, of whether and to what degree it is possible to commit mass murder with diesel exhaust – Berg's home turf – is addressed four times, thrice briefly (pp.



8-10, 32, 187-190) and once more-thoroughly (76-87). Repetitious also are several sweeping polemical statements, for example that Americans “should pray that there is no God” on the score of their holocaustian aerial warfare against civilians during World War II and later conflicts (pp. 16, 36, 51, similar pp. 47, 132), or that Hitler and the Nazis were right with the way they treated the Jews (pp. 50, 54, 56f.).

A serious flaw of this book is Berg’s outdated and contradictory discussion of the infamous Auschwitz document containing the term “*Ver-gasungskeller*” (gassing cellar) in connection with Crematorium II. In his 1976 classic *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz posited that this term referred to a basement where generator gas was produced from coke as fuel for the cremation furnaces. Butz later corrected that error after becoming familiar with the cremation furnaces’ design, eventually settling for the hypothesis that this document referred to a basement that served as a “gas [protection] basement” as an auxiliary function (see the latest, 2015 edition of his book). On p. 128 of Berg’s book, Butz’s original, flawed interpretation is repeated, while on p. 115 Berg claims that this term refers to a delousing chamber. He bases this conclusion on his misinterpretation of an earlier Auschwitz document talking about large-scale delousing actions throughout the entire camp.

This, together with Berg’s behind-the-scenes “discussion” of the critically commented Leuchter report ten years after the critique’s first appearance, gives the impression that Berg does not keep track of revisionist research and publishing activities. Well, considering that he propounds two different, mutually exclusive and wrong interpretations of a single document just 13 pages apart, there is evidence that he doesn’t even keep track of his own writings.

As to the book’s contents, anyone hoping to find all of Berg’s major contributions collected or at least summarized here will walk away disappointed. Berg’s website is an assembly of several additional, but usually marginal findings to his older contributions, summaries of some of which are interwoven now and again. His book therefore has the same patchwork-like style and contents. “Fritz” Berg’s other two main papers published in the old *Journal for Historical Review* – “Typhus and the Jews” and “Zyklon B and the German Delousing Chambers” – are only mentioned in passing. The Diesel issue is explained in some detail, but not as deeply as any newcomer to revisionism looking for a thorough overview might expect and hope for. Berg’s ongoing disagreement with Prof. Faurisson is covered to some degree when Berg discusses railway delousing tunnels, which he thinks would have been a technology permitting large-scale con-

veyor-belt-style mass murders (pp. 155-174). As much as I consider Berg's hypothetical arguments valid, he loses my sympathy again when calling revisionists who disagree with him "retarded" (p. 174). Berg may be an excellent engineer, but his emotional and social intelligence, sadly, very badly impair the receptibility and understandability of what he has to say.

On the upside, there are four new insights I did take away from reading this "book":

- Berg quotes a Japanese study of a CO suicide which I had not heard of before (p. 85).
- Berg states that one reason the Auschwitz cremation muffles could cremate only one normal corpse at a time was that corpses should never touch the muffle walls, as this would result in local cooling of the refractory bricks leading to their accelerated deterioration (p. 120). Since he doesn't back up this reasonable claim, it requires some research to confirm it, though. However, while editing Carlo Mattogno's opus magnum on the Auschwitz cremation furnaces, this fact was nowhere mentioned, which is an omission deserving rectification in a new edition.
- Berg points out that large-scale garbage incinerators would have been used in case of a predetermined policy of mass extermination. The actual garbage incinerator included in the chimney wing of the Birkenau Crematoria II & III, however, was physically separated from the rest of the building, clearly indicating that corpses were not to be treated as garbage at Auschwitz (pp. 120-124). This aspect also deserves to be emphasized by Mattogno in a future edition.
- The Topf coke-fired cremation furnaces installed at Auschwitz all produced a highly toxic generator gas with some 18 to 35% carbon monoxide. This is basically the same gas produced by "wood gas generators" in some 500,000 vehicles throughout German-dominated Europe toward the war's end. This gas, rather than Zyklon B, could have easily been appropriated for mass murder. However, no such claim has ever been made (p. 127). I'll add that thought to a future edition of my expert report, which has a section discussing various alternatives to using Zyklon B.

Conclusion

I was looking forward to the publication of Berg's book, because his website, which contains a lot of valuable information, is too disorganized to

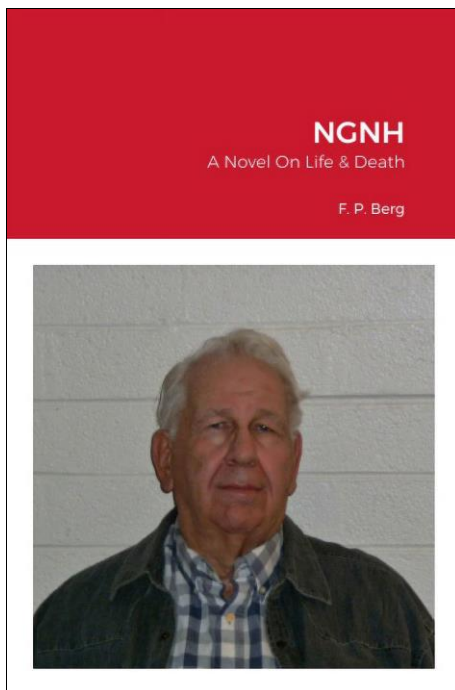
make that information easily accessible to the development of understanding. Writing a book usually forces an author to take a systematic approach to his topic, and to organize his thoughts. Unfortunately, this is not what Berg did to cobble together this tome. Although it does contain a summary of Friedrich Berg's most-important contribution to revisionism, this book is not an improvement compared to his website. It is of use only to those who dislike reading web pages and prefer paper pages. The book is little more than a paperback-bound collection of website printouts.

The Kindle edition of this book is of the same low quality, although it has the advantage that web links embedded into the text are actually accessible, provided one is using an eBook reader which has Internet access and can display webpages.

All told, I do not recommend this book, but if you like Berg's message, maybe you'd be better off buying a T-shirt that clearly says "Hitler was right!" (Berg's words, p. 54).

Postscript 2024

Amazon's CreateSpace banned Berg's book in 2017; it is now offered by Veronica Clark's outlet Wilk Mocy Publishers (wilmocypublishers.com/) in a revised and improved edition with the cryptic acronym title *NGNH: A Novel on Life & Death* – to dodge the censors' "hate-speech" detection radar on various social-media and vending websites where the book is offered for sale. I have not been able to read whether the improvement made warrant a different conclusion.



F.P. Berg, NGNH (= Nazi Gassings Never Happened), 2024 edition from [Wilk Mocy Publishers](http://wilmocypublishers.com/).

The Tyranny of Silence, Demonstrated

Ezra MacVie

The Tyranny of Silence. Flemming Rose. Cato Institute, Washington, D.C., 2014, 240 pp.

This book's author, a Danish journalist now 57 years old despite the many death threats he has received, was catapulted to fame, to his great surprise, after the publication by his employer of a group of cartoons depicting Islam's central prophet Mohammed in a number of unflattering, even risible poses. The international kerfuffle that ensued lasted for years, inflamed passions in countries all over the world, resulted in at least a dozen actual deaths, and illuminated as perhaps nothing before it the value and costs of freedom of expression. Though the support of his employer and his country were occasionally to be found wanting, at least in the eyes of "free-speech fundamentalists" such as are likely to be found among the readers of *INCONVENIENT HISTORY*, Flemming Rose's defense of his editorial decisions to assemble and publish the offending sketches is courageous, fulsome, admirable, and even inspiring.

The story of these developments might have made compelling reading from the pen of a more vivid narrator, or the embellishments of a sensationalist seeking to promote his heroism in the face of threats that might cause many a stout heart to skip a beat or even stop altogether. But this writer uses a matter-of-fact style that ultimately so downplays the genuine drama that must have throbbed from the very course of its events that the end result is occasionally a bit boring for the less-focused sort of reader, which most of us in fact are, most of the time. I put it down myself to modesty and perhaps the tendency to understatement that helps us differentiate between Scandinavians and, say, Mediterranean types. It buttresses the impression of honesty and accuracy that books of this kind depend upon to persuade readers who make it their business to think things through.

But the book is not about Flemming Rose; it is a far more-encompassing discussion of freedom of speech in the present day around the world from the special perspective of the author of what has become known as the Cartoon Crisis. Rose's own story, mixed throughout with the stories of others, permeates the narrative, but it serves merely as an incomparable vehicle for exploring the profound subject it treats of.

Throughout my reading of this book advocating what might be the most-precious of all rights, I was deafened by a roar in my mind's ear that only increased as I approached the book's end. This anti-silence was ear-splitting, or mind-splitting, as I realized that nowhere in all these pages about every kind and shape of censorship imaginable was I going to find the slightest mention of the 800-pound gorilla of the species, the criminalization of "Holocaust denial." The closest it came to mentioning the elephant in this living room was where he wrote:

An advisor to the Afghan minister of culture told the British daily the *Independent* that he supported the verdict [to execute a blasphemer of Islam], contending that Europe restricted Holocaust denial in much the same way:

"Every country has its own limits on freedom. European people have the right to protect their opinions about ideas which are supposed to be dangerous for their civilization."

Rose even claimed to have decried the criminalization of Holocaust denial in a speech he gave in Israel, and to have defended his position against complainants who claimed to be related to Jews who died in the Holocaust. At least he was on the right side of the issue when he brought it up, and apparently intrepid about when and where he did so.



*Flemming Rose at the 2015 European Students for Liberty Conference in Berlin.
By derthis (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons*

But in Chapter 10, he lists five recent cases of legal suppression of speech, which fell out as follows:

Country	Victim/Target	Offender	Sentence
Egypt	Islam	Muslim	4 years imprisonment
Russia	Orthodox Christianity	Non-religious	\$3,600 fine; lost job
India	Hinduism	Muslim	Persecution, exile
Afghanistan	Islam	Muslim	Death (not carried out)
Pakistan	Islam	Muslim	Death (vacated)

Is anything missing here? How about Ernst Zündel (Canada)? Jürgen Graf (Switzerland)? Germar Rudolf (Germany)? Sylvia Stolz (Germany)? The list goes on and on, for (western) country after country, replete with the entire panoply of penalties including fines, loss of employment, exile, imprisonment and, if not death sentences, murders in any case. No western countries in the list above!

Despite this resounding omission of probably the most-powerful group advocating censorship anywhere in the world, the book actually scores worthwhile points in the contest to defend freedom of speech, including at least one that, if not necessarily original, nonetheless so counters superficially logical thinking that it is well worth repeating: the presence within a single society of differing, even opposite-minded groups, including large majorities and small minorities does not impose a need for censorship to prevent people from offending, insulting, or even threatening any of these groups. To the contrary, such diversity in a polity *increases* the need for freedom of expression, if only to prevent groups from contending with each other for power over the processes that enact and enforce the laws that impose censorship. The *Charlie Hebdo* massacre of early this year in the land of the *Loi Gayssot* criminalizing “Holocaust denial” is an object example of this process. The mechanism is available to, and used by, the Jews of France, while access to it is denied the Muslims of France. This logically brings on the AK-47s. The book here reviewed was originally written in 2010, so the incident is not mentioned, as it surely would have been had the event occurred before its writing.

In the above-listed case concerning India, in particular, Rose recounts in hair-raising detail how the tyranny of silence seems to have descended over all the expressive arts and media in India, with law after law and case after case arising at the behest of one religion, race, profession, geographic area, or other affiliation of any kind whatsoever. The case of India looks to be the world’s grim future if the trends of grievance outlined by Rose continue in the direction they’ve already traveled so far in. The recent history of

neighboring Pakistan, recounted in the case study associated with that country, provides no relief whatever despite its more particularist focus on Islam.

Rose is frequently at pains to emphasize his well-supported view that even honest, “balanced” programs of censorship designed to minimize intergroup friction fail to do so. What he might not have emphasized sufficiently, though he implies it, is that such programs, especially of course those that (as in France) favor one group while neglecting another(s), seriously *aggravate* intergroup conflict, quite aside from the deleterious effect such oppression obviously has on the quality and content of public discourse and consensus-seeking in general.

This is an important book on an important subject. That it silently demonstrates, in favor of the Holocaust scripture and its devotees, the very evil that it bemoans ultimately strengthens its impact enormously, at least for readers who are sufficiently attuned to the detection of such insidious silences.

For such readers, there will be no need for any injunction to bear this self-censorship in mind; it will resound from practically every page. For other readers, it will nonetheless incline the intelligent to improved thinking on the subject, hopefully including the monstrous case that it so quietly neglects.

Inconvenient History

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EDITORIAL

Obsolete Opinion, or Forgetting Yesterday's Future

Jett Rucker

One of my favorite things about b&b's is the books one finds in the great majority of them. These books aren't today's best-sellers; they might not even have been best sellers in their own day. Like books in general, most of them are rubbish, and/or, being fiction, are of little interest to me. But some of the books are non-fiction, and many of them, in turn, concern history. As I said, these books may never have commanded much notice in their own day, but it remains that each of them was at least important enough to its author to take the trouble to write it, and further that each of them was promising enough to its publisher to merit the not-inconsiderable effort of publishing them. So there is a bare minimum of note that can be ascribed to even the most-obscure of these, and others may have commanded a great deal of credence despite being themselves, as they say, "in the dustbin of history" – or relegated to the dusty shelves of b&b's that may indeed have purchased them by the yard for mere decoration.

I was stunned, for example, to read an account in *Larner's World History's* chapter on Austria-Hungary that Emperor Franz-Joseph of Austria had just sustained the third sudden loss of a family member to death by gunshot: the heir to his throne Archduke Ferdinand, assassinated in Sarajevo while on a state visit. Since he had lost his wife, the Empress Elisabeth, to an assassin in 1898, and his son Crown Prince Rudolf in 1889 in a suicide, this account primarily sympathized with the presumably lonely old emperor in Vienna, the while not bothering to belabor the longer-term implications even on the succession to the Austro-Hungarian throne.

Wait a minute! I shouted in my head. What about World War I and all that? Hadn't the tragic assassination started World War I? What kind of history was this? I leafed quickly to the book's front matter (it was in fact one of five volumes, so limitation of space wasn't an explanation) and found my answer: the year of publication was 1914. Our historian was, after all, not a fortune-teller; he thought the Sarajevo incident was most unfortunate for Franz-Joseph, and that was about all that occurred to him by press time. Today, of course, we all "know" that the event sparked a

chain of events that became something first called the Great War, and later became the first in a woeful numbered series that presently stands at Two.

Unlike many historical cause-and-effect sequences, the one linking Gavrilo Princip's murderous 1914 deed to the fall of the Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian empires seems little contested even from the time of its first description, no doubt well before the end of the conflict itself in 1918. In its broad outlines it is, if not outright obvious, at least unambiguous and easily described in plausible detail. So, mightn't we have expected Historian Lerner to have had, and voiced, some premonition at least as to the possible catastrophic consequences of Sarajevo? Well, he didn't, and I have no reason, from reading the rest of his work, to feel he is in any way inferior to the general run of historians, then or now. Rather the contrary, in fact – his hindsight, never a thing to belittle the value of – seemed to be superior not only to the historiography of his day, but in many ways to today's renditions of many of the same subjects.

Everyone contemplating things done in the past is hampered by knowledge – accurate and otherwise – of things that were done since, even in the same places and/or by the same people, and the “arrow of time,” as it is called, can get reversed after enough hours of contemplation of ancient causes and effects, perceptions and motivations, superstitions and fears, and inspirations and hopes. One regularly encounters phrases in careless – or deceitful – writing such as “with World War II looming less than a month away.”

What World War II? Like what has been called World War I for my entire life (of seventy years), World War II didn't even acquire its name (and number) until almost three years after the date it is now said to have begun in Europe. Even calling that unpleasant interlude “World War II” is revi-



Gavrilo Princip was a Bosnian Serb who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. His act resulted in events that left over 17 million dead. Work is in Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.

sionist; it was no such thing before December 1941. And the Great War didn't get *its* number until that late time.

All history is revisionism, and all revisionism is a relentless search for Clio's prize, *context*. And context, most-obviously, and most-easily overlooked, does not include knowledge or even, typically, fear of events later seen to have occurred in the time since the events being studied. It is, of course, often the subsequent events that inspire interest in the subject events in the first place. The shooting of Archduke Ferdinand would remain a footnote in Lerner's *History* but for subsequent events that have, apparently to everyone's satisfaction, been firmly connected to the shooting. But Princip, and Ferdinand, and Lerner, and most of the rest of those aware of the incident in the first place, knew not one iota of the vast and horrible history we now all command of World War I.

Putting all that out of your mind when contemplating what happened in Sarajevo in 1914 is nonetheless utterly essential for evaluating the things that did happen later, both in consequence and having their origins other places entirely, such as the trade rivalries between Germany and Great Britain, or the ambitions of the young First Sea Lord Winston Churchill. Yet it is practically superhuman to be able to do so. Sitting in a b&b and stumbling across Lerner's blinkered account of the Austrian royal family's misfortunes is the sort of shot between the eyes that can bring one up, at least momentarily, face-to-face with both the importance of forgetting yesterday's future and the impossibility of ever succeeding in doing so.

One thing that might spur one's efforts to better perform the insuperable task is the awareness that most historical "connections" are in fact reverse-engineered speculations inspired not only by the historian's predilections and limitations of data but further and often more-forcefully, by what the historian may sense – consciously or not – would best advance his career in the great imbroglio of prejudice, ignorance and fear in which ultimately his conclusions will be received. Historians and others voicing unpopular conclusions have in the past lost far more than "just" their jobs and their families.

An intrepid Israeli blogger named Rafi Farber recently aired his well-founded musings (at <http://tinyurl.com/zpfd3md>) to the effect that the war waged against Germany from 1939 to 1945 to a great extent actually *caused* what now is described in six million different ways as "the Holocaust." Farber's country is one of many in which "Holocaust denial" is a crime; that some zealot would charge him with that crime for his proposition lies well within my imagination. His "armor" against such attacks includes not only that he is an observant Jew who made *aliyah* from the

United States, but further that he does not claim to be a historian and accordingly is not subject to the institutional pressures that bear on virtually every historian in the world who enjoys the advantage of drawing a salary.

But Farber's vital insight, long widely accepted to at least some degree by revisionists who have considered the events in question, relies on yet another shibboleth that lies even outside Clio's legendary trove of historical treasures: *counterfact* – the construction of answers to the question, "What if *not*?" Without counterfact, unconsciously assumed or carefully assembled, causation is impossible to infer. Farber's spectacular (in view of where he aired it from and who he is) feat entailed a scrupulous analysis of things that did *not* happen: what if Britain and France had not declared war on Germany when Germany's *Wehrmacht* took back from Poland, lands in which numerous Germans had lived for many centuries? Obviously, there is no way surely to know these things, and such a truism might deter people from believing that one *can* know and fully understand things that *really did* happen.

Well, such uncertainties are no deterrent at all to historians who understand that, even in those rare cases where it is fully understood what *really did* happen, what remains unknowable still (who did it, why did they do it, what else was done, and by whom?) is so extensive and profound that no more certainty actually inheres in "the past" than might inhere in the non-past.

History (*i.e.*, revisionism) is no hobby for the intellectually faint-hearted. Without bold, even daring, imagination, the entire subject disintegrates into the dry dust that we all rightly paid no attention to in school, and have quite forgotten to our everlasting benefit. It isn't easy, it isn't simple, it usually isn't pretty, and it can be quite dangerous.

And it isn't even really fun. It's much, *much* better than that.

PAPERS

Religion, Mysticism and the Myth of the “Occult Reich”

Kerry R. Bolton

There's nothing quite like the sensationalism of combining Nazism with black magic to ensure attention for an author. Since Hitler's National Socialism has been regarded as “the ultimate in evil,” linking Hitlerism with black magic and Satanism is a logical development. It could be contended that the sensationalism of the dime novel, pop history, and Hollywood in portraying Hitler as having sold his soul to Mephistopheles, Faustus-style, is a piece of historical grotesquerie for which supposedly serious scholars must be ultimately held responsible.

Much of this can be traced to a piece of wartime propaganda, *Hitler Speaks*, by Hermann Rauschning, who claimed to be one of Hitler's “inner circle.” In this book there are many references to Hitler's dealing with black magic and dark powers, and to the presence of an early NSDAP member, Marthe Kuntzel, who was also both a theosophist and a leading German follower of the British occultist Aleister Crowley.¹ Rauchning was taken seriously by historians until quite recently. Mark Weber writes that in 1983 a Swiss historian exposed the hoax:²

“Haenel was able to conclusively establish that Rausching's claim to have met with Hitler ‘more than a hundred times’ is a lie. The two actually met only four times, and never alone. The words attributed to Hitler, he showed, were simply invented or lifted from many different sources, including writings by Juenger and Friedrich Nietzsche. An account of Hitler hearing voices, waking at night with convulsive shrieks and pointing in terror at an empty corner while shouting ‘There, there, in the corner!’ was taken from a short story by French writer Guy de Maupassant.”

Hence, the proliferation of pop-history works trying to prove a link between the Third Reich and the occult, such as *The Morning of the Magicians*,³ *The Occult Reich*,⁴ *Satan and Swastika*,⁵ and *The Spear of Destiny*.⁶ One can generally make any allegations about “Nazism,” “Fascism” or the “Right” without being challenged. Entertainment has also increasingly drawn on this imaginative pop-history in television series such as “True

Blood”⁷, where the German post-war underground, the “Werwolves,”⁸ are depicted as being actual lycanthropes. There is also something of a self-fulfilling prophesy about it insofar as there have been post-war attempts to portray National Socialism and the Third Reich as manifestations of some type of occult force.⁹ Included in this is the more-sober attempt by the Chilean diplomat Miguel Serrano, whose “esoteric Hitlerism” included the worship of Lucifer, as a god of light, and of Shiva as the equivalent of Wotan,¹⁰ and of the “esoteric Hitlerism” of the Greek convert to Hinduism, Savitri Devi.¹¹ Somewhat comic-opera attempts at a Nazi-Gothic-Satanist synthesis focus mainly on Radio Werewolf/Werewolf Order and elements of the Church of Satan, on the assumption that National Socialism and Satanism share a common doctrine of misanthropy and elitism.¹²

One of the few scholarly efforts to trace connections between the occult and the National Socialist party is the late Dr. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke’s *Occult Roots of Nazism*.¹³ Goodrick-Clarke, while establishing a very indirect link between pre-World War I “Ariosophy” and the National Socialist party, rejects the exaggerations that have linked Ariosophy, the Thule Society, the *Vril* Society, et al to the rise of Hitler. For example he states that Dietrich Eckart, Hitler’s early mentor, and Alfred Rosenberg, were “never more than guests of Thule during its heyday,” while the geopolitical theorist Karl Haushofer, did not have any link to the society, despite much fantasy being woven around these individuals and their alleged occult links.¹⁴ The influence of Lanz von Liebenfels and his *Ordo Novi Templi* in pre-World War I Austro-Hungary on the young Hitler and subsequently on the



Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler
(1938) Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R99621 /
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Third Reich is also put into context, Goodrick-Clarke pointing out that the Order was dissolved by the Nazis and Lanz was prohibited from publishing with the advent of the Third Reich.¹⁵

It should be kept in mind that Hitler's views were rather prevalent in Central Europe in his youth and his ideas in *Mein Kampf* are not original but came from a widespread intellectual milieu, of which the Lanz movement was one manifestation.

Another was the Wotenist and runic mysticism of Guido Von List, likewise without influence on Hitler. While Rudolf von Sebottendorff, founder of the Thule Society, was influenced by both Lanz and von List, the influence of Thule on the foundation of the *NSDAP* has been exaggerated. Sebottendorff was gone from the scene by 1919. "There no evidence Hitler ever attended the Thule Society," states Goodrick-Clarke, "and such theorists were increasingly marginalized well before the party assumed power." Furthermore, occult societies were prohibited in the Third Reich, including those with a racial foundation.¹⁶

Karl Maria Wiligut: The Secret King

As far as the English language goes, apart from Goodrick-Clarke's *Occult Roots of Nazism*, the only other credible book on the subject seems to be *The Secret King: Karl Maria Wiligut: Himmler's Lord of the Runes*.¹⁷ The advantage of this book is that it is a collection of what is by-lined as "the real documents of Nazi occultism," and lets those documents largely speak for themselves.

Michael Moynihan, the editor, in the preface comments:

"A veritable cottage industry exists for lurid books on 'Nazi Occultism,' but few people have had the opportunity to assess real source documents of this nature – and it is clear that most of the authors of the pulp histories certainly made no effort to do so!"

Along with the fantastical tales of Nazis and the Occult, claims are often made regarding the "pagan" agenda of the Third Reich, especially in regard to Himmler's SS organization. If one investigates the writings of prominent National Socialist ideologues such as Alfred Rosenberg, however, a far more ambiguous picture emerges of the state-sanctioned religiosity of the time.¹⁸

Moynihan alludes to the neo-pagan festivals of the SS compiled into a book by Friz Weitzl in 1939, *Die Gestaltung der Feste im Jahres- und Lebenslauf in der SS-Familie* (*The Structuring of Festivals during the Year*

and *Life of the SS-Family*).¹⁹ Moynihan states that this was issued as a small print run and can therefore be assumed to have reflected the view of a “minority” within the SS.²⁰

Himmler was one of those who promoted a neo-pagan outlook. Under his patronage the most enduring occult influence on an aspect of the Third Reich was Karl Maria Wiligut, the runic mystic who advised Himmler on the redesign of Wewelsburg Castle as the SS “center of the world.”²¹ If Wiligut had a certain influence within the SS, he was also met with influential opposition, meaning that the SS, like all other departments and divisions of the *NSDAP* and the Third Reich administration, were not as monolithic as popularly supposed. Wiligut and other esoteric runologists were opposed in particular by the *Ahnenerbe*, a scholarly research division of the SS,²² itself often the center of pop-history fantasies about occultism.

Dr. Stephen Flowers provides an introductory biography on Wiligut without ideologically driven interpretations. Born in 1866, Wiligut wrote his first book, *Seyfrieds Runen* in 1903 when he was a captain in the Austrian army. The book is an epic poem on the legend of King Seyfried of Rabenstein. In 1908 Wiligut wrote “The Nine Commandments of Gôt” for the first time since the book-burnings of Ludwig the Pious.” He was also at the time associated with several initiates of Lanz von Liebenfels’ *Ordo Novi Templi*. However Wiligut’s active interest in the occult can be traced to 1889 when he joined what Flowers calls the “quasi-Masonic lodge” *Schlarraffia*, which did not have a *völkische* connection. Wiligut resigned from the lodge in 1909, perhaps as a result of the rivalry existing between Masonry and the *völkische* occult.²³

This was a time when there was much interest in the occult revival in Europe and Britain. The Theosophical Society was founded during the 1870s, with the catchcry of “universal brotherhood,”²⁴ despite the way its doctrine on “root traces” has been claimed as an inspiration for National Socialist and other *völkische* movements. The neo-Rosicrucian “Order of the Golden Dawn” in Britain was an influential organization in the occult revival that included W.B. Yeats and his antagonist Aleister Crowley. The *Ordo Templi Orientis* was founded in Germany by Theodor Reuss, who appeared to have been a German intelligence agent, and reached England, where Aleister Crowley, who appears to have been a British intelligence operative when in the USA,²⁵ had assumed leadership. There was also *Fraternis Saturni*, which followed Crowley’s religion of “Thelema” without following Crowley the person, whose doctrine Flowers has also documented.²⁶ Guido von List’s rune-mysticism in Austria was an important element in the *völkische* movement, and was allied with Von Liebenfels. There is

no evidence that Hitler had any association with any of these orders beyond reading von Liebenfels's journal *Ostara*, the focus of which was a dualistic battle between the Satanic Jews and the Godly Aryans.²⁷

Wiligut, serving on the Russian front with distinction during World War I, rose to the rank of colonel. With his retirement from the army, he was cultivated for support by the New Templars. Von Liebenfels's agent, Theodor Czepl, reported that Wiligut considered himself the "secret King of Germany," from a family tradition as heir of the *Ueiskuning*, or "holy clan." He believed that the Bible had originated in Germany and had been intentionally distorted. Wiligut gave to Czepl a poem entitled *Deutscher Gottes-glaube* ("German Faith in God"), which was said to contain the "whole essence and doctrine of Irminic Christianity."²⁸ In the 1920s Wiligut edited a journal, *Der eiserne Besen* (*The Iron Broom*) attacking Jews, Freemasons and Catholics.²⁹ In 1924, with hard times and strain between himself and his wife after the death of their infant son, Wiligut was forcibly taken by ambulance to an insane asylum while sitting at a cafe with friends, having been committed by his wife. Interestingly, after a year, his continued confinement was noted by the asylum authorities as being due to his religious ideas, and his tracing his descent back to Wodan. (It seems however that he merely claimed descent from a chieftain named Wodan). He was nonetheless able to maintain contact with friends in the New Templars and the Edda Society.³⁰ Wiligut's religious beliefs were not that out of kilter with large sections of Austrian and German society at the time, including those of many prominent individuals, as Goodrick-Clarke shows.

In 1932 Frieda Dorenberg, a member of the German Workers' Party prior to Hitler and a member of the Edda Society, visited Wiligut. She and other Edda members "smuggled" Wiligut into Munich, where he taught for an esoteric group, Free Sons of the North and Baltic Seas, and under the pseudonym Jarl Widar, wrote for the journal *Hagal*. Wiligut's friend Richard Anders, a member of the SS, introduced him to Himmler in 1933, at a conference of the Nordic Society, after the assumption of Hitler to government.³¹ Flowers does not mention any other association between Wiligut and the NSDAP prior to this and the Dorenberg association. In September 1933 Wiligut joined the SS under the name Karl Maria Wiligut-Weisthor. In November he was appointed head of the Department for Pre- and Early History at the Reich Office for Race and Settlement. In 1934 he was promoted to colonel in the *Allgemeine SS*. Flowers states that Wiligut worked as Himmler's personal adviser, and was not part of the *Ahnenerbe* (concerned with the study of ancient and ancestral history).³² It might here be surmised that this was because Wiligut's studies were intuitive (or im-



Karl Maria Wiligut was inducted into the SS (under the pseudonym "Karl Maria Weisthor") to head a Department for Pre- and Early History which was created for him within the SS Race and Settlement Main Office (RuSHA). Photo is in Public Domain.

aginary) and those of the *Ahnenerbe* empirical, or what Flowers calls "more objective academic standards." Wiligut's contributions to Himmler included the conceptualization of Wewelsburg Castle, where a chivalric order of SS elite would be founded as the "center of the world;" the designs for the SS *Totenkopfring*; formulation of SS ceremonies; design of ceremonial objects such as a wedding bowl, and reports on history and cosmology for Himmler.³³

One of the most important aspects of Wiligut's work, states Flowers, was his composition of a series of mantras (Halgarita-Sayings) designed to open the ancestral, astral memory.³⁴ The efficacy of such things from an esoteric point of view is to use the conscious to evoke the unconscious memory, and beyond this, the astral or collective memory. The imagery and ideas that flow forth into the conscious beyond with such techniques would then be used to reconstruct the "Irminist" faith. Whatever one thinks of such matters, they had their counterpart not just in esoterica, but also in Jungian analytical psychology. The Jungians developed a counterpart with the concept of "active imagination," whereby one meditates on a single dream image, and allows associated images to arise spontaneously. The Jungians are also in accord with the esotericists in stating that the individual mind can tap into the collective unconscious, and here Jungians also re-

ferred to the “racial memory.” It is not surprising then that Jung’s “Aryan psychology” as distinct from Jewish versions such as that of Freud in particular, attracted German race-mystics. In particular there was an association between Jungianism and the German Faith Movement.³⁵ Jung believed that Hitler was the embodiment of Wotan as an archetype and that National Socialism unleashed the repressed atavism of the Germanic folk that had been repressed near the surface of civilization by Christianity. Jungian psychology contends that repressed traits will re-emerge somehow, and that the longer they are pent up, the more violently they will burst forth like a torrent through a broken dam. Jung hoped that Hitlerism could release the repressed atavisms in an orderly rather than in a destructive manner. That is the theme of his famous 1936 essay on “Wotan” that got him into so much trouble. Jung regarded the neo-heathen “German Faith Movement” as a preferable religion to a Germanized Christianity.³⁶

Among the colleagues of Wiligut was Otto Rahn, around whom there has been much mythologizing due to his esoteric expeditions ranging from southern France to Iceland. In particular it is because Rahn was a “Luciferian,” insofar as he believed that Lucifer, the “Light-Bringer” was a good spirit in opposition to the Jewish God Jehovah. His main book was entitled *Lucifer’s Retinue: A Journey to the Good Spirits of Europe*.³⁷ Not surprisingly, such a topic provides plenty of scope for writers of pop history in attempting to portray the Third Reich as a “satanic” conspiracy or as evoking “satanic” forces. However it is a Gnostic heresy rather than Satanism, such heresies regarding Jehovah as “Satan” and Lucifer not as Satan but as an enlightened antagonist. One can see something of the doctrine in the Anthroposophy of Rudolf Steiner, whose rather positive movement was unfortunately also banned in the Third Reich, despite Steiner’s antagonism to the same Masonic secret societies as the National Socialists.³⁸ These heresies provided a fanciful basis for post-war Hitlerites such as the Chilean diplomat Miguel Serrano to develop a cosmological view of National Socialism that is “Luciferian” and Gnostic.³⁹

While those eager to see an occult influence, whether for good or evil, within the Third Reich, and in particular the SS, have uncommonly reliable information to draw from in *The Secret King*, Flowers also points out that Wiligut had important enemies within the SS, and in particular within the scholarly *Ahnenerbe*. Himmler’s chief of staff, Karl Wolff, dissolved Wiligut’s department, and he retired into oblivion in 1939. He died in 1946.⁴⁰

Flowers explains that Wiligut’s theology was not “Wotanism,” but what he regarded as the original religion of the Germanics, “Irmin-Kristianity.” This is similar to the theology of the most well known of the Austro-Ger-

man runologists of the time, Guido von List, who also believed that “Armanism” predated the more exotic Wuotanism.” However List saw Armanism and Wuotanism as working in historical tandem, whereas Wiligut regarded Irminism and Wotanism as being engaged in an “ancestral feud.” Flowers writes that this attempt to Aryanize Christianity was quite popular among National Socialists.⁴¹ However, that is not to say that Wiligut was the primary or most influential proponent of Germanic Christianity. Indeed, as Steigmann-Gall points out in *The Holy Reich*, a Germanic Christianity was the primary religious influence among the National Socialists from the start of the *NSDAP*,⁴² not paganism, luciferianism, thelema, theosophy, or satanism. Indeed, such Orders were banned in the Third Reich as inimical to National Socialism, of which the fight against Freemasonry was an aspect.

Flowers concludes that Wiligut is the most important person in trying to establish a link between the esoteric and National Socialism. However, Flowers also states that similarities between occultists and National Socialists are more ascribable to them both being part of the same “common cultural matrix and were part of the same *Zeitgeist*.”⁴³ Wiligut had an enduring influence primarily as the designer of the SS death’s-head ring, SS rituals and aspects of Wewelsburg castle as Himmler’s visualised center of a Germanic world empire. It depends as to whether one regards the influence in these matters as of notable significance. The value of most of *The Secret King* is the translation of Wiligut’s texts. The first is “The Nine Commandments of Gôt,” explaining Wiligut’s fundamental cosmology that Gôt is a “dyad” of spirit and matter, acting as a triad of Spirit, Energy and Matter in his “circulating current.” Gôt is eternal, is “cause and effect,” out of which flows “right, might, duty and happiness,” eternally generating through matter, energy and light; “beyond concepts of good and evil,” carrying the “seven epochs” of human history.⁴⁴ Much of the rest of the Wiligut documents are esoteric explanations of the runes, the evolution of the races and cosmic cycles.

Third Reich and the Occult

At a very fundamental level, much of the occult revival of the latter part of the 19th century was emanations of Freemasonry. These are universalistic and therefore antithetical to the Right. To make the situation more ambiguous, however, not all esoteric bodies emanating from Freemasonry are universalistic, and indeed some such as Crowley’s Thelema, are conservative.⁴⁵ Crowley was critical towards the Theosophical Society for example,



The Black Sun floor ornament in “Obergruppenfuhrer hall” of Wewelsburg in Buren. The term Black Sun (Schwarze Sonne), also referred to as the Sun Wheel (Sonnenrad), is a symbol of esoteric and occult significance.

*By Schwarze_sonne.jpg: Sunnydog derivative work: Saibo (Δ)
(Schwarze_sonne.jpg) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons*

and scathing of its attempt to foist an Indian “messiah,” Krishnamurti, on the world, calling on whites to unite against this travesty in imperialistic terms typical of the times.⁴⁶ However, Thelema fared no better under National Socialism than other occult societies.

Much has been made by some authors of an early *NSDAP* member, Marthe Kuntzel being a leading Thelemite in Germany. Kuntzel had indeed sought to convert Hitler, on the basis that Crowley had said that any state that adopts Thelema will master the world. Even Francis King, writing on “Nazi occultism,” rejects the idea that Kuntzel or Crowley had any influence on Hitler.⁴⁷

It is convincingly stated that Crowley served British interests in the USA during World War I, and worked with British Intelligence during World War II.⁴⁸ With the looming advent of Hitler to office, Crowley quickly left Berlin.⁴⁹ Karl Germer, the OTO head in Germany, was arrested by the Gestapo in 1935 for disseminating the teachings of “High grade Freemason Crowley,”⁵⁰ and ended up in the USA. In 1937 all Masonic and quasi-Masonic associations were banned, including the *völkisch* followers of von List and Liebenfels.⁵¹

In May 1939 Crowley wrote to Kuntzel stating that Germans were well below Jews, and stood on the same level vis-à-vis monkeys to men, although he did not wish to insult monkeys. He ended: “the Hun will be wiped out.”⁵² Crowley had worked with German propagandists, in particular the literary figure George Viereck in the USA during World War I for British Intelligence,⁵³ and was keen to offer his services against Hitler, especially since Hitler had not shown any interest in Thelema despite the efforts of Kuntzel. Crowley had also worked for Britain’s Special Branch in Berlin reporting on Communists. He worked on British propaganda during World War II, and is credited with the famous “V” for Victory sign, an occult symbol waved about merrily by Churchill et al.⁵⁴

Christian Heresies

Professor James B. Whisker found an altogether different inspiration for elements in the Third Reich, Gnostic Christian heresies. In his *Philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg*, subtitled “Origins of the National Socialist Myth,” Whisker focuses on Rosenberg’s interest in the Cathar heresy as the means by which Christianity could be de-Judaized of what was regarded as Jewish elements introduced by the apostle Paul. For Rosenberg however what was also required was de-Romanization. Whisker comments that both the Roman and the Jewish minds had made religion into “legal formalities,” whereas for the Germanic mind none of this was required. Martin Luther, although a folk hero, had maintained a Jewish outlook through the influence of Paul.⁵⁵ There had been a growing movement during the 18th and 19th centuries among German Protestant theologians to remove the Old Testament from Christian theology, and Rosenberg maintained this legacy.⁵⁶ One of the precursors of National Socialism, Richard Wagner’s English son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, racial theorist and Germanophile already well-known in Wilhelmine Germany, was among those who expounded the notion of the “Aryan Jesus,” as a Galilean, not a Jew.⁵⁷ Chamberlain was a seminal influence on Rosenberg’s thinking. Although

Rosenberg's influence on Hitler and the Third Reich as the "philosopher of National Socialism," is debatable, his aim of creating a "German national religion" based on Protestantism was in accord with Hitler's aim of a unified German national church, as shown by Steigmann-Gall in *The Holy Reich*.

Whisker states that in gnosticism Rosenberg found a religious opposition to the Jewish god Jehovah, regarded by Gnostics as the "demiurge" who had created a corrupt world to trap humanity's spirit in the material, while the true God was remote.⁵⁸ Such sects included the Marcionites (ca. 2nd century A.D.), and for Rosenberg in particular the Cathars, aka Albigensians or Manichaeans (ca. 1000 A.D.).⁵⁹ Whisker comments that again much has been spun around the Cathars in relation to the Third Reich and in particular the SS (especially through the interests of Otto Rahn) in claiming that this was a type of Gnostic "satanism."⁶⁰ However, for their part, the Gnostics regarded Jehovah as the "devil."⁶¹

Dietrich Eckart – "Satanic" mentor?

Dietrich Eckart, celebrated poet and playwright since the Wilhelmine era, was the mentor of both Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler from the start of their political activism. He has been a particular focus of those who try to portray the *NSDAP* as driven by dark forces. According to Trevor Ravenscroft, Eckart said on his deathbed that he had initiated Hitler into the "Secret Doctrine," opened his powers of astral communication and given him the means to communicate with "the Powers." Ravenscroft does not cite a reference for this quote.⁶² Ravenscroft states that few suspected that this jovial bohemian was "a dedicated Satanist, the supreme adept of the arts and ritual of Black Magic and the central figure in a powerful and widespread circle of occultists – the Thule Group."⁶³ With Rosenberg and several White Russian émigrés Eckart was supposedly the "master of ceremonies" at seances that evoked dark spirits.⁶⁴ In a chapter discussing "The Modern Mythology of Nazi Occultism," Goodrick-Clarke shows that the legends about Eckart and the occult, and communication with dark powers, that were revived by Ravenscroft, had been previously perpetrated by Pauwels and Bergier.⁶⁵ Despite persistent claims, Goodrick-Clarke alludes to supposed Thulists such as Eckart, Hess and Rosenberg as being nothing other than "guests" of the society, which included many other political activists from a broad range of the "Right," such as the National Liberal Party.⁶⁶

Ironically Eckart, the high-ranking “Satanic adept,” based his world-view on a heroic interpretation of Jesus and Germany’s Christian world mission. In an essay *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*, published posthumously in 1923, Luther is criticized for his having been influenced by Jews in his interpretation of the Old Testament and its importance in Lutheran theology.⁶⁷ Christ was never anything other than frank with Jews, taking up the theme of Houston Stewart Chamberlain et al that Jesus was a Galilean, “from the land of the gentiles.”⁶⁸ Jesus was not tolerant towards the Jews, striking them with His whip and sharply condemning the Pharisees (the rabbinate of his day) as nothing less than the sons of the devil. The *NSDAP* was “defending the Christian foundations of our nation without mental reservations. [...] But we want Germanism, we want genuine Christianity, we want order and propriety [...]”⁶⁹ It was Paul who had distorted Christianity and brought it to the Gentiles as a subversive, weakening influence.⁷⁰ These are themes that had become increasingly widespread among German theologians and scholars during the 19th century.

Written as a dialogue between Eckart and Hitler, *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin* refers to Hitler and himself as both being Catholics, and it is because they were that they must speak out against the Judaic spirit that infects their Church. There remained an incorruptible Catholic faith, whatever the corrupt influences that might hold sway in the Church at times. Giordano Bruno, burned at the stake, was one of those who had spoken out against Jewish influence, calling the Jews a “pestilential, leprous and publicly dangerous race.” Of the many critics of the Church in Italy at the time, why was Bruno singled out for death? Hitler responds to Eckart in this dialogue:



Hitler dedicated the second volume of Mein Kampf to Dietrich Eckart, and also named the arena near the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, now known as the Waldbühne (Forest Stage), the “Dietrich-Eckart-Bühne” when it was opened for the 1936 Summer Olympics.

By Karl Bauer [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

"Rome will pull herself together, but only if we pull ourselves together first. And one day it can be said that the Church is whole again."

Eckart retorts that this will happen when the Jewish influences, which have set Christians against each other, have been purged from the Christian community. As for Protestantism, it was more heavily infiltrated than Catholicism. Eckart saw the division of the Catholic Church by Luther as a misfortune to Christendom, and a wreaking of bloody conflict among Germanic folk while the battle against the perennial Jewish influence had been deflected. Luther should have focused on the Jews subverting Catholicism, not on attacking the Church *per se*.⁷¹

Steigmann-Gall quoted a passage from Eckart that I have been unable to find in the Pierce translation, in describing Christ as a leader to be emulated: "In Christ, the embodiment of all manliness, we find all that we need. And if we occasionally speak of Baldur, our words always contain some joy, some satisfaction, that our pagan ancestors were already so Christian as to have indications of Christ in this ideal figure."⁷² That was Eckart's final work, and was unfinished at the time of his death. Steigmann-Gall states that Eckart's Christianity was the basis of his worldview. He saw the world war in which he had fought in dualistic terms as a fight between "Christ and Antichrist." The post-war conflict was one between "Germandom and Jewry," the conflict between light and darkness.⁷³

Conclusion

Whatever might be alleged or repudiated regarding the murderous character of the Third Reich, Hitler's outlook was not that of a nihilistic, satanic apocalypse. While Armaments Minister Albert Speer was after the war at pains to distance himself from his ex-Führer, he noted that Hitler never encouraged a nuclear program. Hitler had no intention of setting off a course of events that might engulf the world. His scientists were not able to answer the question as to whether nuclear fission could be controlled or would set up a chain reaction. "Hitler was plainly not delighted with the possibility that the earth under his rule might be transformed into a glowing star. Occasionally, however, he joked that the scientists in their unworldly urge to lay bare all the secrets under heaven might some day set the globe on fire."⁷⁴ The attitude seems distinctly un-Faustian. There were limits, and from what Speer states, it seems that Hitler was not so hubristic as to wish to be another Faustus or Prometheus. From what Speer records of Hitler's sentiments these can be seen as antithetical to that claimed by

Rauschnig for example. There was no will-to-destruction, nor a Faustian/Promethean will to deny the Gods or God.

Hitler ridiculed “superstition” but recognized the role it played on the psyche, and rejected the efficacy of prophecies and of astrology.⁷⁵ The National Socialist party, so far from being neo-heathen, as is often contended, while reviving many old Germanic customs and festivals, from the start had a wide Christian base, particularly of Lutherans, and many Lutheran pastors were officers of the SA. They held early party meetings in their parsonages. Hitler became disillusioned with the failure of the Christian denominations to unite as a German national church, however he also remained dismissive of attempts at reviving paganism.⁷⁶ The latter remained a peripheral influence within an inner core of the SS.

Himmler sought to create the SS as a neo-heathen order with its own marriage, birth and death ceremonies outside the Christian churches, and with SS officers serving as the priests.⁷⁷ The Feast of Midsummer was substituted for Christmas. However, these measures that Himmler attempted to impose were so unpopular and disregarded among the SS that by November 1940 he was obliged to abrogate previous punishments for disobeying regulations on religion. Himmler was also unsuccessful in weaning his SS away from Christianity. “Two thirds of the *Allgemeine*-SS remained in the Church – 54.2 percent Evangelicals and 23.7 percent Catholics.”⁷⁸

Notes

- ¹ Herman Rauschnig, *Hitler Speaks* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1939).
- ² Mark Weber, “Rauschnig’s Phony ‘Conversations With Hitler’: An Update,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-86, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 499-500. <https://codoh.com/library/document/rauschnings-phony-conversations-with-hitler-an/>
- ³ Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier, *The Morning of the Magicians* (St Albans, 1971).
- ⁴ J.H. Brennan, *The Occult Reich* (New York: Signet Books, 1974).
- ⁵ Francis King, *Satan and Swastika* (Hertfordshire: Mayflower Books, 1976).
- ⁶ Trevor Ravenscroft, *The Spear of Destiny* (Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1982).
- ⁷ “Operation Werewolf,” television episode, “True Blood,” 2011.
- ⁸ J.C. Fagnon, *SS Werewolf Combat Instruction Manual* (Boulder: Paladin Press, 1982).
- ⁹ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism and the Politics of Identity* (New York University Press, 2002).
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-192.
- ¹¹ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Hitler’s Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism* (New York: University Press, 1998).

- ¹² K.R. Bolton, "Gothic Nazi: 'Fascist' manifestations in Neo-Gothic subculture," T. Southgate, ed., *Helios: Journal of Metaphysical and Occult Studies* Vol. 1 (London: Black Front Press, 2011), pp. 122-154.
- ¹³ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism* (Northamptonshire: The Aquarian Press, 1985).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.
- ¹⁷ Stephen E. Flowers (translator), Michael Moynihan (editor), *The Secret King: Karl Maria Wiligut – Himmler's Lord of the Runes* (Vermont: Dominion Press, 2001).
- ¹⁸⁻²⁰ *Ibid.*, "Preface."
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22.
- ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 32.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
- ²⁴ Theosophical Society, 'Objects', <http://www.ts-adyar.org/content/objects>
- ²⁵ Tobias Churton, *Aleister Crowley: The Biography* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2011), pp. 185-215.
- ²⁶ Flowers, *Fire & Ice: Magical teachings of Germany's Greatest Secret Occult Order* (St. Paul, Minn.: Llewellyn Publications, 1990).
- ²⁷ Goodrick-Clarke, *Occult Roots*, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.
- ^{28,29} Flowers, Moynihan, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20-21.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- ³⁵ Carl Jung, "Wotan," *Essays on Contemporary Events* (London: Kegan Paul, 1947), ch. 1; cited in Bolton, "Woden as archetype: the Carl Jung Essay," *Woden: Thoughts & Perspectives*, Vol. 4, ed. T. Southgate (London: Black Front Press, 2011), p. 38.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ Flowers, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- ³⁸ R. Steiner, "The Work of the Secret Societies in the World," Berlin, 23 December 1904, <http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/19041223p02.html>; "The Ahrimanic Deception," Zurich, 27 October 1919, http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/AhrDec_index.html
- ³⁹ Miguel Serrano 1994 interview with Kerry Bolton, <http://www.wermodandwermod.com/newsitems/news130120121632.html>
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
- ⁴² Point 24 of the NSDAP program, 1920, reads: "The party as such subscribes to a positive Christianity without binding itself to a specific denomination. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit within and around us [...]"
- ⁴³ Flowers, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

- ⁴⁵ K.R. Bolton, "Aleister Crowley as a Political Theorist," Crowley: *Thoughts and Perspectives*, Vol. 2, Troy Southgate, editor (London: Black Front Press, 2011), pp. 5-28.
- ⁴⁶ K.R. Bolton, "Thelema, Imperialism, and the 'Black Messiah': Aleister Crowley and the Conflict Between Schools of Magick 'Black' and 'White'", *Helios: Journal of Metaphysical and Occult Studies*, Vol. 2, Troy Southgate, editor (London: Black Front Press, 2011), pp. 40-77.
- ⁴⁷ Francis King, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- ⁴⁸ Richard Spence, "The Magus was a Spy: Aleister Crowley and the Curious Connections between Intelligence and the Occult," Melbourne, *New Dawn*, No. 105, November-December 2007.
- ⁴⁹ Tobias Churton, *Aleister Crowley: The Biography* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2011), p. 354.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364.
- ⁵¹ Flowers, *Fire & Ice* (St Paul, Minn.: Llewellyn Publications, 1990), p. 23.
- ⁵² Churton, p. 375.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-215.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-386.
- ⁵⁵ James B. Whisker, *The Philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg* (Costa Mesa, California: Noontide Press, 1990), pp. 20-21.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41. Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* Vol. 1 (London: John Lane Co., 1911), pp. 174-250.
- ⁵⁸ Whisker, *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
- ⁶¹ On Gnostic-Christian doctrines and sects see: Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (Penguin Books, 1979).
- ^{62,63} Ravenscroft, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- ⁶⁵ Goodrick-Clarke, p. 220.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- ⁶⁷ Eckart, "Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin," translated by Dr. William Pierce, *National Socialist World*, Arlington, No. 2, Fall 1966, p. 27.
- ^{68,69} *Ibid.*, p. IV.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. V.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. VI.
- ⁷² Richard Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity 1919-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 18, citing Eckart.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
- ⁷⁴ Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 227.
- ⁷⁵ *Hitler's Secret Conversations* (Signet Books), 19 July 1942, pp. 544-545.
- ⁷⁶ Steigmann-Gall, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁷ Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg, 1969), p. 143.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

The Victories of Revisionism

Robert Faurisson

Professor Faurisson recently appeared in court in Paris for having participated at the Tehran Holocaust conference. Then French President Jacques Chirac, upon hearing that the gathering was taking place, made an unprecedented request to the justice system to prosecute the négationniste Faurisson. The case finally came up on June 25, 2015, only to be adjourned to June of next year. The presiding (and anonymous) female judge had recently broken with established practice by silencing Faurisson during a hearing held the previous week, also to try him under the anti-revisionism law, this time for a 93-minute online video (please see the English-subtitled version at <https://archive.org/details/AMan-RobertFaurissonTalks-WithPaulEricBlanrue>). She refused outright to let him explain why he'd said what he'd said in the recording: "I'm not interested in négationnisme." This constitutes another new twist in state repression of thought, for in his past trials he had always been allowed to offer an in-depth justification of his writings and public declarations. What follows is the paper that he presented in Tehran on December 11, 2006. – Ed.

To President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

To our prisoners of conscience Ernst Zündel, Germar Rudolf, Horst Mahler

To Arthur Butz, Fred Leuchter, Barbara Kulaszka, Ahmed Rami, Gerd

Honsik, Heinz Koppe

Abstract

At the Nuremberg trial (1945-1946), a tribunal of the victors accused a defeated Germany notably:

- of having ordered and planned the physical extermination of the Jews of Europe;
- of having, to that end, designed and used certain weapons of mass destruction, in particular those that it called "gas chambers";
- of having, essentially with those weapons but also through other means, caused the death of six million Jews.

In support of that threefold accusation, regularly taken up over the past sixty years by all the main communications media in the West, no proof

capable of standing up to examination has been produced. Professor Robert Faurisson concluded in 1980:

“The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle whose main beneficiaries are the State of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people – but not their leaders – and the Palestinian people in their entirety.”

In 2006 he maintains that conclusion in full. In nearly sixty years the revisionists, beginning with the Frenchmen Maurice Bardèche and Paul Rassinier, have accumulated, from the historical and scientific point of view, an impressive series of victories over their opponents. Twenty examples of such victories, running from 1951 to today, are given here.

Revisionism is not an ideology but a method inspired by the search for exactitude in matters of history. Circumstances have seen to it that revisionism is also the great intellectual adventure of the present time.

Foreword

The present summary has as its title “The Victories of Revisionism” and not “History of Revisionism” or “Arguments for the Revisionist Case.” It deals only with victories that our opponents have had to concede to us either explicitly or implicitly. Therefore one must not expect to find here a systematic mention of revisionist authors, works or arguments. If still I had to recommend a short sample of revisionist readings, I should suggest the prime work of reference that is *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry*, published by Arthur Robert Butz in 1976. The book is masterful. In the thirty years of its existence no one has attempted the least refutation, so solidly is it built; I especially recommend the 2003 edition, enhanced by five remarkable supplements.

It would also be appropriate to read Fred Leuchter’s famous study, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland*, particularly in the gilt-cover edition issued by Samisdat Publishers in Toronto in 1988, containing, on page 42, the text of a letter of capital importance, dated May 14, 1988, on the utter absence of openings in the roofs of the alleged gas chambers of Crematoria II and III at Auschwitz-Birkenau. F. Leuchter has also produced three other reports on the gas chamber question. Not to be missed is German research

chemist Germar Rudolf's *Lectures on the Holocaust / Controversial Issues Cross Examined*, Theses & Dissertations Press, 2005, 566 p., along with the same author's impressive periodical series (more than thirty issues to date) that he has brought out under the title *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, not to mention his English-language magazine *The Revisionist* and a fair number of other publications. All told, the work done thus far by G. Rudolf (now aged 42 and imprisoned in Germany) amounts to a formidable scientific landmark.

Finally, let us cite Canadian barrister Barbara Kulaszka's opus magnum *Did Six Million Really Die? / Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel, 1988*, published in 1992; with its compact print it is equivalent to a volume of about a thousand pages in regular book format. The text shows how, during Ernst Zündel's two long trials in Toronto in 1985 and 1988, the other side, when confronted with the revisionist argumentation, simply collapsed: a real Stalingrad for the orthodox historians, beginning with the biggest of them all, Raul Hilberg. Essential studies have been written by the Germans Wilhelm Stäglich and Udo Walendy, the Italian Carlo Mattogno, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes, the Swiss Jürgen Graf and ten or so other authors. The 97 issues of *The Journal of Historical Review* (1980-2002), in good part due to the American Mark Weber, constitute a mine of information on all aspects of revisionist research. In France Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion, Henri Roques, Pierre Marais, Vincent Reynouard, Jean Plantin have picked up where Maurice Bardèche and Paul Rassinier left off. There are now countless revisionist-oriented publications and websites throughout the world, and this despite the prevailing censorship and repression.

Nonetheless the "Holocaust" remains the lone official religion of the entire West, a murderous religion if ever there was one. And one that continues to fool millions of good souls in the crudest ways: the display of heaps of eyeglasses, hair, shoes or valises presented as "relics" of the "gassed," faked or deceptively exploited photographs, texts of innocuous papers altered or purposely misinterpreted, endless proliferation of monuments, ceremonies, shows, the drumming of the *Shoah* into our heads as early as primary school, organized excursions to the holy sites of alleged Jewish martyrdom and great show trials with their calls for lynch-law.

* * *

President Ahmadinejad has used the right word: the alleged "Holocaust" of the Jews is a "myth," that is, a belief maintained by credulity or ignorance. In France it is perfectly lawful to proclaim unbelief in God but it is forbid-

den to say that one does not believe in the “Holocaust,” or simply that one has doubts about it. This prohibition of any kind of disputing became formal and official with the law of July 13, 1990. The said law was published in the *Journal officiel de la République française* on the next day, that is, the 14th of July, day of commemoration of the Republic and of Freedom. It states that the punishment may run to as much as a year’s imprisonment and a fine of €45,000, but there may also be orders to pay damages and the considerable costs of judicial publication. Relevant case law specifies that all this applies “even if [such disputing] is presented in veiled or dubitative form or by way of insinuation” (*Code pénal*, Paris, Dalloz, 2006, p. 2059). Thus France has but one official myth, that of the “Holocaust,” and knows but one form of blasphemy, that which offends the “Holocaust.”

On July 11, 2006 I personally was once more summoned to appear before a Paris court on the grounds of that special law. The presiding judge, Nicolas Bonnal, had recently attended a training course on the means of cracking down on revisionism over the Internet, a course organized by the European office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Paris, under the auspices of the *Conseil représentatif des institutions juives de France* (CRIF) (Representative Council of Jewish Institutions of France)! In a release triumphantly headed “The CRIF plays an active part in the training of European judges” this Jewish body, whose political force is exorbitant, was not afraid of announcing *urbi et orbi* that it listed Nicolas Bonnal amongst its pupils or trainees (<http://www.crif.org/fr/lecrifenaction/Le-CRIF-partie-active-de-la-formation-des-magistrats-europeens7222>). And that is not all. At my trial, for good measure, the State prosecutrix happened to be a Jewess by the name of Anne de Fontette; in the closing words of her talk requesting conviction and sentencing she, although supposedly speaking in the name of a secular State, called for the vengeance of “Yahweh, protector of his chosen people” against “the lying lips” of Faurisson, guilty of having granted a telephone interview of revisionist character to an Iranian radio and television station, Sahar 1.

The Findings of Revisionist Research

The Germans of the Third Reich wanted to extirpate the Jews from Europe but not to exterminate them. They sought “a definitive – or final – territorial solution of the Jewish question” and not a “final solution” in the sense of any physical suppression (to want a “final solution of unemployment” is not to desire the death of the unemployed). The Germans had concentration camps but not “extermination camps” (an expression forged by Allied

propaganda). They used disinfection gas chambers operating notably with an insecticide called Zyklon-B (the active ingredient of which was hydrogen cyanide) but never had any homicidal gas chambers or homicidal gas vans. They used crematory ovens to incinerate corpses and not to throw living beings into them. After the war the photographs purportedly exposing "Nazi atrocities" showed us camp inmates who were sick, dying or dead, but not killed. What with the Allies' blockade and their "area" bombing of Germany, and the apocalypse experienced by Germany towards the end of a nearly six-year-long conflict, famine and epidemics, notably of typhus, had ravaged the country and, in particular, the camps in the western regions, overwhelmed by the arrivals en masse of detainees evacuated from the camps in the East, and thus severely lacking in food, medicine and the Zyklon-B needed for protection against typhus.

In the butchery that is a war, people suffer. In a modern war, the belligerent nations' civilians at times suffer as much if not more than their soldiers. During the conflict that from 1933 to 1945 pitted them against the Germans, the European Jews thus had occasion to suffer, but infinitely less so than they presume to assert with such a nerve. Certainly the Germans treated them as a hostile or dangerous minority (there were reasons for that), and against these people the Third Reich authorities were led to take, due to the war, more and more coercive police or military security measures. In certain cases, those measures amounted to placement in internment camps or indeed to deportation to concentration or forced-labor camps. Sometimes Jews were even executed for sabotage, spying, terrorism and, especially, for guerrilla activities in favor of the Allies, mainly on the Russian front, but not for the simple reason that they were Jewish. Never did Hitler order or permit the killing of a person because of his or her race or religion. As for the figure of six million Jewish deaths, it is a pure invention that has never been substantiated despite the efforts in that regard by the Yad Vashem Institute of Jerusalem.

In the face of the formidable accusations thrown at a defeated Germany the revisionists have said to the accusers:

1. Show us one single document that, in your view, proves that Hitler or any other National Socialist ordered and planned the physical extermination of the Jews;
2. Show us that weapon of mass destruction which, as alleged, was a gas chamber; show us a single one of them, at Auschwitz or elsewhere; and if, by chance, you claim that you cannot show us any because, according to you, the Germans destroyed the "murder weapon," provide us at least with a technical drawing representing one of those slaughterhouses

- which, as you say, the Germans destroyed and explain to us how that weapon with such a fabulous killing performance had been able to work without bringing on the death of either those who ran it or their helpers;
3. Explain to us how you have arrived at your figure of six million victims.

However, in over sixty years, the Jewish or non-Jewish accusing historians have shown themselves to be incapable of offering a response to these requests. Thus, they have been accusing without any evidence. That is what is called slander.

But there is something yet more serious: the revisionists have set forth a series of established facts proving that the physical extermination, gas chambers and six million in question cannot have existed.

- 1) The first of these facts is that, for the entire duration of the war, millions of European Jews lived, plain for all to see, amidst the rest of the population, a good part of them being employed in factories by the Germans who were cruelly short of manpower, and those millions of Jews were therefore not killed. Better still: the Germans stubbornly offered to hand over to the Allies, up to the last months of the conflict, as many Jews as they might want on the express condition that they must not subsequently send them to Palestine; this proviso was made out of respect for “the noble and valiant Arab people” of that region, already violently beset by Jewish colonists.

- 2) The second fact, which is carefully hidden from us, is that excesses which might be committed against Jews could well bring on the severest sanctions: the killing of a single Jew or Jewess could get the perpetrator, although he be a German soldier, sentenced to death by court martial, and shot. In other words, the Jews under German rule continued to enjoy, if they observed the regulations in place, the protection of penal law, even in the face of the armed forces.

- 3) The third of these facts is that the alleged Nazi gas chambers of Auschwitz or elsewhere are quite simply inconceivable for obvious physical and chemical reasons; never after the purported hydrogen cyanide gassing of hundreds or thousands of persons in a closed space could others have soon entered into a veritable bath of that poison and proceeded to handle and remove so many corpses which, steeped with cyanide gas on both outside and inside, would have become untouchable. Hydrogen cyanide adheres firmly to surfaces; it penetrates even cement and bricks and is very difficult to remove from a room by ventilation; it penetrates the skin, it settles within the body, mixing with its fluids. In the United States it is precisely this poison that is used still today in an execution chamber to kill

a condemned prisoner, but that precise chamber is of steel and glass and is equipped with machinery which is, of necessity, quite complex, calling for extraordinary precautions in its use; it is enough to see an American gas chamber designed for putting to death a single individual to realize that the alleged Auschwitz gas chambers, which supposedly served to kill crowds of individuals, day after day, can neither have existed nor functioned.

But then, as people will ask, what became of all those Jews concerning whom we revisionists have concluded from our research that they were never killed? The answer is already there, right before our eyes and within everyone's grasp: a part of the Jewish population of Europe died, like tens of millions of non-Jews, due to the war and to hunger and disease, and another part plainly and simply survived the war in their millions. These latter fraudulently had themselves dubbed "miraculous" survivors. In 1945 the "survivors" and "miraculous escapees" were there to be counted by the million and they spread throughout the world to fifty or so countries, beginning with Palestine. How could an alleged decision of total physical extermination of the Jews have so engendered millions of "miraculous" Jewish survivors? With millions of "miraculous survivors" there is no longer any miracle: it is a false miracle, a lie, a fraud.

For my part, in 1980 I summed up, in a sentence of sixty French words, the findings produced by revisionist research:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has enabled a gigantic political and financial swindle whose main beneficiaries are the State of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people – but not their leaders – and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

Today, in 2006, that is, twenty-six years later, I maintain that sentence in full. It was not inspired by any political or religious sympathy or antipathy whatsoever. It had its ground in certified facts that had begun to be brought to light, on the one hand, by Maurice Bardèche in 1948 and 1950 in his two books on the Nuremberg trial and, on the other hand, by Paul Rassinier who, also in 1950, published his *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (Ulysses' Lie) (See *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, Costa Mesa, California, Institute for Historical Review, 1990, XVIII-447 pp.). From 1951 onwards, year after year, our adversaries, so rich, so mighty, so bent on practicing all possible forms of repression against historical revisionism, have found themselves progressively forced to admit that we are right on the technical, scientific and historical levels. The victories achieved by Second World

War revisionism are many and significant but, as must sadly be recognized, they still remain, in our day, almost wholly unknown to the greater public. The mighty have done everything to conceal these victories from the world. That is understandable: their domination and sharing of the world between them are in a way grounded in the religion of the alleged "Holocaust" of the Jews. Calling the "Holocaust" into question, publicly disclosing the extraordinary imposture of it all, pulling the masks off the politicians, journalists, historians, academics and people of the churches, clans and coteries who, for more than sixty years, have been preaching falsehoods whilst all the time casting anathema on the unbelievers, amounts to a perilous adventure. But, as will be seen here, despite the repression, time seems in the end to be on the revisionists' side.

Examples of Revisionist Victories

I shall recall here just twenty of these victories:

1) In 1951 the Jew Léon Poliakov, who had been part of the French delegation at the Nuremberg trial (1945-1946), stated his conclusion that we had at our disposal an overabundance of documents for all points of the history of the Third Reich, with the exception of one point alone: the "campaign to exterminate the Jews." For this, he wrote, "No document remains, perhaps none has ever existed" (*Bréviaire de la haine*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1974 [1951], p. 171; English version: *Harvest of Hate*, New York, Holocaust Library, 1979, revised and expanded edition).

Remark: There is, here, an extraordinary concession to the revisionist case. In effect, such a formidable criminal undertaking supposedly conceived, ordered, organized and perpetrated by the Germans would have necessitated an order, a plan, instructions, a budget, [...] Such an undertaking, carried out over several years on a whole continent and generating the death of millions of victims, would have left a flood of documentary evidence. Consequently, if we are told that there perhaps has never existed any such documentary evidence, it is because the crime in question was not perpetrated. In the complete absence of documents, the historian has no longer anything to do but keep quiet. L. Poliakov made this concession in 1951, that is, fifty-five years ago. However, it must be noted that, from 1951 to 2006, his successors have equally failed to find the least documentary evidence. Occasionally, here and there, we have witnessed attempts at making us believe in such or such discovery but each time, as will be seen below, the "discoverers" and their publicists have had to drop their claim.

2) In 1960 Martin Broszat, a member of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, wrote: "Neither at Dachau, nor at Bergen-Belsen, nor at Buchenwald were any Jews or other detainees gassed" ("*Keine Vergasung in Dachau*," *Die Zeit*, August 19, 1960, p. 16).

Remark: This sudden and unexplained concession is significant. At the Nuremberg trial the only homicidal gas chamber that the prosecution ventured to show in a film had been that of Dachau, and the testimonies telling of alleged homicidal gassings in the three above-mentioned camps had been numerous. M. Broszat thus implicitly acknowledged that those testimonies were false. He did not tell us in what respect they were false. Nor did he tell us in what respect other such testimonies relating, for example, to Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, Sobibor or Belzec should, for their part, go on being deemed reliable. In the 1980s, at Dachau, a sign indicated in five languages that the "gas chamber disguised as showers," visited by the tourists, was "never used" as such. The revisionists had then asked in what respect the room could be termed a homicidal "gas chamber," whereupon the Dachau Museum authorities took down the sign and replaced it with another on which, in German and English, can now be read: "Gas chamber. This was the center of potential mass murder. The room was disguised as 'showers' and equipped with fake shower spouts to mislead the victims and prevent them from refusing to enter the room. During a period of 20 minutes up to 150 people at a time could be suffocated to death through prussic acid poison gas (Zyklon B)." One will note the words "potential" and "could," the choice of which attests to a fine bit of trickery: this information spawns in visitors' minds the idea that the said "gas chamber" was effectively used for killing but, at the same time, it enables the museum to retort to revisionists: "We haven't expressly said that this gas chamber was used for killing; we've merely said that it *could be* or *could have been*, at the time, used to kill a certain number of people." To conclude, in 1960 M. Broszat, without any explanation, decreed in a simple letter that no one had been gassed at Dachau; thenceforth, the Dachau Museum authorities, quite embarrassed, have tried, by means of assorted deceitful ploys varying over time, to fool their visitors into believing that, in this room that looks like showers (and for good reason, since that is what it was), people had well and truly been gassed.

3) In 1968 the Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot, in her thesis on *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi, 1933-1945* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France), gave an ample exposition of what she called "the problem of the gas chambers" (p. 541-544). She voiced her skepticism as to the worth of some well-known witnesses' accounts attesting to the existence of

gas chambers in camps such as Mauthausen or Ravensbrück. On Auschwitz I she was categorical: that camp where, still today, tourists visit an alleged gas chamber was, in reality, “without any gas chamber” (p. 157).

Remark: To bring their horrible charges of homicidal gasings against the defeated, the accusers have relied solely on testimonies and those testimonies have not been verified. Let us take note of the particular case of Auschwitz I: it was thus 38 years ago that a Jewish historian had the courage to write that this camp was “without any gas chamber”; however, still today, in 2006, crowds of tourists there visit an enclosed space that the authorities dare to present, fallaciously, as a “gas chamber.” Here we see a practice of outright deceit.

4) In 1979 thirty-four French historians signed a lengthy joint declaration in reply to my technical arguments aiming to demonstrate that the allegation of the existence and functioning of the Nazi gas chambers ran up against certain radical material impossibilities. According to the official version, Rudolf Höss, one of the three successive Auschwitz commandants, had confessed (!) and described how Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz and Birkenau. According to that very vague confession, when the victims appeared to have breathed their last gasp a ventilation apparatus was switched on and a squad of Jewish prisoners immediately entered the vast room to remove the corpses and carry them as far as the crematory ovens. R. Höss said that those Jews went about this work nonchalantly, whilst smoking and eating. I had pointed out that this could not be: one cannot go into premises saturated with hydrogen cyanide gas (a poisonous, penetrating and explosive compound) whilst smoking and eating and then touch, handle and take out, using all one’s strength, thousands of bodies suffused with that poison and therefore untouchable. In their declaration the thirty-four historians answered me thus: “One must not ask oneself how, *technically*, such a mass-murder was possible. It was technically possible, since it happened” (*Le Monde*, February 21, 1979, p. 23).

Remark: That answer amounts to a dodging of the enquiry put forth. If someone shirks a question in this manner, it is because he is incapable of answering. And if thirty-four historians find themselves to such a degree unable to explain how a crime of these dimensions was perpetrated, it is because that crime defies the laws of nature; it is therefore imaginary.

5) Also in 1979, the American authorities finally decided to make public certain aerial photographs of Auschwitz which, up to then, they had kept hidden. With either cynicism or naivety the two authors of the publication, former CIA men Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, gave their little set of photos the title *The Holocaust Revisited* and tacked on here and

there labels bearing the words “gas chamber(s),” but, in their commentaries, there was nothing whatever to justify those designations. (Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, February 1979, ST-79-10001).

Remark: Today, in 2006, this trickery makes our thoughts turn to the miserable demonstration by the former American government minister Colin Powell when trying to prove, by the same device of having labels stuck onto aerial photos, the existence of works for the manufacture of “weapons of mass destruction” in Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. In reality, those photos of Auschwitz slap discredit on the case for Nazi gas chambers. What can be distinctly made out on them are serene crematoria structures, with no crowds huddled outside waiting to enter the alleged changing rooms and the alleged death chambers. The surrounding grounds are free of obstruction and visible from all directions. The flowerbeds in the patches of garden around the crematories are neatly laid out and bear no trace of being stamped upon, every day, by thousands of people. Crematorium n°3, for instance, abuts on what we know to have been, thanks to sound documents from the Auschwitz State Museum, a football field and is close to a volleyball court (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, 15, 1975, plates on page 56 and page 64). It is also close to eighteen hospital barracks of the men’s camp. There were thirty-two Allied air missions above this zone, which also comprised the large industrial installations of Monowitz. It is understandable that the Allied aviation should have attacked the industrial sector several times whilst sparing as much as possible what was obviously a concentration, labor and transit camp and not an “extermination camp,” on which there fell, in the end, only a few stray bombs.

6) On April 21, 1982 an association (the “ASSAG”) was created in Paris for “the study of murders by gassing under the National Socialist regime,” “with a view to seeking and verifying elements bearing proof of the use of poison gasses in Europe by the officials of the National Socialist regime to kill persons of various nationalities, to contributing to the publication of this evidence, to making, to that purpose, all useful contacts on the national and international level.” Article 2 of the association’s charter stipulates: “The Association shall last as long as shall be necessary to attain the objectives set forth in Article 1.” However, this association, founded by fourteen persons, amongst whom Germaine Tillion, Georges Wellers, Geneviève Anthonioz née de Gaulle, barrister Bernard Jouanneau and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, has, in nearly a quarter of a century, never published anything and, to this day in 2006, remains in existence. In the event that it be maintained, wrongly, that the group has produced a book entitled *Chambres à gaz, secret d’État* (Gas chambers, State secret), it will be fitting to

recall that the book in question is in fact the French translation of a work first published in German by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein and Adalbert Rückerl and in which there featured a few contributions by a few members of the "ASSAG" (Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1984; English translation published as *Nazi Mass Murder: a Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994).

Remark: By itself the book's French title gives a fair idea of the contents: instead of proof, supported by photographs of gas chambers, drawings, sketches, forensic reports on the crime weapon, the reader finds only speculations based on what is called "evidence" (*éléments de preuve*, "elements of proof," not proof), and this because, we are told, those gas chambers had constituted the greatest possible secret, a "State secret." If ever there were a "weapon of mass destruction" that deserved a proper forensic examination it was indeed this one. In effect, it constitutes an anomaly in the history of science for at least two reasons: it had no precedent and has had no continuation; it arose out of nothing only to return to nothingness. However, the history of science knows of no such phenomenon. In any case, by the very fact of its existence yet today in 2006, one may say that the ASSAG association has still not attained the objective for which it was founded nearly twenty-five years ago. It has still found neither proof nor even any evidence of the "Nazi gas chambers'" existence.

7) In 1982, from June 29 to July 2, an international symposium was held in Paris, at the Sorbonne, under the chairmanship of two Jewish historians, François Furet and Raymond Aron. According to the organizers it was to reply authoritatively and publicly to Robert Faurisson and "a handful of anarcho-communists" who had given him their support (an allusion to Pierre Guillaume, Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Serge Thion and a few other free-thinking persons, some of them Jewish). On the last day, at a much-awaited press conference, the two chairmen had to admit publicly that, "despite the most scholarly research," no order given by Hitler to kill the Jews had been found. As for the gas chambers, they did not even make an allusion to them.

Remark: This symposium constituted the first out-in-the-open attempt to show the general public that the revisionists were lying. As at other gatherings of the same kind (notably one held in 1987, again at the Sorbonne), revisionists were barred from entry and, like all other such gatherings without exception, it ended in utter failure for the organizers.

8) On April 26, 1983 the long-running lawsuit against me for "personal injury through falsification of history" (sic), begun, notably by Jewish organizations, in 1979, came to an end. On that day the first chamber of the

Paris Court of Appeal, civil division section A, presided by judge Grégoire, whilst upholding a judgment finding me liable for “personal injury,” paid solid tribute to the quality of my work. It ruled, in effect, that there could be detected in my writings on the gas chambers no trace of rashness, no trace of negligence, no trace of having deliberately overlooked anything, nor any trace of a lie and that, as a consequence, “the appraisal of the value of the findings [on the gas chambers] defended by Mr. Faurisson is a matter, *therefore*, solely for experts, historians and the public.”

Remark: If there cannot be found in the work of an author proposing to refute the case for the gas chambers either any rashness, negligence, deliberate oversight, lies or “falsification,” that is proof that the work in question is the product of a serious, careful, conscientious, upright and genuine researcher, proof good enough to ensure the legal right to maintain publicly, as he himself does, that the said gas chambers are but a myth.

9) In 1983, on May 7, Simone Veil, who is Jewish and herself a “survivor of the genocide,” declared on the subject of the gas chambers: “In the course of a case brought against Faurisson for having denied the existence of the gas chambers, those who bring the case are compelled to provide formal proof of the gas chambers’ reality. However, everyone knows that the Nazis destroyed those gas chambers and systematically did away with all the witnesses” (*France-Soir Magazine*, May 7, 1983, p. 47).

Remark: If there are neither any murder weapons nor testimonies, then what is left? What is one to think of the places presented to millions of deceived visitors as gas chambers? What must be thought of the individuals who introduce themselves as witnesses or miraculous survivors of the gas chambers? For her part, S. Veil is the first holocaustic authority to have thus given to understand that any alleged witness to gassings can only be a false witness. Already on March 6, 1979, in the course of a televised discussion presented by the French program *Dossiers de l’écran* (*Screen Files*) about the airing of the American series *Holocaust*, she had displayed her contempt for one Maurice Benroubi, introduced as a “witness of the gas chambers.” The latter, as a result, adopted an attitude of extreme discretion compared with that shown in his “testimony,” which had appeared shortly before in the weekly *L’Express* (March 3-9, 1979, p. 107-110).

10) In 1961 the Jew Raul Hilberg, Orthodox Historian Number One, published the first edition of his major work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, and it was in 1985 that he brought out the second edition, a profoundly revised and corrected version. The distance between the two is considerable and can only be explained by the succession of victories achieved in the meantime by the revisionists. In the first edition the author

had brazenly affirmed that “the destruction of the Jews of Europe” had been set off following two consecutive orders given by Hitler. He neither specified the dates nor reproduced the wording thereof. Then he professed to explain in detail the political, administrative and bureaucratic process of that destruction; for example he went so far as to write that at Auschwitz the extermination of the Jews was organized by an office that was in charge of both the disinfection of clothing and the extermination of human beings (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, 1961, republished in 1979 by Quadrangle Books, Chicago, p. 177, 570). However, in 1983, going back completely on that explanation, Hilberg suddenly proceeded to state that the business of “the destruction of the European Jews” had, after all, gone on without a plan, without any organization, centralization, project or budget, but altogether thanks to “an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy” (*Newsday*, New York, February 23, 1983, p. II/3). He would confirm this explanation under oath at the first Zündel trial in Toronto on January 16, 1985 (verbatim transcript, p. 848); he would soon afterwards confirm it anew but with other words in the greatly revised version of his above-mentioned work (New York, Holmes & Meier, 1985, p. 53, 55, 62). He has just recently, in October 2006, confirmed it yet again in an interview given to *Le Monde*: “There was no pre-established guiding plan. As for the question of the decision, it is in part unsolvable: no order signed by Hitler has ever been found, doubtless because no such document ever existed. I am persuaded that the bureaucracies moved through a sort of latent structure: each decision brings on another, then another, and so forth, even if it isn’t possible to foresee exactly the next step” (*Le Monde des livres*, October 20, 2006, p. 12).

Remark: The Number One historian of the Jewish genocide, at a certain point, thus found himself so helpless that he suddenly proceeded to disown his first version and to explain a gigantic undertaking of collective murder as if it had all been carried out through something like the workings of the Holy Spirit. In effect, since then he has evoked a “meeting of minds” within a bureaucracy, terming this meeting “incredible.” If it is “incredible” or unbelievable, why then should it be believed? Must one believe the unbelievable? He also brings up “mind reading” and states it was performed by “consensus,” but this is a matter of pure intellectual speculation grounded in a belief in the supernatural. How can one believe in such a phenomenon, particularly within a vast bureaucratic structure and, still more particularly, within the bureaucracy of the Third Reich? It is worth noting that on R. Hilberg’s example the other official historians set about, in the 1980s and 1990s, abandoning history and lapsed into metaphysics and jargon. They

questioned themselves and each other on the point of whether one should be “intentionalist” or “functionalist”: must it be supposed that the extermination of the Jews occurred subsequent to an “intent” (not yet proved) and in line with a concerted plan (not yet found), or instead had that extermination happened all by itself, spontaneously and through improvisation, without there being any formal intent and with no plan? This type of woolly controversy attests to the disarray of historians who, unable to provide evidence and real documents to back their case, are thus reduced to theorizing in the void. At bottom, those on one side, the “intentionalists,” tell us: “There were necessarily an intent and a plan, which we haven’t yet found but which we shall perhaps indeed discover one day,” whereas the others affirm: “There is no need to go looking for evidence of an intent and a plan, for everything was able to occur without intent, without plan and without leaving any traces; such traces are not to be found because they have never existed.”

11) In May 1986 in France, certain Jews, alarmed upon realizing that they could not manage to answer the revisionists on the simple plane of reason, decided to take action with a view to obtaining a legal prohibition of revisionism. Chief amongst them were Georges Wellers and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, grouped, with their friends, around the country’s head rabbi René-Samuel Sirat (*Bulletin quotidien de l’Agence télégraphique juive*, June 1986, p. 1, 3). After four years, on July 13, 1990, and thanks notably to Jewish former Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, then president of the National Assembly, they would get a special law passed allowing for the punishment of any person who publicly made revisionist statements on the subject of the “extermination of the Jews”: up to a year’s imprisonment, a fine of €45,000 and still other sanctions. This recourse to force is a flagrant admission of weakness.

Remark: G. Wellers and P. Vidal-Naquet were especially alarmed by the court decision of April 26, 1983 (see paragraph 8 above). The former wrote: “The court admitted that [Faurisson] was well documented, which is false. It is astonishing that the court should have fallen for that” (*Le Droit de vivre*, June-July 1987, p. 13). The latter wrote that the Paris Court of Appeal “recognized the seriousness of Faurisson’s work – which is quite outrageous – and finally found him guilty only of having acted malevolently by summarizing his theses as slogans” (*Les Assassins de la mémoire*, Paris, La Découverte, 1987, p. 182; here quoted the English translation: *Assassins of Memory*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1992).

12) In August 1986 Michel de Boüard, himself deported during the war as a *résistant*, professor of history and dean of letters at the University of

Caen (Normandy), member of the Institut de France and former head of the *Commission d'histoire de la déportation* within the official *Comité d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, declared that, all told, "the dossier is rotten." He specified that the dossier in question, that of the history of the German concentration camp system, was "rotten" due to, in his own words, "a huge amount of made-up stories, inaccuracies stubbornly repeated – particularly where numbers are concerned – amalgamations and generalizations." Alluding to the revisionists' studies, he added that there were "on the other side, very carefully done critical studies demonstrating the inanity of those exaggerations" (*Ouest-France* of August 2nd and 3rd, 1986, p. 6).

Remark: Michel de Boüard was a professional historian, indeed the ablest French historian on the subject of the wartime deportations. Up to 1985 he defended the strictly orthodox and official position. Upon reading the revisionist Henri Roques's doctoral thesis on the alleged testimony of SS man Kurt Gerstein, he saw his error. He honestly acknowledged it, going so far as to say that, if he hitherto personally upheld the existence of a gas chamber in the Mauthausen camp, he had done so wrongly, on the faith of what was said around him. (His untimely death in 1989 deprived the revisionist camp of an eminent personality who had resolved to publish a new work aiming to put historians on their guard against the official lies of Second World War history).

13) In 1988 Arno Mayer, an American professor of Jewish origin teaching contemporary European history at Princeton University, wrote on the subject of the Nazi gas chambers: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable" (*The "Final Solution" in History*, New York, Pantheon Books, p. 362).

Remark: Still today in, 2006, the greater public persists in believing that, as the media tirelessly suggest, the sources for the study of the gas chambers are innumerable and unquestionable. At the Sorbonne symposium of 1982 A. Mayer, like his friend Pierre Vidal-Naquet, could not find words harsh enough for the revisionists; however, six years later, here was an ultra-orthodox historian who had drawn considerably closer to the revisionists' findings.

14) In 1989 Swiss historian Philippe Burrin, laying down as a premise, without demonstration, the reality of Nazi gas chambers and Jewish genocide, attempted to determine at what date and by whom the decision to exterminate physically the Jews of Europe had been taken. He did not succeed any more than all his "intentionalist" or "functionalist" colleagues (*Hitler et les juifs / Genèse d'un génocide*, Paris, Seuil; English version:

Hitler and the Jews: the Genesis of the Holocaust, London, Edward Arnold, 1994). He had to note the absence of traces of the crime and note what he decided to call “the stubborn erasure of the trace of anyone’s passing through” (p. 9). He bemoaned “the large gaps in the documentation” and added: “There subsists no document bearing an extermination order signed by Hitler. [...] In all likelihood, the orders were given verbally. [...] here the traces are not only few and far between, but difficult to interpret” (p. 13).

Remark: Here again is a professional historian who acknowledges that he can produce no documents in support of the official case. The greater public imagines that the traces of Hitler’s crime are many and unambiguous but the historian who has examined the relevant documentation has, for his part, found nothing but sparse semblances and “traces,” and wonders what interpretation to give to them.

15) In 1992 Yehuda Bauer, professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, stated at an international conference on the genocide of the Jews held in London: “The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at” (Jewish Telegraphic Agency release published as “Wannsee’s Importance Rejected,” *Canadian Jewish News*, January 30, 1992, p. 8).

Remark: Apart from the fact that a careful reading of the “minutes” of the Berlin-Wannsee meeting of January 20, 1942 proves that the Germans envisaged a “territorial final solution [*eine territoriale Endlösung*] of the Jewish question” in a geographical space to be determined, Yehuda Bauer’s quite belated declaration confirms that this major point of the case alleging the extermination of the Jews is in fact worthless. Let us add, in our turn, that the extermination of the Jews was decided on neither at Wannsee nor anywhere else; the expression “extermination camps” is but an invention of American war propaganda and there are examples proving that, during that war, the killing of a single Jewish man or woman exposed the perpetrator, whether soldier or civilian, member of the SS or not, to German military justice proceedings and the possibility of being shot by firing squad (in sixty years never has a sole orthodox historian provided an explanation for such facts, revealed by the defense before the Nuremberg tribunal itself).

16) In January 1995 French historian Eric Conan, co-author with Henry Rousso of *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris, Gallimard, 2001 [1994, 1996]; English edition: *Vichy: an Ever-Present Past*, Hanover, New Hampshire and London, University Press of New England, 1998), wrote that I had been right after all to certify, in the late 1970s, that the gas

chamber thus far visited by millions of tourists at Auschwitz was completely fake. According to E. Conan, expressing himself in a leading French weekly: "Everything in it is false [...]. In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the [Auschwitz] museum administration balked at acknowledging them." Conan went on: "[Some people], like Théo Klein [former president of the *CRIF*, the 'Representative Council of Jewish Institutions of France'], prefer to leave it in its present state, whilst explaining the misrepresentation to the public: 'History is what it is; it suffices to tell it, even when it is not simple, rather than to add artifice to artifice.'" Conan then related a staggering remark by Krystyna Oleksy, deputy director of the Auschwitz National Museum, who, for her part, could not find the resolve to explain the misrepresentation to the public. He wrote: "Krystyna Oleksy [...] can't bring herself to do so: 'For the time being [the room designated as a gas chamber] is to be left 'as is,' with nothing specified to the visitor. It's too complicated. We'll see to it later on'" ("Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal" ["Auschwitz: the remembrance of evil"], *L'Express*, January 19-25, 1995, p. 68).

Remark: This statement by a Polish official means, in plain language: we have lied, we are lying and, until further notice, we shall continue to lie. In 2005 I asked E. Conan whether the Auschwitz Museum authorities had issued a denial or raised any protest against the statement that he, in 1995, had ascribed to K. Oleksy. His answer was that there had been neither denial nor protest. In 1996 this imposture and others as well concerning the Auschwitz-I camp were denounced by two Jewish authors, Robert Jan van Pelt and Deborah Dwork, in a work they produced together: *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present*, Yale University Press, 443 pp. Here is a sampling of their words in that regard: "postwar obfuscation," "additions," "deletions," "suppression," "reconstruction," "largely a postwar reconstruction" (p. 363), "reconstructed," "usurpation," "re-created," "four hatched openings in the roof, as if for pouring Zyklon B into the gas chamber below, were installed [after the war]" (p. 364), "falsified," "inexact," "misinformation," "inappropriate" (p. 367), "falsifying" (p. 369). In 2001 the fallacious character of this Potemkin-village gas chamber was also acknowledged in a French booklet accompanying two CD-ROMs entitled *Le Négationnisme*; written by Jean-Marc Turine and Valérie Igounet, it was prefaced by Simone Veil (Radio France-INA, Vincennes, Frémeaux & Associés).

17) In 1996 the leftwing French historian Jacques Baynac, a staunch anti-revisionist since 1978, ended up admitting, after due consideration, that there was no evidence of the Nazi gas chambers' existence. One could not fail to note, wrote Baynac, "the absence of documents, traces or other ma-

terial evidence” (*Le Nouveau Quotidien de Lausanne* [Switzerland], September 2, 1996, p. 16, and September 3, 1996, p. 14). But he said that he carried on believing in the existence of those magical gas chambers.

Remark: All in all, J. Baynac says: “There is no evidence but I believe,” whereas a revisionist thinks: “There is no evidence, therefore I refuse to believe and it is my duty to dispute.”

18) In 2000, at the end of her book *Histoire du négationnisme en France* (Paris, Seuil), Valérie Igounet published a long text by Jean-Claude Pressac at the end of which the latter, who had been one of the revisionists’ most determined opponents, signed a veritable act of surrender. In effect, taking up the words of Professor Michel de Boüard, he stated that the dossier on the concentration camp system was “rotten,” and irremediably so. He wrote asking: “Can things be put back on an even keel?” and answered: “It is too late.” He added: “The current form, albeit triumphant, of the presentation of the camp universe is doomed.” He finished by surmising that everything that had been invented around sufferings all too real was bound “for the rubbish bins of history” (p. 651-652). In 1993-1994 that protégé of the French Jew Serge Klarsfeld and the American rabbi Michael Berenbaum, “Project Director” at the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, had been acclaimed worldwide as an extraordinary researcher who, in his book on *Les Crématoires d’Auschwitz, la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris, CNRS éditions, 1993; English title: *The Auschwitz Crematories. The Machinery of Mass Murder*), had, it appeared, felled the hydra of revisionism. Here, in V. Igounet’s book, he was seen signing his act of surrender.

Remark: The greater public is kept in ignorance of a major fact: the man who had supposedly saved the day for History, who once was presented by the world press as an extraordinary researcher who had at last discovered the scientific proof of the Nazi gas chambers’ existence, ended up acknowledging his error. A few years later not a single newspaper or magazine announced his death.

19) In 2002 R. J. van Pelt, already mentioned, published *The Case for Auschwitz. Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Indiana University Press, xviii-571 pp.). As is widely known, David Irving, who at the very most is a semi-revisionist ill-acquainted with the revisionist argumentation, lost the libel suit he had recklessly brought against the Jewish-American academic Deborah Lipstadt. He tried clumsily to make the case – a perfectly right one, for that matter – that there had existed no homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. But he nonetheless scored an essential point and, if Justice Charles Gray and other judges after him had had more courage, that point

would have enabled him to succeed in his claim. The argument was summed up in a four-word phrase that I first put forth in 1994: “No holes, no Holocaust.” My reasoning behind it was as follows: 1. Auschwitz is at the center of the “Holocaust”; 2. The great crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau, or Auschwitz-II, are at the center of the vast Auschwitz complex; 3. At the heart of these crematoria there were, supposedly, one or several homicidal gas chambers; 4. At a single one of these crematoria (Crematorium n° 2), although it is in ruins, is it today possible to go and examine the room said to have been a gas chamber; it is the presumed scene of the crime, itself presumed as well; 5. We are told that, in order to kill the Jewish detainees locked inside, an SS man, moving about on the concrete roof of the said gas chamber, poured Zyklon B pellets through four regular openings situated in the roof; 6. However, one need only have eyes to see and realize that no such openings have ever existed there; 7. Therefore the crime cannot have been committed. For R. J. van Pelt, testifying against Irving, it was near torture trying to find a reply to this argument. Justice Gray as well had to acknowledge “the apparent absence of evidence of holes” (p. 490 of the verbatim transcript), and, in a more general way, he conceded, “contemporaneous documents yield little clear evidence of the existence of gas chambers designed to kill humans” (p. 489; for more details one may consult pages 458-460, 466-467, 475-478 and 490-506). In the text of his judgment Charles Gray admitted surprise: “I have to confess that, in common I suspect with most other people, I had supposed that the evidence of mass extermination of Jews in the gas chambers at Auschwitz was compelling. I have, however, set aside this preconception when assessing the evidence adduced by the parties in these proceedings” (13.71). Here the failure of the accusing historians is flagrant and Irving ought to have won his case thanks to that observation by a judge who was hostile towards him: the documents of the period furnish us with but decidedly little clear evidence of the Nazi gas chambers’ existence and thus of a German policy to exterminate the Jews. Is this not, after all – as we have seen above – what several Jewish historians had already concluded, beginning with Léon Poliakov in 1951?

20) In 2004 French historian Florent Brayard published a work entitled *La « solution finale de la question juive . » La technique, le temps et les catégories de la décision*, Paris, Fayard, 640 p. In 2005, in a review of this book, the following three sentences could be read: “It is known that the Führer neither drafted nor signed any order to eliminate the Jews, that the decisions – for there were several – were taken in the secrecy of talks with Himmler, perhaps Heydrich and/or Göring. It is supposed that, rather than

an explicit order, Hitler gave his consent to his interlocutors' requests or projects. Perhaps he did not even put it into words, but made himself understood by a silence or an acquiescence" (Yves Ternon, *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah*, July-December 2005, p. 537).

Remark: At nearly every word, these sentences show that their author is reduced to adventurous speculations. When he presumes to express, without the benefit of the least clue, the notion that Hitler perhaps made himself understood "by a silence or an acquiescence," he is merely taking up the theory of the "nod" (the Führer's mere nod!) first voiced by American professor Christopher Browning at the Zündel trial in Toronto in 1988. No academic of antirevisionist persuasion has shown himself to be more pitiful and foolish than that particular shabbos-goy. So true is it that, destroyed by the revisionist victories, the official case has ended up being emptied of all scientific content.

An Assessment of these Revisionist Victories

Let us briefly recapitulate these revisionist victories.

Their backs set to the wall by the revisionists, the official historians of the alleged physical extermination of the Jews have ended up acknowledging that, from the historical and scientific viewpoint, they are left without a single argument to support their ghastly accusation. They admit, in effect: 1) that they cannot invoke a single document proving the crime; 2) that they are unable to provide the least representation of the crime weapon; 3) that they do not possess any proof nor even any evidence; 4) that they cannot name a single truthful witness (see above, S. Veil's opinion on the matter); 5) that their dossier is *rotten* (twice repeated), *irremediably rotten* and that it is *bound for the rubbish bins of history*; 6) that the sources formerly invoked have revealed themselves to be not only rarer than was claimed but also unreliable; 7) that the alleged traces of the crime are few and far between, and difficult to interpret; 8) that at their own end there have been falsifications, misrepresentation, artifice; 9) that in support of their case there has too often been invoked a "silly [sic] story," that of a decision to exterminate the Jews supposedly taken on January 20, 1942 at Berlin-Wannsee; 10) that the foremost of their number, Raul Hilberg, is today reduced to explaining it all, in a nonsensical way, by supposed initiatives that the German bureaucracy had, according to him, boldly taken without any order, plan, instruction or supervision and thanks simply, it seems, to *an incredible meeting of minds* and a *consensus-mind reading*. These official historians have not known how to answer any of the revisionists' requests

or observations in the style of: 1) "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber"; 2) "Bring me one proof, one single piece of evidence of your own choosing, on the grounds of which to assert that there was a genocide"; 3) "Bring me one testimony, one single testimony, the best one in your opinion" or again: 4) "No holes, no Holocaust." Finding themselves on the ropes, the court historians have called on the law-courts to rule against the revisionists, but, contrary to all expectation, it has sometimes happened that the judges have gone so far as to pay tribute to the revisionists' uprightness or to show their surprise before the sparseness or absence of the accusers' documentary evidence. Then, first in France and later in a number of other countries in Europe, these accusers have called for the passing of special laws to silence the revisionists. Here they have sealed their doom. To resort to special laws, to the police and prisons is to admit one's utter inability to use the arguments of reason, history and science.

A hundred other arguments again could be recalled here to prove that, on the level of history and science, the immense edifice of lies put up by the "Holocaust" or "Shoah" sect has been thrown down, with not one stone left upon another. In contrast to this expanse of ruins, we have seen the construction of a whole revisionist literature. In it can be discovered a profusion of documents, photographs, expert studies, trial transcripts, technical and scientific reports, testimonies, statistical studies, all of which bearing on a hundred aspects of the history of the Second World War, that show what the lot of the European Jews was, in reality, and demonstrate in striking manner that the Jewish version of that war is largely on the order of myth. From the myth, the Jews have gone on to mythology and from mythology on to religion or, rather, to a semblance of religion.

Today the servants of that false religion appear more and more like priests who carry on officiating and turning over the hallowed phrases but, manifestly, no longer have the faith. They seem no longer really to believe in their "credo." So it is, for instance, that for about the last ten years they have been seen advising their flocks to observe the greatest possible discretion on the subject of the gas chambers. In his memoirs, published in French in 1994 and in English in 1995, the famous false witness Elie Wiesel wrote: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination" (*All Rivers Run to the Sea*, New York, Knopf [Random House], p. 74). Claude Lanzmann (maker of the film *Shoah*), Daniel Goldhagen (author of *Hitler's Willing Executioners*), Simone Veil (former president of the European Parliament, quoted above), François Léotard (a former French government minister) have in the last few years become surprisingly reserved, cautious or silent on the matter. Some months ago

Jacques Attali (a Jewish businessman and historian) decreed: "The immense majority of Jews murdered were killed by German soldiers' and military policemen's individual weapons, between 1940 and 1942, and not by the death-works, which were put into place afterwards" ("Groupes de criminels?," *L'Express*, June 1, 2006, p. 60). This implicit way of writing off the alleged Nazi gas chambers is becoming regular practice. Attempts are made to replace the Auschwitz lie with the lie of Babi Yar or those of other fantastical slaughters in the Ukraine or the Baltic countries but not once are we provided with scientific evidence concerning them, such as reports of exhumation and post-mortems as has been the case with the real massacres perpetrated by the Soviets at Katyn, Vinnitsa or elsewhere. As for the number of dead at Auschwitz, we are hardly told any longer that it was 9,000,000 (as in the film *Nuit et Brouillard* [*Night and Fog*]), 8,000,000, 6,000,000 or 4,000,000 (as at the Nuremberg trial or on the commemorative stones at Auschwitz-Birkenau until 1990). The new religion's clerics are settling for 1,500,000 (as marked on those same stones since 1995), or for 1,100,000, or for 700,000, (as J.-C. Pressac wrote), or even for 510,000 (as Fritjof Meyer concluded in 2002: "Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz," *Osteuropa*, May 2003, p. 631-641), all these latter figures being no better founded than the previous ones.

General Conclusion

We are granted the privilege of witnessing, in this beginning of the 21st Century, a serious calling into question of one of the greatest lies in history. The myth of the "Holocaust" may well be aglow with a thousand lights: in reality it is burning itself out. It has served to justify the creation in the land of Palestine of a warlike colony that has taken the name of "Jewish State" and endowed itself with a "Jewish Army." It imposes on the Western world the yoke of a Jewish or Zionist tyranny bringing itself to bear in all fields of intellectual, academic and media activity. It poisons the very soul of a great country, Germany. It has allowed the extortion from the latter, as well as from a good number of other Western countries, of exorbitant sums in marks, dollars or euros. It overwhelms us with films, with museums, with books that keep the flame of a Talmudic-style hatred burning. It makes it possible to call for an armed crusade against "the axis of evil" and, for this, to fabricate, on demand, the most shameless lies precisely in the pattern of the Great Lie of the "Holocaust," for there is no difference between Adolf Hitler's "weapons of mass destruction" and those of Saddam Hussein. It makes it possible to accuse nearly the whole world and to

demand “penance” and “reparations” everywhere, either for alleged actions directed against “Yahweh’s chosen people,” alleged complicity in the crime or an alleged general indifference to the fate of the Jews during the Second World War. Under its belt it has a glut of rigged trials, beginning with the loathsome Nuremberg trial. It has sanctioned thousands of hangings of defeated soldiers, an atrocious post-war Purge, the deportation of millions of civilians chased from their ancestral homelands, indescribable pillaging, tens of thousands of scandalous legal proceedings, including those carried out today against octogenarians or nonagenarians attacked by “miraculous” Jewish survivors giving their false testimony. These abominations, this outrage of lies and hatred, this hubris that one day or another destiny always comes to punish, in short, all these excesses must end. No nation has shown more patience with this Jewish or Zionist hubris than the Arab nation; however we see that this nation itself has now run out of patience. It is going to throw off the Israeli yoke and have the West understand that the time has come to seek real peace instead of supporting and arming an artificial State that maintains itself only by force. Even in the West, even in the United States, the scales are falling from some people’s eyes and there is now a certain awareness of the hazards imposed on the international community by such prolonged submission to the false religion of the “Holocaust,” No. 1 weapon, sword and shield of the State of Israel.

Practical Conclusion

There exist some practical means to launch a real action against this false religion with its sanctuary located at Auschwitz.

As is known, in the heart of Auschwitz there is an emblematic gas chamber. Up to now thirty million tourists have visited it. It is an imposture; all the historians are aware of this, as the authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum know better than anyone. Yet UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), on October 26, 1979, at the request of the Polish government, put this camp on its list of World Heritage and Cultural Property Sites, thus assuming the duty of preserving its authenticity. For my part, I suggest therefore that the matter of this fraud be formally referred to UNESCO, as it constitutes an offense against education, science and culture. In a more general manner, we could take up the words of Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit in 1979: “Let us fight for the destruction of those gas chambers they show tourists in the camps where there were none, as we now know” (*Libération*, March 5, 1979, p. 4).

There exist other practical means to fight the tyranny of the “Holocaust” myth, first among which is to announce to the whole world these “revisionist victories” that have thus far been kept hidden from it. I trust the revisionists present at this gathering will suggest other means and discuss them with us.

Practicing mendacity on a grand scale, the “Holocaust” religionists have made themselves, little by little, the enemies of the human race. For more than sixty years they have progressively been putting the whole world, or just about, under indictment. Their main target has, of course, been Germany and all those who, alongside that country, had thought it their duty to fight against Stalin in the same way that others, in the opposing camp, believed they must fight against Hitler. But, in their accusatory frenzy, Jewish organizations have gone so far as to rebuke the wartime Allies for an alleged criminal “indifference” to the lot of the European Jews. They have attacked Roosevelt, Churchill, De Gaulle, Pope Pius XII, the International Committee of the Red Cross and numerous other personalities, official bodies or countries for not having spoken out about the “gas chambers.” But how could what was so obviously just a grotesque war rumor have been considered confirmed? It is enough to read the book by the Jew Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980, 262 p.), to gather thirty or so references to the widespread and thoroughly justified skepticism in the Allied camp in the face of the flood of rumors originating from Jewish sources. Inquiries were carried out enabling officials to conclude that the rumors were unfounded. It was thus clear-sightedness and not indifference that the Allies and others accused showed. It was the very same clear-sightedness that, after the war, in their speeches or in their memoirs, Churchill, De Gaulle and Eisenhower showed as they avoided mentioning, even so much as once, the said “gas chambers.”

War and war propaganda need lies just as crusades and the crusader spirit are fuelled by hatred. On the other side, peace and friendship between peoples can only gain from care being taken to achieve exactitude in historical research, research that all must be able to carry out in complete freedom.

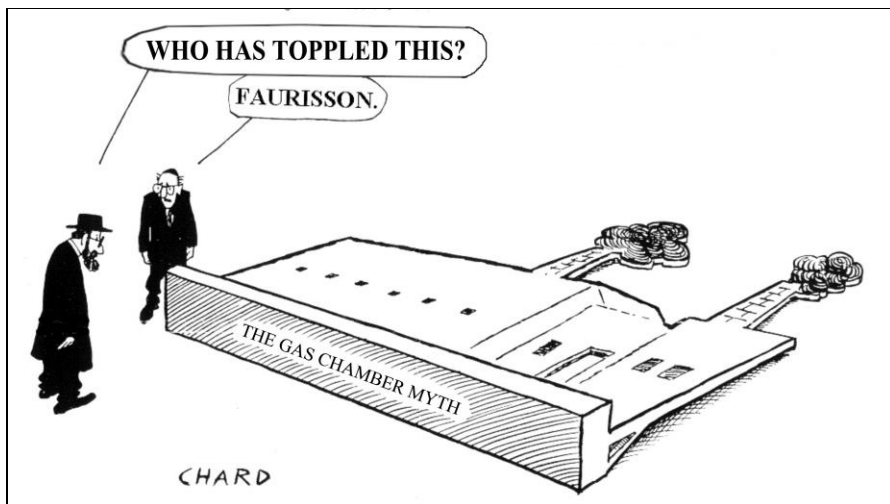
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Two Appendices Concerning the Alleged Gas Chamber of Auschwitz I

1) Eric Conan's 1995 statement in its entirety

Eric Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," L'Express, January 19-25, 1995, pages 54-69; here p. 68:

"Another delicate subject: what to do about the falsifications bequeathed by the Communist administration? In the fifties and sixties, several buildings that had either disappeared or been put to other use were reconstructed, with serious errors, and presented as genuine. Some, too 'new,' were closed to the public. To say nothing of the delousing chambers that were at times presented as execution gas chambers. These aberrations have been of great service to the negationists, who have drawn on them for the main substance of their fabrications. The example of Crematorium I, the lone one at Auschwitz I, is significant. In its morgue was installed the first gas chamber. It functioned for a short time, in early 1942: the isolation of the zone, called for by the gassings, disrupted the camp's activity. It was therefore decided, towards the end of April 1942, to transfer these lethal gassings to Birkenau, where they were carried out, on essentially Jewish victims, on an industrial scale. Crematorium I was subsequently turned into an air-raid shelter, with an operating room. In 1948, during the museum's creation, Crematorium I was reconstituted in its supposed original state. Everything in it is false: the gas chamber's dimensions, the location of the doors, the openings for the pouring in of the Zyklon B, the ovens, rebuilt according to what the survivors remembered, the height of the chimney. In the late 1970's, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the museum administration balked at acknowledging them. An American negationist has recently shot a video inside the gas chamber (still presented as authentic): in it he can be seen addressing his 'revelations' to the visitors. Jean-Claude Pressac, one of the first to establish exactly the history of this gas chamber and its modifications during and after the war, proposes that it be restored to its 1942 state, basing his suggestion on the German blueprints that he has recently found in the Soviet archives. Others, like Théo Klein, prefer to leave it in its present state, whilst explaining the misrepresentation to the public: 'History is what it is; it suffices to tell it, even when it is not simple, rather than to add artifice to artifice.' Krystyna Oleksy, whose director's office, which occupies the old SS hospital, looks



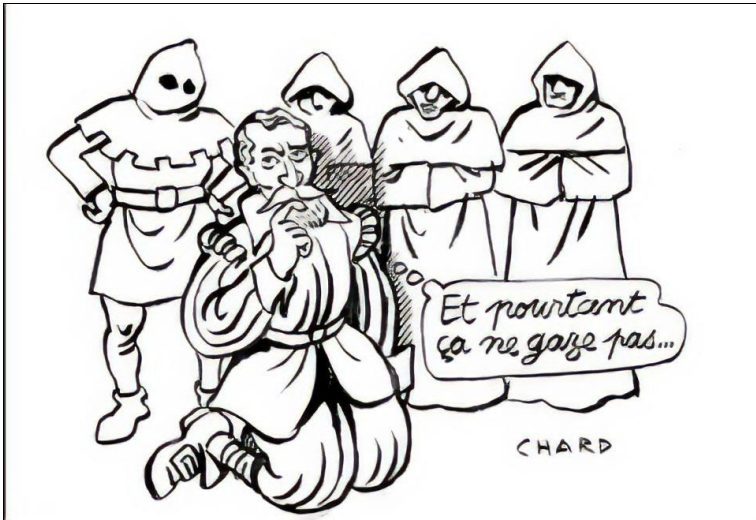
Myth of the Gas Chambers
"Who knocked it down?" "Faurisson."

straight out on to Crematorium I, has not resigned herself to do so: 'For the time being, it is to be left 'as is,' with nothing specified to the visitor. It's too complicated. We'll see to it later on.'"

In his lengthy study, E. Conan wanted to show the great distance between "remembrance" and history. He did so without calling into question the dogma of the "Holocaust"; he even went so far as to state his belief in the existence of the weapon of mass destruction called "gas chamber," and he posited certain assertions devoid of the least scientific foundation as being exact and demonstrated. Nonetheless he had the courage to denounce some serious lies, amongst which that of the *emblematic* "gas chamber" presented today to visitors at Auschwitz. And he dared to admit that, in the late 1970s, I was right about the matter. In 2005 I asked him whether his study had given rise to any rectifications or protests, particularly on the part of the Auschwitz State Museum authorities and Krystyna Oleksy. His answer was: "None."

2) The Full Relevant Passage in a CD-ROM Booklet Prefaced by Simone Veil

Le Négationnisme [1948-2000], interviews broadcast on the radio network *France-Culture*, produced by Jean-Marc Turine. Booklet by Valérie Igounet and Jean-Marc Turine with a preface by Simone Veil, Vincennes, Frémeaux et Associés, 2001, 48 pages; here pp. 27-28:



"And yet it doesn't gas..." Colloquial French for "it's no good" or "it doesn't work."

November 1, 2006: this drawing by "Chard" (the Frenchwoman Françoise Pichard, of Paris) received second prize in the international cartoon contest on "the Holocaust" organized by Iran.

"[Robert Faurisson] has the motivation: exclusive love of the truth; this would seem to be an obsession of his. An academic, Robert Faurisson was never to cease using this scientific surety, a presumed pledge of respectability. He read Maurice Bardèche. He discovered Paul Rassinier. He 'dissected' Rimbaud, Lautréamont and Apollinaire. A brilliant and cultured man, he is nonetheless one bent on causing trouble. Through the seventies, Robert Faurisson worked. He outlined his historico-literary method. He went to the Auschwitz archives. His denial was to build itself there. It rests on a real fact: the gas chamber at the Auschwitz I camp is a 'reconstitution,' for it served as a storehouse for SS medical supplies and as an air-raid shelter after the gas chambers at Auschwitz II Birkenau were put into service; what he was able to see (and what can still be seen) is a supposed gas chamber. This is undeniable. Be that as it may, for Robert Faurisson it is a put-up job done by the Jews."

Professor Bruno Gollnisch had merely stated that, on the subject of the gas chambers, historians ought to be able to express themselves freely. He was first suspended from teaching for five years by the University of Lyon-III. Then, on November 7th and 8th, 2006, he had to appear before a court in

Lyon made up of presiding judge Fernand Schir and two associates. Pressure and blackmail led him to break down and acknowledge before his judges the existence of the genocide of the Jews and the Nazi gas chambers. The court's decision will be pronounced on January 18, 2007. It must be realized that French law prohibits any disputing of the reality of Nazi crimes against the Jews "even if [such disputing] is presented in veiled or dubitative form or by way of insinuation" (*Code pénal*, 2006, p. 2059). Consequently, with regard to this matter one must neither dispute nor even appear to dispute.

Disorder in the Courts (1990-2000), Part 1

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.

The last decade of the Twentieth Century brought increasing challenges to revisionist scholars, researchers and sympathizers as existing European laws related to "Holocaust denial" were toughened and expanded to encompass greater numbers of individuals within the legal net. Especially disconcerting was the fact that several European nations soon enacted copycat legislation intended to punish and deter outspoken citizens for freely expressing their opinions on a controversial subject objectionable to Jewish organizations. These new legal measures were largely successful as a result of the determined efforts put forth by the World Jewish Congress and its affiliated agencies in their concerted attempt to outlaw "Holocaust denial."

Indeed, Jewish groups such as the "Institute of Jewish Affairs," an affiliated agency of the World Jewish Congress, had energetically worked to ensure the passage of anti-revisionist legislation based upon their perceptions that historical revisionism is synonymous with racial anti-Semitism. For over a decade, Jewish groups still rankled over the first Faurisson trial in France, complaining that Professor Faurisson perversely misrepresented the facts of the "Holocaust."

Particularly irksome to Jewish sensibilities was Faurisson's remark that the "Holocaust" had been a "hoax faked by Jews or Zionists for ulterior motives: to extort money from Germany and sympathy from the world."¹

Addressing the possible repercussions and implications attendant to the public dissemination of Faurisson's statement, Jewish analysts argued:²

"These slurs, presenting Jews as the perpetrators of a despicable swindle, could, if believed, bring them into disrepute and expose them to contempt and hatred. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these defamations represent an incitement to hatred of the Jews. As the 17th Chambre Correctionnelle of Paris put it in their verdict of 5 July 1981 [...] 'in accusing the Jews publicly of being guilty through cupidity of a particularly odious lie and of a gigantic swindle [...] Robert Faurisson could not be unaware that his words would arouse in his very large au-

dience feelings of contempt, of hatred and violence toward the Jews of France [...]’”

Responding positively to France’s prosecution of Professor Faurisson, legal analysts applauded the fact that Faurisson’s prosecution had only been possible due to precise legal terminology which declared that offended individuals and/or certain human rights organizations were legally entitled to institute proceedings against him. In this instance, the organization referred to in the matter of Robert Faurisson is the left-wing *Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l’Antisemitisme*, better known by its acronym, *LICRA*.

Thus, the nuisance suit formally lodged by *LICRA* against Professor Faurisson would seem to have been politically motivated.

Rather astonishingly, the report notes with a certain amount of approbation:³

“It is not the denial of the Holocaust but the concomitant allegation of a ‘Jewish swindle’ that is the basis of the prosecution. Without that additional calumny against the Jews, (or, for that matter, Zionists) the mere negation of historical events does not constitute a crime under the laws of any country known to us.”

However correct the assessment may be, that perception of the law and “Holocaust” denial stands in contradistinction to Israel’s passage of the world’s first “Holocaust Denial” law in 1986.

Indeed, legal analysts representing the World Jewish Congress and the Institute for Jewish Affairs were devising novel legal precedents whereby more people might be liable to prosecution by a careful rewording of current and proposed future legislation applicable to “Holocaust Denial.” In the same report cited above, the legal analysts suggest that “even if not accompanied by the charge of ‘Jewish Fabrication’ individuals might be prosecuted on the grounds that “it attacks human dignity – in this case, the dignity of the Jews or of the survivors.”⁴

The obvious intent of the critics was to reformulate “Holocaust denial” laws throughout Europe ostensibly to accommodate a disputably highly influential group of people whose sensibilities had suffered umbrage. The Federal Republic of Germany seemed to offer the most encouraging possibilities for testing new legislation designed to curtail freedom of speech throughout the European Union. In fact, the compilers of the report remark favorably upon Article 130 of the German penal code, which makes it a criminal offense to “attack the human dignity of others, in a manner capa-

ble of disturbing the public peace [...] by insulting them, maliciously exposing them to contempt or slandering them.”

Article 131 of the revised German penal code elicited particular interest, in that it expanded upon the definition of what may be legally prosecutable, and includes such phraseology as whitewashing a crime and declares that whoever glorifies acts of violence or makes them appear harmless will be subject to prosecution.

Jewish reaction to the newly worded legislation was mixed. Dissatisfied, yet intrigued by the wording of such legislation, legal pundits set about the challenging task of trying to revise and improve terms and definitions to their satisfaction, yet noted with ill-concealed chagrin the paradox which revisionism represents because “cruelty and inhumanity are exactly the facts they dispute.”⁵

While these matters were earnestly debated among various legal experts, Jewish Community leader Jeremy Jones, secretary of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and Sydney director of Australia/Israel Publications, argued to outlaw “Holocaust denial” in Australia.

Sounding a familiar note of alarm, Jones opined that, “One of the most insidious and evil forms of anti-Jewish racism is the claim that the Holocaust never occurred and that the ‘Christian West’ has been the victim of moral blackmail and financial extortion. This argument is not only offensive to students of history and all Australians concerned with truth and knowledge, but has as its underlying logic a world view in which Jewish people are dishonest, deceitful, and perpetrators of massive fraud.”⁶

Jones emphasized the point that “Holocaust revisionists promote almost unparalleled hatred of Jews, who they claim have wrongly received sympathy, understanding or, in their view, or even worse – support.”⁷

Amazingly, Jones’s words were an almost-verbatim rehash of what the Institute of Jewish Affairs had published in its *Research Report* in 1982.

Coincidentally, Mr. Jones had already formulated possible solutions to the problem of “Holocaust denial” which he submitted for the consideration of Australia’s legislators, and suggested that “Holocaust denial” should be “clearly and specifically identified as racism and covered by the same laws that will apply to more readily understood promotions of racial hatred.”⁸

In an effort to galvanize popular legislative support for these proposals, Jones tendered his suggestions to the Australian Law Reform Commission in what was subsequently described as a “private submission.” Jones urged the Commission to prosecute “Holocaust deniers” to the fullest extent provided by law and recommended that “racist motivation” be taken into con-

sideration at the time of sentencing, in order to tack additional time onto their sentence.

In a curious aside, Jones cited by way of example the case of Sheikh Imam Taj Eldine El-Hilaly, who in September 1988 delivered a controversial speech in which he claimed that “Jews were the underlying cause of all wars and controlled the world by secret movements, destructive doctrines, Communism and libertinism.”⁹

Australia did in fact subsequently pass a “Racial Hatred Bill” which, according to former Australian Justice Minister Mr. Lavarch, “is about protection of groups and individuals from threats of violence and the incitement of racial hatred, which leads inevitably to violence.”¹⁰

In theory, at least, the law supposedly “does not prohibit actions or words committed in good faith in the course of any statement, publication, discussion or debate for an academic, artistic or scientific purpose or any other purpose in the public interest.”¹¹

As will presently be seen, the actual application of the law prompted difficulties with this wording and will be addressed in the case of Fredrick Töben, the director of Australia’s Adelaide Foundation.

The Case of Walter Lüftl

Austria proved to be the next legal testing ground when in March, 1992, Water Lüftl, a highly qualified engineer in Austria, posed a challenge to the courts following an essay he had written entitled, “Holocaust: Belief and Facts,” which raised uncomfortable questions in respect to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Lüftl had elicited the attention of the Austrian authorities as well as the national press because he had arrived at the conclusion that the homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Mauthausen, as described, were technically impossible. Based upon his own extensive research, Lüftl pronounced the described operations of the gas chambers to be incompatible with the laws of nature and scientifically refuted survivor accounts describing flames shooting directly from crematoria chimneys. Lüftl’s essay also drew into question key elements of the “Holocaust story” such as the widely referenced Kurt Gerstein Report, mass murder by diesel engine exhaust, as well as published statistics in respect to cremation.

After a flurry of heated international protests, Lüftl was pressed to resign from his position as president of Austria’s association of professional engineers, following which he was arrested and charged with violating Austria’s “Holocaust denial” laws, which make it a crime to “deny, grossly

play-down, approve of, or seek to deny[...]National Socialist genocide or any other National Socialist crimes against humanity.”¹²

Austrian law does not prescribe prosecution or punishment for those who deny or minimize Bolshevik crimes against humanity as they do not fall within the scope of these statutes, which are exclusively applied to National Socialism and the persecution of the Jews.

Although Lüftl was initially charged with “Holocaust denial,” these charges were later dropped, and a new indictment was drawn up under a decades-old law which was drafted under Allied auspices to punish any “attempts to revive or restore National Socialism” –the same criteria which would be applied in Austria’s prosecution of David Irving in 2004.

With respect to Lüftl, the Austrian prosecutor charged that the engineer had drafted his essay “in a way that appears to be scholarly, to refute important historical facts of the National Socialist killing machinery,” and to make his report available to others whom he must “have known” would use it “publicly to whitewash and justify the National Socialist killing machinery.”¹³

Clearly, the flimsy charge was based upon a mere assumption on the part of the prosecution in attempting to divine the mind and intent of the essayist. Moreover, the allegation that the essay might be used or cited by self-serving anti-Semitic groups was *prima facie* absurd, in view of the fact that the material might just as easily be cited by those with opposing views for completely legitimate academic reasons.

In response to the prosecutor’s asseverations, Lüftl countered that his essay was intended to serve as a scholarly, academic, scientific study, while underscoring the fact that he did not deny National Socialist crimes overall but was merely addressing technical issues respectively.

As it turned out, Lüftl was fortunate. In June 1994, Austria’s District Criminal Court dismissed all charges. In addition, the Austrian Ministry of Justice released a statement conceding that it had been unable to uncover credible evidence proving that Lüftl had deliberately penned his essay with the intention of reviving National Socialism.

While sidestepping the issue of Lüftl’s evidence and conclusions, critics grunted their disapproval and declared that the legal ruling would henceforth provide ‘Holocaust deniers’ with a convenient loophole to camouflage their “propaganda” in the guise of scholarly reports.

German and Jewish legal strategists alike had been closely monitoring the Lüftl case, and their subsequent disappointment spurred them on to greater efforts to further tighten existing loopholes pursuant to “Holocaust denial” laws in Germany.

With respect to Germany, Herta Daebler-Gmelin, the deputy of the liberal left-wing Social Democratic Party, declared in an article published in the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* that “It is unbearable that propagandists openly deny or minimize Nazi crimes.”¹⁴

Apparently oblivious of the brazen challenge to freedom of expression that characterized her comments, Daebler-Gmelin stressed the absolute necessity of making an example of those who “deny the Holocaust” in the only terms they will understand: prosecution and imprisonment. According to Daebler-Gmelin:¹⁵

“These right-wing agitators do not deny or gloss over the crimes of the Nazis out of stupidity or ignorance. There is nothing new to offer by way of research and no new theories that need to be tested. No other epoch in our history has been so well researched and documented as this horrible criminal regime in Germany. [...] The mockery of millions of victims of genocide disrupts the public peace and heaps renewed humiliation upon the survivors. All this is well known – not only by us, but also by the right wing extremists. What they are really after is to fabricate a new legend by means of ideology and propaganda. Their denial of the gas ovens of Auschwitz and the state sponsored genocide in Nazi Germany goes hand in hand with their assertion that there were neither victims nor perpetrators. The Germans will once again have to be preserved from danger – above all, from the Jews, thereby forging the same old chains to provide a spiritual justification for discrimination, for further agitation, for further terror, for further attacks.”

In summation, Daebler-Gmelin proffered an emotional appeal to German legislators:¹⁶

“We hope that the deputies of the other parties in the Bundestag will support our suggestions.”

The plea did not fall upon deaf ears, yet observers in the revisionist camp were quick to perceive the fact that Daebler-Gmelin’s overall assessment had deliberately conflated legitimate, scholarly inquiry with respect to homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, Treblinka, Maidanek, Sobibor and Belzec with “Holocaust denial,” as if the latter is solely predicated upon unquestioning acceptance of the former, completely overlooking the fact that, while the two subjects are *relative and relevant*, the gas chambers are not by any means exclusively synonymous with the “Holocaust” per se, but serve to underscore the extent and scope of the tragedy. By way of illustration, mainstream historians generally view the gas chambers as the culmination of years of anti-Jewish persecution, rather than one singular defining

episode, which, if it had never occurred, would have precluded use of the term “Holocaust” in reference to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Moreover, it is academically debatable whether these same historians would have recast any reference to the Nazis’ policies towards the Jews in any terms other than a ‘Holocaust’ even if the gas chambers had never existed.

Nevertheless, for the Jewish people, [and this is a belief shared to a great extent by the world at large], the “Holocaust” represents the Nazis’ determined attempt to utterly exterminate the Jewish population of Europe that lay within their grasp, primarily, but not exclusively, by means of homicidal gas chambers. In fact, the very word “Holocaust” refers to a burnt offering, evoking in the minds of many commentators, horrific images of the crematoria of Auschwitz and the burning pits of Treblinka.

Perceived within this context, any denial or critical questioning of the homicidal gas chambers is perceived as synonymous with “Holocaust denial.” Concomitantly, any questioning of the overall figure of six million Jewish deaths is likewise perceived as a form of denial constituting a challenge to the veracity of the survivors and a brazen insult to the memory of the dead.

As such, revisionist historians are often portrayed as being insensitive to the suffering of the Jewish people.

Nevertheless, historians as well as scientists are under an obligation to be truthful and accurate in their investigation and presentation of facts, insofar as that is humanly possible. While one may and should empathize with the victims, the obligation to scientifically document the crime remains of paramount concern to honest scholars and researchers legitimately interested in fully establishing the truth of precisely what did or did not occur at Auschwitz, and no aspect of evidence may be ignored to the exclusion of others, however “offensive” it may be to the mind and memory of anyone.

Yet any meaningful research into the facts of the Holocaust has been nearly stifled since the subject has been declared legally off limits to any but “establishment” historians toeing the officially accepted line. Ergo, the “Holocaust” has been declared a closed subject brooking no clarification, qualification, contradiction or revision if it happens to come into conflict with the officially accepted, legally mandated version. Restrained, intimidated and hamstrung by means of legal tyranny, highly qualified historians may soon find themselves arraigned before the courts like common criminals, facing terms in excess of five years’ imprisonment in some instances, and having no other option open to them than to ‘recant’ and “confess” in macabre Kafkaesque scenes reminiscent of Stalin’s infamous show trials.

Such proceedings constitute a mockery of justice, since neither truth nor documentary evidence may be used as a means of vindication on behalf of the accused. Attorneys for the accused or judges renowned for their probity who hand down lenient sentences also run the risk of being charged, disbarred or censured. In fact, such instances are a rather common occurrence in those polities that have already criminalized "Holocaust denial."

One need look no further than the daily news for evidence pertaining to miscarriages of justice, whereby individuals who were falsely accused and convicted of heinous crimes are suddenly, after enduring years of imprisonment, vindicated and released on the basis of new scientific evidence proving their innocence. In perhaps no other epoch of contemporary history are science and history more closely interrelated than in respect to the "Holocaust" and the gas chambers of Auschwitz, for not only is it alleged that a crime of historical magnitude occurred, but Auschwitz is also unique in that the installations allegedly used to implement the massacre still exist more or less intact and may be scientifically examined by means of the latest forensic technology. Although the crime occurred on Polish soil, it has since become, at the insistence of Jewish organizations and the United Nations, of historic interest to the international community, in spite of the fact that Jewish organizations repeatedly aver that their self-interests surpass and supersede those of the Polish state, the Catholic Church and the concomitant totality of non-Jewish victims who perished in Auschwitz. By insisting that the legacy of Auschwitz is of import to all humanity, Jewish commentators opened the door to further inquiry, leading a reasonable person to infer that Jewish organizations would undoubtedly welcome the long overdue suggestion that an independent, unbiased international team of forensic scientists ought to be commissioned to exhaustively inspect and investigate the still-extant bunkers of Auschwitz in order to lay this highly controversial matter to rest once and for all.

Unfortunately, the more prosaic reality proves that Jewish organizations have in fact jammed a wedge under the door they themselves opened by diligently working to outlaw all forms of independent inquiry pertaining to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

David Irving Fined

Auschwitz again became the focus of international attention when British author David Irving was fined the equivalent of \$6,000 by a Munich court on 5 May 1992 for "denying that Jews died in the gas chambers of the Auschwitz concentration camp," and "disparaging the memory of the [Jew-



In Munich on January 13, 1993 David Irving was defended by lawyers Hajo Herrmann (center), and Herbert Schaller (who also acted successfully for him in Vienna in 2006, aged 84).

Source: Focal Point;

http://www.fpp.co.uk/Irving/photos/1990s/Munich_lawyers_130193.html

ish] dead.”¹⁷ German Judge Thomas Stelzner rejected Irving’s appeal of a previous fine of \$4,300 for remarking during the course of a meeting held in April 1990 in Munich that the building shown in Auschwitz as a “homicidal gas chamber” was in fact a phony reconstruction [*Atrappen*] built after the war. Stelzner responded by increasing the fine because of Irving’s apparent ‘lack of understanding’ and the fact that he had earned money from disseminating his opinion that the Auschwitz gas chambers were lies.

Refusing to retract his previous statements, Irving defiantly declared to the presiding judge:¹⁸

“I have found not one piece of evidence that there are gas chambers at Auschwitz.”

Irving’s attorneys attempted to call a certified chemist, Germar Rudolf, to provide expert testimony that “the buildings in question at Auschwitz were never used as Zyklon B gas chambers, for killing people.”

Rudolf’s testimony was abruptly cut short by the judge the moment the question of the gas chambers was raised by defense counsel. After a flurry of protests from Irving’s attorneys, the judge proceeded to rule that all testimony pertaining to gas chambers was inadmissible.

When asked by counsel to explain his bizarre ruling, the flustered judge managed to stammer that the testimony “of the expert witness, certified chemist Rudolf, is completely unsuitable for evidence” in this case, and

noted that Rudolf had not actually been questioned on the issue of gas chambers anyway.

Flabbergasted by Stelzner's response, Irving's advocate reminded the judge of his own ruling, which had forbidden Rudolf to testify on the subject of the gas chambers in the first place!

In response, the judge painfully stuttered:

"I, uh, can only confirm that the witness was not asked about this."

Although the judge himself conceded that the structures shown to tourists at Auschwitz are not the original "gas chambers," he nevertheless proceeded to reject every exhibit and expert witness for the defense on the grounds that the Auschwitz gas chambers have been historically proven.

"If that is true," the attorney interjected, "what would anyone have to lose by permitting Rudolf to testify?"

Judge Stelzner replied:

"Uh, well, time would be lost. It would also be illegal."

In effect, the judge's statement seemed to suggest that when the truth becomes uncomfortable, all one needs to do is outlaw it!

Perturbed with the judge's wretched equivocations, attorney Klaus Goebel protested:¹⁹

"I have the impression that this court has something to hide, otherwise it would permit the expert witness to testify. I understand that the prosecuting attorney and the court is under political pressure. Nevertheless, the accused must be given the opportunity to prove his statements. It is intolerable that in a society of law that you can prevent me from questioning the expert witness about his on-site work, and then reject him because he was not asked about this. You are preventing any discussion of a matter of evidence."

Replying to these objections, the judge insipidly droned

"Yes, it may very well be that, from your point of view, I am hindering the presentation of the defense case."

The court also refused Irving's request to subpoena Franciszek Piper as a witness for the defense. At the time of the trial, Piper was serving as the director of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland, and Irving's attorneys intended to ask Piper, under oath, to confirm that he had "confided to Freiburg historian Prof. Martin that the Auschwitz "gas chamber" shown to tourists was actually a phony reconstruction."

As witness after witness was rejected, Irving's two exasperated attorneys stalked out of the courtroom in protest, whilst the court spectators burst out in supportive applause.

In his closing statement to the court, David Irving, confident and defiant, declared that the hearing was in fact a political trial in which the verdict had already been decided upon before it began.

Irving noted that, prior to the trial's commencement, he had sent out to various German historians detailed photographs of Auschwitz taken by Allied reconnaissance planes in 1944, asking them to examine them and point out where the alleged gas chambers were located. With obvious disdain in his voice, Irving dryly commented that not one of them had the courage to reply.

Irving concluded his statement by admonishing the judge:²⁰

"We both have our duties. My duty as historian is to establish the truth. Your duty is also to establish the truth, but you have a problem in Germany."

Germany's ultimate response to the problem of David Irving was to refuse to consider any further appeals of the verdict, after which the combative historian lodged a protest with the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. One year thereafter authorities in Munich permanently banned David Irving from setting foot on German soil, ostensibly because 'revisionist, right-wing extremist and neo-Nazi groups' continue to express their desire to have Irving speak at their meetings.

Hans-Peter Uhl, a district governmental official declared:²¹

"Public appearances in Munich by people such as Irving cannot be tolerated."

In attempting to justify the ban, German authorities declared they had neither the time nor the desire to attend all of Irving's numerous lectures in order to monitor his statements for possible violations of the law.

According to the directive, Irving's public appearances had helped to endanger public security and order, thereby seriously harming the reputation of the German Federal Republic. German officials issued this ban, at least in large part, in response to pressure from foreign organizations that are seeking to suppress dissident revisionist views of the "Holocaust extermination story."²²

In more practical terms, Irving's presence in Germany would henceforth constitute an act of "incitement" by inciting the authorities to take him into custody and deport him.

Prosecution of Revisionists in Switzerland

One year following Irving's trial in Munich, Swiss legislators appended Article No. 261 to the nation's existing penal code. Although ostensibly dealing with hate crimes, the all-too-familiar wording of the law indisputably proved that "Holocaust deniers" were the primary target behind the legislation:²³

"He who in public incites to hatred of or discrimination against a person or group of persons because of their racial, ethnic or religious relationship. [...] He who in public propagates ideologies based on a systematic deprecation or defamation of members of a race, ethnic group or religion. [...] He who for this same end organizes, promotes or takes part in propaganda activities. [...] He who in public by means of the spoken word, writings, pictorial descriptions, gestures, acts of violence and in any other manner degrades and discriminates in a way that infringes the human dignity of a person or group of persons because of their racial, ethnic or religious relationship, or who for one of these reasons denies, grossly minimizes or tries to justify a genocide or other crimes against humanity [...] will be punished with jail or with a fine."

Three months later, a brilliant Swiss pedagogue, Jürgen Graf, was abruptly suspended after passing out copies of his premiere revisionist book *The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature*, to colleagues, journalists and politicians across Switzerland.

The courageous teacher crossed his Rubicon fully cognizant of the possible repercussions of his act. Although Graf never discussed historical matters in his classes where he taught Latin and French, Swiss Federal Education Authorities brusquely declared that, under the circumstances, he "obviously" could not remain a teacher.

Unbeknownst to Graf, his tribulations had only just begun.

In July 1998, the then-47-year-old Graf was charged, tried and convicted of allegedly publishing anti-Jewish books. Convicted along with him on the same charges was 78-year-old retired engineer Gerhard Förster. Both men received fines and prison terms – 15 months in the case of Graf and 12 months' imprisonment for Förster. The court also imposed an additional fine of 8,000 Swiss francs (\$5,000) and ordered both men to relinquish over 55,000 francs (\$38,000) from their earnings as a result of book sales to the court. Förster was ordered to pay 45,000 and Graf, 10,000.²⁴

While passing sentence upon the defendants, Presiding Judge Andrea Staubli referred to their "remarkable criminal energy," as a factor compounding their guilt, and cited their apparent lack of remorse as a contrib-

uting factor in her decision not to impose a more lenient sentence. The five members comprising the court – three women and two men, unanimously concurred in their verdict.

Judge Staubli rejected the defendant's arguments that their books were scholarly. In the opinion of the judge, Graf's meticulously researched books were "criminal, cynical and inhuman."

Graf and Förster appealed the harsh verdict.

News coverage of the trial in Switzerland was generally unfavorable toward and slanted against the accused. A front-page commentary published in the popular daily *Tages-Anzeiger* (July 22, 1998) warned its readers that the defendants were not as harmless as they appear. Arguing in favor of the court's harsh sentence, the newspaper proclaimed:²⁵

"Holocaust deniers, with their unspeakable theories, injure the human dignity of the Jews, the memory of the victims, and their history. [...] Their goal is to stir up hatred against the Jews, and their hidden motive is to whitewash the National Socialists and make their dangerous ideology once again acceptable."

The newspaper conspicuously failed to explain by what means it had actually divined the "hidden motives" of the accused.

Two years following Graf's conviction, 79-year-old revisionist publisher Gaston-Armand Amaudruz was convicted in a Swiss court and sentenced to one year imprisonment for "denying that millions of Jews were exterminated in gas chambers by Nazi Germany during World War Two."²⁶

Mr. Amaudruz was placed on trial due to published comments he had authored in his monthly newsletter, *Le Courier du Continent*, with a circulation of 400 subscribers. The offending passage read:²⁷

"For my part, I maintain my position: I don't believe in the gas chambers. Let the exterminationists provide the proof and I will believe it. But as I've been waiting for this proof for decades, I don't believe I will see it soon."

One day prior to the commencement of his trial, Amaudruz composed a deliberately provocative article entitled, "Long Live Revisionism," in which he averred:²⁸

"My trial is a political trial. The judgment is purely opportunistic. I prefer to follow my conscience rather than an immoral law of a criminal nature. I maintain my point of view."

Ostensibly as a result of concerns expressed by the suing civil parties, the Court precluded any presentation of evidence by the defense contesting the

existence of homicidal gas chambers by taking "official notice of their existence," based upon the asseverations of former concentration-camp survivors and prior precedents established by the Swiss Supreme Court.

Underlining his enthusiastic support of this strategy was Attorney Philippe A. Grumbach, who energetically took part in the campaign to outlaw "racism and anti-Semitic conduct" in Switzerland, resulting in the ratification of Article 261, later appended to the Swiss penal code. Coincidentally, Grumbach is also a member of the Swiss Committee of *LICRA* (International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism).

In November 2001, Grumbach was elected as president of the *CICAD*, (*Coordination Intercommunautaire contre l'Antisemitisme et la Diffamation*) which is described as an "independent association fighting against Anti-Semitism in all its guises by teaching the history of Anti-Semitism and the Shoah."²⁹

Grumbach's peculiar nomenclature transforms "Holocaust" revisionism into "*negationist propaganda*," which he defines as a "denial of the existence of the gas chambers, minimizing the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust and asserting that Jews derived an economic advantage from this period of their history."³⁰

Expanding upon his definition of the word, Grumbach avers that "negationism is a form of racial discrimination which causes offence to the community to which the victims of genocide belong." Grumbach attempts to argue that Article 261 of the Swiss Penal Code does not inhibit free speech or debate or the right to freedom of expression, but

*"seeks only to prevent the publication of statements the purpose of which is to minimize the importance of crimes against humanity or which aims at negating their barbarous and monstrous nature. Establishing the element of deliberate racist motivation plays a crucial role in the enforcement of this provision."*³¹

However one chooses to interpret Grumbach's legalese, the end result is censorship and prosecution for thought crimes, and the fact remains that these laws to date have only been used to prosecute individuals who raise valid evidential questions and doubts in respect to Nazi Germany's internment of the Jews.

Grumbach's irritation with revisionism becomes manifest when he complains:³²

"Amaudruz's articles in Le Courrier du Continent all contain extracts which purport to negate the existence of the gas chambers, cast doubt on the extent of Shoah and in effect deny its existence and make refer-

ence to blackmail for which the figure of six million victims was allegedly used."

At other times, Grumbach refers to the Holocaust in quasi-religious, mystical tones when he writes:³³

"The Lausanne Court found that these extracts constituted a serious affront to the dignity of Jews in general. The Court also recognized that these extracts amounted to an offence against the sacrosanct memory of the victims as well as a defamatory attack against the history of the Jewish community."

After due consideration of Mr. Grumbach's published opinions relative to "Holocaust denial," the rationale prompting his comment that, "The main concern of the Court and the Associations and civil plaintiffs was to avoid making the history of the Second World War the central issue of the trial" becomes more vividly understood.³⁴

Conversely, Amaudruz had no other option available to him other than to contest and protest the legality of the Swiss law applicable to "Holocaust denial."

On the day of sentencing Judge Carrard described the accused as a "life-long racist" who "showed no remorse" during the course of his three-day trial, and ordered the accused to pay the court costs of his trial, along with an additional fine in the form of "damages" to four Jewish organizations that had filed suit against him.

The organizations in question were the Federation of Swiss Jewish Communities, the League against Racism and Anti-Semitism and an organization entitled '*Les Fils et Filles des Deportés Juifs de France*,' the latter claiming to represent sons and daughters of Jewish deportees from France during the Second World War. Serge Klarsfeld, a widely recognized "Holocaust" activist, serves as president of the latter organization and was personally present at the trial of Amaudruz.

In his concluding statement to the court, Jürgen Graf made reference to his

*"friend in western Switzerland, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, against whom a trial is being prepared in Lausanne that is similar to the one here today against Förster and me. In Issue Number 371 of his Le Courrier du Continent newsletter, Amaudruz writes: 'As once in early historical times, it is a sign of weakness to try to impose a dogma by force. The exterminationists may win trials through laws that muzzle freedom of speech. But they will lose the final trial before the court of future generations.'"*³⁵

Such idealistic phrases might very well be lost on Philippe Grumbach, who expressed his overall satisfaction with the Amaudruz verdict in the following terms:³⁶

"The importance of Amaudruz's trial and conviction and the keen interest with which it has been followed, has been widely acknowledged in both the Swiss national and international press. A man of advanced years, Amaudruz nonetheless represents a threat to society, as do all Holocaust deniers. [...] There can be no doubt that the fight must be continued against all Holocaust-deniers and racists for the simple reason that those who forget the past, are condemned to relive it."

Put in other words, Grumbach evidently feels that if the scientific arguments advanced by revisionists should be vindicated, he may very well be condemned to a gas chamber at some point in the future.

Against such fanatical 'logic' it is impossible to argue.

David Irving Banned from Auschwitz

In October 1997, David Irving received an invitation from the BBC to assist in a proposed documentary dealing with the suppression of free speech in Europe. Irving accepted the invitation and contacted officials at the Auschwitz State Museum to request permission to peruse their archives for documentation related to construction plans, administration, and photographs of the camp.

Approximately one month prior to his scheduled flight to Poland, Irving received a message from BBC producer Nicholas Fraser, advising him:³⁷

"We've just received notice from the Auschwitz Museum, to the effect that they will not allow you access to the library or to any of the camp grounds. They control every inch of what used to be the Auschwitz complex and it would seem that we would be unable to film with you there. Reluctantly we have decided that we can't go ahead with our original plan. It just isn't possible."

Needless to say I am very sorry about this and I have tried in vain to convince the museum that this is not necessarily a way to promote freedom of speech. However, they are quite adamant and there is nothing I can do. We propose instead to film with you in London [...]."

Irving quipped:³⁸

"What are they fearful of? It shows a grave insecurity, a lack of historical detachment. It's like the suspect saying, 'We don't mind investigators – just don't let in Lieutenant Columbo!'"

It would seem that Irving's clever analogy had grounds. During the course of an interview granted to a journalist working for the prestigious French newsmagazine *L'Express*, Museum official Krystyna Oleksy candidly conceded:³⁹

"The room shown to tourists as a supposed execution 'gas chamber' in its 'original state' is a fraud actually built after the war under Polish Communist supervision."

Of course this is what David Irving had maintained all along, the difference between the two being that Oleksy wasn't fined for her comments or banned from entering Germany or France for saying it. Rather astounding-ly, however, Irving is banned from Auschwitz!

Considering the circumstances involved, it would perhaps not be unreasonable to conclude that it was a combination of factors, such as fear, embarrassment and irritation, which prompted the Auschwitz curators to deny David Irving access to their archives. It is tempting to speculate what further admissions might have ensued if the intrepid Irving had been allowed full access to the extensive Auschwitz repository.

In the midst of these expanding international controversies and perversions of justice, revisionist historians continued to insist that the scientific evidence suggested that the homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz were in fact either a post-war creation, or were simply morgues attached to the crematoria buildings that were later misrepresented as gas chambers. In response to this ongoing research, the German government beefed up its "Holocaust denial" laws by appending an amendment to the existing legal code, after receiving repeated complaints and exhortations from the Central Council of Jews in Germany and affiliated agencies, who complained that not enough was being done to stem the tide of revisionism and 'racism' in the Federal Republic.

This new amendment prescribed harsher punishments for any individual running afoul of the new provisions. Whereas under the old law terms of up to one year's imprisonment were prescribed for offenders, the new law provided a prison term of up to five years or a fine. Spokespersons for interested Jewish organizations expressed their general satisfaction with the new legislation.

In 1994 two German judges faced the possibility of being arraigned on a charge of "inciting racial hatred" in Frankfurt after giving Guenther Deckert a suspended sentence on charges of "denying that the Holocaust happened."⁴⁰

Abraham H. Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith lent his own voice to the chorus of critics and sent a letter to the president of the Federal Courts in Germany, Professor Walter Odersky. Foxman urged the court to affirm the "undesirability of the Holocaust" and applauded "legislative efforts now underway [that] will make it easier for judges in Germany to punish hatemongering and incitement to violence against minorities."⁴¹

Deckert, who was 55 years old at the time, had been charged with "defamation of the dead," and "inciting racial hatred." The former school teacher and leader of a small nationalist political party, the 5,000-member "National Democratic Party," had run afoul of German law after hosting a meeting which featured Fred Leuchter, an American expert in execution technologies.

During the course of this public meeting, Leuchter expressed his professional opinion, based upon an on-site examination of the purported execution facilities at Auschwitz and Maidanek concentration camps, that the structures simply could not have been used for the purpose of mass murder, as had been alleged. Deckert translated the speech into German and publicly expressed his agreement with Leuchter's conclusions. At no time during the course of the meeting did either man preach or advocate 'hatemongering', much less incite anyone to violence against minorities.

In fact, in the strict legal sense, it is academically debatable as to whether Foxman's letter to the president of the Federal Courts in Germany constituted an incitement to persecute and unjustly prosecute Deckert and Leuchter, who clearly represent a 'minority.'

The two jurists who had presided over Deckert's case were suspended and subsequently reinstated, but prosecutors were clearly displeased by the judges' characterization of the affable Deckert, whom they described as

*"an intelligent man of character and clear principles which he takes to heart. [...] He defends those convictions with great engagement and a considerable amount of time and energy. The accused has stood up for a legitimate interest by trying to fend off further Holocaust reparation requests against Germany – half a century after the Holocaust."*⁴²

After an unholy furor had been deliberately stirred up in the cauldrons of the world press, the two judges predictably recanted.

The presiding judge assigned to the Deckert case, Wolfgang Mueller, could only manage to mumble a few words of penitence to the effect that the judge's choice of words had been "unfortunate formulations."⁴³

Germany's Federal Court of Justice intervened and ordered a regional court in Karlsruhe to review the case and impose a new sentence, which it did in December 1994. Deckert was thereafter sentenced to two years' imprisonment for "denying the Holocaust."

Unbowed and unrepentant, Deckert vowed to "continue the struggle for freedom of thought, research and opinion."⁴⁴

Ignaz Bubis, the former chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, expressed his satisfaction with the verdict and groaned that Deckert's revisionist opinions constituted a direct attack upon Germany's democratic constitution and urged other European nations to enact similar laws restricting freedom of speech for those who dared to publicly challenge the mainstream version of the "Holocaust." Bubis admonished:⁴⁵

"It is time for the European countries to busy themselves with this."

As if acting on cue, European countries proceeded to do just that, beginning with Switzerland.

In 1995, Spain and Belgium jumped on the bandwagon and outlawed 'Holocaust denial.' In the case of Belgium, the government had apparently been under pressure from various Jewish organizations that took offense at Belgium-published revisionist literature. A triumphant article printed in the *London Jewish Chronicle* candidly revealed that "the Belgian Government intends to co-operate with B'nai B'rith in prosecuting the publisher, printer and distributor of a Dutch-language revisionist pamphlet printed in Antwerp."⁴⁶

Thus, Jewish watchdog organizations and the Belgian government acted in collusion together, working hand in hand in prosecuting revisionist researchers.

The laws subsequently promulgated in Spain and Belgium were formulated along similar lines as those already existing in Israel, France and Germany. In Belgium, two Socialist Party members of Parliament, Yvon Mayeur and Claude Eerdekenes introduced the law, which provided for up to one year's imprisonment and a \$160.00 fine for those found guilty of violating its provisions.

In fact, the wordings of the various "Holocaust-denial" laws are so strikingly similar to laws in other European nations that one might be tempted to conclude that they all bear the stamp of a common author.

On March 1, 1996, twenty-one scholars and historians from various universities throughout Italy published a statement in defense of free speech and historical research. The professors courageously criticized the enactment of "Holocaust-denial" laws in France, Germany and other coun-

tries, specifically citing a French government ban on a book authored by Jürgen Graf simply because it denied the “Holocaust.” The scholars pleaded for reason to prevail over repression:⁴⁷

“We are appealing [...] to the scholarly community to which we belong, and also to the political world and to the press, so that they react to this state of affairs, and put an end to a tendency that wherever it develops, may put freedom of speech, press and culture in European countries at risk.”

Needless to say, the sensibly worded appeal fell upon deaf ears, for the milieu in which “Holocaust denial” laws were first devised was precisely in those areas alluded to by the Italian professors – the political arena and the world press. Thus, “Holocaust-denial” laws were purposely *designed* to curtail freedom of speech and subvert other fundamental human rights. Practically speaking, human rights in Europe were no longer ‘at risk’ – they were in fact in headlong flight under attack by tyrants posing as moderate liberals.

Far from prompting a crisis of conscience, the legal repression of French and German revisionists escalated when on October 23, 1996, French lawyer Eric Delacroix was convicted by the XVIIth Correctional Chamber of the Paris Tribunal under the Fabius-Gayssot law, which prohibits criticism of the Nuremberg trials. Thus, counsel for those accused of “Holocaust denial” were now themselves susceptible to prosecution and at risk of being disbarred for defending their clients too energetically. Under such circumstances, the client-attorney relationship is critically ruptured, and becomes a mere mockery of justice. Truth be told, these repressive laws are precisely designed to deprive individuals of their basic civil liberties. These deleterious laws constitute a negation of the fundamental right entitling every accused individual to retain the best possible legal defense available when facing the possibility of years of imprisonment.

One suspects that the ultimate objective of such laws is to dispense with the farce of a public trial and simply sentence the accused in a sub-rosa star chamber comprised of a *camarilla* whose members are specifically appointed to impose the proper draconian sentence upon the accused without any attendant publicity. No other qualifications are necessary and there is no point in pleading or argumentation, as proof of guilt is already established by virtue of being denounced and accused.

While this Kafkaesque scenario may appear shocking to the sensibilities of those who truly value civil liberties and freedom of speech, the fact is

this is precisely the sinister direction in which current “Holocaust-denial” laws are heading.

St. Martin’s Press Drops Irving

David Irving was once again the center of media attention in 1996 when, “in the wake of unprecedented protests from respected literary figures and outrage from the Jewish community, the New York-based St. Martin’s Press reversed its decision to publish *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*.”⁴⁸ Company executives had convened an emergency meeting that April by company Chairman Thomas J. MacCormack, after Irving’s book had been unjustly denounced and panned by the usual critics as a “distortion of history expressing sympathy for Nazism.”

Irving had been forced to turn to publishers in the United States following a successfully orchestrated smear campaign by similar groups in Great Britain, which resulted in his book being blacklisted.

The Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center candidly confirmed the fact that pressure on St. Martin’s not to confer legitimacy upon Irving by publishing what it sarcastically referred to as “the novel” was intense.⁴⁹ In its magazine, *Response*, the Center proudly published a prototype of the poison-pen letters that inundated St. Martin’s in an attempt to force them to abrogate their contract with Irving. The Center cited an excerpt from a scathing letter penned by bestselling Jewish author Jonathan Kellerman, who wrote:⁵⁰

“David Irving’s identity as a neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier is well known, and because of it he has been forced to self-publish in the U. K. Your attempt to elevate him to mainstream status in the U. S. is the single most repugnant act I’ve witnessed in over a decade of publishing. You should be ashamed of yourself. Don’t send me any more books for blurbs. Anything with the St. Martin’s label on it will go straight in the trash.”

Sadly, instead of ignoring the rants of a highly organized minority of unappeasable critics, St. Martin’s opted to trash Irving. In spite of the best efforts to stifle its publication, Irving’s book still went on to become widely read and much debated.

Udo Walendy

The case of Udo Walendy, who was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment in 1997, merits special mention because it reveals the ludicrous depths to which German jurists will descend when attempting to individually interpret and apply laws specifically concerned with "Holocaust denial." At the time of his sentencing, Walendy was seventy years of age, having been previously sentenced in 1996 to a term of 29 months' imprisonment for publishing two controversial issues dealing with the "Holocaust" in his series, *Historical Facts*. The two offending issues, numbered 66 and 68 respectively, had crossed the legal line by questioning specific details related to the "Holocaust."

During the course of his summation, presiding judge Kroener explained that Walendy was not being sentenced on the basis of what he had written, but for what he had failed to write!

Lecturing the accused, Judge Kroener declared:⁵¹

"This [case] is not about what was written – that's not for this court to determine – but rather about what was not written. If you had devoted just a fraction of the same exactitude to highlighting the other side [of the Holocaust issue] you would not have been sentenced. However, your total one-sidedness is precisely the opposite of the scholarly method. You continually suggest to your readers that if this and that point [of official Holocaust history] is not correct, the rest can't quite be true either. In this way, the Holocaust is reduced to the level of an industrial accident."

In handing down judgment, the court ruled that the accused had left historically factual information out of his précis, which the judge felt would have given the articles more balance, and for that reason, he was guilty.

The judge expressed his irritation with Walendy in the following terms:

"Walendy, on a very scholarly, historical basis, cites "quotations and facts that contradict," in many specific points, the accepted version for German guilt for the Holocaust and other National Socialist crimes and seizes on weak points [...] and greatly blows them up in order to encourage a feeling of doubt in the reader."

One observant wag later perceived Walendy's predicament in the following terms:

"A man accused of a crime stands before the court. As it later turns out, the suspicion is unfounded, but the judge condemns him anyway. Not because he committed the crime, but because he didn't commit it."

The presiding judge obviously did not concur with that sentiment and most likely viewed Walendy as a “recidivist offender” in view of his past collisions with the law. For example, in November 1996 Walendy was fined 20,000 marks by a district court in Dortmund for having in his possession twelve illegal copies of Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. The judge noted sourly:⁵²

“The planned distribution of the books manifests an extreme and therefore particularly dangerous mindset. The books are propaganda for dismantling the constitutional and legal system of the Federal Republic of Germany, and establishing a National Socialist system of injustice. [...] This must be judged very severely.”

However, judging by the appearance and physical condition of the offender, who at the time was 70 years of age and suffering from progressive heart disease, it would seem that the judge’s characterization of him as an “agitator” intent on “dismantling the constitutional and legal system of the Federal Republic of Germany” in order to “establish a National Socialist system of injustice” seems a bit far-fetched.

Contrary to the judge’s evaluation of the man, Walendy had earned a *Diplom-Politologe* certificate in 1956 affirming his specialized field of academic study and knowledge, having also graduated from the prestigious German Institute of Political Science as well as the Aachen School of Journalism. Additionally, Walendy worked for a time as a teacher in the employ of the German Red Cross and served as director of the *Volksschule* in Herford.

In spite of all the impressive credits to his name and reputation as an educator and scholar, his unswerving commitment to historical accuracy inevitably led to a collision with Germany’s “Holocaust-denial” laws. As the German translator and publisher of Professor Arthur Butz’s *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which was later banned by German authorities, Walendy was arraigned before a court and convicted of ‘incitement’ – presumably against Jews. His subsequent conviction resulted in a 15-month penalty tacked onto his previous conviction, both sentences to run concurrently. For a man of Walendy’s age, this could very well amount to a sentence of death in prison. Such a grave misapplication of justice for one man’s “crime” of honestly expressing his opinion and refusing to retract has rarely been seen since the days when brute beasts of the field were arraigned before medieval magistrates to answer for ‘crimes,’ after which they were duly hanged, drawn and quartered or burned at the stake.

Speaking of which, on a lighter note, a rather odd case distributed in the world press on October 10, 2003 related the story of Roland Thein, age 54, of the Berlin suburb of Lichtenrade, who had trained his black sheepdog, named Adolf, to raise his front paw in a Hitler salute. Thein was stopped and questioned by police after he and his dog had been seen saluting together in the vicinity of a local school. A group of alien residents observed the antics and reported Thein to the police.

Moments after police arrived, Thein repeated the little trick for their entertainment, ordering, "*Adolf, sitz! Mach den Gruss!*" [Adolf, sit, give the salute], and the dog obediently obliged by hoisting his right paw in the air. The police were not amused and took Thein and his dog into custody. German prosecutors charged Thein with "using the characteristic marks of an unconstitutional organization," – a punishable offense that falls under Paragraph 86a of the Federal Criminal Code, which forbids neo-Nazi activities, and prescribes a penalty of three years' imprisonment, if convicted.

A spokesperson for the Berlin criminal court declared that "Adolf" would not be called as a witness. Thein's attorney, Nicole Burmann-Zarske, told reporters, "Adolf is a very sweet dog. He loves cookies, just like his owner." A friend of the accused later informed reporters that the dog had since been struck by a car and suffered a serious injury to its right paw, dejectedly adding, "It's all bent, he can't stick it out anymore."

Thein was fortunate to be let off with probation.

In a far more serious case, by way of contrast to Udo Walendy's treatment, two former East German border guards were arraigned before a court in Magdeburg and charged with the cold-blooded shooting of a 15-year-old boy attempting to flee to freedom in the west. Found guilty of the crime of homicide, they each received 15 months' probation – just one month's probation for each year of the victim's life.⁵³

In consideration of the circumstances involved in the prosecution of Udo Walendy, there appears to be no doubt whatsoever as to which 'mind-set' constitutes the greater danger to society and civil liberties.

Within the same year, Guenter Deckert was denied parole at the insistence of the state prosecutor, even though Deckert had already served 2/3 of his sentence. In the bizarre domain of contemporary German jurisprudence, violent offenders served less time than Deckert and were quickly reintegrated back into German society.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, Erwin Adler, a 62-year-old lecturer in politics and social science at the University of Munich, where he had been employed for twenty-five years, was summarily suspended for questioning the existence of homicidal gas chambers. University rector Professor Andrew Heldrich

disagreed with Adler's opinion, which he characterized as "frightful and unacceptable," and confirmed that the outspoken professor would be summarily dismissed due to his "lack of sensitivity."

An unidentified reporter from the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* had attended Adler's lecture, surreptitiously taping the professor's comments, which were later cited in the press. During the course of his provocative lecture, Adler freely admitted that the Jews had been removed from society by a variety of methods but rhetorically posed the question:

"Were they gassed systematically or were they not gassed?"

Responding to his own query in the form of an afterthought, the professor commented: "On that I must withhold my personal opinion. I simply do not know. I wasn't there," and pointed out that whether an inmate actually perished as a consequence of starvation, shooting, beating or epidemic, the end result is still the same. "So what," asked the professor perplexedly, "is all the fuss about gassing?"⁵⁵

Notes

¹ Research Report, "Making the Denial of the Holocaust a Crime in Law," (London), March 6, 1982, No. 1, p. 2. *Institute of Jewish Affairs*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁻⁹ "Call to outlaw Holocaust denial," *Australian Jewish News*, Sept. 9, 1991.

^{10,11} *UN statement on racism*, July 31, 1996 p. 17.

^{12,13} "Charges Dropped against Engineer for Scholarly Report Disputing Gassing Claims," *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 15, No. 5, Sept.-Oct. 1995, p. 30.

¹⁴⁻¹⁶ "Rechtsextreme Hetzer muessen bestraft werden," *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, April 21, 1994.

^{17,18} "German court rejects Irving appeal," *Daily Telegraph*, (London), May 6, 1992.

^{19,20} "Historian Fined \$6,000 in German "Gas Chamber" Trial," *IHR Newsletter*, No. 88, July-August 1993.

²¹ *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, (Munich), Nov. 11, 1993, p. 35. As cited in *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 15, No. 6, March-April 1995, p. 28.

²² "Irving Protests German Persecution of Holocaust Skeptics," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 15, No. 2, March-April 1995, p. 28.

²³ "Das Schweizer Antirassismus-Gesetz im Wortlaut," *Nation und Europa* (Coburg), Nov.-Dec. 1997, Heft 11-12, p. 48.

^{24,25} "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 17, No. 4, July-August, 1998, p. 2.

^{26,27} "Holocaust Revisionist Sentenced," BBC News, (Europe), April 11, 2000. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/708778.stm>.

²⁸ "Notorious Swiss Holocaust Denier Imprisoned," *Justice*, Summer, 2000, p. 12.

- ²⁹ General biographical information may be accessed at:
<http://www.praetor.ch/en/cv/grumbach/grumbachbio.htm>
- ³⁰⁻³⁴ "Notorious Swiss Holocaust Denier Imprisoned," *Justice*, Summer, 2000, p. 13, cited above.
- ³⁵ "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 17, No. 4, July-August, 1998, p. 9.
- ³⁶ "Notorious Swiss Holocaust Denier Imprisoned," *Justice*, Summer, 2000, p. 13, cited above.
- ^{37,38} "Polish Authorities Ban BBC Team and David Irving from Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 17, No. 4, July-August, 1998, p. 16.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
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- ⁴¹ "ADL Concerned by German High Courts' Ruling on Holocaust Denial," *Jewish Press*, Friday, April 1, 1994.
- ^{42,43} "Judicial Boost for Neo-Nazis," *Response*, (Fall-Winter, 1994/1995), Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 7.
- ⁴⁴ "Two Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial,' *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 15, No. 3, May-June 1995, p. 40.
- ⁴⁵ *Die Welt*, August 30, 1994, as cited in: *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 40.
- ⁴⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, (London), June 17, 1992.
- ⁴⁷ *La Stampa*, March 1, 1996.
- ⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰ "St. Martin's Forced to Drop Irving Book Deal," *Response*, Spring 1996, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 12.
- ^{51,52} "Dissident German Historian Punished for Revisionist Writings," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 17, No. 4, July-August 1998, p. 14.
- ⁵³ "Das Ende der Meinungsfreiheit," *Nation und Europa*, (Coburg), July-August, 1996, pp. 5, 6.
- ⁵⁴ "Deckert weiter in Haft," *Umschau, Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1997, Dec. Heft 4, p. 42.
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Holocaust Jurisprudence in Europe

Nicholas Kollerstrom

This article originally appeared as Appendix IV “Your Rights” in Kollerstrom’s book *Breaking the Spell*. – Ed [The text has been updated to the book’s 7th edition of 2024; Ed.]

“Laws against expressing doubts about the Holocaust, in my view, are simply absurd. If you believe in the Holocaust, as I do, then it should be apparent that serious research will lead to its vindication and, if it does not, we are all entitled to know. Truth is paramount.” —Jim Fetzer

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1948: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”

1953: European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, Article 10:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.”

Restrictions on this apply *“for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others...”*

There is a content-based restriction to this protection of rights, and that deals with the “dissemination of ideas promoting racism and the Nazi ideology, and inciting to hatred and racial discrimination.” This is said to reflect the “paradox of tolerance: an absolute tolerance may lead to the toler-

¹ <http://jamesfetzer.blogspot.com/2011/06/isis-trips-stumbles-and-falls.html>

ance of the ideas promoting intolerance, and the latter could then destroy the tolerance.”

Our concern here has been with what the Nazis did, historically: which does *not* constitute an endorsement of their actions. Indeed, research into what they did, which is the normal business of the historian, must surely help in enforcing a law prohibiting the “promoting” of “Nazi ideology,” so that it can be applied more effectively.

1976: European Court of Human Rights

Ideas that offend, shock, or disturb the State or part of the population are deemed to have the full protection under freedom of speech. It considers that any limitation of this freedom must correspond to an “imperative social need,” affirming this in the landmark case of *Handyside*:²

“Freedom of expression constitutes one of the essential foundations of [a democratic] society, one of the basic conditions for its progress and for the development of every man. Subject to paragraph 2 of Article 10... it is applicable not only to ‘information’ or ‘ideas’ that are favourably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also those that offend, shock or disturb the State or any sector of the population. Such are the demands of that pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness without which there is no ‘democratic society.’”

This “Handyside paradigm” means that a democracy is required to protect the right to express minority opinions. But such a right to freedom of expression is not absolute, as indicated by Section 2 of Article 10 of the European Convention, cited above.³

It should be the business of courts to sentence crime and promote justice, not attempt to throttle historical investigation by enforcing belief in US/UK atrocity propaganda left over from World War II, in which only a minority of the world (Chapter 12) still believes due to its vanishing credibility. The concept of crime involves in essence the inflicting of unacceptable harm on another, and should *not* cover a possible effect of fear induced in an ethnic or racial group, whether intentionally or not.

Revisionists are liable to find themselves accused of promoting anti-Semitism or hate-crime: it therefore becomes important to affirm that it is the currently-accepted view which is promoting race-hatred – against Germans – whereas a Revisionist view endeavors to describe European history

² *Handyside vs. UK*, 1976.

³ L. Hennebel & T. Hochmann, *Genocide Denials and the Law*, Oxford University Press 2011.

without the hate and blame, but rather with mutual responsibility. It is the demonized enemy-images that create the hate.

2008: EU Legislation

In 2008, the European Union adopted a motion “Combating Racism and Xenophobia,” which obliged all EU member states to criminalize certain forms of so-called “hate speech.” “Hate speech” is a notoriously fluffy concept whose definition is always going to depend on who is in power. Its Article 1 defines criminal law applicable to member states:⁴

“Each Member State shall take the measures necessary to ensure that the following intentional conduct is punishable:

(a) publicly inciting to violence or hatred directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin;

(b) the commission of an act referred to in point (a) by public dissemination or distribution of tracts, pictures or other material;

(c) publicly condoning, denying or grossly trivializing 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, directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin when the conduct is carried out in a manner likely to incite to violence or hatred against such a group or a member of such a group;”

Here, it is not the belief as such which can put anyone in jail, but beliefs which are liable to incite violence etc. The legal trigger is the act of incitement, not the “denial” as such. And nothing in this text alludes to World War II: the Rome Statute of the ICC here alluded to sets up quite general definitions, *e.g.* of genocide. The denying or trivializing of “crimes of genocide” is said to be punishable, *but* this law does not say what these crimes are; and moreover, it is only punishable *if* it is likely to cause something publicly visible, *i.e.* incites violence. The mere expressing of an opinion is *not* here defined as crime.

Anyone accused of inciting “hate speech” should insist that a qualified psychologist is present to testify that the emotion in question, namely hate, has been aroused, and say in whom, where and when it was aroused, as a

⁴ “Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA of 28 November 2008 on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law”; <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A32008F0913>.

consequence of the said speech: the court should not just accept the word of the prosecution concerning the alleged emotion.

A Revisionist accused under this legislation may wish to bring a copy of Shlomo Sand's book *The Invention of the Jewish People* into the courtroom: that Jewish history professor shows in this book that European Jews are not an ethnic, national or racial group: Ashkenazi Jews may share some racial-genetic characteristics, but these are not however shared by the Sephardic Jews; Jews are an international and cosmopolitan social elite, of whom a small proportion are religious. The categories of this Act are not applicable to them.

Article (c) is actually incoherent and does not make sense: for example, if a historian investigates the alleged genocide of Armenians by Turks in 1915-16 (the "denial" of which has been made a crime in France, as of 2012): that investigation cannot be "directed against" a group of persons of a race, color, nation etc. – that does not make sense. A historian's conclusion may spark anger, but that is no reason to criminalize it.

2011: UN Human Rights Committee

*"Laws that penalize the expression of opinions about historical facts are incompatible with the obligations that the Covenant imposes on States parties in relation to the respect for freedom of opinion and expression. The Covenant does not permit general prohibition of expressions of an erroneous opinion or an incorrect interpretation of past events. Restrictions on the right of freedom of opinion should never be imposed and, with regard to freedom of expression, they should not go beyond what is permitted in paragraph 3 or required under article 20."*⁵

There is a helpful discussion of this important new edict by Fredrick Töben.⁶ The first sentence of the above quote has a footnote alluding to the Faurisson case: "So called 'memory-laws,' see communication No. 550/93, Faurisson vs. France." Here, the UN Human Rights Committee is affirming that "laws that penalize the expression of opinions about historical facts," like France's Gayssot Act used to outlaw Revisionism, "are incompatible

⁵ UN, *Report of the Human Rights Committee CCPR Centre 2011*: para 49 of section "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights," p. 257.

⁶ Dr. Fredrick Töben, "Human Rights, the Holocaust-Shoah and Historical Truth," *The Barnes Review Blog*, 15 April 2012, here starting at Section "9. Human Rights, the United Nations, and Free Expression" (<https://codoh.com/library/document/human-rights-the-holocaust-shoah-and-historical/>).

with the obligations that the Covenant imposes on States parties in relation to the respect for freedom of opinion and expression.”

Turning to the previous paragraph of the 2011 UN document, it places a limit upon the application of blasphemy laws – “Prohibitions of displays of lack of respect for a religion or other belief system.” Over the decades of its sorry existence, European legislation against Holocaust Revisionism has only ever protected the allegedly hurt feelings of one specific ethnic or religious group, viz. Jews. This paragraph makes clear that:

“It would be impermissible for any such laws to discriminate in favour of or against one or certain religions or belief systems, or their adherents over another, or religious believers over non-believers.”

French lawyers need to discuss how this impacts upon enforcements of the Gayssot Act, which in practice has always protected only one specific belief system.

Just Law

In essence, crime should be a deed, not an intention or feeling. The policeman catches the villain who has committed a crime: the criminal has *done* something wrong. But, once the category of “Thoughtcrime” is introduced, then respect for the law will soon be replaced by a fear of it.

If Jews have collectively a self-perception of their ancestors being put into gas chambers, and if they “feel” that they do not like people pointing out that this perception is untrue, then that is regrettable – but, it has no business being a crime. Citizens need to demand that the laws of their nation are just and fair.

Explaining why the right of freedom of speech as expressed in the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) was not applicable to Faurisson, after he appealed to them, the UN’s Human Rights Committee alluded to a right of “the Jewish community to live free from fear.” Was any psychologist present to testify that Faurisson’s writings had induced fear in anyone? Faurisson was almost beaten to death by a Jewish gang in 1989. Is anyone concerned that he has a right to live free from that fear? If the term “hate speech” is going to be used against Revisionists in return for their work in ascertaining what happened in World War II, then a court needs to summon a psychologist to testify that such an emotion has in fact been generated. Citizens should campaign against bad law which convicts on the basis of an alleged emotion that might have been aroused.

The great Dutch philosopher Spinoza wrote books about just law. Holland is a nation that has traditionally cared passionately about individual liberties, has no explicit Holocaust Denial ban in its law, and has only about half the fraction of its population in jail as compared to that in the UK. Let's have a quote from Spinoza that needs to be engraved on the walls of police stations:

"Those laws which prohibit one from doing that which causes no harm to one's neighbour, are fit only for ridicule."

This is a secular humanist viewpoint, differing from that of earlier centuries, when voicing defiance or heresy upon sacred matters could land one in jail; an era which, unless we are careful, may now be coming back.

Dutch prosecutions do, however, take place on grounds of racial discrimination: it being there prohibited to "deliberately offend a group of people because of their race, their religion or beliefs." Accused in this manner, one should tell the Court that emotionally balanced people would be glad, not offended, at being told that their relatives had not died in gas chambers.

Bad Law

Of a 2011 Oxford University Press textbook on the subject,³ Michael Hoffman has rightly argued in his book review:

"Genocide Denials and the Law is intended to serve as an inquisitor's manual, providing the definitive legal rationale for jailing modern-day heretics in the dungeons of Europe by first dehumanizing them as 'deniers.' [...] a manual for inquisitors cloaked as an Oxford law study. It offers a rationale for punishing gas chamber heretics with long imprisonment, as a just and imperative penalty for daring to reject idolatry and collective false witness. This is a disgraceful work." ("On the Contrary," 20 June 2011)

Genocide Denials and the Law has a chapter titled "Defending Truth." It is about how the people who are trying to *find* the truth need to be jailed.⁷ Its author Kenneth Lasson, Professor of Law at the University of Baltimore, a Jew, has basically written a chapter about how the goyim have to believe what they are told and how they need to be jailed if they don't.

⁷ Previously published as "Defending Truth: Legal and Psychological Aspects of Holocaust Denial", *Current Psychology*, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4, December 2007, pp. 223-266; https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1154012; see also K. Lasson, "Holocaust Denial and the First Amendment: The Quest for Truth in a Free Society," *George Mason Law Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1997, pp. 35-86; https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1161183

The American authors of this text need to be asked why they have omitted to mention the millions of Native Americans whose lives were erased by the White Man, the greatest genocide in recorded human history. It's one that *did really happen*, so they would presumably argue that nobody is trying to "deny" it. Native Americans are America's real "Holocaust survivors."

Two people have been jailed in the UK for "denying the Holocaust," after distributing a comic called "Tales of the Holohoax." It seems to have been the pushy way they distributed this sensitive material rather than the content itself which landed them in jail. They posted it to the local synagogue in Leeds. This comic (with some rather fine text by Michael Hoffman) is in the great tradition of British satire, from William Hogarth to *Private Eye*.

They were jailed under the Public Order Act, with the Crown Prosecution Service saying they had gone too far, they had crossed the line, etc. Muslims might want to test the water by re-publishing this and selling it. After all, the Mohammed cartoons were allowed, so was Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*, which scoffed at Islam.

We now examine two national H-D laws, French and German.

1990: The French Gayssot Act

On the subject of the liberty of the press, France's Gayssot Act of 1990 made it an offence "to contest the category of crimes against humanity as defined in the London Charter of 1945."⁸ It applied to the press, *i.e.* newspapers, specifying how they will be punished if they contest:

"l'existence d'un ou plusieurs crimes contre l'humanité tels qu'ils sont définis par l'article 6 du statut du tribunal militaire international annexé à l'accord de Londres du 8 août 1945."

"the existence of one or more crimes against humanity as they are defined by Article 6 of the Statute of the International Military Tribunal attached to the London Agreement of 8 August 1945."

Can this be used to convict Revisionists, accused of "denying the Holocaust"? Nothing in it alludes to ordinary citizens; it is simply an Act "sur la liberté de la presse." Yet twenty or so French Revisionists have been prosecuted by means of it.

The London Charter of the International Military Tribunal here alluded to (of 8th August 1945) simply laid down the laws and procedures by which

⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crimes_against_humanity

the Nuremberg trials were to be conducted. (NB: This was in between the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki!) That Charter established three new categories of crime that were going to be applied retrospectively against the defeated Nazis: crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The judgement of Nuremberg was handed down in 1946, but this Gayssot Act relates *solely* to the category of crime to be used there – not to any later judgements, as is commonly supposed.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 2002 re-stated these three new categories of crime as laid down in 1945. I suggest any French Revisionist on trial should bring a copy of this into the Court and read out these categories, affirming that he/she is in no way disputing or contesting them. Article 6 of the Charter states, for instance:

“For the purpose of this Statute, ‘genocide’ means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group,”

etc. One should welcome the category of Crimes against Humanity – and hope that Bush and Blair will in due time be prosecuted on that basis. Revisionists are in no way called to doubt or “contest” these categories, through whatever process of historical enquiry they are led.

Robert Faurisson was deprived of his professorship of French literature at the University of Lyon in 1991 under this law, and he appealed to the UN Human Rights Committee, on the basis of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. His appeal (*Robert Faurisson vs. France*, 1996) was denied – on the basis that Faurisson’s statements were “of a nature as to raise or strengthen anti-Semitic feelings.”

Prosecutions brought under that Gayssot Act in the three decades it has been working have all been against one specific ethnic/racial group, viz. white French males, with charges brought by one ethnic/racial group, viz. Jews; which in itself sounds rather discriminatory.

1872: The German “Public Incitement” Law (with revisions in 1876, 1960, 1969, 1975, 1994, 2002, 2005, 2011, 2015, 2021)

This 19th-century curb on free speech gives us a first impression of a long tradition of censorship in Germany. The tradition of outlawing publicly expressed opinions that the authorities consider a “public incitement” of

the populace goes back to Fredrick the Great, whose mass-immigration politics inviting persecuted religious minorities from all over Europe to settle in Prussia were not appreciated by all of his subjects. Later, the focus of censorship laws shifted to banning incitement to class hatred, targeting mainly socialist, communist and anti-monarchist sentiments. Then in 1960, following a wave of vandalism of Jewish cemeteries that later turned out to have been false-flag operations orchestrated by Moscow, there was public outcry against an alleged new wave of anti-Semitism in Germany. The German parliament reacted by exchanging the concept of “class hatred” with that of “race hatred,” which was subsequently expanded to encompass all kinds of minority groups. Only in 1994 was Paragraph 3 added to this law which expressly outlaws Holocaust revisionism, although revisionists had already been prosecuted under older versions of the law. Germany’s “thoughtcrime” law presently reads as follows:

“(1) Whoever, in a manner that is capable of disturbing the public peace:

1. incites hatred, calls for violent or arbitrary measures against a national, racial, religious or other group defined by its ethnic origin, against segments of the population or against an individual based on its belonging to one of the aforementioned groups or to a segment of the population; or

2. assaults the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning, or defaming one of the aforementioned groups, segments of the population or an individual based on its belonging to one of the aforementioned groups or to a segment of the population,
shall be punished [...]

(3) Whoever publicly or in a meeting approves of, denies against better knowledge or downplays an act committed under the rule of National Socialism of the type indicated in Section 6 subsection (1) of the Code of Crimes against International Law [=Acts of Genocide], in a manner capable of disturbing the public peace shall be punished [...]

(4) Whoever, publicly or in a meeting, approves of, glorifies or justifies the violent and arbitrary National Socialist rule, and by so doing disturbs the public peace in a manner that assaults the human dignity of the victims, shall be punished [...].”

Strangely, this law is primarily emotional, concerning various people’s alleged feelings, rather than facts. There are several kinds of untruths which a prosecution under this Act imposes upon the accused, untruths concerning *motive* and *identity*. I therefore suggest the accused needs to

feel their own innocence, feel whatever heart-purity they can summon upon walking into the Court, and maybe say to themselves the words of Jimi Hendrix: "I am who I am, thank God." German courts have no jury, and so the judge will be the final authority for whatever calumny the court casts upon the Revisionist.

The worst course of action for the Revisionist is to attempt to defend the truth of whatever they have said: propounding such historical-factual issues is likely to be viewed by the Court as compounding the offence – and providing grounds for further charges!

Against the accusation of inciting hatred against segments of the population "in a manner that is capable of disturbing the public peace," witnesses have been summoned to testify that the views expressed have not disturbed nor are they capable of disturbing the public peace, but in vain – these have not been allowed, or have been disregarded. It should however be no business of the accused to summon such witnesses because citizens should be presumed innocent until proven guilty, not the other way around – the onus should lie upon the prosecution to demonstrate the impossibly vague notion of the deed having been "capable of disturbing the public peace." Every one of us knows what disturbs the "public peace" – guns, loud noises, unruly crowds, people with megaphones etc. Nobody can disturb the public peace by writing a book. In vain an author may dream or hope of disturbing the public peace by writing a book, but it's not going to happen!

The mere testimony of the prosecution cannot here suffice as regards what might possibly disturb the public peace.

Whoever "assaults the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning, or defaming segments of the population" is here liable to imprisonment. It is the normal business of comedians to do this; indeed, it could be hard to ply that trade, if this crime-category is insisted upon. A crime should involve *unacceptable* harm or loss and not just a *feeling* that someone has been insulted.

The third section ("Whoever publicly or in a meeting approves of, denies against better knowledge or downplays an act committed under the rule of National Socialism...") is hardly relevant, because Revisionists are not known for proclaiming their views at public meetings. Publishing a book is a public act and so could here be alluded to. The last book to appear "in a manner capable of disturbing the public peace" was arguably Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto* of 1848.

The accused may tell the Court that persons disturbing the public peace generally do not read books, that pamphlets and flyers rather than books

have disturbed the public peace, and that, if they wish to prosecute on such grounds, the onus lies on them to explain why the millions of books published since Marx's *Communist Manifesto* have failed to cause any such disturbance. The whole idea of this clause is inherently absurd as applied to Revisionists. The accused should tell the Court that, were a factually correct book seen to "disrupt the peace" (if one can imagine such a thing), it's not the book that's the problem, but rather the people who are disrupting the peace. A book can be "guilty" of disrupting the peace only if it expressly calls for the disruption of peace! The German judiciary is in effect concluding that a statement like "There were no Nazi gas chambers" equates to "Start a pogrom against the Jews!" Modern truth-seeker historians are quite mild people who are far from having any wish to "disturb the peace."⁹

The slur or untruth is here cast against the Revisionist, that their motive in ascertaining historical truth is political, namely that they are covert neo-Nazis. The Court is here lying through its teeth and knows it. The accused should use polite and respectful language, *e.g.* state that, in the past, German courts have deceitfully sought to ban enquiry into World War II historical truth by pretending that it was motivated by pro-Hitler loyalty or anti-Jewish feeling, and he trusts that the present court will not likewise err. If the aim is to criminalize anyone who "approves of, denies against better knowledge or downplays an act committed under the rule of National Socialism," then clearly historical investigation must be permitted into what those acts were. Otherwise, how can the Court know whom to punish? Judges are not trained to be historians, as historians are not trained as judges.

⁹ The absurdities of this German law don't end there, though. There are at least four more of them:

- a. There is no definition anywhere in German law for "public peace."
- b. There is no definition anywhere in German law for what is and is not capable of disturbing "public peace."
- c. German dictionaries define the word used in this law – "*leugnen*" – as "to deny against better knowledge," as I have translated it here; it implies that revisionists *know* their views are wrong, but spread them anyway; in theory, the court is forced by law to prove that a revisionist defendant denied something *he knew* and was *convinced* at the time of his "crime" to be untrue, hence his denial a lie. But that is not what happens. That a defendant denied the "official truth" against better knowledge is in fact given as a self-evident fact following the logic of "since everyone knows the truth about the Holocaust, so must the defendant," which is absurd. In Copernicus's time, "everyone knew" that the sun revolved around the Earth. That did neither prove that Copernicus was wrong nor that he lied when he spread his heliocentric worldview.
- d. Determining whether a defendant "downplays" something is possible only if the true historical nature/size of an event is legally well-defined; but nothing in German law defines any historical event; it all depends on the current mainstream consensus. Dissident voices don't count and are simply outlawed by the simple fact that they disagree with the orthodox view. Whether anyone downplays anything is thus an arbitrary finding by a court that is neither entitled nor competent to rule what is or is not historically true.

Implicit in this encounter is the judge's presumption that his career depends upon his accepting the good-versus-evil victor's narrative laid down at Nuremberg, so that anyone who tries to re-tell the German history must therefore be a wicked Nazi. The Revisionist in the dock has to affirm that he or she is the historian, is the only historian present in the Court, and is therefore competent to advise the Court about "an act committed under the rule of National Socialism" in relation to genocide, as this *Volksverhetzung* law specifies.¹⁰ An act not committed under said rule cannot be of relevance to the Court, can it?

The fourth section is more of the same: "whoever, publicly or in a meeting, approves of, glorifies or justifies the violent and arbitrary National-Socialist rule, and by so doing disturbs the public peace in a manner that assaults the human dignity of the victims" – again this cannot logically be applicable, because, as we have seen, a book published can hardly disturb the peace, and other private statements by Revisionists likewise will not do so. Witnesses need to be called by the prosecution to demonstrate that any such approval or "glorification" has publicly taken place.

The definition of Revisionism by Faurisson should be given to the Court, whereby it is *not* a political program but "a quest for historical exactitude." The accused needs to believe he or she is *harmless*. Only that can negate the various afactual categories tied up in this nefarious law. The Court should be told how only a quest for historical truth in World War II can properly share out blame and responsibility and thereby *dissolve* the hate images. It is not or should not be the business of the historian to endorse a Manichaeian dualism, a cosmic good-versus-evil struggle, found within the historical process – as is implied by this Act.

The first section of this Act will work better under a mirror-reversal, whereby it is promoters of the Holocaust mythology who are continually inciting "hatred against segments of the population" and who are assaulting "the human dignity of others," in a manner prohibited under this Act, whereby a "segment of the population" is made to suffer continually for something that should be relegated to the past. (The "segment" here comprises the remaining but diminishing older generation who fought in the War.) The public peace is very much disturbed by the inquisitors who check through personal libraries for books to be banned and burnt, and who monitor e-mails.

It is probably best to avoid using the J-word, but if it is insisted upon, one could point out that there were various social groups in the German

¹⁰ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volksverhetzung>

labor camps: gypsies, Poles and Russians as well as Jews, and that the story of what happened does not belong exclusively to any one of them.

A paradox remains in German law, which, if Revisionists were permitted jury trials, could be worth harping upon: that this thoughtcrime law exists in open violation of the current German constitution, which prohibits laws banning only certain opinions about specific topics. The victorious Allies imposed upon Germany the concept that, because of the exceptional crimes of the National-Socialist regime, exceptional measures were required to suppress views doubting the veracity of these crimes or their exceptional nature. Hence, in order to prevent that Germany once again burns books and jails dissidents, as it has done in its Nazi past, the German authorities feel today obligated to burn books and jail dissidents. *Plus ça change...*¹¹

¹¹ The more things change... [the more they stay the same]; editor's remark.

COMMENTS

The Worst Generation

Jett Rucker

We in the West, particularly in the English-speaking areas most-exposed to the maunderings of Tom Brokaw,¹ have heard much about “the greatest generation,” the cohort of Americans (and perhaps British, French and maybe even Soviet, in about that order) who grew up during the Great Depression and went on (at least, some of them, mostly the males) to fight in World War II against the Axis countries which, having lost that war, still today bear most of the blame for having started it, at least from the Western perspective that dominates not only the victorious countries, but also at least Germany, whose language and location expose it more to the victors’ domination than, say, Japan, which lost the same war to the same opponents.

This generation, among which might number, apparently, Tom Brokaw’s parents (Brokaw was born in 1940) grew up in a time of (government) monetarily triggered penury in which Europe was ineluctably swept along. Worst-fated among these European countries were Germany and Austria, to the latter of which’s *Credit Anstalt* a seminal role was subsequently allotted in “starting” that Depression in 1931. Therewith, perhaps, began that historico-propagandistic project that, from today’s remove, can clearly be seen to have assigned the blame for the subsequent miseries known as World War II to (Germany and) Austria.

The people who inhabited, and voted in, and paid taxes in, and sacrificed their sons to conscription in, those countries [...] *they* must be the *worst* generation in – what? History? The world? Both? And the sons, too – and the daughters as well. What, indeed, might it require to elevate the cohort of the US population containing Brokaw’s parents to the sainthood of “the greatest generation?” It requires, in at least *some* places containing a great number of active, capable people, a *worst* generation – a generation given over, for some inscrutable reason, to evil, to harming humanity in general, if not, as in today’s environmentally sensitive times, the planet itself.

We, of any given society on the face of the earth, limn ourselves, each other, our parents, our parents’ generation, in terms that must demonize, revile, condemn, those of other societies that may be seen as having op-

posed whatever values we ascribe to the sanctified group, and in having done so, having relegated themselves to damnation – or at least some secular contrivance resembling damnation, if not damnation as it is known the religious context.

Religion. Perhaps we might discern a dynamic that we know best, in history, as the religious sentiment, in the protestations that elevate some people's parents, as a group, to sainthood, as against the status accorded thereby to the parents of other people to that of [...] demons.

This is nothing, neither more nor less, than the ideologues' standard tactic of "divide and conquer." *They* are demons; *we* (and/or our parents) are saints. Such are, since time immemorial, the devices of those who would gain power over us – power over our ability to produce economic value, over our sons' (and daughters') lives in time, and over our own thoughts and sentiments as may bear on those other matters.

There are, of course, institutions for gaining, keeping, and directing power over these factors (call them "minds and hearts"), and these are, in our regulated and law-driven societies, various entities known as "the government," "the press," "the academy," "the church," and they all communicate, as they must, with each other as to such matters as "the behavior of Allied soldiers" while invading and occupying, the motivations of our leaders, the motivations of *their* leaders, and finally, over *their* motivations themselves, as opposed, of course, to ours.

Given the ennobled/damned dichotomy ruling the same generation across both sides of the events in the period they shared, it might profit understanding to consider the experiences of the two opposing groups. While the Japanese (and Chinese, and Soviet) generations would qualify for a broader study of the subjects, concentration here is focused on the closer kin of Americans (British, French, etc.) vis-à-vis Germans (Austrians, Italians, etc.), the better to perceive the contrasts between otherwise-similar groups.

Start the comparison in 1919, the first year after the First World War ended. In the US, a wave of virtuous fervor engulfed the land – or the political process, at least – in the form of Prohibition. The Greatest Generation was going to start out sober, at least so far as the often-slighted Law was concerned. While the Americans were abstaining (or not) from alcohol, the Germans were struggling desperately to get a bite to eat, never mind the intoxicating beverages. This, of course, was because Britain and France maintained their wartime blockade of all shipping into and out of Germany quite in defiance of the Armistice that had been signed in November 1918. It only began to relax when the Treaty of Versailles was imposed in late

June 1919. Thousands of the Worst Generation starved along with their parents, while the rest grew up in conditions of deprivation that may have poisoned their sentiments at least until the beginning of the subsequent world war.

Americans may have been too busy enjoying their enforced sobriety to take much note of the grim and unjust events occurring “over there.” Be that as it may, the same Treaty of Versailles that permitted the relaxation of the blockade imposed on Germans the millstone of compensating the victors of World War I for the costs of defeating them; never mind what costs they might have borne directly in the course of losing the conflict. Again, members of the Greatest Generation in the US were able to evade blame for the situation through not collecting any of the Versailles-dictated reparations; never mind that the 1917 entry of America into the War tipped the balance of the stalemate, enabling a decisive victory for the vengeful Western powers.

Hardly a year after the end of Prohibition, the Greatest Generation sustained a new government-imposed deprivation that, like the one involving alcohol, was not shared by their European cousins, neither victors nor vanquished: the right to own gold. The US government decided that (all) gold was required for manipulating the value of the dollar vis-à-vis the curren-



The carnage of the “Greatest Generation.” Piles of corpses after the air strikes from the 13 and 14 February 1945 in Dresden. Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-08778-0001 / Hahn / CC-BY-SA 3.0 [CC BY-SA 3.0 de (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons

cies of other currencies, and so denied that medium (along with silver) to its own people for facilitating the economic exchanges by means of which they fed, sheltered, and clothed each other. The Depression, begun in 1931, marched right past this development and the Greatest Generation, despite a brief and illusory reprieve in 1936-37, remained impoverished not only in comparison with their European cousins (at least, the victors), but likewise in comparison with their own parents, the presumed progenitors of the Greatest Generation.

In Germany, punishing reparations payments to Britain and France (the blockaders, remember?) continued for fifteen years, until 1933, when Germany proclaimed its power – and need, and right – to repudiate the “debts” imposed upon it by the Versailles Diktat. From that time forward, Germany descended – or rose, depending on how one looks at it – into a command economy that favored, as all command economies do, long-term capital projects (selected and designed by the government, of course) and full employment even more than the leaf-raking and public-works projects so favored at the same time by the US government led by Franklin D. Roosevelt. While the Autobahn and the Hindenburg much burnished Germany’s image worldwide, and even heartened many of Germany’s own citizens, it would seem in view of subsequent events to have in fact availed Germans and Germany but little, much as the WPA, the NRA and the rest of the alphabet soup never lifted Americans out of their economic quagmire.

But then, there was War. That did the job – at least for those it didn’t kill, those it didn’t maim, those it didn’t starve to death, and those whose homes and cities it didn’t obliterate. The Greatest Generation went off to war, leaving loved ones back home in peace and the false prosperity induced by various wartime exflations. Their opponents, the Worst Generation, also went off to war but eventually found themselves being driven back where they came from even while clouds of bombers obscured the sun while raining bombs and death down on the loved ones they had left behind. And whether they fought on the Eastern or the Western front, they knew their homeland was threatened from the other direction even as they fought the enemy on their own particular front.

Apparently, suffering, fear, and the desperate desire to save one’s homeland from invasion do not impart Greatness to just any generation so engaged. Rather, it would seem, in Brokaw’s words, to be a matter of Doing the Right Thing(s). Scourging the cities, treasures, homes, and lives of several great civilizations, from Tokyo to Berlin, even while introducing the world to the horrendous novelty of nuclear holocaust. Helping, indispensably, to erect the West’s next great bogeyman, Communism, as the

hegemon over eastern and central Europe, and shortly thereafter, over China. Beclouding the world with a penumbra of ICBM-borne thermonuclear devastation in Cold War during which most of us have spent our entire, fear-wracked lives. And even, by 1948, enabling the forcible insertion into the ever-volatile Middle East a new colony of dispossessed Europeans who, after clearing for themselves a suitable domain in several religions' Holy Lands, stole the means to project nuclear terror from yet another sore on a globe already afflicted with many such metastasizing tumors.

Yes, today's world is inevitably the product of that Greatest Generation in which the popular writer Brokaw would have at least some of us take such great pride. A better world is hardly to be imagined, is it?

The world imagined, or desperately – and vainly, in the event – hoped for by the defeated and decimated Worst Generation could never have been remotely as good, now, could it?

After all, what they were doing, for whatever reasons in their millions of dashed, dishonored hopes, must have been the Wrong Thing(s).

Tell yourself that, anyway. Again and again.

It's supposed to make you feel good.

Note

- ¹ Brokaw, Tom. *The Greatest Generation*. Random House, New York, 1997.

REVIEWS

The Great War Retold*Ralph Raico*

The Western Front: Battle Ground and Home Front in the First World War, by Hunt Tooley; New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2003).

These are boom times for histories of World War I. Like its sequel, though to a lesser degree, it seems to be the war that never ends. Works keep appearing on issues once considered settled, such as the “Belgian atrocities” and the reputation of commanders like Douglas Haig. Last year, Cambridge published a collection of 500-plus pages on one of the most exhaustively examined subjects in the whole history of historical writing, the origins of the First World War. As for general works, in the past few years at least six have appeared in English, by both academic and popular historians. *The Western Front: Battle Ground and Home Front in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2003) by Hunt Tooley, who teaches at Austin College in Texas, falls into the academic category, and for such a short volume (305 pages) it offers a very great deal indeed.

Tooley traces the roots of the world-historical catastrophe of 1914 – 1918 to the Franco-Prussian war, which, while achieving German unification in 1871, understandably fostered an enduring resentment in France, “a country that was accustomed to humiliating others during 400 years of warmaking and aggression” (p. 5). Bismarck sought to ensure the Second Reich’s security through defensive treaties with the remaining continental powers (the ones with Austria-Hungary and Italy constituted the Triple Alliance). But under the new (and last) Kaiser, Wilhelm II, the treaty with Russia was permitted to lapse, freeing Russia to ally with France. The over-ambitious Wilhelm’s extensive naval program was perceived by the British as a mortal threat; starting in 1904, they developed an *entente cordiale* (cordial understanding) with France, enlarged in 1907 to include Russia. Now the Germans had good reason to fear a massive *Einkreisung* (encirclement).

A series of diplomatic crises increased tensions, aggravated by the two Balkan wars of 1912 – 1913, from which a strong Serbia emerged, evidently aiming at the disintegration of the Habsburg monarchy. With Russia act-

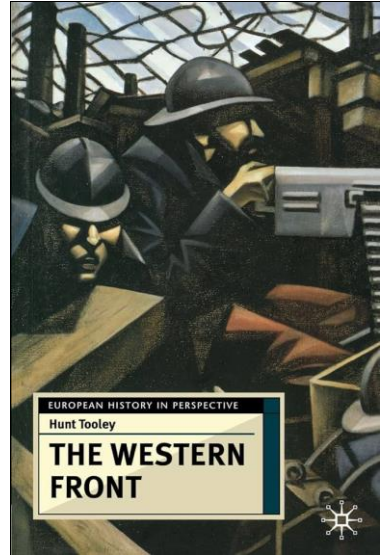
ing as Serbia's mentor and growing in power every year, military men in Vienna and Berlin reflected that if the great conflict was destined to come, then better sooner than later.

Tooley lays out this background clearly and faultlessly, but he points out that the period preceding the war was by no means one of unalloyed hostility among the European nations. Cooperation was also apparent, formally, through the Hague agreements of 1899 and 1907, encouraging arbitration of disputes and the amelioration of warfare, and, more important, through the vast informal network of international commerce, undergirded by what he calls the "unique advantage" (p. 8) of the international gold standard. It was a time of remarkable prosperity and rising living standards, which, one might add, provoked the revisionist crisis in Marxist thought. Offsetting these gains were the steady growth of state apparatuses and the rise of protectionism and neomercantilism, providing a pretext for colonial expansion. In turn, the quest for colonies and spheres of influence fueled the spirit of militant rivalry among the powers.

Tooley deals deftly with the intellectual and cultural currents of pre-war Europe. Contributing to the proneness to violence were a bastardized Nietzscheanism and the anarchosyndicalism of Georges Sorel, but most of all Social Darwinism – really, just Darwinism – which taught the eternal conflict among the races and tribes of the human as of other species. The press and popular fiction, especially "boys' fiction," glorified the derring-do of war, while avoiding any graphic, off-putting descriptions, much as the American media do today.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassination in Sarajevo by a Bosnian Serb set "the stone rolling down the hill," as the German chancellor bleakly put it. Mobilizations and ultimatums followed, and a few days later the giant conscript armies of the continental powers were in motion.

In democratic Britain, the commitment to France had been hidden from the public, from Parliament, and even from most of the cabinet. The German declaration of war on Russia and France placed the Asquith government in a grave quandary, but, as Tooley writes, "the first German footfall in Belgium salvaged the situation" (p. 39). Now Foreign Secretary Edward



Grey could deceitfully claim that England was joining its entente partners simply to defend Belgian neutrality.

The war was greeted as a cleansing, purifying moment, at least by the urban masses, whose enthusiasm easily outweighed the rural population's relative passivity. As Tooley states, untold millions were infused with a sense of "community"; finally, they had found a purpose in their lives, "even perhaps a kind of salvation" (p. 43). Thus, back in 1914 the same dismal motivation was at work that Chris Hedges documents for more recent conflicts, in his *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002).

Especially ecstatic were the intellectuals, who viewed the war as a triumph of "idealism" over the selfish individualism and crass materialism of "the trading and shopkeeping spirit" (p. 43). The poet Rupert Brooke (who was to die a year later) spoke for many of them on both sides when he wrote:

*"Now, God be thanked
Who has matched us with His hour,
And caught our youth,
and wakened us from sleeping..."*

Socialist parties, except in Russia and later Italy, added their eager support, as did even celebrated anarchists like Benjamin Tucker and Peter Kropotkin.

The German strategy in the event of war on two fronts, the famous Schlieffen Plan, foolishly assumed the infallibility of its execution and ignored the factors that doomed it: active Belgian resistance, the rapid Russian mobilization, and the landing of a British Expeditionary Force (those mercenaries who, as another poet, A. E. Housman, wrote, "saved the sum of things for pay"). Tooley highlights the sometimes critical role of individual character here and at other points. The vacillating German commander Helmut von Moltke botched the invasion, suffered a nervous breakdown and was demoted.

Though many battles have been billed as a turning point in history, the first battle of the Marne actually was. The German Army cracked its head against a wall of "French decadence," some twenty-five miles north of Paris. The Germans pulled back, and the ensuing consolidation of the battle lines formed the Western Front, which would not move more than a few dozen miles in either direction for the next three and a half years.

The author explains how advanced military technology – machine guns, flamethrowers, grenades, poison gas, above all, improved heavy artillery –

soon began taking a toll no one could have imagined. The interplay of military hardware and evolving tactics is set forth plainly and intelligibly, even for those who, like me, had little or no previous knowledge of how armies operate in battle.

In 1916 “the butcher’s bill,” as Robert Graves called it, came due, at Verdun and at the Somme. Ill-educated neoconservatives who in 2002 – 2003 derided France as a nation of cowards seem never to have heard of Verdun, where a half million French casualties were the price of keeping the Germans at bay. On the first day of the battle of the Somme, the brain-child of Field Marshal Haig, the British lost more men than on any other single day in the history of the Empire, more than in acquiring Canada and India combined. Tooley’s description of both murderous, months-long battles, as of all the major fighting on the front, is masterly.

The author states that his main theme is “the relationship between the battle front and the home fronts” (p. 1), and the dialectic between the two is sustained all through the book.

The dichotomy of a militarized Germany and a liberal West, Tooley shows, is seriously overdrawn. To be sure, the Germans pioneered and practiced “war socialism” most methodically (at the time that this book was written, in the Federal Republic, the man in charge, Walter Rathenau, was, predictably, honored as a great liberal). In Britain, France, and later the United States, proponents of centralization and planning gleefully exploited the occasion to extend state activism into every corner of the economy.

The quickly escalating costs of the war led to unprecedented taxation and a vast redistribution of wealth, basically from the middle classes to the recipients of government funds: contractors and workers in war industries, subsidized industrialists and farmers, and, most of all, financiers. The deluded patriots who purchased government war bonds were crippled by inflation, now “introduced [to] the twentieth century [...] as a way of life” (p. 113). Tooley cites Murray Rothbard on one of the hidden detriments of the war: it initiated the inflationary business cycle that ended in the Great Depression.

Freedom of expression was beaten down everywhere. Many readers will be familiar with the outlines of the story as regards the United States, but Tooley fills in revealing details of the national ignominy: for instance, the U. S. attorney general’s imprisonment of Americans for even discussing whether conscription was unconstitutional or for recalling that Wilson had won the 1916 election on the slogan, “He kept us out of war,” and groups of Boy Scouts stealing and destroying bundles of German-

American newspapers that the alert lads intuited were fomenting treason and insurrection. In some countries the suppression was worse. Australia, we learn, prohibited the teaching and use of the German language, incarcerated 4,500 citizens of German descent, and expropriated and deported those broadly defined as “enemy aliens.” The aggrandizement of state power in the combatant nations reached, Tooley notes, a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* in what was probably the war’s worst result: the establishment of a terrorist totalitarian regime by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

American entry had been virtually determined in the wake of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, when the terminally Anglophiliac Wilson administra-



French soldiers of the 87th Regiment, 6th Division, at Côte 304, (Hill 304), northwest of Verdun, 1916. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons

tion declared that the Germans would be held “strictly accountable” for the loss of any Americans’ lives through U-boat action, even when those Americans were traveling on armed British merchant ships that carried munitions of war. Wilson’s “neutrality” was, in Tooley’s term, seriously “lopsided” (p. 81), since the administration declined to challenge the British over their hunger-blockade – “ruthless, inexorable” (pp. 81 – 82), as well as illegal by the standards of international law – which was aimed at starving the whole German civilian population into submission. British propaganda was, as always, topnotch. Its high point was the mendacious Bryce report on the “Belgian atrocities.” Admittedly, the Germans had behaved brutally in Belgium (as the Russians had in the east), but it was the report’s “bizarre and clinical sadism” (p. 128) that set American blood boiling, at least the blue blood of the East Coast Anglo elite. After the desperate Germans announced unrestricted submarine warfare, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war, not just to call Germany to account for supposed violations of U. S. rights, but to “make the world safe for democracy.” How warmongering clergymen manipulated public opinion on behalf of Wilson’s open-ended crusade is detailed in another recent work, Richard Gamble’s excellent study, *The War for Righteousness: Progressive Christianity, the Great War, and the Rise of the Messianic Nation* (Wilmington, Del., ISI, 2003).

The Bolshevik *coup d’état* of November 1917 led to an armistice in the East, and the Germans launched their final, *va-banque* push on the western front. The Ludendorff offensive made some initial breakthroughs but petered out, as Erich Maria Remarque describes in the last pages of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, for lack of materiel and reserves. By the summer, the American expeditionary force under John G. Pershing amounted to 2 million men, many of them keen to make the whole world safe for democracy. Their Meuse-Argonne offensive, beginning in September 1918 helped to convince the Germans that the time had come for an armistice. At the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of November, the guns fell silent on the Western front.

At the Paris Conference of 1919, face to face with the seasoned and crafty politicians of the other victorious powers, Wilson, in Tooley’s apt phrase, resembled “the parson showing up a high-stakes poker game” (p. 252). It was a game at which the Princeton professor was pathetically inept. Fearing a Bolshevik revolution that might engulf central Europe, “the Allies imposed as punitive a treaty as they dared upon the Germans” (p. 252). A century earlier, after the Napoleonic wars, the aristocrats at the Congress of Vienna fashioned a viable *system* that avoided general war for

another hundred years. At Paris in 1919, the diplomats, now answerable to their democratic constituencies, set the stage for a virtually inevitable future conflict. Tooley very correctly places the word “peace,” as in the Versailles “peace” treaty, in ironic quotes.

On the overall consequences of the war, the author utilizes Robert Higgs’s conceptual framework in his seminal *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). In U.S. history it has been crises, most often wars, that result in a great expansion of state power. Once the crisis is over, the state and its budgets, deficits, functionaries, and regulations are cut back to more normal levels, but never to what they were before, and they go on from there. Ideology, the underlying political mentality of the people, is also permanently skewed in a state-receptive direction. As Tooley sums up:

“If the twentieth century became the century of managerial control, of the prioritizing of group goals and group efficiency over the autonomies of individuals, families, and regions, then we will find in World War I the accelerator of processes which were emerging before then.” (p. 267)

I have touched on some of the main features of Tooley’s Book. Amazingly for such a short work, it contains a great deal more. The only fault I can find is its somewhat misleading title. *The Western Front* is by no means merely an account of the war in the West. In my opinion, this is the best introduction we now have to the history of the Great War altogether.

Debating, Round 2: Maintaining Balance

Ezra MacVie

Debating the Holocaust 2nd edition by Thomas Dalton, Ph.D., Castle Hill Publishers, Uckfield, UK, 2015, 323 pp.

INCONVENIENT HISTORY carried a review (in Fall 2010) of the first edition of Thomas Dalton's *Debating the Holocaust*. The second edition has now been published, and the mask is down: Dr. Dalton admits – professes, in fact – that he is, indeed, a Holocaust revisionist, much as everyone, friend and foe alike, has long presumed.

So, his purportedly “balanced” weighing of the arguments for the Big Holocaust, so to call the version of the period that reigns undisturbed today in the public perception and the law, is in the dustbin and, to no one's surprise, in its place emerges... a balanced weighing of the arguments for the Big Holocaust, and against it. If the first edition's but-lightly feigned agnosticism is abandoned, how, then, one might ask, can its successor aspire to any such descriptor as “balanced?”

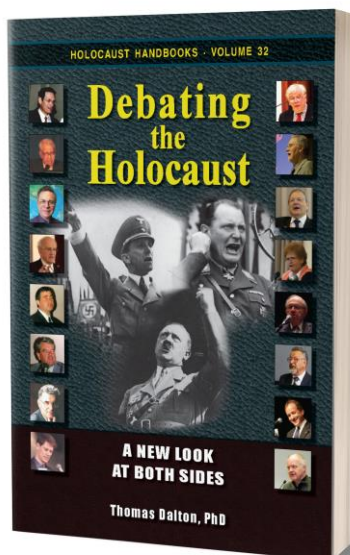
It's done in a way that is not only more-credible to those who concern themselves with the author's true outlook on things, but further lends considerably greater impact to the analysis so conducted. As in the first edition, the arguments and “evidence” that support the regnant version of the story are presented, fully and fairly, or at least as much so as are the countervailing elements. Then, carefully compared at all salient points, the revisionists' arguments are presented. But in this second edition, Dr. Dalton does not trouble himself to pretend that he may at any point have found the opposing arguments in any way comparable in his judgment. He grants upfront and beforehand that he in general has decided in favor of the revised version, and he carefully details exactly why in terms that should appeal to any devotee of the traditional perspective so long as said devotee has retained with his devotion, a commensurate devotion to logic and the quality of evidence.

The presentation remains, as before, if not “balanced” in terms of the temper of the narrative, at the very least fair and equitable in terms of the presentation of the evidence and of the conclusions following therefrom. And it is in the details (details, *details!*) of this evidence and these conclusions that Dalton's readers remain totally free to follow their own dictates of reason and due consideration of evidence. What Dr. Dalton does *not*

countenance, and this he does most tellingly, is acceding to the authoritarian, moralistic, even artful blandishments in which we all are daily immersed to the point of suffocation. In a manner doing credit to all the heroic heretics of history from Herodotus to Harry Elmer Barnes, Dalton propels the reader through the standard litanies, admitting them so to be, of the opposing sides. At the end, the author declares the winner to be: revisionism!

Debating is much more a forensic assembly and analysis of data than it is a sociological study. For example, anyone expecting to find an account of the origins of the Holocaust or National Socialist policies and practices regarding Jews or race generally will be disappointed. The scope of *Debating* is strictly *what* happened, when, where and how. Motivations are not contemplated, neither of the actors nor of the historians quibbling about the whole thing in latter times. Fortunately, despite this omission of preambles (about which in any case there would seem to be rather less debate), Dalton does carry the reader into the present day with some contemplation of the “uses” to which the Holocaust tradition has been put in the time since the events first studied. Since exploitation of the Holocaust mythology in fact animates the debate that forms the subject of the book, it is indeed fitting that this connection be clearly made and documented in substantial detail. The entire section in effect addresses the question occasionally heard, “Why concern ourselves today with what did or did not happen so long ago?”

The release of the second edition marks the incorporation of *Debating* into the growing Holocaust Handbooks series of Castle Hill Publishers as Number 32. This incorporation brings with it the signature forest-green cover, attractive layout, punctilious editing and typography and quality printing and binding, along with the mandatory availability in e-book format. My only quibble with the transition is that industry-standard chapter labelling on the recto pages has been dispensed with, as in all recent releases of Holocaust Handbooks. This defect annoyingly hampers use of the



Debating the Holocaust: A New Look at Both Sides, by Thomas Dalton. Available in its current edition from [Armreg Ltd.](http://Armreg.Ltd)

book for reference purposes, a purpose I should think central to the purposes of the series, and is at odds with the quality attributes elsewhere in such abundance.

Debating's supreme virtue since its first publication has been in the volume's broadly covering all major factors in such debate of the Holocaust as can be conducted in the shadow of censorship and criminalization. This being the case, the work's currency is of greater importance to its value than it would be, say, to a work of a more purely historical bent. It's gratifying to report that this edition is as up-to-the-minute as any fixed body of work could be; anything and everything that changed since the first edition is updated, and corrections to the earlier work made as appropriate. Dalton even revised his best estimate of the number of Holocaust fatalities implied by the sum of the latest revisionist studies, of which there have been many. Dalton's expressly *unmagical* number of aggregate deaths per revisionism rose from 516,000 to 570,000. At this rate, he'll be back to six million by the 5,990th edition. Don't hold your breath!

Objectivity is the understanding of a robot. Only a machine, somehow made capable of ingesting inputs of some kind, could objectively calculate a result of the inputs. We have computers that are doing just this even as I type, and likely as you read. But *my* writing – and *your* reading – these are not, and could never be, objective, nor mindless. At the same time, they could be, if we tried to make them so, open to a wide range of interpretations, conclusions, and other reactions still so cognizant as to keep the end conclusions related to those inputs – the data as it were. We – we humans at the beginnings and ends of these processes – can better reconcile our conclusions, our feelings, our worldviews, to the data that we perceive in those inputs, the better we steel our reflexes against what offends our previous conceptions and habitual loyalties.

In its most-valuable essence, *Debating* remains what its first edition was: an encompassing overview of the debate (so to misname a confrontation in which one side has – and uses – the prerogative of calling down the law against the other side) that fairly presents the best arguments of both sides and, admittedly with prompting, still allows each reader, if not to actually adopt final conclusions, at least enables – nay, encourages – each to embark on the long and in many cases soul-searching intellectual voyage that could ultimately avail the reader's final, exhausted washing-up on the distant shores of an informed and reasonably confident understanding.

On those far-sought shores, one might find Dr. Dalton him- (or her-)self. Or one might find Elie Wiesel or Raul Hilberg. But above all, first and foremost, one would find one's own self.

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)

neled 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



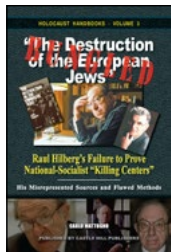
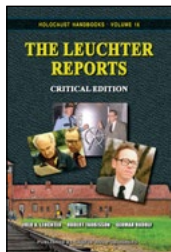
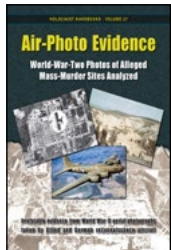
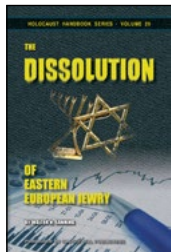
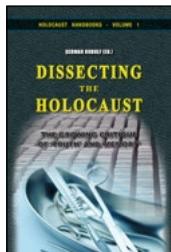
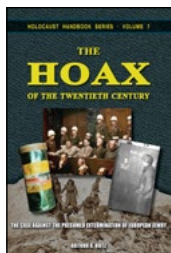
Pictured above are the first 52 volumes of scientific studies that comprise the series *Holocaust Handbooks*. More volumes and new editions are constantly in the works. Check www.HolocaustHandbooks.com for updates.

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 hagiography 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)

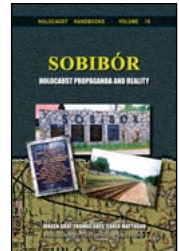
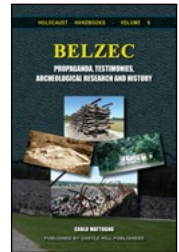
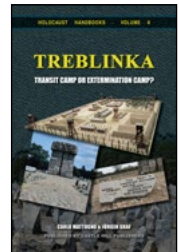
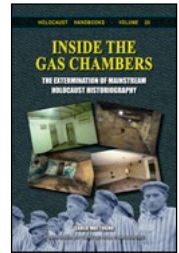
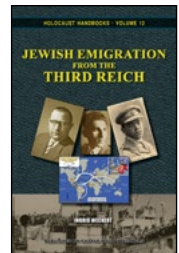
SECTION TWO: Specific non-Auschwitz Studies

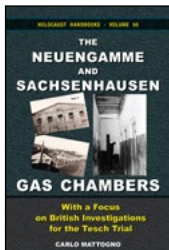
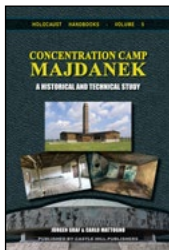
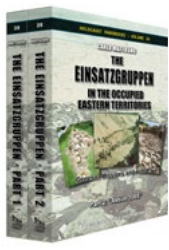
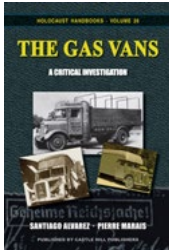
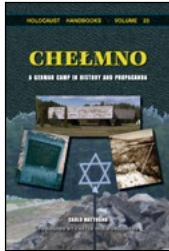
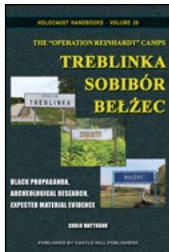
The Dachau Gas Chamber. By Carlo Mattogno. This study investigates whether the alleged homicidal gas chamber at the infamous Dachau Camp could have been operational. Could these gas chambers have fulfilled their alleged function to kill people as assumed by mainstream historians? Or does the evidence 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 archaeological 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

camps, 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 Post-war 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)

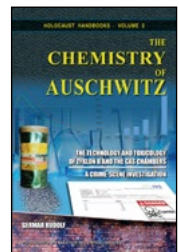
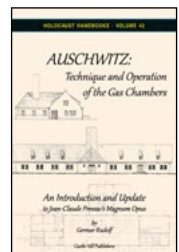
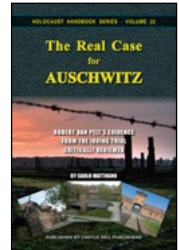
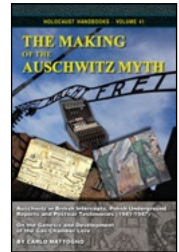
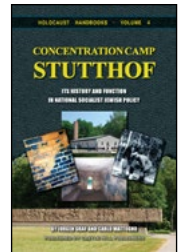
The Real Case of Auschwitz: Robert van Pelt's Evidence from the Irving Trial Critically Reviewed. By Carlo Mattogno. Prof. Robert van Pelt, a mainstream expert on Auschwitz, became famous when appearing as an expert during the London libel trial of David Irving against Deborah Lipstadt. From it resulted 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.

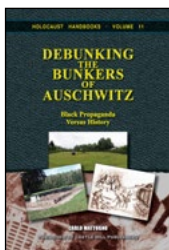
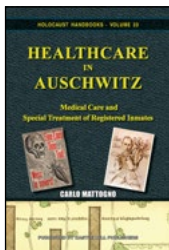
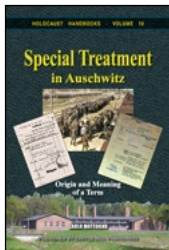
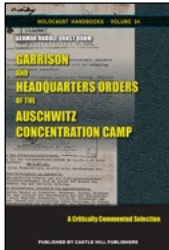
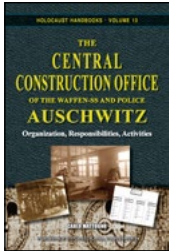
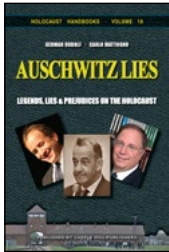
This is a book of prime political and scholarly importance to those looking for the truth about Auschwitz. 3rd ed., 692 pages, b&w illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. (#22)

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)

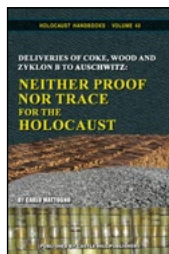
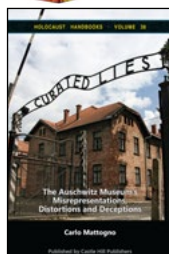
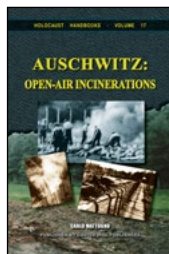
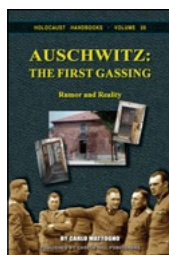
Auschwitz: Open-Air Incinerations. By Carlo Mattogno. In 1944, 400,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz and allegedly murdered in gas chambers. The camp crematoria were unable to cope with so many corpses. Therefore, every single day thousands of corpses are claimed to have been incinerated 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)

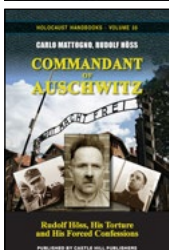
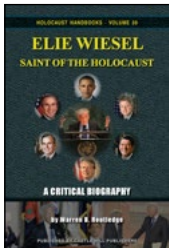
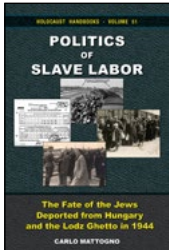
The Cremation Furnaces of Auschwitz. By Carlo Mattogno & Franco Deana. An exhaustive study of the early history and technology of cremation in general and of the cremation furnaces of Auschwitz in particular. On a vast base of technical literature, extant wartime documents and material traces, the authors 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 deceits 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)

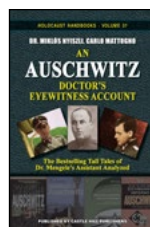
Rudolf Reder versus Kurt Gerstein: Two False Testimonies on the Belzec Camp Analyzed. By Carlo Mattogno. Only two witnesses have ever testified substantially about the alleged Belzec Extermination Camp: The survivor Rudolf Reder and the SS officer Kurt Gerstein. Gerstein's testimonies have been a hotspot 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)



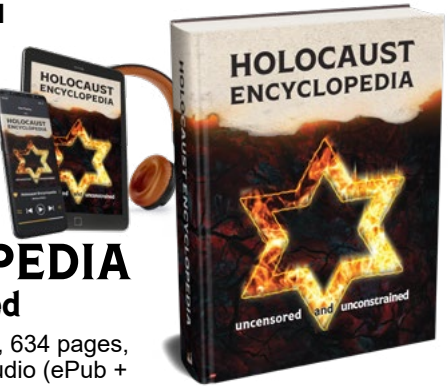
For current prices and availability, and to learn more, go to www.HolocaustHandbooks.com – for example by simply scanning the QR code on the right.



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**



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.

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.

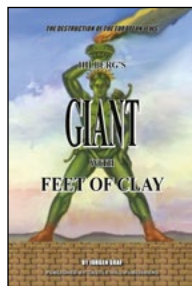
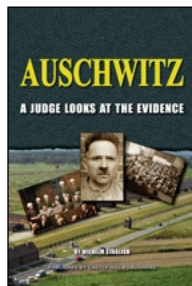
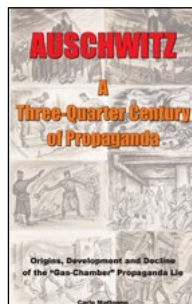
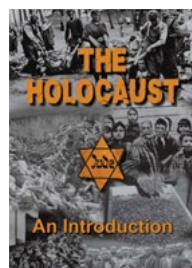
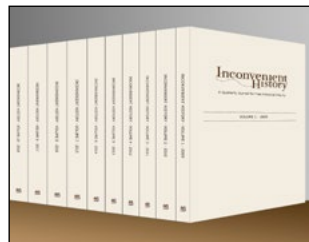
The Holocaust: An Introduction. By Thomas Dalton. The Holocaust was perhaps the greatest crime of the 20th Century. Six million Jews, we are told, died by gassing, shooting, and deprivation. But: Where did the six-million figure come from? How, exactly, did the gas chambers work? Why do we have so little 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"x9", 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"x9", 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.

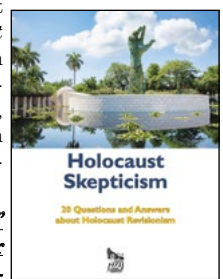
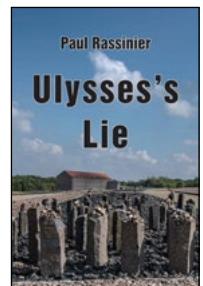
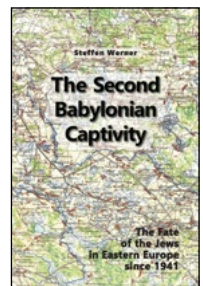
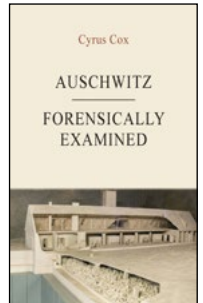
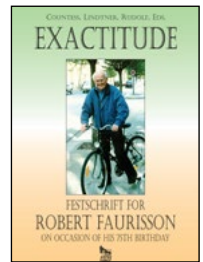
Ulysses's Lie. By Paul Rassiner. Holocaust revisionism began with this book: Frenchman Rassiner, a pacifist and socialist, was sent first to Buchenwald Camp in 1944, then to Dora-Mittelbau. Here he reports from his own experience how the prisoners turned each other's imprisonment into hell without being 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"x9" 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"x9", 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. 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"x11", 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.

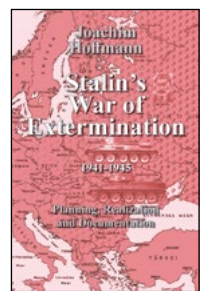
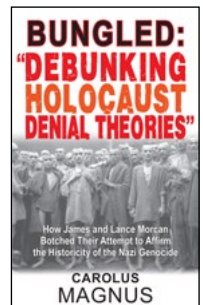
Bungled: “Denying History”. How M. Shermer and A. Grobman Botched Their Attempt to Refute Those Who Say the Holocaust Never Happened. By Carolus Magnus (C. Mattogno). *Skeptic Magazine* editor Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman from the Simon Wiesenthal Center wrote a book claiming to be “a thorough and 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"x9", 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"x9", bibl., color illustrations throughout.

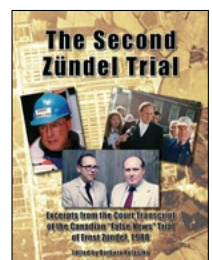
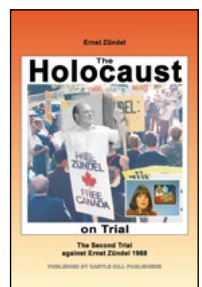
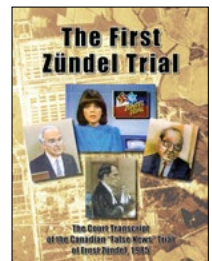
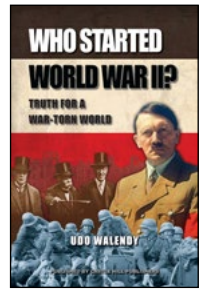
The First Zündel Trial: The Transcript. In the early 1980s, Ernst Zündel, a German living in Toronto, was indicted for allegedly spreading "false news" by selling copies of Harwood's brochure *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which challenged the accuracy of the orthodox Holocaust narrative. When

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"x11"

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"x9", 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"x11", 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 Germar Rudolf: Essays on a Modern-Day Witch Hunt. By Germar Rudolf. German-born revisionist activist, author and publisher Germar 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.

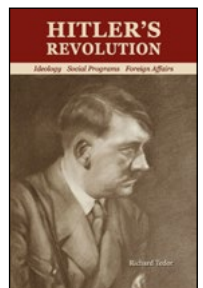
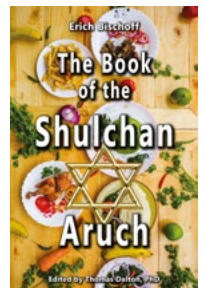
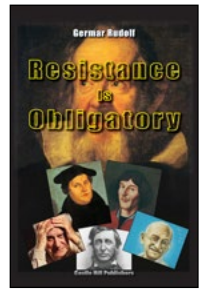
The Book of the Shulchan Aruch. By Erich Bischoff. Most people have heard of the Talmud-that compendium of Jewish laws. The Talmud, however, is vast and largely inscrutable. Fortunately, back in the mid-1500s, a Jewish rabbi created a condensed version of it: the Shulchan Aruch. A fair number of passages 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"x9", 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"x9", index, bibl.

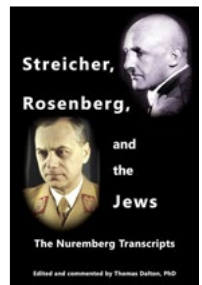
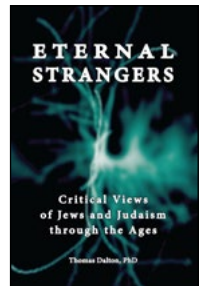
Eternal Strangers: Critical Views of Jews and Judaism through the Ages.

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"x9", 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"x9", index, bibl.



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