

# THE REVISIONISTS

## The claims of the revisionists

Everyone today knows that there is a group of people who radically question the prevalent image of the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. These people call themselves "Revisionists", or, more precisely, "Holocaust Revisionists". The media bespatters them with idiotic smear words like "Auschwitz Deniers", and lumps them together with "Right-wing Radicals".

If you were to ask the average German what the revisionists actually say, and what their statements are based on, he would be unable to answer. This is quite inevitable because of strict media control; the media have strict instructions not to permit any expression or discussion of revisionist arguments. Thus, many people are given the completely erroneous impression that the revisionists deny Jewish suffering during the Second World War. In reality, no one denies that a considerable number of Jews under German rule were interned in concentration camps, or that large numbers of deportees died of epidemics and exhaustion. Nor does anyone deny the reality of shootings of Jews, particularly, on the Eastern Front.

Revisionists dispute the following three points in particular:

- 1) That there was a plan for the physical liquidation of the Jews;
- 2) The existence of "extermination camps" with gas chambers for mass killing of human beings;
- 3) That five to six million Jews died in German occupied Europe.

It is also not true that revisionism is a "Right-wing radical" movement, since it is not an ideology. It is, as Prof. Robert Faurisson likes to say, a method. Revisionists examine the official picture of the "Holocaust" using the same methods which are generally recognized as valid for other historical periods.

Of course, it is also true that most revisionists are politically to the Right, and that some of them are acknowledged National Socialists, but this has no influence on the correctness or incorrectness of their arguments. Whether the discoverer of a new planet is conservative, liberal, socialist, or Communist, is irrelevant to the history of science. What counts is the discovery of a new planet!

Furthermore, some of the best-known revisionists, for example, the Frenchmen Serge Thion and Pierre Guillaume, are on the Left.

A former concentration camp inmate as revisionist pioneer:

### **Paul Rassinier**

The founder of revisionism also came from the left. Paul Rassinier, a French resistance fighter, a Socialist and detainee at Buchenwald and Dora-Mittelbau concentration camps. In his book *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (the Lies of Ulysses), which appeared in 1950, Rassinier denounced the endlessly exaggerated tales told by former inmates of German camps. Over the course of years of research, Rassinier finally came to the conclusion that gassings had either not taken place at all, or had taken place only as the act of a few lunatics. In *Le Drame des Juifs européens* (1964), Rassinier wrote a few years before his death (1):

"For 15 years, every time that I heard of a witness anywhere, no matter where in the portion of Europe that was not occupied by the Soviets, who claimed to have himself been present at gas exterminations, I immediately went to him to get his testimony. With documentation in hand, I would ask him so many precise and detailed questions that soon it became apparent that he could not answer except by lying. Often his lies became so transparent, even to himself, that he ended his testimony by declaring that he had not seen it himself, but that one of his good friends, who had died in the camps and whose good faith he could not doubt, had told him about it. I covered thousands and thousands of kilometers throughout Europe in this way."

Since nobody else wanted to print Rassinier's works, he finally had them published by a publishing house closely associated with the "Extreme Right" (Les Sept Couleurs). The hypocrites who reproach him for having them published there, would no doubt have preferred to see them never published at all.

### **Media vilification of the revisionists**

If we observe the campaign against the revisionists carried on by the media clique, we immediately note a series of remarkable features:

First, revisionist literature is flatly stated to have no credibility at all. Thus, a Swiss woman named Klara Obermueller wrote as follows in an anti-revisionist series (2):

"If somebody came along today and reported the calling of a scientific congress to examine the question of whether the sun revolves around the earth or the earth around the sun, he would either be ridiculed or declared non-compos mentis. It wouldn't occur to anyone to discuss the matter seriously... A similar thing occurs with the propagandists of the so-called 'Auschwitz Lie' or 'Holocaust Lie': their statements that there was no extermination of the Jews, is so obviously false that it is basically unworthy of serious scientific discussion."

According to the above, the revisionists are purely and simply crazy. So why persecute them? Why not just ignore them? Do people take you to court if you say the earth doesn't revolve around the sun?

Peculiarly, these same lunatics appear to be highly dangerous to the "Western democracies"; they even appear to threaten the very basis of that society in an extremely serious way. A hack journalist named Patrick Bahners, writing in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 15 August 1994 in connection with the sentencing of Günter Deckert, revisionist and Chairman of the NPD, by the German legal system, said:

"If Deckert's attitude on the Holocaust were correct, the Bundesrepublik would be based on a lie. Every Presidential speech, every minute of silence, every history book would be a lie. Therefore, anyone who denies the mass murder of the Jews disputes the legitimacy of the Bundesrepublik."

How can a handful of lunatics endanger the legitimacy of the Bundesrepublik? No, the journalists must finally recognize that there is something askew in this argument: either the revisionists are lunatics, in which case they aren't dangerous, and the journalists can spare the energy wasted on all their hysterical hate campaigns; or they are highly dangerous to the ruling system of the West, in which case they are not lunatics! You can't have it both ways; the media must decide one or the other.

State prosecutors and judges as watch dogs for the official version of history

The matter becomes even more suspicious when we learn that "denying" the Holocaust (a more correct term would be "disputing the genocide of the Jews") are liable for criminal prosecution in several European countries (3). The model for this impudent interference of the criminal justice system in the freedom of research is perhaps the French "Loi Gayssot", passed in France in 1990 (4), which provides for criminal penalties for anyone disputing any matter decided by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. The sentence of the Nuremberg victor's tribunal has therefore been declared infallible in France; it has been canonized, as it were. Even Stalin did nothing of the kind.

In the BRD, revisionists are prosecuted according to paragraph 130 of the Criminal Code ("Incitement to Racial Hatred") Paragraph 131 ("Slandering the Dead") and paragraph 189 ("Slandering the Dead"). The first paragraph was considerably broadened on 28 October 1994, and now calls for prison terms of up to five years for anyone who approves, denies, or trivializes any criminal act alleged to have been committed by the National Socialists. Since that date, there have been thousands of trials of revisionists in Germany just since 28 October 1994.

In Austria, the so-called "Prohibition Law" against National Socialist activities has served as the Hexenhammer in suppressing the freedom of research on the Holocaust since 1992.

In France, Holocaust revisionists are liable for imprisonment for one year; in the BRD, five years; and in Austria, ten years. In practice, however, the penalties are not that severe. Not yet!

Here are the sentences from some particularly spectacular revisionist trials in the BRD:

- in October 1992, Major General Remer, one of the most highly decorated soldiers of WWII, was sentenced to 22 months without probation in Schweinfurt for "Holocaust Denial", which, for the seriously ill old man, would have been equivalent to a death sentence (Aktenzeichen Remer 1 Kls 8 Js 7494/91). Rather than serve the sentence, Remer, accompanied by his wife, went into exile in Spain;
- in April 1995, Günter Deckert, Chairman of the NPD, was sentenced to two years without probation for translating a technical talk by US gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter (Aktenzeichen IV Kls 1/95 - 2AK 1/95). That Deckert laughed several times during the translation, and shortened the sacrosanct Holy Word "Holocaust" to "Holo" for short, was considered to have aggravated the offense (5);
- In June 1995, the chemist Germar Rudolf was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment without probation in Stuttgart (Aktenzeichen 17 Kls 83/94). This sentence was passed on the pretext that Major General Remer had sent Rudolf's report on the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz (see chapter XII) to politicians, professors, and the media (6);
- In May 1996, the publisher Wigbert Grabert was fined 30,000 DM for publishing a scientific revisionist anthology with the title *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Aktenzeichen AG Tübingen 4 Gs 173/95)
- in May 1996, the political scientist and publisher Udo Walendy was sentenced to 15 months without probation (Aktenzeichen 2 Kls 46 Js 374/95 STA Bielefeld) for "trivializing the Holocaust" (7).

In none of these terror trials did the court spend as much as one single second considering the arguments of the defendants. Every case assumed the "Offenkundigkeit" of the Holocaust, i.e., its alleged status as a "proven fact". This "Offenkundigkeit", believe it or not, dates back to 1945! According to article 21 of the London Statutes of August 1945, which established the procedural rules for the Nuremberg Trials, no proof was required of "facts of common knowledge". Just what constituted a "fact of common knowledge" was, of course, decided by the court itself - a court which, in the words of chief prosecutor Robert Jackson, considered its actions a "continuation of the war against Germany" (8). Thus, the status of the "Offenkundigkeit" of an assembly-line extermination of the Jews with millions of victims, was simply considered to be a "fact of common knowledge", for which, therefore, no proof other than "confessions" and "eyewitness testimonies" is available today.

All these trials violate the basic right to free expression of opinion as guaranteed under the Constitutions of all the states concerned. It is also illegal to deny a defendant any opportunity to prove the truth of his statements; instead, expert reports on the technical impossibilities of the reported mass extermination are always rejected with reference to the "Offenkundigkeit" of the Holocaust.

Generally, the very notion that jurists are competent to decide matters of historical fact is grotesque in itself. The following is an example:



In the book *Hat Karl der Grosse Je Gelebt?* [Was There Ever Really a Charlemagne?] (9), the Munich scholar Herbert Illig disputes the existence of Charlemagne, and declares the whole period from 614 to 911 A.D. to be a product of fantasy. This entire period of 297 years, together with Charlemagne and all the other historical figures of the same period, are alleged to have been invented by subsequent falsifiers of history for political reasons. The absence of any structures built during the three so-called "centuries of the Dark Ages" is the logical result of the non-existence of this period of history: an analysis of architectural monuments is said to show that the few structures alleged to have been built during this period, were, in reality, built later.

Due to an insufficient familiarity with the history of the early Middle Ages on our part, we shall refrain from expressing an opinion as to the value of Illig's book. If his arguments should prove to be sheer fantasy, they will be ignored. If they should prove correct, the author will be sooner or later have to be recognized as a genius. There is another, third possibility, i.e., that Charlemagne actually lived, but never performed many of the heroic deeds attributed to him. In this case, Illig's work would still have a seminal influence upon the writing of history by pointing out its shortcomings -- particularly, an overly blind trust in the reliability of the sources employed.

One thing is for certain: Illig will never be hauled into court because of his book. No judge will ever jail him for "Denying the Genocide of the Pagans", although, by disputing Charlemagne's existence, he is, in effect, denying the mass murder of Saxon pagans attributed to him.

In short, Charlemagne, or any other historical subject for that matter, may be researched with complete freedom and the broadest possible latitude. The same statement is true of every other period of history -- except the Second World War, and, in particular, the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. This fact alone ought to make every thinking person deeply suspicious: "truths" that require protection by criminal law usually turn out to be lies.

The bankruptcy of the official version of history

**"Historians have only interpreted the Holocaust. The thing is to research it."**

Ulrich Herbert, German historian, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 13 February 1997, p. 7.

The Lausanne daily *Nouveau Quotidien* on 2 and 3 September 1996, published two articles by the historian Jacques Baynac (an anti-revisionist). The first bore the promising title "How the Historians Turned the Job of Silencing the Revisionists Over to the Courts". That means: the governmental persecution of revisionists described above is the logical consequence of the inability of orthodox historians to come up with any counter-argument with which to answer the revisionists. While revisionists RESEARCH the Holocaust, historians are simply content to INTERPRET it. The facts are irrelevant.

An excellent example of this may be seen in Gunnar Heinsohn's book *Warum Auschwitz?* [Why Auschwitz?] (10). At the very beginning of the book, Heinsohn mentions an alleged Himmler order issued on 25 November 1944 on the disassembly

of the gas chambers at Auschwitz. This Himmler order has haunted Holocaust literature for decades. No source for it is ever given, since no such order has ever been found. We don't know which historian invented this lie, since the Holocaust scribblers simply copy all their nonsense back and forth.

With mock seriousness, Heinsohn lists "Two Hundred Forty Recognized Theories on Auschwitz", and comments upon them at the end of the book ("Theory no. 20: Auschwitz as the Punishment of the Jews for Worshipping Female Deities". Theory no. 33: "Auschwitz as Preparation for the Restoration of Israel So That All Surviving Jews May Gather Together and Fulfill the Conditions for the Coming of the End Days Through the Christian God", etc., etc). He finally comes to the conclusion that Hitler wished to exterminate the Jews because he hoped that, "with the disappearance of the Jews of flesh and blood, the law of the sanctity of life, as well as the Commandments of love and righteousness, would be lost. He wished to create the right to kill, in order to create strategic advantages for the Germans in the conquering of living space" (cover blurb).

In the Middle Ages, scholars engaged in complex disputes as to how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. The existence of angels was never cast in doubt, and never proven; it was simply assumed as an axiom. Holocaust writers act in the same way. The existence of an "assembly line mass extermination" is assumed as an axiom, without any regard to the need for proof. They then proceed to speculate in a vacuum, far removed from historical realities, on the psychological and sociological factors which led to the assembly-line killing of Jews in the third Reich", etc., etc., just as medieval scholars speculated upon the sex of the number of angels dancing on the pinhead.

Revisionists ask very different questions, such as: What do the documents show about Auschwitz? How reliable are the eyewitnesses? What was the capacity of the crematoria? How quickly does Zyklon B evaporate, and at which temperatures? Did the "gas chambers" possess an efficient ventilation system? How did the Zyklon B enter the "gas chambers"? Are there any traces of cyanides in the mortar samples from the "gas chambers"?

In other words, on the one hand, are reason and logic; on the other, stands primitive superstition. There is no possible compromise between the two opposing parties. That is why the historians, to borrow a phrase from Baynac, have turned the job of silencing the revisionists over to the courts.

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## Notes:

1) Paul Rassinier, *Le Drame des juifs européens*, Les Sept Couleurs, 1964, reprinted by La Vieille Taupe, Paris, p. 79.

2) *Weltwoche* series, "Auschwitz und die 'Auschwitz-Lüge'", 9, 16, and 23 December 1993, 3 articles.

- 3) So far (early 1997) Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain have passed anti-revisionist muzzle laws in addition to France, Germany, and Austria. In Belgium and Spain, however, there appears to be little danger of their being used -- for the moment.
- 4) The "Loi Gayssot", see Éric Delcroix, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme*, RHR, Colombes Cedex/F. 1994.
- 5) See, in this regard, Günther Anntohn/Henri Roques, *Der Fall Günter Deckert*, DADC, Germania Verlag, Weinheim 1995.
- 6) See, in this regard no. Herbert Verbeke (publisher) *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Berchem 1996.
- 7) Compare, in this regard, issue no. 69 of *Historische Tatsachen*.
- 8) Prosecutor Jackson's speech before the Tribunal, 26 July 1946.
- 9) Heribert Illig, *Hat Karl der Grosse je gelebt?*, Mantis Verlag, Graefeling, 1995.
- 10) Gunnar Heinsohn, *Warum Auschwitz?*, Rowohl, Hamburg, 1995.

# CHAPTER IV

## WHAT IF THE REVISIONISTS ARE RIGHT?

Let's just assume that the official "truth" on the Holocaust is a lie, and that the revisionists are right. The result would be a recognition that there was indeed a PERSECUTION OF JEWS under the Third Reich, but no deliberate EXTERMINATION OF JEWS; that the gas chambers and gas vans were an invention of atrocity propaganda, just like the children with their hands chopped off during the First World War; that not five to six million, but less than one million Jews died in the areas under German control; that of these Jewish victims, only a small percentage were killed, while the rest died chiefly of epidemics and deprivation in the camps and ghettos. What would be the result of this revelation? They are easy to imagine:

- A worldwide wave of anti-Jewish feeling;
- A wave of nationalism in Germany: politicians, intellectuals, historians and journalists would be held up to contempt by their own people;
- The renewed possibility of an objective, factual discussion of National Socialism. We might, as a result, even be able to borrow some of their constructive measures in dealing with the problems of unemployment, the declining birth rate, and wide-spread drug addiction;
- Nationalism, in the sense of a true representation of national interests and a defence of the national identity, would regain its legitimacy. The Germans could again say, without shame, "Germany for the Germans!" The French could again say, without shame, "France for the French!" The psychological and political factors which have enabled mass invasion from the Third World, would disappear;
- The rulers and manipulators of public opinion would be discredited, not only in Germany, but throughout the West. People would ask themselves why this whole charade had to be propped up with censorship and brute force for so many decades, and in whose interests. Trust in the ruling cliques would be seriously shaken -- at a time of serious social and economic crisis to which the "democracies" have no answer.

We see that a general realization that Holocaust is a lie would have devastating implications, not only for international Jewry and the state of Israel, but for the political and intellectual ruling cliques of the entire Western world -- particularly in Germany! The result would be a re-evaluation of all values, to borrow a term from Friedrich Nietzsche. Everything would be different. Everything would have to re-examined.

## WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

### **Prior to 1941: The Reich's Government demands Jewish emigration**

The Jewish policies of the NSDAP, from the very outset, aimed at continually reducing Jewish influence in Germany and at encouraging as many German Jews to emigrate as possible. This initial objective was pursued from 1933 onwards by means of numerous laws and decrees which limited the number of Jews among lawyers, doctors, etc. by means of quotas, and which restricted the economic and political rights of the Jews. This continued, until at least 1938, practically without violence; until the Night of Broken Glass (1), not one Jew was ever sent to a camp just for being a Jew. If Jews were sent to camps, it was for militant anti-governmental political activity or for common crime (2).

To encourage Jewish emigration, the National Socialists worked closely with Zionist organizations, which were interested in encouraging the emigration to Palestine of as many Jews as possible. This National Socialist-Zionist cooperation has been fully documented by several authors (3), and to our knowledge is not disputed by anyone.

Since the British mandate over Palestine effectively prevented Jewish immigration of Jews to that country, Jewish emigration took place very slowly; the majority of German Jews preferred other immigration countries, particularly the USA. But the USA also placed obstacles in the path of Jewish immigration (4).

By 1941, however, the great majority of German and Austrian Jews had gone into exile.

After 1941: Mass deportation to camps and ghettos

In 1941, Jewish emigration was officially prohibited. This prohibition was not, however, consistently implemented in practice. The deportation of Jews to work camps and ghettos began in 1941. This occurred for two reasons in particular: first, the Germans needed their labour, since a majority of German men were at the front. Secondly, the Jews indisputably represented a security risk. The Jew Arno Lustiger, a former resistance fighter and survivor of several camps, has proudly boasted that Jews represented 15% of all active resistance, yet the percentage of Jews in the French population at that time was no more than 1%. The Communist "Red Orchestra" espionage organization, which did cause Germany enormous harm, was made up mostly of Jews (6).

Other states have interned suspicious minorities with far less justification: thus, in the USA, all persons of Japanese ancestry, even those with American passports, were interned in camps (7). This was done even though there was never a single case of espionage or subversion by Japanese-Americans, as admitted by Ronald Reagan decades later.

The Jews in individual German-ruled countries suffered from the deportation to a widely varying extent. Disproportionately hard-hit were the Dutch Jews, of whom more than two thirds were deported. On the other hand, according to Serge Klarsfeld, only 75,721 Jews were deported from France. This corresponds to approximately one

fifth of the total Jewish population at that time (8); of these, a great many were deported, not on the grounds of their religion or race, but for being resistance fighters or criminals. This often led to deportation for non-Jews as well.

### The death rate in the camps and its causes

The death rate in the camps was extremely high most of the time. A majority of these fatalities were due to disease. The most dangerous of these was epidemic typhus, a disease carried by lice. The insecticide Zyklon B, together with other products, was used to combat lice.

In Auschwitz, the largest concentration camp -- the term "extermination camp" is not the correct expression -- epidemic typhus was especially dangerous in late summer and autumn. The epidemic reached its climax between 7-11 September 1942, with an average of 375 inmate deaths a day. By the first half of January 1943, the Germans succeeded in reducing the death rate to 107 a day; but by mid-May, it rose again to 298 fatalities a day (9).

In the Western camps, the worst period was during the final phase of the war, when mass deaths from epidemic disease claimed tens of thousands of victims. At the same time, the German infrastructure totally collapsed as a result of Allied terror bombing, leading to shortages in the camps of medications, food, housing, and everything else. In his memoirs, Chuck Yeager, the first pilot to break the sound barrier, describes how his squadron had orders to shoot at everything that moved (10):

"Germany could not so easily be divided into innocent civilians and guilty soldiers. After all, the farmer on his potato patch was feeding German soldiers."

This means that the resulting starvation was deliberately created by the Allies through their cruel and illegal mass terror bombings; these same Allies then hypocritically set themselves up as judges over the defeated enemy for failing to supply enough food to concentration camp inmates!

Particularly horrible conditions, including thousands of unburied bodies and living skeletons, were found in April 1945 by the British at Bergen-Belsen. These photographs are kept constantly before the public eye in ceaseless propaganda campaigns to this very day. What are the facts?

Belsen Camp commander Josef Kramer repeatedly and vehemently protested to his superiors that new inmates were constantly being sent to the hopelessly overcrowded camp of Belsen; his protests went unheard. Instead of simply abandoning the inmates in the Eastern camps to the Soviets, the National Socialists evacuated them to the West and allocated them among the Western camps to prevent their manpower from falling into the hands of the Soviets. Since the railways had been almost entirely destroyed, the evacuation process often lasted weeks; many inmates died en route from the bitter cold winter weather. In the camps which were compelled to receive the remainder, conditions worsened by the day.

Kramer's protests went unheard. In Belsen, typhus and dysentery spread everywhere, and food shortages became acute.

What should Kramer have done? Release the inmates to spread epidemics among the civilian population? Who would have fed them then if he had? Should he have released dangerous criminals -- who were imprisoned together with other inmates interned for political and racial reasons -- to prey upon the population? Kramer decided to wait it out. He could have attempted to escape to South America with money stolen from the prisoners, but he trusted to British "fair play". He was to pay dearly for his naiveté. Branded as "The Beast of Belsen" in the Allied press, he was executed after a legal farce (11).

Disproportionately great numbers of victims died in the last months of the war in the other camps as well. At Dachau, a total of 15,389 people died between January and April 1945, i.e., more deaths in 3 months than in 5 years of war -- 12,060 inmate deaths from 1940 to 1944. Another 2,000 died even after the liberation of Dachau by the Americans (12).

Since the Holocaust, i.e., the planned extermination of the Jews, is supposed to have stopped in the autumn of 1944 (13), the mass deaths in the camps in 1945 prove nothing with regards to any "mass extermination". The mass deaths depicted in photographs were the tragic, but inevitable, result of the German collapse, and had nothing to do with any planned genocide -- quite in contrast to the Allied bombing war against the German (and Japanese) civilian population. The destruction of one small city like Pforzheim alone, shortly before the end of the war, caused 17,000 deaths (14). More people died in Pforzheim in one February evening in 1945 -- most of them burnt alive -- than in Dachau in 9 years, from late 1933 to late 1944.

Of course, Jews died outside the concentration camps as well. According to one Jewish source, a total of 43,411 people died in the ghetto of Lodz between the autumn of 1939 and the autumn of 1944. There were 26,950 recorded fatalities in the Warsaw ghetto even before the outbreak of the uprising (spring 1943) (15). Some of these people, of course, would have died of natural causes (for example, old age) in any case. Other Jews died in combat or during the evacuation.

### Mass shootings on the Eastern front

Finally, it would never occur to any revisionist to dispute that many Jews were shot on the Eastern front. But what exactly is meant by the word "many"? 20,000? 50,000? 100,000? We do not know, due to the absence of reliable source material. (The Einsatzgruppen reports, which are supposed to prove that millions of murders were committed on the Eastern front, will be discussed below.) These shootings were the inevitable reaction to the murderous, illegal partisan war unleashed by the Soviets behind the German lines. The Germans reacted exactly like the French in Algeria, the Americans in Viet Nam, and the Soviets in Afghanistan: with ruthless brutality, causing many deaths among the civilian population. Of course, partisans were executed (which is permitted by international law); of course, there were also frequent shootings of hostages, involving many more Jews than non-Jews. Many other Jews were killed as "suspected Bolsheviks", even if they were neither partisans nor hostages -- exactly as the Americans, decades later, bombarded "Viet-Cong suspected

zones" with napalm, slaughtering innumerable harmless civilians with bestial cruelty in the process.

In the USSR as elsewhere, the Jewish percentage of armed partisans far exceeded their percentage share of the population; this fact is stressed with pride in Jewish literature (16). The reason why Jews in the German occupied areas of the Soviet Union suffered so many deaths was partisan warfare, not racial murder.

To sum up: Jews did indeed suffer severely during the Second World War and did indeed endure heavy losses. But people suffer and die in every war. The 250,000 people burnt alive or crushed under the rubble of Dresden in a single night suffered too; so did the hundreds of thousands of starving Russians in Stalingrad, or the 180,000 Poles who died in the crushing of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto. Concentration camp inmates were not the only people who suffered; German and Russian soldiers at the front suffered, too.

Is Jewish suffering during WWII "unique"? Are the percentage losses of the Jews far higher than those of the other peoples especially hard hit by the war? In order to answer these questions, we must now turn to the proof for the alleged "Holocaust".

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### Notes:

- 1) On the Night of Broken Glass, see, as standard work of the orthodox historiography, H. Graml's *Der 9 November 1938. 'Reichskristallnacht'*, Bonn, 1958, and as the revisionist depiction, see Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen* (Grabert, 1981).
- 2) That no Jew was deported to a concentration camp during the early years of the NS regime, is confirmed by an unimpeachable source, namely the Jewish professor Arno Mayer (*Der Krieg as Kreuzzug*, Rowohlt, 1989, p. 200).
- 3) The two standard works on the National Socialist-Zionist cooperation are Edwin Black's *The Transfer Agreement* (New York/London, 1994), as well as Francis Nicosia's *Hitler und der Zionismus* (Druffel, Leoni, 1989). A short summary of the important factors is given by Ingrid Weckert in *Auswanderung der Juden aus dem Dritten Reich* (Nordwind Verlag, Molevej 12, Kollund/DK). Heinz Hoehne also discusses the topic in his standard work on the SS (*Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf*, Gondrom, 1990).
- 4) In this regard, compare Ingrid Weckert, *Auswanderung...* (see note 3).
- 5) *Spiegel*, no. 7/1993.
- 6) On the "Red Orchestra", see for example, Gerd Sudholt, *Das Geheimnis der Roten Kapelle*, Druffel, Leoni, 1979.
- 7) *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 41.



- 8) Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, Brussels/New York, 1982.
- 9) On the mortality figures in Auschwitz, see Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1994, p. 193.
- 10) Chuck Yeager, *Yeager: An Autobiography*, Bantam Books, New York, 1985, p. 79.
- 11) On Bergen-Belsen and Josef Kramer, see *Journal of Historical Review*, Post Office Box 2739, New Port Beach, CA, USA, spring 1995, as well as Robert Lenski, *Der Holocaust vor Gericht*, Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton Street, Toronto, Canada, 1993, p. 197, ff.
- 12) On the Dachau mortality statistics, see Paul Berben, *Dachau, the Official History*, The Norfolk Press, London, 1975.
- 13) According to the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (p. 118), the gassings at Auschwitz were stopped in October 1944.
- 14) Erich Kern, *Verbrechen am deutschen Volk*, K.W. Schuetz, 1983, p. 150/151.
- 15) *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 36.
- 16) Compare the description in the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1584 ff.

# CHAPTER V

## OH, WHAT A TANGLED WEB WE WEAVE...

If we make a careful examination of the statements and numbers offered by the orthodox historians over the decades, it becomes obvious that there is hopeless confusion, and that the official version of the Holocaust has been constantly evolving. This is reminiscent of the manner in which the facts are constantly rewritten by Party officials in George Orwell's novel of the century *1984*. The following are a few remarkable examples:

The number of Auschwitz victims

**Let us begin with the Auschwitz death statistics (1). The following are the deaths in the largest of the concentration camps:**

- **9 million people**, according to the film *Nuit et Brouillard* (2);
- **8 million people**, according to the report of the French Office for the Investigation of War Crimes (3);
- **7 million people**, according to Jewish former inmate Raphael Feigelson (4);
- **6 million people**, according to Jewish publisher Tibere Kremer (5);
- **5 million people**, including 4.5 Jews, according to *Le Monde* of 20 April 1978;
- **4 million people**, according to the Nuremberg Tribunal (6);
- **3.5 million gassing victims**, of whom 95% were Jews, and "many" who died of other causes, according to the Jewish film director Claude Lanzmann (7);
- **3 million people**, including 2.5 gassing victims, by 1 December 1943 alone, according to the confession of the first Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss (8);
- **2.5 million people**, according to the Jewish ex-inmate Rudolf Vrba (9);
- **2 to 3 million murdered Jews** as well as thousands of non-Jews according to the confession of SS Man Pery Broad (10);
- **1.5 to 3.5 million gassed Jews** just between April 1942 and April 1944, according to the Israeli "Holocaust expert" Yehuda Bauer in 1982 (11);
- **2 million gassed Jews** according to Lucy Dawidowicz (12);

- **1.6 million people**, including 1,352,980 Jews, according to Yehuda Bauer in 1989 (13);
- **1.5 million people**, according to the Polish government in 1995 (14);
- **Approximately 1.25 million people**, including 1 million Jews, according to Raul Hilberg (15);
- **1 to 1.5 million people**, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1989 (16);
- **800,000 to 900,000 people**, according to the Jewish historian Gerald Reitlinger (17);
- **775,000 to 800,000 people**, including 630,000 gassed Jews, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1993 (18);
- **630,000 to 710,000 people**, including 470,000 to 550,000 Jews, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1994 (19).

It will be noted that the number of victims is constantly being revised downwards. But the total number of 5 to 6 million Holocaust victims never changes! You can subtract hundreds of thousands, even millions, from the 5 to 6 million, and the final total is always the same! That's Holocaust mathematics!

To which document, to what discovery of mass graves do the exterminationists refer in their wildly divergent numbers of victims? None! All the figures given above are pure fantasy, without any reference to documented realities at Auschwitz. Revisionist estimates run to approximately 150,000 victims (according to Robert Faurisson) or 160,000 to 170,000 victims (according to Carlo Mattogno) -- without any gassings. This still amounts to 40% of all inmates registered at Auschwitz. Epidemic diseases, chiefly typhus, were the main cause of the terribly high death toll at Auschwitz.

### Soap of Jewish fat

In the Nuremberg Trial, it was claimed by the Soviets that the Germans had manufactured fat out of murder victims (20). This childish horror story has haunted the world press for decades, like the Loch Ness monster. It has been decked out with poetic mastery by Simon Wiesenthal (21).

"During the last weeks of March (1946), the Romanian press reported an unusual piece of news: in the small Romanian city of Folticini, 20 boxes of soap were buried in the Jewish cemetery with full ceremony and complete funeral rites. This soap had been found recently in a former German army depot. On the boxes were the initials RIF 'pure Jewish fat'. These boxes were destined for the Waffen SS. The wrapping paper revealed with completely cynical objectivity that this soap was manufactured from Jewish bodies. Surprisingly, the thorough Germans forgot to describe whether the soap was produced from children, girls, men or elderly persons... After 1942, people in the General Gouvernement knew quite well what the RIF meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Gouvernement thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they say a

Jew who had been magically put there, and had they been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich, or Einstein... The burial of this soap in a Romanian village may be reminiscent of the supernatural. The bewitched suffering contained in this small object of everyday utility shatters the already-hardened human heart of the 20th century. In the Atomic Age, the return of the darkest witch's cauldron of the Middle Ages may appear ghostly. And yet it is the truth!"

In 1990, an Israeli Holocaust expert by the name of Shmul Krakowski admitted that the Jewish fat story was a legend. He then added, with limitlesschutzpa, that the Germans were responsible for inventing this fairy tale just to torment the Jews (22). The principle, of course, is: "the Germans are always guilty".

### A Potpourri of Nazi extermination methods

If we trace the evolution of the Holocaust yarn over the years since 1942, we stumble across one surprise after the other. In particular, innumerable methods of mass killing of which there is not the slightest mention in the later literature, are described in the most graphic detail, particularly:

#### **a) Pneumatic hammers**

This method is described as follows in a report of the Polish resistance movement on Auschwitz (23):

"When the Kommandos went to work, they led them into the courtyard in the penal company where the executions took place by means of a 'pneumatic hammer'. They bound the prisoners' hands together behind their backs and brought them in, one after the other, naked, into the courtyard. They placed them in front of the barrel of an air gun, which was discharged without a sound. The hammer crushed the skull, and the compressed air destroyed the entire brain."

#### **b) Electric baths**

As reported by the Polish resistance movement, the following method was also commonly used in Auschwitz (24):

"According to the report of an SS officer, the number of victims in the electrical chambers amounted, unofficially, to 2,500 per night. The executions took place in electrical baths..."

#### **c) Electrical assembly line killing**

Another variant was described by *Pravda* on 2 February, five days after the liberation of Auschwitz:

"They (the Germans) opened up the so-called 'old graves' in the eastern part of the camp, removed the bodies, and wiped out the trace of the assembly line

killing installation where hundreds of people were killed simultaneously with electrical current."

#### **d) Atomic bombs**

At the Nuremberg Trial, US prosecutor Robert Jackson made the following accusation (25):

"A village, a small village was provisionally erected, with temporary structures, and in it approximately 20,000 Jews were put. By means of this newly invented weapon of destruction, these 20,000 people were eradicated almost instantaneously, and in such a way that there was no trace left of them; the explosive used developing temperatures of from four to five hundred degrees Centigrade."

#### **e) Burning alive**

Elie Wiesel, honored with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, was interned at Auschwitz from the spring of 1944 until January 1945. In his memoirs of the camp, *La Nuit*, published in 1958, he never mentions the gas chambers -- not once, not with one single word -- even though 400,000 Hungarian Jews, among others, are said to have been gassed during his period of internment. (In the German translation, which appeared under the title of *Die Nacht zu begraben, Elischa*, the gas chambers nevertheless make a miraculous appearance, for the simple reason that, whenever the word "crématoire" appears in the original, the translator has mistranslated it as "Gaskammer"). According to Wiesel, the Jews were exterminated in the following manner (26):

"Not far from us blazed flames from a pit, gigantic flames. They were burning something. A lorry drove up to the pit and dumped its load into the pit. They were small children. Babies! Yes, I had seen it, with my own eyes...Children in the flames (is it any wonder, that sleep shuns my eyes since that time?). We went there, too. Somewhat further along, was another, bigger pit, for adults. 'Father', I said, 'if that is so, I wish to wait no longer. I shall throw myself against the electrified barbed wire fence. That is better than lying around in the flames for hours'."

How little Elie survived lying around in the flames for hours, by some miracle, will be revealed below.

#### **f) Steam chambers**

In December 1945, at the Nuremberg Trial the following accusation was made regarding the mass killings at Treblinka (27):

"All victims had to strip off their clothes and shoes, which were collected afterwards, whereupon all victims, women and children first, were driven into the death chambers... After being filled to capacity, the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in. In a few minutes all was over... From

reports received may be assumed that several hundred thousands of Jews have been exterminated in Treblinka."

#### **g) Suffocation by pumping all the air out of the death chambers**

This method was described by the Soviet-Jewish writer Vassily Grossman at Treblinka (28).

#### **h) Quicklime trains**

At Belzec the Jews were killed according to eyewitness Jan Karski as follows (29):

"The floors of the car had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat. Here the lime served a double purpose in the Nazi economy of brutality. The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. Thus, the Jews would "die in agony"", fulfilling the promise Himmler had issued "in accord with the will of the Fuehrer", in Warsaw, in 1942. Secondly, the lime would prevent decomposing bodies from spreading disease. It was efficient and inexpensive - a perfectly chosen agent for their purposes.

It took three hours to fill up the entire train by repetitions of this procedure. It was twilight when the forty six (I counted them) cars were packed. From one end to the other, the train, with its quivering cargo of flesh, seemed to throb, vibrate, rock, and jump as if bewitched. There would be a strangely uniform momentary lull and then, again, the train would begin to moan and sob, wail, and howl. Inside the camp a few score dead bodies remained and a few in the final throes of death. German policemen walked around at leisure with smoking guns, pumping bullets into anything that by single motion betrayed an excess of vitality. Soon, not a single one was left alive. In the now quiet camp the only sounds were the inhuman screams that were echoes from the moving train. Then these, too, ceased. All that was now left was the stench of excrement and rotting straw and a queer, sickening, acidulous odour which, I thought, may have come from the quantities of blood that had been let, and with which the ground was stained. As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutes described the entire journey. The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty, barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock-still, patiently waiting until death had penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days."

This Jan Karski was, by the way, appointed to chair a committee for "Scientific Research on the Holocaust" along with Elie Wiesel.

i) Chambers with submergible, electrified flooring. Stefan Szende, a Doctor of Philosophy, describes the extermination of the Jews at Belzec quite differently (30):

"The death factory comprises an area approximately 7 km in diameter... The trains filled with Jews entered a tunnel into the underground rooms of the execution factory... The naked Jews were brought into gigantic halls. Several thousand people at one time could fit into these halls. The halls had no floor. The floor was of metal and was submergible. The floors of these halls, with their thousands of Jews, sank into a basin of water which lay beneath -- but only far enough so that the people on the metal plate were not entirely under water. When all the Jews on the metal plate were in the water up to over their hips, electrical current was sent through the water. After a few moments, all the Jews, thousands at once, were dead. Then they raised the metal plate out of the water. On it lay the corpses of the murder victims. Another shock of electrical current was sent through, and the metal plate became a crematory oven, white hot, until all the bodies were burnt to ashes... Each individual train brought three to five thousand, sometimes more, Jews. There were days on which the lines to Belzec supplied twenty or more trains. Modern technology triumphed in the Nazi system. The problem of how to execute millions of people, was solved."

#### **j) Blood poisoning**

This method, described on 7 February 1943 in the *New York Times* ("... gas chambers and blood poisoning stations which were erected in the rural regions..."), appears to have gone into oblivion as soon as it was invented.

#### **k) Drowning**

According to the Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer, the Rumanians in Odessa murdered 144,000 Soviet Jews, mostly by drowning (31). The same method of extermination was testified to by the underground press agent for the Warsaw ghetto, as well as for Babi Yar (32):

"Not a single Jew remains in Kiev, since the Germans have thrown the entire Jewish population of Kiev into the Dnieper."

#### **l) Chlorine gas, assembly-line shootings, boiling water, acids**

Mass murders with chlorine gas, as well as assembly line shootings were reported for Treblinka (33). Reports of massacres with acids and boiling water round make a complete assortment of killing methods (34).

The exterminationists no longer wish to be reminded of all these stories today. At that time, however, they were considered to be "proven fact" -- "proven" by the testimonies of "eyewitnesses" -- just like the gas chambers, which have been placed a under legal protection order in several "free democracies".

## The location of the gas chambers

With the steam chambers, acid baths, electrical chambers, submergible platforms, quicklime trains, etc., banished to the Memory Hole and replaced by "gas chambers", the historians then engaged in a decades-long dispute on the location of those very same "gas chambers", as follows:

Phase I (from 1946): almost every camp had one or more gas chambers:

In the early years after the war, it was considered to be a "proven fact" that almost every concentration camp had one or more gas chambers for the purpose of exterminating Jews. At the Nuremberg trial, the British chief prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross said (35):

"Murder conducted like some mass-production in the gas chambers and the ovens of Auschwitz, Dachau, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Maidanek and Oranienburg."

Also at the Nuremberg Trial, a Czech camp doctor at Dachau named Dr. Franz Blaha testified as follows (36):

"The gas chamber was completed in 1944, and I was called by Dr. Rascher to examine the first victims. Of the 8-9 persons, who were in the chamber there were three still alive, and the remainder appeared to be dead. Their eyes were red, and their faces were swollen."

A similar description of the gas chambers at Buchenwald was given by an unusually trustworthy "eyewitness", Charles Hauter (37):

"The rapid execution of the extermination required a special type of industrialization. The gas chambers reflected these requirements in the great variety of different facilities. Many of these were cleverly built and supported by pillars of porous material, inside of which the gas formed and then penetrated the walls. Others were simpler in construction, but all looked magnificent. It was easy to see that the architects had taken pleasure in building them; they had taken great pains in planning them, allowing all their aesthetic abilities to come into play. These were the only parts of the camp which were lovingly built."

The "confessions" of the accused also contributed to reinforcing general belief in the existence of the gas chambers -- for example, in the Ravensbrück camp, where camp doctor Percy Treite made the following confession before the court (38):

"I remember that many female Poles were killed by shots in the back of the neck. Because this shooting quite often was inaccurate, and it was therefore feared that living persons would be cremated along with the dead, I took care to devise a decent sort of killing. This was the gas chambers."



The inconceivable was an everyday occurrence at the horror castle of Hartheim near Linz, where between one and one and a half million people were gassed, at least according to the confession of camp commandant Franz Ziereis (39):

"SS Gruppenführer Glücks had given the order to declare weak prisoners mentally ill and to kill them with gas at a large installation. Approximately 1 to 1.5 million were killed there. This place is called Hartheim, and is located 10 km from Linz in the direction of Passau."

## Phase II (from August 1960): No gas chambers in the Old Reich

On 19 August 1960, Martin Broszat, at that time a collaborator and later the Director of the Institute für Zeitgeschichte at Munich, said the following in a letter to the editor to *Die Zeit*:

"Neither in Dachau nor in Bergen-Belsen nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other inmates gassed... The mass extermination of Jews through gas began in 1941-42, and took place exclusively in a few places selected and equipped with the help of corresponding technical installations, above all in occupied Polish territory (but nowhere in the Old Reich): in Auschwitz, in Sobibor am Bug, in Treblinka, Chelmno, and Belzec."

Interestingly, Majdanek is missing from Broszat's list of camps equipped with gas chambers; the two words "above all" are presumably intended to evade answering the question of whether or not gas chambers ever existed at Mauthausen (Austria) and Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace). With regards to camps in the "Old Reich" (i.e., the German Reich with the 1937 borders), Broszat established: no gassings occurred there.

## Phase III (since 1983): Return of the gas chambers in the West

The existence of the gas chambers of Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, etc. had a blessed resurrection in 1983 in the anthology *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* by Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl (40). No "mass gassings" are ever said to have occurred there, however; just small-scale "test gassings" with a total of a few thousand victims. This was a compromise between the Broszat line and the Holocaust fundamentalists. The authors only spared the buckets of tears when it came to the existence of the gas chambers of Dachau, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald.

The gas chambers existed -- oh no, they didn't -- oh yes, they did.

The most famous "Nazi gas chamber" is the morgue of the Krema I in the Stammlager of Auschwitz. Millions of tourists have visited this room. Both Jews and Soviet prisoners of war are supposed to have been murdered here with Zyklon B in 1941-42. That there is no documentary proof of this crime, but only a few eyewitness testimonies, is admitted quite unashamedly by Jean-Claude Pressac, the pharmacist and amateur historian hailed by the exterminationists as the "World's Leading Expert on Auschwitz" (41). The two principal eyewitnesses to the gassings in these Kremas are the first commandant of the camp, Rudolf Höss (42), and an SS man, Perry Broad (43).

**The judgement of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (1963-1965) states as follows (44):**

"In the beginning -- from October 1941 -- smaller individual groups of Jews were gassed... in the little (old) crematorium. Defendant Stark participated in still other gassings of Jewish inmates in May and June 1942. These gassings also took place in the small crematorium."

In 1968, the French Jewess Olga Wormser-Migot wrote a book on the National Socialist concentration camps (45) which is considered standard today; in it, she states:

"Auschwitz I... which was to remain the model camp and simultaneously the administrative centre -- had no gas chamber."

How easy it is for a Jewish historian, with one single sentence, to wipe out all the "eyewitness testimonies" relating to gassings in this room, as well as the corresponding text of the judgement in the Frankfurt Trial! On 8 January 1979, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at that time German Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote the following to a certain Herr Stuparek who had doubted the existence of the gas chambers of Auschwitz (46):

"I, too, know that no gas chambers existed in the Auschwitz camp."

The gas chambers, Genscher then continued, were located in Birkenau, west of the main camp.

The gas chambers of the main camp nevertheless continue to live on in Holocaust literature. That they give the court historians a few headaches, of course, is quite obvious: the trio Kogon/Langbein/Rückert pass over them in a single sentence in their "standard" book on the gas chambers (47).

In 1991, the British historian David Irving was sentenced to a 30,000 DM fine after a trial in Munich for calling the gas chamber in Krema I a "fake". Notwithstanding the confessions of Olga Wormser-Migot and Foreign Minister Genscher, the Holocaust liars simply could not do without this most famous of all "gas chambers", because otherwise nobody would believe their stories about the gas chambers at Birkenau.

Anybody who doubts the absolute correctness of the version of the Holocaust which has come down to us today, even in view of the incredible mixture of errors and confusion, and despite the incredibility of the eyewitness reports on gassings at Birkenau and Treblinka, would do best to keep his doubts to himself; since if he lives in "free democratic" Germany, "free democratic" Austria, "free democratic France", or "free democratic" Switzerland, he is already standing with one foot in jail. The ideal model of conduct in today's "free democracies" is the three monkeys: see nothing, say nothing, hear nothing.

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**Notes:**

- 1) This table was compiled by Robert Faurisson and published in the *VHO Nieuwsbrief* (published by Herbert Verbeke, Antwerp, 7de jaargang, 1996, number 1).
- 2) Filmed in 1955 by Alain Resnais.
- 3) Eugene Aroneanu, *Camps de concentration*, Office français d'édition, p. 196.
- 4) *ibid*, p. 196.
- 5) According to Kremer's introduction to Miklos Nyiszli, SS Obersturmführer Dr. Mengele, *Les Temps modernes*, March 1951, p. 1655.
- 6) Nuremberg document USSR-O8.
- 7) Foreword by Claude Lanzmann to Filip Mueller, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz*, Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, 1980, p. 12.
- 8) Nuremberg document PS-3868.
- 9) Vrba's statement to the Israeli Embassy in London on the occasion of the Eichmann Trial, 16 July, 1961.
- 10) Pery Broad, *KL Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Verlag des Staatl. Museums Auschwitz, 1973, p. 141.
- 11) Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, New York, Franklin Watts, 1982, p. 215.
- 12) Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, Penguin Books, 1990, p. 191.
- 13) Yehuda Bauer, Auschwitz and the Poles, *The Jerusalem Post*, 22 September 1989, p. 6.
- 14) Until 1990, bronze tablets at Auschwitz displayed the number of 4 million victims. They were then called Soviet exaggerations, and were removed.
- 15) Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1985, p. 895.
- 16) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989, p. 553.
- 17) Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung*, Colloquium, 1983, p. 524.
- 18) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz*, CNRS, 1993, p. 148.
- 19) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1994 (German translation of the book noted in footnote 18), p. 202.
- 20) Nuremberg trial transcript, IMT VII pp. 656-657 (German text).

- 21) Simon Wiesenthal in *Der neue Weg*, Vienna, no. 17/18, 1946.
- 22) *Daily Telegraph*, 25 April 1990.
- 23) Report of the Polish resistance movement dated 1 November 1942. State Museum, Auschwitz, Poland, Oboz pp. 79/80, "Vom Leben im Lager", quoted according to Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'*, Graficas Hurtado, S.I. Maestro Lope, 59 and 65, 46100 Burjassot/Valencia, 1994, pp. 150/151.
- 24) Report of the Polish resistance movement dated 23 October 1942, Auschwitz State Museum, Poland, Oboz p. 52, sheet 163-A/1, quoted according to Enrique Aynat; see also note 23.
- 25) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XVI pp. 579-580 (German text).
- 26) Elie Wiesel, *La Nuit*, Éditions de Minuit, 1958, p. 57 ff.
- 27) Nuremberg trial document PS-3311.
- 28) Wassilij Grossman, *Die Hölle von Treblinka*, Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Moskau, 1946.
- 29) Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, The Riverside Press, Cambridge 1944, quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, La Vielle Taupe, Paris, 1982, pp. 43-44.
- 30) Stefan Szende, *Der letzte Jude aus Polen*, Europa Verlag, Zurich-New York, 1945, p. 290 ff.
- 31) Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, see above, p. 200.
- 32) "Podziemna Obsługa Prasy Pozagettowej", Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Ringelblum-I file, July 18, 1942", quoted according to Herbert Tiedemann, "Babi Jar. Kritische Fragen und Anmerkungen", in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, 1994, p. 378.
- 33) Arnulf Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 358 ff.
- 34) Robert Faurisson in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 10.
- 35) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XIX p. 483 (German text).
- 36) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT V p. 198 (German text).
- 37) Quoted according to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les assassins de la mémoire*, Éditions de la découverte, 1991, p. 28.
- 38) Quoted according to Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, Fischer Taschenbuch, 1989, p. 258.

- 39) Simon Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen*, Ibis Verlag, 1946, pp. 7/8.
- 40) Compare note 38.
- 41) Pressac, op. cit. p. 123.
- 42) Höss, p. 159.
- 43) Pery Broad, Erinnerungen. In the anthology *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Kattowice, 1981, p. 171 ff.
- 44) Auschwitz-Urteil LG Frankfurt. Az: 50/4 Ks 2/63, pp. 82, 245.
- 45) Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le système concentrationnaire nazi*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1968, p. 156.
- 46) Quoted in *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Stiftung Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (Publisher) p. 1 (appendix).
- 47) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 194.

# CHAPTER VI

## IS TODAY'S VERSION OF THE HOLOCAUST ANY MORE BELIEVABLE THAN THOSE OF THE PAST?

The claims made by the standard literature

Today's version of the Holocaust (early 1997) runs as follows:

### **a) The extermination programme:**

The objective of the National Socialists was the complete physical annihilation of all Jews located in their territories.

### **b) Implementation of the extermination programme**

The Germans transported millions of Jews from all over Europe to Poland for the purpose of gassing them in "extermination camps" there.

### **c) The secrecy of the extermination programme**

To camouflage their crimes, the Germans issued their murder orders orally or in camouflaged language only. In any case, all existing documents on the gas chambers and extermination of the Jews were destroyed just before the end of the war. That is why there are no clear documentary proofs of any Holocaust.

### **d) The six "extermination camps"**

Auschwitz and Majdanek were a combination of "extermination" and work camps. All arriving Jews were selected: those who could work were used for compulsory labour, while those who could not, were sent to the gas chamber. By contrast, Chelmno, Sobibor, Belzec and Treblinka were pure "killing factories", in which every Jew was sent to the gas chambers unregistered; the only exceptions consisted of a handful of "working Jews" needed for the extermination process itself.

### **e) The murder weapon**

The murder weapon at Auschwitz and Majdanek was the insecticide Zyklon B, in addition to which carbon monoxide was also used at Majdanek. Diesel exhaust gases were used for mass murder in the other four "extermination camps".

#### **f) The number of victims and operating periods of the "extermination camps"**

The number of victims of the extermination camps fluctuates enormously depending on which historian you read. The number of victims and the operating periods for each camp cited below have been taken from the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*.

**Chelmno:** 152,000 to 320,000 victims. In operation: from December 1941 to March 1943 and, after an interruption of fifteen months, from 23 June 1944 to mid-July 1944.

**Belzec:** 600,000 victims. In operation: from March to December 1942.

**Sobibor:** about 250,000 victims. In operation: from May 1942 to September 1943.

**Treblinka:** 900,000 victims. In operation: from July 1942 to August 1943.

**Majdanek:** At least 250,000 (Jewish and non-Jewish) victims, including 40% gassed Jews. No mention of the period of operation for the gas chambers.

**Auschwitz:** Over a million gassed Jews, as well as a great many other Jewish and non-Jewish victims. Operating period for the gas chambers: main camp gas chamber in Auschwitz I from September 1941; farm houses at Birkenau three kilometers to the west of the main camp converted into gas chambers at a point in time in 1942 which is not exactly stated; gas chambers in the crematoria of Birkenau in operation from March 1943.

Auschwitz, originally planned solely as a work camp, is alleged to have been expanded into an "extermination camp" at a later time, because the other death factories for the extermination of the European Jews "were inefficient". To prove this, Holocaust scholars quote the confession of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who wrote in Polish imprisonment (1):

"In the summer of 1941, I cannot remember the exact date, I was suddenly summoned to the Reichsführer SS, directly by his adjutant's office. Contrary to the usual custom, Himmler received me without his adjutant being present and said in effect: "The Fuehrer has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all and that we, the SS, are to implement this order. The existing extermination centres in the East are not in a position to carry out the large actions which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz..."

#### **g) The destruction of the corpses**

To hide the mass murders from the world, the bodies at all extermination camps are supposed to have been destroyed without a trace. At Auschwitz and Majdanek, this was done partly in crematoria, partly in the open. In Chelmno, in addition to cremations in the open, there is supposed to have been an underground crematorium (which has disappeared without a trace); in Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec, all the bodies were burnt in the open. The ashes and bone fragments were then scattered, so that no trace remained of the millions of victims.

Are the claims made by the standard literature believable?

Let us deal with these seven points briefly:

**Point a):**

Everyday we hear about "Holocaust survivors" in the media. The *Tageszeitung* of Berlin of 30 March 1995, for example, states that, according to the film producer Steven Spielberg, there are still 300,000 former Jewish concentration camp inmates who are to be interviewed before the television cameras.

If the National Socialists had intended the physical extermination of the Jews, there wouldn't be any 300,000 former Jewish concentration camp inmates to be interviewed, but only about 300 at most. Maybe fewer. Finally, the National Socialists had more than enough time available to finish the job.

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

**Point b):**

If the Germans had wanted to carry out a physical extermination of the Jews, they could have done so on the spot. They could have taken the Jews to pre-dug mass graves in German forests and shot them there. French Jews could have been shot in France, etc. The transport of millions of people halfway across Europe required trains which were urgently needed for troop transports.

Not to put too fine a point on it, this story is simply not believable either.

**Point c):**

Mass murders at the locations called "extermination camps" and shown to tourists today could not have been kept secret anywhere near as easily as mass murders committed locally (for example, in German or French forests):

- Majdanek camp was located right on the city limits of Lublin; people could see directly into the camp from the higher houses in the city;
- Treblinka camp was located 240 m from a major rail line, 270 m from a major road, and 800 m from the village of the same name;
- Auschwitz camp complex was located in an industrial area. The inmates worked side by side with civilian workers who returned to their homes every evening (2). Prisoners were constantly being transferred from Auschwitz to other camps (3). Finally, there were also great numbers of releases (4). If there was any place in Europe where an assembly-line industrialized mass extermination programme could not have been kept secret for as long as two weeks, then that place was Auschwitz; news of the atrocities would have spread across Europe and the world like wildfire.

What good would it be to issue extermination orders orally, employ camouflaged language, and destroy all the incriminating documents before the end of the war, if



you are going to be stupid enough to commit your "extermination" right out in the open, where everybody can see it?

Again, the story is simply not believable.

**Point d):**

Innumerable documents show clearly how desperately the National Socialists needed manpower throughout the entire war. According to the Holocaust scholars, this is supposed to have been the reason why the Jews at Auschwitz and Majdanek were only gassed if they couldn't work, while those who could work were utilized by the hundreds of thousands. But then why did the Germans gas many hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people in the "pure" extermination camps?

If the "unfit" were gassed at Auschwitz without being registered, then there shouldn't be any evidence of the registration of elderly people. In reality, very many elderly people were registered in the camp. Fig. I shows the death certificates of Josef Hoffmann, a Jew, born on 12 August 1852, and Ernestine Hochfelder, a Jewess, born on 11 February 1870. They were certainly too old to work; so why weren't they both to the gas chamber unregistered, immediately after selection on the ramp?

Of course, new born babies weren't able to work either; were they murdered right after birth? Not at all; the Polish midwife Stanaslawa Lesczczynska, in particular, reports (5):

"I delivered under these [disgusting] circumstances over 3,000 children. Despite the terrible filth, the vermin, the rats, despite the infectious diseases and indescribable horrors, something extraordinary, unbelievable, but true occurred. One day, the camp doctor ordered me to prepare a report on infections in maternity cases, as well as the death rate among mothers and infants. I replied that there had never been any deaths, either among mothers or newborn. The camp doctor looked at me with astonishment, and told me they couldn't have boasted better results even in the best German hospitals."

The conscientious midwife would no doubt hardly have failed to mention it if the infants delivered by her at the cost of so-much dedication and self-sacrifice had been immediately murdered after birth. Many Jews who were to become famous in later life, like Elie Wiesel, Anne Frank, and Roman Polanski lived as children in Auschwitz, without any risk of being gassed.

**Point e):**

The following possibilities would have been available as rational killing methods for mass extermination:

- shooting (a la Stalin);
- Starvation (a la Eisenhower);

- Use of wood-gas generator vehicles, used in the hundreds of thousands during WWII (not to be confused with the mythical "gas vans"! ). These vehicles used only wood as fuel. Their generator gases contained up to 40% carbon monoxide, which is quickly fatal. The use of these gas autos for mass murder has never even been claimed (6).

Instead, the Germans selected the most idiotic murder weapon that one can possibly think of:

- Diesel exhaust gas contains 16% oxygen, which is enough to breathe and survive on, but only very small quantities of CO. To kill people with them is extremely difficult. An ordinary gasoline motor -- not to speak of the above mentioned gas autos -- would be a hundred times more efficient as a murder weapon. It's not by chance that only Diesel engines are used in the Channel Tunnel between France and England; Diesel exhaust gases would not endanger the passengers in the event of an accident;

- The insecticide Zyklon B, the properties of which will be discussed later, contains hydrocyanic acid. Zyklon B was urgently needed to combat lice, which carried typhus. Zyklon B was always in short supply, and very expensive. As a murder weapon, it is very unsuitable. One can, of course, kill people with it, but it is very difficult to ventilate, clings to surfaces, and would cause insurmountable problems in elimination.

If the Holocaust story is true, the perpetrators must have been technical geniuses, because they succeeded in murdering millions of people in record time, and in destroying the bodies without a trace. These same technical geniuses are then supposed to have used the most unlikely murder weapons that one could imagine!

Again: not believable.

#### **Point f):**

According to the Holocaust horror peddlers, the Germans gassed 600,000 Jews in Belzec in 10 months, and 900,000 in Treblinka in 13 months. Belzec was then closed in December 1942, and Treblinka was closed in September 1943. Why didn't they keep these death camps running? They could have killed another 2.5 million Jews by the end of 1944, and the installation of gas chambers at Birkenau would have been completely unnecessary.

It should be noted that, according to Höss, Himmler had declared the existing "death camps in the East" in the summer of 1941 were "inefficient". But these same "extermination camps" didn't even exist yet, since they were only put into operation, according to Holocaust scholars, in December 1941.

This proves that Rudolf Höss's confession was not voluntarily given, and lacks all probative value.

Let us, however, stick with Auschwitz. This "largest of all extermination camps" contained hospitals, a swimming pool, a sauna, sports installations, theatrical events, and concerts.

- the main camp crematorium, the morgue of which is supposed to have been used as a "gas chamber", was located 15 m from a hospital (no. 7 in Fig. II). There was also a swimming pool, which one can still visit today (no. 17 in Fig. II);
- Birkenau, the alleged centre of the extermination of the Jews, also had hospitals (no. 16 in Fig. III), as well as a sauna (no. 10 in Fig. III). There was also a delousing station in this sauna, operated with hot air);
- The existence of delousing chambers operated with Zyklon B (no. 20 in Fig. II) is not disputed by anyone. In many reports of former inmates, one can read that new arrivals were immediately subjected to a delousing procedure;
- the existence of orchestras, not only in Auschwitz but in all other "extermination camps", is confirmed by a source which is certainly above suspicion, namely, the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (7);
- The Jewish professor of medicine and Auschwitz inmate Marc Klein reports (8):

"To the noisy applause of the onlookers, football, basketball, and water ball was played on Sunday afternoon: Man needs very little to distract him from impending danger! The SS administration permitted the inmates regular amusement, even on weekday evenings. A cinema offered Nazi news and sentimental films; a cabaret offered shows which were often attended by SS men. Finally, there was a very respectable orchestra, initially made up of Polish musicians, but which gradually came to consist of top quality musicians of all nationalities, most of whom were Jews."

Hospitals, saunas, and delousing chambers are intended to protect health. They therefore serve to prolong life; they are most unlikely to shorten life. What are they doing in an "extermination camp"? What are swimming pools, football games, cabarets and orchestras, consisting mostly of Jews, doing in a camp the chief purpose of which was to exterminate the Jews of Europe?

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

**Point g):**

Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, where approximately 1.85 million Jews were gassed according to the exterminationists, are known to have had no crematoria. The bodies are said to have been burned in the open and disappeared without a trace. Why didn't they use the same methods of open-air cremation at Auschwitz if they were so successful -- instead of building expensive crematoria?

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

Our study could end here, since it is already clear that the court historians and media hacks simply dish up stories the abysmal idiocy of which is an impudent insult to every thinking person.

We shall nevertheless examine the evidence for the Holocaust and the gas chambers in the following chapters. In so doing, we will heed the principle, which is generally recognized in jurisprudence, that there is a hierarchy of proof. This means that physical evidence must be considered the most reliable, and eyewitness testimony the least reliable; while documentary evidence occupies a position midway between the other two methods of proof (9).

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### Notes:

- 1) Rudolf Hoess, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*. Published by Martin Broszat, dtv, 1985, p. 157.
- 2) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1995, pp. 70/71.
- 3) The best known example is Anne Frank, who was transferred from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen.
- 4) Walter Laqueur states in his book, *Was niemand wissen wollte* (Ullstein, 1982, pp. 210/211) that 982 inmates were released in 1942; a few more releases took place in 1943, and in 1944, at the intervention of the industrialist Oskar Schindler, numerous Jewesses were released. In reality, the number of releases was many times higher; compare, in this regard, our notes at the end of the next chapter.
- 5) Comité international d'Auschwitz, *Anthologie*, vol. II, 2nd part, pp. 164/165.
- 6) Compare Friedrich Paul Berg "Die Dieselmotorkammer: Mythos im Mythos", in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, p. 338 ff.
- 7) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 979.
- 8) Marc Klein, "Observations et Réflexions sur les camps de concentration nazis", excerpt from the publication *Études Germaniques*, no. 3, Imprimerie Caron et Cie., Caen, 1948, p. 31.
- 9) On the hierarchy of methods of proof, see Manfred Koehler, Professor Ernst Nolte: *Auch Holocaust Lügen haben kurze Beine*, Cromwell Press, 1994.

# CHAPTER VII

## PHYSICAL PROOFS OF THE HOLOCAUST

The following appeared in a mid-1993 Reuters report:

### Innocent Man Released After Nine Years in Prison

Jessup, 28 June 1993 (ap). - "A man originally sentenced to death, commuted to three life sentences, is to be released in Maryland USA. 32 year-old Kirk Bloodworth, who spent almost nine years in prison, including two years on Death Row, was convicted in 1984 in Rosedale, Maryland, of the rape-murder of a nine-year old girl. Examination of a previously undiscovered sperm sample on the victim's underwear -- during which the experts utilized the DNS procedure, the so-called 'genetic fingerprint' -- revealed that Bloodworth could not have been guilty at all... Bloodworth was convicted and sentenced to death on the testimony of five witnesses, who alleged to have seen him with the nine-year old victim shortly before the crime."

A case like this shows clearly what every jurist knows, namely, that physical proof is greatly superior to eyewitness testimony, since witnesses may lie or err in good faith.

For this reason, an autopsy of the corpse, as well as an expert report on the weapon, are ordered in any normal non-political murder trial, regardless of whether or not there are any witnesses available. If the eyewitnesses contradict the results of the forensic tests, the forensic tests are conclusive. Eyewitness testimony has the lowest value of all types of proof (1).

What is true in an ordinary murder case, must apply to an even greater extent when hundreds of thousands or millions of victims are involved.

Accordingly, the "gas chambers" should have been forensically tested right after the war. Furthermore, technical experts should have calculated whether or not the innumerable victims of the "extermination camps" could really have been disposed of in the crematoria concerned (if crematoria existed in the particular camps in question).

In the "pure extermination camps" of Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Chelmno, the bodies are alleged to have been buried first, then dug up, then burned in the open. If there had ever been any huge mass graves for the several hundred thousand bodies in each case, they could have been located very easily, even years after the war; areas where bodies are supposed to have been buried could have been easily located either by digging or by air-photographs. The latter method was regularly practiced in 1996 by air reconnaissance flights in Bosnia.

Nothing of the kind was done by Germany's accusers after WWII. Scientific testing of the "gas chambers", crematoria, and alleged mass graves was simply neglected. Not one single autopsy of a dead concentration inmate has ever showed "gassing" as the cause of death.

On the part of the exterminationists, only two forensic examinations were undertaken to prove the mass murders; in both cases, the presentation of proof was a basic failure:

- According to the Cracow report of 1945 (1) cyanide residues were discovered among other things in the hair of former female Auschwitz inmates. Now, not only can this report no longer be duplicated -- in contrast to the revisionist expert reports, which can be reproduced at any time -- but it would lack any probative value, even if it were true. Human hair was used for industrial purposes in the Third Reich, as in other states (for example for stuffing mattresses). In this case, it was logical to delouse the hair afterwards with Zyklon B. Assuming that there were mass gassings, it would be nonsensical to cut the hair off later, since Zyklon B clings stubbornly to surfaces, and would have been a source of danger to the workers involved in cutting off the hair. This would have to have been done before the murders!

- The Polish Hydroscope Report shows that great quantities of human remains were found in the earth in the vicinity of Auschwitz (3). We have no reason to doubt the correctness of this report, since many thousands of Auschwitz inmates were certainly burned in the open, particularly during the second half of 1942; at that time, typhus was raging and causing over 300 deaths a day. The only existing crematorium, that of the main camp, could not handle more than 100 bodies a day, and was often out of operation. If human remains were found, this only proves that very many Auschwitz inmates died, which is not disputed by any revisionist. It does not prove mass extermination.

Thus, we face the remarkable fact that technical proof of the "greatest crime in history" was never produced by the accusers of Germany. Such proofs were only produced later, by the revisionists. As we will see, they disprove the Holocaust thesis on all decisive points.

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## Notes:

1) In this regard, see Manfred Koehler's contribution on the value of the testimonies and confessions on the Holocaust in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, op. cit.

2) The Cracow report is reproduced in the anti-revisionist volume *Wahrheit and Auschwitz-Lüge* (published by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer), Deuticke, 1995, p. 79 ff reproduced.

3) On the Hydroscope report, see no. 60 of *Historische Tatsachen*.

# CHAPTER VIII

## DOCUMENTARY PROOFS OF THE HOLOCAUST

If a systematic extermination of several million persons had really taken place during WW II, it would have required meticulous organization, involving thousands of persons. An operation on this scale could not possibly take place without a great number of written instructions. Nothing could be done in a strictly hierarchical bureaucratic state like the Third Reich without written orders.

We would therefore expect a flood of documentary proof on the planning and execution of the extermination of the Jews. In the meantime, the orthodox historians continue to act as if this were really the case. Thus, Raul Hilberg's "standard work" on the Holocaust begins with the following introduction (1):

"Raul Hilberg has spent his life collecting and adding to the material for his book. He is considered the best expert on the source documents which, for the most part, originate from the criminals themselves. As thorough as they were, the Germans filed away the evidence of their crimes a hundred thousand times over, with letter heads and service stamps... proving their responsibility for the killings."

This statement is pure fantasy, as we shall soon see.

Raul Hilberg, Danuta Czech, Jean-Claude Pressac: Three experts reach into their bag of tricks

### **a) Raul Hilberg scrapes the bottom of the barrel**

A curious reader dipping into Hilberg's standard work entitled *The Destruction of the European Jews* is condemned to wait 927 pages before stumbling upon the "extermination camps", and another 100 pages until the "extermination operations" are described. This means that Hilberg uses 1,027 pages before arriving at the topic which gives the book its title! Just a few pages further along, on page 1,046, he starts writing about the "Evacuation of the Extermination Centres and the End of the Extermination Process". This means that, out of a total of 1,308 pages of text, fewer than 20 are dedicated to the "extermination procedure"! And these fewer than 20 pages are a miserable flop.

The "hundreds of thousands" of documentary proofs of German mass murder promised in the introduction are simply never produced; Hilberg's only proof of mass murders in the extermination camps are the eyewitnesses, the confessions of war

criminals, and the judgements of trials (in turn based exclusively on eyewitnesses and confessions by the accused). Among Hilberg's favourite witnesses are Kurt Gerstein and Filip Mueller. Although we will discuss the eyewitnesses only in the following chapter, a few remarks on these star eyewitnesses are called for here:

Kurt Gerstein, an SS sanitation officer, who allegedly died by suicide in July 1945 in French imprisonment, is the star witness for the extermination of the Jews in Belzec. As shown by the French researcher Henri Roques, there are no less than six versions of his "confession", each of which deviates considerably from the others (2). According to Gerstein, 20 or 25 million people were gassed (according to which confession you consult). At Belzec, according to Gerstein, 700-800 persons were crushed into a gas chamber 25m<sup>2</sup>, i.e., 28 to 32 persons per square metre. Gerstein also claims to have seen piles of clothing and shoes 35 to 40 metres high!

Filip Mueller's book *Sonderbehandlung* (3) (English title *Eyewitness Auschwitz*) is cited no less than sixteen times by Hilberg in the 20 relevant pages. On p. 207 ff of his disgusting botch job, Mueller describes the method of open-air cremation utilized in disposing of the bodies of the many thousands of Hungarian Jews gassed and burned every day in the early summer of 1944: three layers of bodies were laid in deep ditches and burnt using wood for fuel. Fat from the bodies was then supposedly used for extra fuel. The fat is alleged to have flowed down during the cremation process into small grooves especially provided and dug in the earth, leading to a container. The members of the Sonderkommando are supposed to have scooped up the burning fat from the containers and poured it over the bodies to make them burn better!

Of course, this is complete nonsense. Due to the deficient oxygen supply, the bodies in the ditches would merely be charred, and would not burn (4). The fat from the bodies would, of course be the first thing to be burned, and if, nevertheless, it did run into the grooves, it would have ignited at the first spark (5).

On p. 74, Mueller offers us the following tale:

"From time to time, The SS doctors came into the crematorium... Before the executions, both doctors, like cattle traders, felt the thighs and buttocks of the still-living men and women, in order to select the 'best parts'. After the shooting, the victims were placed on the table. Then the doctors cut pieces off still-warm flesh from the thighs and buttocks and threw it into waiting buckets. The muscles of the recently-shot were still moving and throwing convulsions, causing the buckets to jump about."

That is Filip Mueller, Raul Hilberg's favourite witness, cited 16 times in the crucial 20 pages dealing with the mass extermination!

Hilberg cannot conceal the fact that there are no documents relating to any plan to exterminate the Jews. He finds a profound explanation: the Nazi leaders gave their orders in "an incredible meeting of minds" (6)!

**b) How Danuta Czech's *Kalendarium* came to her conclusions as to the numbers of the gassed**



Danuta Czech's work *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau (1939-1945)* is considered by orthodox historians to be by far the most important work on the history of Auschwitz camp. The second edition, which appeared in 1989, differs very considerably from the edition published in 1960. In her monumental opus, Danuta Czech indicates, for every individual day in the history of the camp, the most important events, giving, for the most part, the exact numbers of persons gassed, for every day on which gassings are said to have taken place. What is the basis for Danuta Czech's allegations? German documents? Of course not!

In many cases, her sources consist of testimonies given after the war (eyewitness reports or confessions during trials), but for the most part they consist of secret notes kept by prisoners working in the offices of the Gestapo, giving information on inmate transports arriving at Auschwitz: date of arrival, first and last registration numbers of the newly arriving inmates, and, in many cases, the origin of the transports. The notes were smuggled out of the camp in 1944. There is nothing in them about gassings. Danuta Czech then compares the information appearing in the notes with reference to the numerical strength of every convoy, and compares them to the data appearing in the documents of the German police offices responsible for the transports. Great discrepancies are then noted; only some of the Jews deported, according to the German files, appear in the secret notes of the inmates! All the "missing" Jews are simply listed by Danuta Czech as having been "gassed"! At the same time, it is known that some deported persons never arrived at Auschwitz, for the simple reason that they were unloaded 100 km further west -- at Cosel -- and housed in local work camps. This has been shown by the French Jew Serge Klarsfeld in his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (7). In a few cases, D. Czech acknowledges the selection of Jews for local camps in the second edition of her book. Consistently ignored by her, however, is the fact that many of the "gassed" Jews suddenly reappeared later, far East of Auschwitz, in the Baltic states and White Russia. This means that the reason why these Jews were not registered at Auschwitz was because Auschwitz only served as a transit camp for them. Her "gassing" figures are therefore pure fantasy, and her method can only be termed a shameless falsification of evidence. In this regard, consult Enrique Aynat's work *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'* (8).

### **c) Jean-Claude Pressac's "criminal traces"**

In September 1983, a book by the French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac was hailed by the world's "free press" with deafening fanfare as the rebuttal of the revisionists. It is called *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz*, and also appeared in German from Piper Verlag under the title of *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*. Pressac had already published a gigantic book under the title *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, which is, however, hardly mentioned by the mass media.

In the introduction to his second book, Pressac repeatedly promises that he will not base his book on eyewitness testimonies, but will instead rely solely upon documents. During the reading, the astonished reader then notes that, every time the author begins to speak of concrete "gassing" operations, he cites an eyewitness as his source! As "definitive proof" of the existence of the execution gas chambers, he cites a document which contains not a single word relating to the gassing of human beings; it is simply

a business letter related to the ordering of "gas testers", to be discussed below in the present chapter (point f).

Pressac never mentions any of the scientific or technical arguments of the revisionists. Not a single revisionist book is mentioned.

In the absence of any documentary proofs for the gassings of even one Jew in Auschwitz, Pressac cites a few "criminal traces" in both his first and his second work; these "traces" are supposed to indicate the gassing of human beings. We will cite two examples only: the pagination below refers to the French original edition:

- on p. 69, Pressac mentions a letter from the leader of the Central Construction Administration of the Waffen SS at Auschwitz, Bischoff, to SS Brigadeführer Dr. Kammler at Berlin, stating (9):

"Crematorium II has been completed, right down to the small details of construction, utilizing all available manpower and despite unspeakable difficulties and frosty weather. The ovens... function perfectly. The reinforced concrete ceiling of the morgue could not be used because of damage by frost. This is however insignificant, since the Vergasungskeller [gassing cellar] could be used for this purpose."

Like other Holocaust scholars before him, Pressac takes this as a reference to a gas chamber installed in crematorium II. The room indicated in the plans as Morgue I must have functioned as such, according to the Holocaust true believers.

The letter has given the revisionists a few headaches, so to speak; the explanations given by them didn't sound exactly convincing. One possible explanation was found in December 1995, when we were researching the original documents with Carlo Mattogno in the Moscow Special Archives. There, we found a document indicating the planned installation of a delousing chamber in the crematorium (10).

In early 1943, typhus was raging at Auschwitz. The Germans were desperately attempting to stem the epidemic by killing lice, and to do so, they needed as many delousing chambers as possible. Delousing chambers require at least rudimentary ventilation, a characteristic also present in the morgues of the crematoria. Of course, there is no proof that the planned delousing chamber was ever actually built in a crematorium. The complete absence of further documentary proof appears to indicate that it was not; the *Rudolf Report*, to be discussed below, also appears to indicate that it was not.

In any case, however, the letter contains no proof of the gassing of human beings.

- on p. 80, Pressac mentions a document from the Auschwitz Construction Administration relating to an order for a gas-tight door as well as 14 ("false") shower heads for crematorium III at Birkenau. In so doing, he assumes that the gas-tight doors actually in fact served to seal off an execution gas chamber; the "false" shower heads are alleged to have been intended to lure victims into a gas chamber disguised as a shower bath.

If the construction of a delousing chamber was actually planned within a crematorium, it would, of course, have needed a gas-tight door. Such a door could also have been intended to prevent the seepage of odours from decomposing bodies in the morgue.

That the shower heads were "false" appears nowhere on the document. There is nothing unusual about a shower bath in a crematorium; it was certainly not unusual in Auschwitz, where service personnel sometimes had to drag typhus-infected corpses all day to the ovens.

- On p. 70/71, Pressac mentions the existence of a wooden fan for the "gas chamber" (i.e., the morgue) of a Birkenau crematorium. If the fan was of metal, the argument runs, it would have been exposed to the damage by the corrosive effects of Zyklon. The choice of a wooden fan instead of a metal one is therefore alleged to constitute proof of the use of hydrocyanic acid on the premises. But Pressac mentions on p. 77 that a metal fan was finally installed, since the SS had "overestimated the danger of corrosion."

Just think -- millions of people are gassed to death, and the only "proof" for this huge crime, dished up by "today's leading expert on Auschwitz", is nonsense like this! Several revisionist researchers, such as Faurisson (11) and Mattogno (12), have picked Pressac's scribbles apart mercilessly in meticulous detail. In late 1995, an anthology of articles critical of Pressac was published containing German translations of contributions of Faurisson and Mattogno, as well as articles by Ernst Gauss, Manfred Koehler and Serge Thion (13).

In the meantime, it dawned on the exterminationists that Pressac had done their cause a disservice. In *Le Monde juif* (January April 1996, p. 92 ff), the Jew Maurice Cling mercilessly criticized Pressac -- once celebrated as the "rebutter of the Revisionists" -- accusing him of "manipulations", "inventions", and "deviant statements". The revisionists couldn't have put it better themselves.

Right after the appearance of the second Pressac book, the Jewish film producer Claude Lanzmann (he who -- in his nine-and-a-half hour gas chamber epic, *Shoa* -- filmed the barber Abraham Bomba describing how 17 barbers supposedly cut the hair off 70 naked women in a gas chamber at Treblinka measuring 4 x 4 m), angrily criticized Pressac, saying "I prefer the tears of the barbers of Treblinka to Pressac's 'gas testers'". Lanzmann is right. The Holocaust can only survive as a myth; every attempt to prove it scientifically is an immediate debacle.

"The Germans destroyed all the documents"

If one were to ask the Knights of the Holocaust Holy Grail why there is such an absence of unequivocal documentary evidence of the mass murder of the Jews, most of them will reply that the Germans destroyed all the documents right before the end of the war. This claim is actually made by one of the star witnesses from amongst the ranks of the accused, namely, Brazilian SS Man Pery Broad, who compiled detailed notes in British imprisonment. On the last page of Broad's *Erinnerungen*, he says (14):

"Before the buildings of the Auschwitz offices blazed piles of documents, while the structures utilized in committing the greatest mass murder in the history of mankind were blown up..."

Broad was released as early as 1947 (15) although the British could have shot or hanged him without further ado, since every German, especially every SS man, was free game at that time. Quite obviously, early release was his reward for services rendered, services which continue to comprise a major contribution to solidifying the image of the "Final Solution", at that time still in the unformed, fluid state.

It is simply quite untrue that piles of documents blazed at Auschwitz, since huge numbers of documents are available precisely from this largest of all "extermination camps". The Moscow Special Archives contain approximately 90,000 pages of documents from the Construction Administration, i.e., precisely the same organization which was responsible for the construction of the crematorium and therefore, according to the Holocaust legend, for building the gas chambers allegedly located in the crematoria.

During two rather lengthy stays in Moscow (July-August as well as November-December 1995), we examined all 90,000 pages of documents together with the Italian researcher Carlo Mattogno (Mattogno's American publisher Russel Granata was also present during the first visit). Some of these documents, perhaps 20,000 pages, consist of copies made by the Germans of other pages; approximately 70,000 other pages are primary documents. Not one single document provides any proof of mass gassings of human beings. This in no way surprised us, since if such a document had existed, it would long ago have been triumphantly displayed to the world. Two prominent representatives of the extermination school, Jean-Claude Pressac and the British Jew Gerald Fleming, have both worked in this archive and examined part of the documentation. Neither Pressac nor Fleming found the long-sought documentary proof for the homicidal gas chambers.

The objection that the Germans could have sifted out the incriminating documents just in time and destroyed them, is extremely naive. Just imagine such a situation:

In autumn 1994, when the decision is made to evacuate Auschwitz before the approaching Red Army, Commandant Richard Baer issues the following order to his subordinates: "Sort out all the documents which prove the gassing of the Jews, and burn them, but leave all other documents lying around for the Russians". Could anything be more naive? They could have burnt the entire archive of documents in a few hours! **QUITE OBVIOUSLY, THE REASON WHY THE GERMANS LEFT ALL THE DOCUMENTS BEHIND WAS BECAUSE IT NEVER OCCURRED TO THEM THAT THE DOCUMENTS COULD INCRIMINATE THEM IN ANY WAY!**

The same applies to the camp Majdanek, for which mountains of documents are also available.

## Conjuring up "proof"

Since the defenders of the orthodox Holocaust image could not possibly be content themselves with "eyewitness testimony" alone, they were compelled to come up with a number of documents which allegedly prove the gas chamber genocide. In doing so, two possibilities were open to them:

- manufacture forgeries;
- Deliberately distort authentic documents.

The second method was resorted to with much greater frequency. Carlo Mattogno describes this as follows (16):

"The Nuremberg inquisitors created... an absurd method of interpretation which made it possible to interpret any meaning they wished into any document, but which isn't there. The point of departure for this method of interpretation was the unproven and arbitrary axiom that the NS authorities used a sort of code language, even in the most secret documents, the key to which the Nuremberg inquisitors naturally pretended to have discovered. The systematic false interpretation of documents which, in themselves, had nothing to do with extermination, then followed as a matter of course.

"The best-known example of this type of false interpretation is represented by the interpretation of the word 'Final Solution' which became a synonym for the 'extermination of the Jews'...

"In truth and in fact, there is not the slightest proof that 'Final Solution' ever referred to any alleged 'Hitler plan for the extermination of the European Jews'. There are even documents which prove the contrary. These documents relate to the policy followed by the National Socialists with regards to Jewish emigration..."

Let us consider below some of the "documentary proofs" for the Holocaust repeatedly trundled out for us in the standard literature. We will divide these into two groups: obvious forgeries, documents of questionable authenticity, and, finally, undoubtedly genuine, but deliberately falsely interpreted documents.

### Forged documents

In contrast to the attitude of some revisionists, only relatively few of the documents which are presented as proofs of the extermination of the Jews are obvious falsifications. These include three remarkable examples, which we will examine as follows:

#### **a) The Wannsee Protocol**

For decades, it was claimed that the extermination of the Jews was decided at the Wannsee Conference in Berlin of 20 January 1942. Anyone who reads the (alleged) protocol of that conference (17), will discover that it contains no mention of any

physical extermination of the Jews, nothing about gas chambers, and speaks only of "evacuation" and "resettlement". The orthodox historians, as usual, offer the lazy excuse that these are code words for extermination.

Even if this document were genuine, it would in no way constitute proof for any extermination of the Jews, but rather for their deportation, which is not disputed by any revisionist. But the Wannsee Protocol is a rather crude forgery, as shown by several revisionist researchers, in greatest detail by Johannes P. Ney (18). The forgery is proven by absurdities of content (for example grossly exaggerated numbers of Jews living in Europe), as well as formal errors.

30 copies of the Wannsee Protocol are supposed to have been prepared. Of these 30 copies, only 1, the 16th, has survived, quite remarkably, in several different versions, in which SS is written sometimes in runes, and sometimes in normal script.

Even the exterminationists are distancing themselves further and further from the Wannsee protocol. In the *Canadian Jewish News* of 20 January 1992, Israeli Holocaust Specialist Yehuda Bauer, calls the belief that the conference arrived at any decision to exterminate the Jews, a "silly story". According to him, the whole caste of historians just blabbered a silly story for decades, like parrots. The "silly story" also appears in all schoolbooks.

#### **b) The document of 28 June 1943 on the capacity of the crematoria of Auschwitz**

To prove the powerful capacity of the Auschwitz crematoria, the exterminationists tirelessly quote a letter allegedly prepared on 28 June 1943 by the leader of the Auschwitz Central Construction Administration, Bischoff, through his subordinate SS Brigadeführer Kammler (19), according to which the daily capacity of the crematoria of Auschwitz and Birkenau are as follows:

- crematory I: 340 persons [sic!] each
- crematoria II and III: 1440 persons each
- crematoria IV and V: 768 persons each.

Note the remarkably un-German-sounding use of the word "persons" in this connection. Much more revealing, however, is the content.

As may be seen from the standard literature, for example the work of Raul Hilberg (20), the main crematorium at Auschwitz I possessed 6 muffles; crematoria II and III of Birkenau possessed 15 muffles each; and the Birkenau Kremas IV and V possessed 8 muffles each. This makes a total of 52 muffles. In today's modern crematoria, the burning of one corpse per muffle takes one to one and a half hours (see illustration 1V, the reproduction of a letter from Freiburg crematorium). If one can cremate 4,756 bodies per day in 52 muffles, that would be 95 bodies per day per muffle, which would mean that the crematoria of Auschwitz were around four times faster than modern crematoria! This means that either all the laws of thermodynamics were suspended, or that the letter is a fabrication (presumably from a Communist forgery

factory). Irrefutable proof of the falsity of this document has been provided by Carlo Mattogno (21).

## F. Documents of dubious authenticity

### a) The Goebbels diary passages of 27 March 1942

For 27 March 1942, there is an entry in the diaries of NS Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels (22), according to which a "rather barbarous procedure, not to be described in detail here" was being applied to the Jews. 60% of the Jews were liquidated, while only 40% could be used for work.

Revisionist researchers are not unanimous on the authenticity of the Goebbels Diaries. Stiglich considers them forged in whole or in part, while Irving and Faurisson believe in their authenticity. We refrain from expressing an opinion and refer to the entry of 7 March 1942, in which Goebbels states that the Jews must first be concentrated in the East; eventually, they could be sent to an island, perhaps Madagascar. This entry is in crass contradiction to the entry made twenty days later. Goebbels, an irreconcilable enemy of the Jews, may, in writing his diaries, have risen to an even more intense hatred of them, and in doing so, may have brought fantasies to paper which were in no way reconcilable with his earlier notes. This passage is therefore no proof of the occurrence of the extermination of the Jews; it is at best the most forceful indication that the exterminationists can produce, an indication which is nevertheless contradicted by a whole slew of watertight, irrefutable revisionist evidence.

### b) The two Himmler speeches of October 1943

Two bloodthirsty speeches, alleged to have given by SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler on 4 or 6 October 1943 in Posen before his SS men, are quoted in Holocaust literature with extraordinary frequency. The first speech states (23):

"I want to speak to you in all openness about a quite difficult matter. It must be spoken of among us once quite openly, but we will never speak about it in public... I mean the evacuation of the Jews, the extirpation of the Jewish people. It is one of those things which are easy to say -- 'The Jewish people will be extirpated', says every Party comrade, 'quite obvious, we'll do it, it's in our Party programme. Elimination of the Jews, extirpation, that's what we're doing...' We had the moral right, we had the duty to our people, to kill this people that wanted to kill us."

Two days later, according to the notes, Himmler said (24):

"A difficult decision had to be made to cause this people to disappear from the earth... You now know with certainty, and you'll keep it for yourselves... I believe it is better, we -- we, all of us --- have borne this for our people, have taken the responsibility for this upon ourselves (the responsibility for a deed, not for an idea), and we shall take that secret to our grave."

There are no original texts of the speeches. Himmler is allegedly supposed to have had the text of these (and other) speeches written down later with a typewriter -- for

whom? For posterity? To ensure that posterity would finally possess unequivocal proof of a Holocaust? As noted by the British historian David Irving, the critical passages, i.e., the passages which "prove the Holocaust", were inserted later, as may be seen from the different indentations on the pages concerned (25).

Two of the leading revisionists, Stiglich (26) and Walendy (27), have examined this text. Both came to the conclusion that it is a forgery.

On the other hand, there is a wire recording of the first speech. A recording was made of excerpts of the first, which was played at the Nuremberg Trial. The copy of this recording is supposed to have been of very mediocre quality, but the original recording is supposed to have been of acceptable quality. A voice analysis is supposed to have proven that this was actually Heinrich Himmler speaking (28).

A few remarks on this subject:

1) In the first speech, Himmler identifies the "evacuation" of the Jews with their "extermination", mixing up two concepts which are totally distinct today. The identification of evacuation and extermination loses their contradictory meaning when one considers that the meaning of the word "Ausrottung" has changed. In today's speech, "Ausrottung" doubtlessly means "liquidation, physical extermination". This was not necessarily so earlier; the etymological derivation of "ausrotten" is "to uproot". This change in meaning is proven by the following:

In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler wrote that Germanness was threatened with "Ausrottung" under the Habsburg Monarchy (29). He certainly didn't mean that the old Kaiser Franz Josef had any plans to drive ten million German-Austrians into gas chambers; rather, that they were exposed to the danger of losing their power and influence to the Slavs. Accordingly, Himmler could have meant by "Ausrottung" of the Jews to mean their political exclusion as well as their expulsion and resettlement outside of Europe. Of course, in the first speech, he uses the unmistakable word "umbringen", to kill; it is a fact, particularly on the Eastern front, that many Jews were shot, but the mere fact of the existence of millions of Jews in the German sphere of influence at the time of the speech argues against any systematic extermination.

2) There was nothing about any "Ausrottung" of the Jews in the party programme of the NSDAP.

3) In the second speech, Himmler speaks of the extermination of the Jews as if this were already concluded. In reality, millions of Jews were still alive in Europe in October 1943. Approximately 80% of the French Jews remained unharmed at the end of war. At the time of the speech, the Hungarian Jews had yet been disturbed in any way; their deportation only began in May 1944. At any rate, Himmler, in a speech over seven months later, on 24 May 1944, at Sonthofen, stated the following (30):

"At the present time... we will first take 100,000, later another 100,000 Jews from Hungary into concentration camps, with which to build underground factories. Not one will thence return into the view of the German people."



If the extermination of the European Jews had already been concluded seven months earlier, one could not possibly set 200,000 Hungarian Jews to work building underground factories!

4) In both speeches, especially the second, Himmler emphasizes the need for absolute silence, but fails to obey his own recommendation himself in the slightest; rather, he blabbers about the horrid crimes committed by his organization, and even had a wire recording made of the first speech!

If the wire recording of the first speech actually proves to be Himmler's voice, then these arguments will naturally not apply, insofar as they affect the first speech.

We shall leave the question of the authenticity of both speeches, as well as their exact meaning, open for the present. A detailed analysis of the speeches by Jack Wickoff will be published in the near future (31).

#### **c) The business letter relating to the ordering of "gas testers"**

As the "final proof" for homicidal gassings in Auschwitz, Pressac cites a business letter dated 6 March 1943 from the oven construction firm Topf & Söhne to the Central Construction of Auschwitz. The firm confirms receipt of a telegram ordering 10 gas testers (32).

Faurisson considers the letter to be genuine, but most revisionists consider it a falsification. We tend to the forgery theory, on the following grounds, stated by Walter Rademacher, among others (33):

- Devices for the detection of hydrocyanic acid residues are not called "Gasprüfer", but rather, "Blausaeurerestnachweisgeraete". The instructions for the use of Zyklon B, dated 1942, mention these devices no less than six times (34);

- if the health service responsible for the delousing action ran out of hydrocyanic acid detection devices, they would certainly not have ordered them from an oven construction firm which had nothing to do with their manufacture;

- "Gasprüfer" are understood to be devices for the analysis of CO or CO<sub>2</sub> combustion gases which arise during the carburization of coke in the generator of a crematory oven. According to Rademacher, the number of Gasprüfer ordered -- ten -- indicates precisely this application, since crematoria II and III possessed 10 flue gas channels.

This indicates that the document cited by Pressac is a forgery which "mixes apples and oranges"! Since neither the ordering of "hydrocyanic acid residue detection devices", nor the ordering of "gas testers" represents even the slightest proof of the gassing of human beings, the document lacks the slightest probative value even in the event of its authenticity.

## Undoubtedly genuine but falsely interpreted documents

Indisputably genuine documents which are subjected to a meaning arbitrarily altered from the meaning expressed, play an important role in Holocaust literature. Here are a few examples:

### **a) The passage on the "Hebraic race perverters" from *Mein Kampf***

In Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* it says (35):

"If twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebraic race perverters had been held under poison gas at the beginning of the war, as hundreds of thousands of our best German workers from all classes and professions were forced to endure it in the field, then the sacrifice of millions at the Front would not have been in vain."

A correct interpretation of this passage requires a knowledge of Hitler's biography. Hitler was temporarily blinded by a gas attack in 1918; to him, gas warfare involved personal trauma. He held the (mostly Jewish) Marxist leaders responsible for Germany's defeat during WWI. The passage therefore has the following meaning: "If the Marxist leaders had been sent to the front, where they would have been exposed to poison gas attacks like all the other soldiers, instead of being allowed to agitate in the rear, then we wouldn't have lost the war". That Hitler is not speaking of the extermination of the Jews here, is obvious from the quoted figure of "twelve to fifteen thousand".

When historians use this passage as proof of a "plan to gas the Jews", a plan alleged to have taken shape in his mind as early as the 1920s, they involve themselves in an inextricable contradiction. If you ask them why there are no documentary proofs of the Holocaust, they reply that the Germans either drew up no documents, or destroyed them all, just in time to conceal their crimes. According to the same historians, however, Hitler is then supposed to have announced his genocidal intentions to the entire world!

### **b) Documents on the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question"**

In a series of wartime German documents, the concept "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" arises. Thus, Göring wrote to Heydrich on 31 July 1941 (36):

"Supplementing your order already issued by decree of 24.1.1939, to bring the Jewish question to the most satisfactory possible solution in the form of emigration or evacuation in accordance with the time circumstances, I hereby assign you with responsibility for finding all the necessary conditions in an organizational, technical and material regard for an overall solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe... I furthermore assign you with responsibility for presenting me soon with an overall draft of the organizational, technical, and material preconditions for the execution of the desired overall solution of the Jewish question."

This letter is quoted to the point of exhaustion by the Holocaust peddlers, always with the allegation that Göring entrusted Heydrich with the organizational preparation of

the genocide. Again, the ruling clique is reading something into the document which is not there.

What the National Socialists understood by "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" is made very clear in this document: the emigration, by force if necessary, of all Jews from Europe. Madagascar was originally intended to serve as the home of the Jews (see, in this regard, the above mentioned entry in Goebbels' diary of 7 March 1942), but this plan could not be realized. After conquering extensive territories in the East at the beginning of the Russian campaign, the creation of at least a provisional Jewish settlement area in each zone was considered. That a considerable number of Jews were actually sent to White Russia and the Baltic states, is admitted even by the exterminationists (37). Of course, such deportations make nonsense of the exterminationist argument: why send Jews right past six "extermination camps" running full tilt, all the way to White Russia and the Baltic states, if a decision has been made for the complete extermination of Jewry?

In his book *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft*, Steffen Werner collects a number of clues indicating that considerable numbers of Jews were in fact sent to White Russia and settled there (38). That Auschwitz was used as a transit camp for the Eastern settlement of Jews not registered at Auschwitz and therefore assumed by exterminationists to have been gassed, has been shown by the Spaniard Enrique Aynat (39).

The character of German policy towards the Jews is clearly revealed by a document drawn up by Martin Luther, an official of the Foreign Office, on 21 August 1942 (40):

"The evacuation of the Jews from Germany has begun on the basis of the... mentioned instruction of the Fuehrer (on the resettlement of the Jews). It was considered whether to include the Jewish citizens of countries which had also taken Jewish measures... the number of Jews shifted to the East in this manner does not suffice to cover the labour requirements. The Reichssicherheitsamt approached the Foreign Office, upon the instructions of the Reichsführer SS, to ask the Slovakian government to make 20,000 strong young Jews from Slovakia available for transfer to the East."

Hans Heinrich Lammers, Director of the Reichschancellory, was asked about his knowledge of the Final Solution by attorney Dr. Thoma during the Nuremberg Trial. In 1942, he had asked Himmler what the "Final Solution of the Jewish question" was to be understood to mean; after which Himmler informed him that this meant the evacuation of the Jews to the East. In 1943, rumours came to Lammers' attention according to which the Jews were being exterminated. He investigated the matter, and returned to Himmler, who reacted as follows (41):

"He (Himmler) brought out a lot of pictures and albums and showed me the work that was being done in these camps by the Jews and how they worked for the war needs -- the shoemakers' shops, tailors' shops, and so forth. He told me: 'This is the order of the Fuehrer: if you believe that you have to take action against it, then tell the Fuehrer....' I once again reported this matter to the Fuehrer, and on this occasion he gave me exactly the same reply which I

had been given by Himmler. He said, 'I shall later on decide where these Jews will be taken and in the meantime they are being cared for there.'

The following dialogue took place between Dr. Thoma and Lammers (42):

**Thoma:** Did Himmler ever tell you that the Final Solution of the Jewish problem was to take place through the extermination of the Jews?

**Lammers:** That was never mentioned. He talked only about evacuation.

**Thoma:** When did you hear that these five million Jews had been exterminated?

**Lammers:** I heard of that here a while ago.

The chief of the Reichschancellory, who, according to the *Enzyklopaedie der Holocaust*, received "all anti-Jewish measures" across his desk, (43), therefore only learned at Nuremberg that the Final Solution of the Jewish question was to take place through their extermination!

### **c) Documents on "Special actions", etc.**

All German documents in which words appear bearing the prefix "Sonder" (Sondermassnahmen, Sonderaktionen, Sonderbehandlung, etc.) are trotted out as proof of the extermination of the Jews. Now, it is true that such concepts could relate to executions (44), but this was by no means always the case. Thus, Pressac mentions in his second book, that the concept (Sonderaktion" was used in Auschwitz for the police investigation of the grounds for a strike of the civilian workers (45) -- a STRIKE in an EXTERMINATION CAMP! Pressac furthermore quotes an order from the SS concerning "Sondermassnahmen" for the improvement of the sanitary conditions in the Birkenau camp (46). Thus, the Sondermassnahmen here were to prolong life, and not to shorten it.

To sum up: among the many millions of documents from the era of the Third Reich, there is NOT ONE which delivers a single proof for the gassing of even one JEW in Auschwitz or elsewhere!

### **d) The Korherr Report: master example of misinterpretation**

A report drawn up by the SS statistician Richard Korherr (47) in early 1943 for Dr. Rudolf Brandt of Himmler's staff is constantly quoted by the orthodox historians as "proof of the Holocaust". According to the report, the number of European Jews in Europe had been reduced by nearly half in the time period between 1933 and 1943. 1,873,549 Jews are stated to have been lost as the result of "evacuations including Theresienstadt and including Sonderbehandlung" (Theresienstadt was a ghetto for mostly elderly and privileged Jews).

Korherr then lists the Jews evacuated from Baden and the Pfalz to France, from the territory of the Reich, including the Protectorate and Bialystock, to the East, and from the territory of the Reich and the Protectorate to Theresienstadt, presenting his statistics as follows:

4. Transport of Jews from the Eastern provinces to the Russian East: 1,449,692 Jews

- Transit through the camps in the General Gouvernement 1,274,166 Jews

- Through the camps in the Warthegau 145,301 Jews

If one considers the number of the Jews transported to the East, one notes that they correspond very exactly to the numbers listed in the Holocaust literature as having been exterminated in the "pure extermination camps" at that time, of Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Chelmno. The first three of these "extermination camps" were located in the General Gouvernement, Chelmno lay in the Warthegau (i.e., in the territory which was originally German, but is today Polish, having been annexed by Poland after WWI and reincorporated into Germany in 1939). The strategy of the falsifiers of history is obvious: to deliberately misinterpret the unambiguous expression "transport" as a code word for "murder", and then claim that the "transit camps" were "extermination camps".

The Korherr Report has been examined by Georges Wellers from the exterminationist point of view (48), and by Stephen Challer (49) and Carlo Mattogno (50) from the revisionist point of view.

### Documents which contradict the extermination theory

But it gets even worse for the Holocaust scribblers. A flood of indisputably genuine documents namely prove that NO extermination of the Jews was planned.

If the National Socialists had planned the physical extermination of the Jews at any time, there should have been no more documents, dated later, speaking of the use of the Jews for their labour; yet such documents exist by the ton. We already discussed one of them, the Luther Memorandum; here are a few more examples.

At the end of 1942, Himmler wrote to KL Inspector Richard Glücks (51):

"Prepare to accept 100,000 male Jews and up to 50,000 female Jews in the concentration camp in the next 4 weeks. Great economic tasks will arise in the concentration camps in the coming weeks."

Hadn't Himmler yet been informed about the decision to exterminate the Jews, made at the Wannsee Conference by subordinates, or was "large economic tasks" a camouflage term for "gassing"?

On 18 November 1943, the Auschwitz camp administration received the order from WVHA (Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt) of the SS to grant premiums to good workers, INCLUDING JEWS (52). What Jewish workers? According to the Himmler speeches at Posen of October 1943 and quoted in Holocaust literature a thousand times over, all the European Jews had already been exterminated by that time!

On 9 March 1944, as the extermination of the Hungarian Jews was already running full tilt, according to the legend, Himmler wrote to the Chief of the SS Main Office as well as to the SS Economic Main Administration Office stating (53):

"The Fuehrer has ordered the transfer of 10,000 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, to supervise the 200,000 Jews being transferred to the concentration camps of the Reich in order to put them to work on large construction projects for the OT [Organization Todt] and other projects of importance to the war."

What did they need to supervise gassed Jews for?

On 15 August 1944, the WVHA reported the above mentioned delivery of 612,000 persons, INCLUDING 90,000 HUNGARIAN JEWS, to the work camps (54). And the Hungarian Minister for the Interior Gabor Wajna reports, Himmler is said to have reported that the production of fighter planes had been increased by 40% due to the assignment of Hungarian Jews.

How was this possible? All 438,000 deported Hungarian Jews, including the 28,000 registered in Auschwitz, were gassed between May and July in Birkenau (56)! How could these gassing victims still work on the manufacture of fighter planes?

The absurdity of the notion that the Germans could even think of exterminating huge numbers of people capable of working at precisely a time when they were in desperate need of manpower, has even dawned on a few Holocaust writers. Hannah Arendt wonders (57):

"The inconceivability of the horror is closely related to its economic uselessness. The Nazis drove this uselessness to the greatest extremes, even to open anti-utilitarianism, by building gigantic and expensive extermination factories in the middle of the war and transported people back and forth, despite the lack of building materials and rolling stock. In the eyes of a strictly utilitarian world, the obvious contrast between these actions and all military necessity gave the whole undertaking an appearance of insane unreality."

It appears to us that there is an "appearance of insane unreality" floating over the theories of the orthodox historians.

In conclusion, we wish to comment on two Auschwitz documents reproduced here (Figs. XXX and XXXI).

The first of these documents is dated 30 June 1943. It was prepared by a doctor at Auschwitz who reported that an inmate, Jaroslaus Murka, had been "admitted to the HKB (main hospital) with numerous haematoma on the skull, in the face, upper arm and breast, disturbances of vision and concussion". The doctor then asks that the guilty parties be punished.

In a camp in which between 470,000 and 9 million Jews were murdered, according to which historian you believe, the Germans, therefore, took the trouble to write up a report about a beaten inmate, and to demand punishment for the guilty party. The victim was admitted to hospital -- what the devil was a HOSPITAL doing in an EXTERMINATION CAMP?

The second document reproduced here proves that an inmate, Jan Kristian, was detained at Auschwitz from 3 May to 8 June 1944 and was released on the last mentioned date, on the condition that he report immediately to the Auschwitz labour office for new arrangements.

This release is no isolated case. Carlo Mattogno and myself found 56 such release certificates in Moscow covering a period of only a few days in June and July 1944. In almost all cases, these were Poles having served short sentences in Birkenau "labour education camp" for violating their labour contracts, and were sent to a factory after completing their sentences.

The releases occurred at just the point in time, according to official Holocaust literature, when the extermination of the Hungarian Jews was running full blast; around 400,000 of these people are supposed to have been driven into the gas chambers within the short period of less than two months. Jan Kristian and the numerous releases over that same period are therefore supposed to have permitted to witness the gassing of the 400,000 Hungarian Jews "live", after which they were released so that they could blabber all about it in their factories! This is the sort of rubbish which has been touted by the media whores, court historians, and politicians for decades; and we believe it.

In reality, Auschwitz was used as a transit camp for the deportation of the Hungarian Jews, with the exception of the 28,000 who were registered there. This is proven by German documents, and is confirmed by a totally unimpeachable authority, Jean-Claude Pressac; he reports, referring to documents located in the Yad Vashem, that 40,000 to 50,000 Hungarian female Jews were sent to the work camp of Stutthof alone (58). Pressac thus involuntarily reinforces the basic theory of the revisionists -- that the transport of a large part of European Jews for compulsory labour is a historical fact, but that the "extermination of Jews in gas chambers" is the most enormous, most impudent swindle of all time.

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## Notes:

1) Hilberg, Introduction.

2) André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, Polémiques, Ogmios Diffusion, 1986; see also the abridged German edition *Die 'Geständnisse' des Kurt Gerstein*, Druffel, 1986.

3) Filip Mueller, *Sonderbehandlung*, Steinhausen, 1979.

4) After the battle of Sedan, the Germans attempted to cremate the bodies of the fallen in graves. They laid three layers of bodies in the graves, covered them with tar, and set them on fire. The upper layer was charred, the middle layer was slightly singed, and the lowest layer was not even affected (Harald Froehlich, "Zur Gesundheitspflege auf den Schlachtfeldern", *Deutsche Militärärztliche Zeitschrift*, I, 1-4, 1872, p. 109/110, quoted by Carlo Mattogno in *Auschwitz, The End of a Legend*, IHR, 1994, p. 19).

- 5) In this regard, see Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. p. 318 ff.
- 6) Newsday, Long Island, New York, 23 February 1983, quoted by Robert Faurisson, "Mon experience du révisionnisme", in: *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, no. 8, p. 31/32.
- 7) Klarsfeld, p. 5 (private numbering; Klarsfeld's *Mémorial* has no page numbers).
- 8) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia 1994.
- 9) Quoted here according to Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 220.
- 10) The document concerned in the Moskow Special Archive bears the archive number 502-I-316, sheet 431.
- 11) Robert Faurisson in *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 3, as well as R. Faurisson, *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac*, RHR, 1993.
- 12) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, The End of a Legend*.
- 13) *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten*, published by Herbert Verbeke, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem, Belgium
- 14) Pery Broad, *Erinnerungen*, in the anthology *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Katowice, 1981, p. 195.
- 15) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 197
- 16) Carlo Mattogno, *La soluzione finale*, Edizioni di Ar, 1991, p. 64/65.
- 17) The (alleged) protocol of the Wannsee Conference is reproduced among others by Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos* (Grabert, 1978), p. 39 ff., and in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 182 ff.
- 18) See, for example, Staeglich in *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, p. 38 ff; Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 35; Ingrid Weckert in *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, no. 40 (1992); Johannes P. Ney in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 169 ff.
- 19) The document is now mentioned in Brigitte Bailer-Galanda/Wolfgang Benz/Wolfgang Neugebauer (publishers), *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge*, Deuticke, 1995, p. 71.
- 20) Hilberg, p. 946.
- 21) Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 300 ff.
- 22) Quoted in Fraenkel/Manvell, *Goebbels - eine Biographie*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1960, p. 257 ff.
- 23) Nuremberg trial document volumes IMT XXXIX p. 122 ff.



- 24) Quoted according to Stäglich, p. 95 ff.
- 25) David Irving, *Hitler's Krieg*, F.A. Herbig, 1986, p. 252.
- 26) Staeglich, p. 89 ff.
- 27) Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 45.
- 28) Oral communication from G. Rudolf and A. Schimmelpfennig to the author.
- 29) Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Franz Eher Verlag, Muenchen 1943, p. 13/14.
- 30) Stäglich, p. 100.
- 31) Wickoff's analysis of the speech is scheduled to appear sometime in 1997 in the *Vierteljahreszeitschrift für freie Geschichtsforschung*.
- 32) Quoted, among others, by Pressac, *Les crématoires...* p. 71 ff.
- 33) Rademacher in Gauss, *Grundlagen*, p. 55 ff.
- 34) Nuremberg Document NI-9912.
- 35) Hitler, p. 772.
- 36) Nuremberg Document NG-2586/PS-710.
- 37) See for example Reitlinger, p. 100 ff.
- 38) Steffen Werner, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft*, Grabert, Tuebingen, 1992.
- 39) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia 1994.
- 40) Nuremberg Document NG-2586.
- 41) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XI pp. 82/83 (German text).
- 42) *ibid*, p. 83.
- 43) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 848.
- 44) An example of this is provided by Kogon/Rückerl on p. 17.
- 45) Pressac, *Les crématoires...* p. 63.
- 46) *ibid*, p. 82.
- 47) Nuremberg documents NO-5194 and NO-5193.

- 48) Georges Wellers, *La solution finale et la Mythomanie néo-nazie*, published by Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Paris, 1979.
- 49) Stephen Challen, *Richard Korherr and his Reports*, Cromwell Press, London 1993.
- 50) Carlo Mattogno, *Dilettanti allo Sbaraglio*, Edizioni di Ar, Padova, 1996, p. 112 ff.
- 51) Nuremberg Document NO-500.
- 52) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, no. 6, 1962, p. 78.
- 53) Nuremberg document NO-5689.
- 54) Nuremberg document NO-1990.
- 55) Nuremberg document NO-1874.
- 56) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1467.
- 57) Hannah Arendt *Le origini del totalitarismo*, Milan, 1967, p. 609, quoted by Carlo Mattogno in *La soluzione finale*, p. 106 (retranslated from English to Italian to German to English).
- 58) Pressac, *Les crématoires...*, p. 147.

## CHAPTER IX

### EYEWITNESSES TO THE GAS CHAMBERS AT AUSCHWITZ

This chapter is a slightly amended version of an article published by the author in the periodical *Aurora* (Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland, July 1995).

Anyone with a serious interest in the Holocaust is strongly recommended to take a trip to Auschwitz. All sorts of peculiarities are immediately apparent to the critical visitor: piles of "women's hair from victims of mass gassings" are displayed behind plate glass windows; yet the hair is all ash-blond in colour, and looks like flax or hemp. Piles of shoes are presented as proof of mass murder, although the only thing they really prove is that somebody piled up a load of shoes (1). Above all, however, are the absurdly small dimensions of the "gas chambers" in which between 470,000 and 9,000,000 people were murdered and cremated beyond a trace (according to which historian you believe).

According to the exterminationists, the Auschwitz camp complex possessed the following gassing installations:

- block 11 in the main camp of Auschwitz I, where only one single gassing procedure is alleged to have taken place (see above);
- The morgue alleged to have been used as a gas chamber in the Krematorium of the main camp (Auschwitz I);
- Two farm houses allegedly converted into gas chambers, located to the west of Birkenau, three kilometres west of the main camp;
- The rooms designated as "Morgue I" in the Krematoria II and III at Birkenau (identical in construction);
- several rooms inside Krematoria IV and V of Birkenau, undesignated in the blueprints, but alleged to have been used as gas chambers.

Now compare Figs. II and III.

According to Pressac, 10,000 people -- both Jews and Soviet prisoners of war -- are supposed to have been murdered in the gas chambers of the main camps in early 1942. That there is no documentary evidence of this, but only eyewitness reports, is openly admitted by Pressac (2). From the spring of 1942 until the spring of 1943, gassings are supposed to have taken place in the farm houses, also called the "red" and "white" houses, or bunkers 1 and 2. From the spring of 1943, the gassings are

supposed to have taken place in the crematoria of Birkenau, when the gas chambers of Krema II are supposed to have become the main murder factories of the Third Reich.

In our book *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* (3), we collected and analysed 30 of the most important eyewitness reports and confessions. The official historical writers should have undertaken such a task decades ago, but no; they left the job to the revisionists. The idea for this undertaking, by the way, was suggested by Gerhard Förster, a certified engineer.

23 or 24 of the eyewitness reports which we evaluated date back to the years 1944 to 1947. 22 of them originate from Jewish "Holocaust survivors", two from non-Jewish Poles, and six from German criminals.

Some of the technical and scientific impossibilities in the eyewitness testimonies

If we examine the testimonies carefully, we soon discover that they contain a number of scientific and technical impossibilities which hopelessly shatter their probative value. Here are only a few of these absurdities; we will be satisfied in most cases with a single example only.

a) Blue vapour over the bodies of the victims. The witness, Richard Boerk, a lower-ranking SS lorry driver during the war who was considered especially credible by the Auschwitz Trial in Frankfurt (1963-1965), states as follows: (4):

"A short time later (i.e., after the death of the victims) the door was opened by the prisoners, and we could still see a blue vapour floating over a gigantic pile of bodies."

Boeck cannot possibly have seen this blue vapour, since hydrocyanide gas is entirely colourless. Its name comes from the blue colour of the pigment arising from its compound with iron.

b) Blue coloration among the victims. "Holocaust survivor" Milton Buki reports (5):

"Two minutes after opening the doors, we received the order to carry away the bodies, and we loaded them on carts. The bodies were naked, some had blue spots."

Hydrocyanic acid blocks the oxygen supply to the cells. The haemoglobin in the blood can no longer give off oxygen to the cells, and the blood becomes saturated with oxygen, which leads to a red colouring of the skin (6). Buki was a member of the Sonderkommando and in Auschwitz from December 1942. The Sonderkommando allegedly had to drag the bodies out of the gas chambers. Since the gassings allegedly continued until well into October 1944, Buki had almost two years in which to observe that victims of hydrocyanic gas asphyxiation exhibit red coloration, but no, he speaks of blue pigmentation. So does Hilberg's star witness, Filip Mueller (7), who was a member of a Sonderkommando for almost two years. There can be no doubt that Buki and Mueller never saw the body of a person having died of cyanide gas asphyxiation.

c) Impossibly great numbers of victims packed into the gas chamber per square meter. According to star witness Höss, around 2,000 victims (9), were packed into the gas chambers of Krema II -- the surface area measures 210 square metres (8) -- according to key witness Vrba 3,000 (10), or even 4,000 victims, according to key witness Broad (11), all crammed in at one time. The Nazis would have needed a steam shovel to get them in, and they could have saved the money they spent on Zyklon B (which was expensive).

d) Flames shooting out of the crematory chimneys. Henryk Tauber, Pressac's star witness, tells us the following story (12):

"In general, we burned four or five bodies in one muffle, but we often put more bodies in the ovens... Great numbers of bodies were burned at one time, without the knowledge of the director of the crematorium, whenever the air raid siren went off. The especially high flames shooting out of the chimneys were to attract the attention of the pilots."

Walter Lüftl, former president of the Austrian Federal Chamber of Engineers, and forensic expert at innumerable trials, remarks to this effect:

"Coke is a short-flamed fuel. For this reason, the flames cannot even exit the combustion chamber. Between the oven and chimney, there is an exhaust channel, the flue. The chimney only comes after that. The combustion of short-flamed solid fuels gives off no flames, but only, at the most, hot exhaust gasses at 180 degrees Centigrade; otherwise, the chimney would soon be ruined."

e) Impossibly great numbers of bodies burnt at once in one muffle. Sonderkommando member Alter Szmul Faynzylberg is even more audacious than Henryk Tauber. He claims (13):

"There were three ovens; there were two openings in each one. There was room for twelve bodies in each of these openings."

The muffles he is talking about measured 200 x 70 x 80 cm. It must have been very difficult to cram 12 bodies into a space that size, to say the least.

f) Cremation of bodies without fuel. We will allow Pressac's star witness Henryk Tauber describe this one again (14):

"...when one cremation followed another, the ovens used the embers given off during the cremations as fuel. For this reason, we usually extinguished the fire during the cremation of fat bodies."

Bodies consist of more than 60% water and only burn by themselves, without fuel, in the fairy tales of Holocaust survivors.

g) Cremation of bodies in ditches. This fairy tale appears in the accounts of many "eyewitnesses", such as that of Szlama Dragon (15):

"On the other side of the huts, there were four ditches, each 30 m long, 7 m wide and 3 m deep... First we laid big logs on the floor of the ditch, then increasingly smaller pieces of wood laid cross-wise, and finally, dried branches. After all the bodies had been dragged out of the hut and placed in the ditch, Moll poured petrol all over them at all four corners of the ditch, and set them on fire, by throwing in a burning rag."

Due to the insufficient oxygen supply, the cremation of bodies in ditches will only char them; they cannot be completely burnt (16). One should also note that Dragon has built his bonfire upside down. Every Boy Scout knows that fires are lit by putting the most easily combustible material, i.e., small twigs, etc., at the bottom. Dragon's pile of wood would never catch fire, since the fire would go out after burning the more easily combustible material at the top. Bodies have always been burnt in the open, on pyres, not in ditches.

h) Use of boiling human fat flowing down from the cremation fires, as additional fuel. This monstrous fairy tale is taken to an extreme by Filip Mueller (17), but it is also found in innumerable other reports, giving rise to the suspicion that "Holocaust survivors" simply repeat the same nonsense over and over, copied from each other. In 1995, a book on the Sonderkommando appeared by the Israeli "expert" named Gideon Grief (18). As soon as we got hold of his book, we immediately looked for the story of the boiling human fat. It only took a few minutes -- and sure enough, there it was: right there in the introduction (p. xxvii).

i) Use of methanol as fuel. Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss wrote in his Krakow prison (19):

"The bodies were first spattered with oil residues, then methanol."

The stupid yarn about burning bodies with methanol is found in the accounts of both "victim" Filip Mueller (20) and "criminal" Pery Broad (21). Walter Lüftl, President of the Austrian Chamber of Engineers, once attempted to burn a dead sparrow with methanol. The attempt failed, although the quantity of methanol, by weight, exceeded the weight body of the sparrow itself.

The four central impossibilities of the eyewitness testimonies

We now come to the four central impossibilities of the eyewitness testimonies, which in turn destroy whatever credibility is left.

a) Impossibly short cremation times per corpse

In the Basel crematorium, the cremation of a corpse takes an average of one hour (22); in the Freiburg crematorium, it takes one and a half hours (see Fig. IV). According to our witnesses, the same procedure at Auschwitz took place in a fraction of that time (23). According to Dov Paisikovic, it only took a total of four minutes to reduce a corpse to ashes (23). Star witness Miklos Nyiszli, whose best seller has appeared in many languages and editions, reports that the 46 muffles of the Birkenau crematoria burnt 20,000 corpses PER DAY (24). According to the same Nyiszli, 20,000 Jews were gassed every day, and another 5,000 to 6,000 were shot or burnt

alive. This makes 435 bodies per muffle, which means that the cremation process was eighteen times faster than in modern crematoria in 1996. More modest is Rudolf Höss, who wrote (25):

"The two big crematoria I and II (usual numbering today: II and III) were built in the winter of 1942/1943 and put into operation in early 1943. They had five 3-chamber ovens each, and could each burn 2,000 bodies in 24 hours."

According to this, the daily capacity of one retort amounted to 133 corpses, and was therefore five times higher than in a modern crematorium. Carlo Mattogno was correct in stating, in his trail-blazing study on the crematoria of Auschwitz (26):

"The eyewitnesses wish to persuade us that the crematory ovens of Auschwitz-Birkenau were independent of the laws of nature: diabolical instruments, not ordinary crematory installations subject to the chemico-physical and thermo-technical laws of nature which ordinarily apply to such installations. The historians have decided to trust the witnesses blindly, and therefore allowed themselves to be dragged along by the current of totally misleading testimonies."

#### b) Introduction of Zyklon through non-existent openings

Most of the Jews are supposed to have been murdered in the "gas chamber" of Krema II of Birkenau, and there are by far the most "eyewitness testimonies" about this gas chamber. The layout of the crematorium is shown in Fig. III. So how did the Zyklon get into the death chamber? The witnesses have told the story in five different variants, all of which are radically impossible:

**1. Variant no. 1:** the Zyklon was introduced into the interior of the gas chamber through shower heads. These variant, which continues to haunt popular superstition to the present day, appears, for example, in a book by an Austrian Jewess named Jenny Spritzer (27). It is so extremely stupid that it has never been accepted by any official historian. Zyklon B is a granulate and cannot move through pipes!

**2. Variant no. 2,** from Zofia Kossack (28):

"A shrill scream, and the gas began to rise through openings in the floor. From a balcony enabling them to see over the doors, the SS men eagerly observed the death struggle: the terror, the convulsions, of those condemned to die. For these sadists, it was a spectacle of which they never grew tired. The death struggle lasted 10 to 15 minutes... The team loaded the bodies on carts, of course, working as fast as they could. Others waited. But it happened that the dead began to come back to life. At this dosage, the gas only stupefied them, it didn't kill them. It often happened that the victims began to regain consciousness on the carts... They rushed down the ramps and unloaded their cargo into the ovens."

First, the ovens were located above the gas chamber, so that they could not possibly "rush down the ramps"; second, there were no "balconies" from which one could overlook the morgues; third, dead people do not usually regain consciousness; fourth,

there were no holes in the floor through which the gas could rise. As every visitor to the ruins of the crematorium may observe today, the only thing beneath the floor of the morgue is solid earth.

**3. Variant 3**, from the Slovakian Jew Rudolf Vrba (29):

"A command was issued in a sharp tone to the SS man (on the roof of the crematorium). He raised a circular lid and dropped the little pellets on the heads below him."

At the time of the alleged mass killings, there were no openings in the roof of the morgue, with or without lid. As German Rudolf has irrefutably proven in his expert report (30), the two openings visible in the roof today were clumsily made by the Soviets or Polish communists after the demolition of the crematoria and the Germans retreat, in order to fake the appearance of Zyklon introduction holes. The openings are quite irregular in shape, and impossibly large (a slim adult can climb through them into the morgue). The iron reinforcement rods were simply bent back; there are no cracks running through the holes, which would be the case if the holes had existed before the building was blown up.

**4. Variant no. 4**, from Miklos Nyiszli (31):

"The content of the container... is poured into the opening, from which it reaches the gas chambers through sheet metal pipes in the underground gas chamber. The substance: Zyklon B. In contact with the air, the substance gives off a gas which penetrates the many thousands of holes in the sheet metal pipes and diffuses into the room packed with people."

As in variant 3, this would require openings in the ceiling, which did not exist.

**5. Variant 5** is another Hendryk Tauber inspiration (32):

"The roof of the gas chamber rests on cement columns, which were located in the midst of the longitudinal sides. Next to these columns stood four others, two on each side. The sides of these columns, which led out of through the roof, were of heavy wire grid. Within this grid was another, of finer wire. Further inside, was still a third grid, of very fine wire. Inside this third and last wire grid was a can, which could be tipped upwards with a wire to allow the pellets to fall out, from which the gas streamed outwards."

This would have prevented the granulates -- which would have continued to release gas for two more hours -- from becoming entrapped beneath the bodies and endangering the lives of the Sonderkommando. But even if one hundred thousand witnesses confirmed the existence of such a wire grid, the story would still collapse due to the non-existence of any holes in the ceiling.

Zyklon is also supposed to have been poured through holes in the roof at Krematorium I in the main camp, which attracts far more visitors than the ruins of the Kremas at Birkenau. These openings were also made after the war, as has been admitted by the administration of the Auschwitz Museum; and since the crematorium



ceiling, apart from this, is still indisputably in the original condition, it would be easy to see traces of the original holes if there had ever been any; but no such traces exist (33).

"No holes, no Holocaust", is Robert Faurisson's neat way of summing up the matter.

c) Opening the gas chamber doors and removing the bodies after impossibly short ventilation times

The insecticide Zyklon B, used in Auschwitz to combat infectious diseases carried by lice, consists of liquid hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a carrier base (a granular mass). At a temperature of 15 degrees Celsius and low humidity, wartime Zyklon B gave off approximately 50% of its hydrocyanic acid in approximately half an hour. Its entire content of hydrocyanic acid was only released after approximately two hours (34). Even if the homicidal gas chambers had possessed efficient ventilation systems -- and such systems existed only in the delousing chambers, not in the gas chambers (35) -- it would have been necessary to wait at least two hours before turning on the ventilation.

There is only one single example of a case in which the witnesses describe a long death struggle and a long period between the introduction of the gas and the emptying of the gas chamber. This description relates to the alleged gassing of Soviet prisoners of war in Block 11 of the main camp. This gassing used to be considered to have occurred in September 1941, but, according to Jean-Claude Pressac, it should be considered to have taken place in December 1941 (36). But one of the most important witnesses, Rudolf Höss, says that the victims died "immediately after introduction" of the Zyklon B (37), so that the witnesses contradict each other. That any gassing of Russian POWs is a myth, has been proven by Carlo Mattogno in great detail (38).

Apart from the special case mentioned above, the time elapsing between the introduction of the Zyklon and the death of the victims, as described by the "eyewitnesses" varies from "immediately" to 20 minutes. Since the granulate only gives off its gas content slowly, immediate death would have been an impossibility, even if ridiculously high quantities of Zyklon had been used; death within 20 minutes, on the other hand, would have been quite possible. The short time intervals alleged to have elapsed between the death of the victims and the emptying of the gas chamber nevertheless remain quite unrealistic. The longest delay mentioned by any witness that we know of -- apart from the alleged, one-time only gassing of Russian prisoners -- is 50 minutes (39), which would have been less than half the minimum required time.

Let us now quote an unusually ingenious "eyewitness" report. It comes from Dr. Charles Sigismund Bendel, a Roumanian-French doctor of the Islamic faith. Bendel helped frame two totally innocent men, Dr. Bruno Tesch and Karl Weinbacher, of the DEGESCH (Deutschen Gesellschaft für Schädlingbekämpfung); both were hanged (40). Here is Dr. Bendel's testimony on the gassing procedure in Krema IV (41):

"About 12 o'clock the new transport arrived, consisting of some 800 to 1,000 people... Then the door was opened, and the people were packed into the gas chambers, which gave the impression that the roof was falling on their heads,

as it was so low... One heard cries and shouts and they started to fight against each other, knocking on the walls. This went on for minutes and then there was complete silence. Five minutes later the doors were opened, but it was quite impossible to go in for another 20 minutes. Then the Special Kommandos went to work. When the doors were opened a crowd of bodies fell out, since they were compressed so much. They were quite contracted, and it was almost impossible to separate one from the other... Anybody who has ever seen a gas chamber filled to a height of one and a half metres with corpses will never forget it... At this moment the proper work of the Sonderkommandos starts. They have to drag out the bodies which are still warm and covered with blood, but before they are thrown into the ditches they still have to pass through the hands of the barber and the dentist, because the barber cuts the hair off and the dentist has to take out all the teeth... People who had human faces before, I cannot recognize again. They are like devils. A barrister from Salonica, an electrical engineer from Budapest -- they are no longer human beings because, even during the work, blows from sticks and rubber truncheons are being showered over them... After an hour and a half, the whole work has been done and a new transport has been dealt with in Crematorium no. 4."

What Bendel described can only have been dreamed up in his sick brain.

- The doors were said to have been opened after only seven minutes, when the granulate would only have released a fraction of its gas content. The ventilation therefore took place into the very corridor in which the cyanide-resistant Sonderkommandos and SS men were waiting!
- after another 20 minutes, the Sonderkommando are said to have entered the gas chambers WITHOUT GAS MASKS -- otherwise he would not have been able to recognize their devilishly distorted faces -- and worked in the midst of clouds of gas which continued to be released!
- When the Jews died in these gas chambers, which are supposed to have been cramped to bursting point (remember, they were "tightly packed together"), they are supposed to have collapsed, but in such a way as to form a layer of bodies one and a half metres high!
- There were supposed to be ONE BARBER and ONE DENTIST for 800 to 1,000 bodies. The whole job is said to have been finished after one and half hours, i.e., the dentist pulled out all these teeth in 5,400 seconds. Even if we assume that every victim (assuming 800 victims, the lower figure) were missing four teeth, this means the dentist is supposed to have pulled 22,400 teeth ( $800 \times 28 = 22,400$ ), almost four teeth per second!

This Bendel character is considered one of the "most reliable gas chamber witnesses". It is on the basis of the inventions of such liars and swindlers that an entire people have been criminalized for half a century.

d) Sonderkommandos working without gas masks in clouds of cyanide gas

We have just seen that Dr. Bendel's Sonderkommando wore no breathing equipment. This same radical impossibility is also described by other witnesses. Filip Mueller, Hilberg's star witness, describes in his first job in the main gas chamber as follows (42):

"My glance fell on a half opened suitcase, in which I saw food, which was probably intended as food for they journey. With one hand, I pretended to be busy undressing a dead body; with the other, I searched through the suitcase. As I grasped a triangular cheese and a poppy seed cake out of the suitcase, I watched out in order not to be surprised by Stark. With blood-smeared and filthy hands, I tore the cake apart and crammed it down like a greedy animal of prey."

Mueller cannot possibly have crammed anything down like a "greedy animal of prey" while wearing a gas mask. According to most other witnesses, the victims had to undress themselves before the gassing. This would have been more logical, since the Zyklon clinging to the clothing would have represented an additional source of danger for the Sonderkommandos.

To be honest, we must admit that there are other witnesses who claim that the Sonderkommandos worked with gas masks on (for example, Szlama Dragon). But gas masks would have been insufficient to provide complete protection; they would have needed complete protective clothing, because the Sonderkommandos would have sweated during their work, and sweating increases the danger of absorption through the skin. But not a single witness speaks of protective clothing.

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### Notes:

- 1) Ernst Gauss, *Vorlesungen ueber Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, 1993, p. 21.
- 2) Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 132.
- 3) Published in 1994 at *Neue Visionen*, Postfach 5436, Wuerenlos.
- 4) Interrogation of the witness Boeck, Aktenzeichen 4 JS 444/59, sheets 6878 ff.
- 5) Quoted according to Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 163.
- 6) Germar Rudolf, *Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz*, Cromwell Press, London, 1993, p. 111.
- 7) Mueller, op. cit. 186.
- 8) Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit., p. 286

- 9) Rudolf Höss, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, published by Martin Broszat, dtv, 1983, p. 164, Höss writes that the gassing premises had a capacity of 3000 victims each, but that this figure was never reached in practice. We assume 2000 victims per action, a figure which is also named by Höss by the way in his confession (Nuremberg document 3968-PS).
- 10) Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, Bantam, 1964, p. 10.
- 11) Pery Broad, op. cit. p. 180/181.
- 12) Quoted according to Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 489.
- 13) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Sonderheft 1, "Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos", Auschwitz State Museum, 1972, p. 43.
- 14) Tauber in Pressac, see note 11.
- 15) Trial records relating to Rudolf Höss, Auschwitz State Museum, volume XI, appendix 17.
- 16) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, The End...* op. cit. p. 19.
- 17) Filip Mueller, op cit. p. 207 ff.
- 18) Gideon Greif, *Wir weinten tränenlos*, Boehlau Verlag, 1995.
- 19) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 161.
- 20) Filip Mueller, op. cit. p. 217.
- 21) Pery Broad, op. cit. pp. 177/178.
- 22) Oral communication by Basel crematorium technician H.H. to J.G. on 10 February 1993.
- 23) Don Paisikovic in Léon Poliakov (publisher), *Auschwitz*, Rene Julliard, 1964, p. 159 ff.
- 24) Miklos Nyiszli, *Boncoloorvosa voltam as Auschwitz-i krematoriumban*, Vilag, 1946, p. 38. The last, for the time being, of several German Nyiszli translations appeared in 1992 under the title of *Jenseits der Menschlichkeit* from the Dietz Verlag; see in this regard our book *Auschwitz...* op. cit. p. 203 ff.
- 25) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 164.
- 26) Carlo Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. p. 281.
- 27) Jenny Spritzer, *Ich war no. 10291. Als Sekretaerin in Auschwitz*, Rothenhaeusler Verlag, 1994, p. 67-68.

- 28) Zofia Kossack, *Du fond de l'abîme, Seigneur*, 1951, quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, p. 58/59.
- 29) Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, Bantam, 1964, p. 11 ff.
- 30) Germar Rudolf, *Gutachten...*, op. cit., p. 255/256.
- 31) Miklos Nyiszli, *Im Jenseits der Menschlichkeit*, compare note 24, p. 32 ff.
- 32) Tauber in Pressac, see note 11, p. 482 ff.
- 33) Rudolf, *Gutachten*, op. cit. p. 18/19, as well as Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen*, op. cit. p. 251 ff.
- 34) Rudolf, *Gutachten...*, op. cit. p. 59, as well as Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen...*, op. cit. p. 261 ff.
- 35) On the ventilation system in the gas chambers see Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen...*, op. cit. p. 267/268.
- 36) Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939/1945*, Rowohlt, 1989, p. 117.
- 37) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 126.
- 38) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, la prima gasazione*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1988.
- 39) Buki in Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...*, op. cit. p. 163.
- 40) William Lindsey, "Zyklon B., Auschwitz, and the Trial of Bruno Tesch", *JHR*, Fall 1983, p. 261, ff.
- 41) Trial of Josef Kramer and 44 Others (The Belsen Trial), William Lodge and Company Ltd. 1945, p. 130, ff.
- 42) Filip Mueller, op. cit. p. 24/25.

# CHAPTER X

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUSCHWITZ LEGEND

### How the eyewitness reports were coordinated

As the historian Ernst Nolte correctly observes, it is impossible for a considerable number of persons to invent more or less the same stories entirely independently of each other. Nolte's conclusion is that the gas chamber stories must contain at least a core of truth, even if the number of victims has been exaggerated (1). A similar sort of logical process might lead one to conclude as follows: "In the Middle Ages, innumerable witnesses testified that they had seen witches riding to the Witches' Sabbath on broomsticks; many witches even admitted as much at their trials. The story must, therefore, contain a certain core of basic truth; it may be, however, that the number of witches riding through the air has been greatly exaggerated." It obviously does not occur to Professor Nolte that eyewitness testimonies and confessions can be coordinated as much as one likes if one possesses complete freedom to torture and falsify as much as one likes -- as the Allies did after WWII.

As shown by the excellent Spanish researcher Enrique Aynat, the Polish resistance movement reported mass murders in Auschwitz as early as 1941. Zyklon was never mentioned as the murder weapon; the murders were allegedly being committed with pneumatic hammers, electrical baths, and combat gases (2). These reports attracted no attention outside Poland. While atrocity stories of steam, gas, and electrical chambers at Belzec and Treblinka were diligently spread starting in 1942, there was silence about Auschwitz until June 1944. The British Jewish author, Martin Gilbert writes,

"The secret of the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau lay hidden until the third week of June" (3).

In June 1944, the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews was in full swing; of these, 438,000 were sent to Auschwitz. 28,000 of them were registered there, while the others were sent on to other work camps and factories (4). The alleged extermination of the Hungarian Jews in the gas chambers at Birkenau was the starting point for the legend of the extermination camp Auschwitz.

In November 1944, this legend took concrete form. At that time there appeared in Washington the WRB report, based on the testimonies of Auschwitz escapees Rudolf Vrba, Alfred Wetzler, Czeslaw Mordowicz, Arnost Rosin, and Jerzy Tabeau, not all of whom were cited by name in the report (5). According to the WRB report, Zyklon was being used as the murder weapon; the gassings were taking place in two farm

houses west of Birkenau, as well as within the four Birkenau crematoria. There was no talk of murders in the main camp crematorium. We will return to this report below.

On 2 February 1945, shortly after the liberation of Auschwitz, *Pravda* reported a "conveyor belt of death", on which hundreds of people were murdered at one time. This "conveyor belt" disappeared immediately; no eyewitness has ever mentioned it. Gas chambers also existed, according to *Pravda*, but they were located them in the wrong place -- not at Birkenau, but in the "Eastern part of the camp". Quite obviously, the conference between the Western powers and the Soviets had not been entirely successful: the Russians knew they were supposed to find "proof" of mass murders, but Washington and London seem to have forgotten to provide the full details; so the *Pravda* reporter, a Jew by the name of Polevoi, permitted his fantasy to run amuck.

In April and May 1945, several former Auschwitz inmates appeared as witnesses before a Polish commission. These inmates included the following Jews, commonly cited in holocaust literature: Alter Szmul Faynzylberg -- who also went by the name of Stanislaw Jankowski, Kaskowiak, and Alter Feinsilber, and who changed his date of birth as often as his name -- Szlama Dragon, and Henryk Tauber (6). After the flop with the *Pravda* article, the Polish Communists took care to coordinate the testimonies, at least very generally. So the witnesses placed the gas chambers in the right location, and were unanimous as to the murder weapon: no more combat gas, no more electrical baths, no more pneumatic hammers, but rather, Zyklon B. Apart from this, the Holocaust survivors were allowed to allow their perverted imaginations to run amuck as usual; for this reason, their factual reports are highly entertaining.

The myth took on formal shape with the "confession" of the first Auschwitz commandant, Rudolf Höss. He disappeared after the end of the war, and, assuming the name Franz Lang, hid out on a farm in Schleswig-Holstein. In March 1946, the British found him. His confession -- representing the core of the Auschwitz yarn which continues to be defended with the viciousness of a cornered rat right down to the present day -- was obtained by a British team of torture specialists under the leadership of the Jewish sergeant Bernard Clarke as follows (7):

"Höss screamed in terror at the mere sight of the British uniforms. Clarke yelled: 'What is your name?' With each answer of 'Fritz Lang', Clarke's hand crashed into the face of the prisoner. The fourth time that happened, Höss broke and admitted who he was... He was then dragged naked to one of the slaughter tables, where it seemed to Clarke the blows and screams were endless... It took three days to get a coherent statement out of him."

The Höss confession (8) has been analysed and torn to shreds so many times and in such great detail by revisionist researchers so that we need not go into further detail; we will content ourselves with a few comments:

- Höss confessed to gassing 2.5 million people, with a total death count of 3 million, at Auschwitz during his period as commandant (until the end of November 1943). Not a single historian believes these figures today. Was Höss so eager to be hanged as to incriminate himself untruthfully to such an extent?

- according to his confession, Höss visited Treblinka as early as 1941. The extermination camp of Belzec is therefore supposed to have been in existence as early as 1941. In reality, however, the Belzec camp was only opened in March 1942, while the Treblinka camp was opened in July 1942 (9). Höss also mentions an extermination camp, Wolzek, which nobody has ever heard of, either before or since. He can't possibly have confused it with Belzec, since both camps are mentioned in the same sentence.

- in our book *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse...*, we listed a total of 45 absurdities, impossibilities, and improbabilities contained in the Höss confession, as well as in the Höss memoirs in the prison of Krakow (Höss was delivered to the Poles after his appearance at Nuremberg). The list is most certainly far from complete.

### How the courts faked "evidence" for the Holocaust

Auschwitz played an important role in the Nuremberg Trial. The objective of the trial was to provide "legal proof" of the crimes of the Germans, alleged to be "unique in world history". Especially significant are articles 19 and 21 of the London Agreement of August 1945, which created the so-called legal basis for the trials (10). According to article 19, the court was "not bound by technical rules of evidence"; article 21 stated that "the court need not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof". Just what constituted "a fact of common knowledge", was, of course, to be decided by the court itself! Since the extermination of the Jews and the other crimes of which Germany stood accused -- such as the mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn, committed by the Bolshevik butchers and blamed on the Germans, hanging German soldiers for their own crime (11) -- "were facts of common knowledge", the tedious task of producing actual proof could conveniently be dispensed with.

The innumerable trials of Nazi war criminals in the Federal German Republic were held on the same model. Ever since the 1950s, the US puppet regime in Bonn has assigned the "German" justice system the task of conjuring up the Fata Morgana of a mass murder of millions of people in gas chambers, of which not the slightest evidence remains. This was achieved in the following manner:

Before the trial began, the accused was vilified in the controlled media as a "beast in human shape". Proof was not required, since "crime" and "criminal" were, for the most part, considered to have been established from the outset. The witnesses were allowed to lie a blue streak, since nobody was allowed to subject the former "victims of persecution" to emotional torment with sceptical questioning; the only chance for a lenient sentence for the accused lay in evading any dispute over the existence of the gas chambers and the reality of the genocide, while merely disputing one's own participation in the killings, blaming everything on persons already dead, missing, or superiors who had already been sentenced. Anyone in a war crimes trial who disputed the basic version of events at Auschwitz (i.e., the Holocaust yarn) -- a version already accepted as "proven fact" -- found himself in a totally hopeless position: his stubbornness only got him a tougher sentence. This is how the confessions came to be given. Anyone wishing further information should consult chapter 4 of Wilhelm Stäglich's book *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, Manfred Koehler's article on the value of



Holocaust testimonies and confessions in the Gauss anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, and the chapter on the trials in our book *"The Holocaust Swindle"*.

Many people may wonder why every post-war German government from Adenauer to Kohl has allowed these show trials to be carried on in order to incriminate their own people with fake atrocities. The reason is that the Bundesrepublik is not a sovereign state. The trials are intended to pursue definite objectives in domestic as well as foreign policy.

First, every such trial allows Bonn to prove its anti-fascistic convictions to foreign powers, thus proving the Bonn regime to be a prime ally of the USA. In addition, the trials help "re-educate" the German people. In this respect, all German governments have played a decisive role as the bootlickers and thugs of Washington. By repeatedly "proving" the unexcelled brutality of the National Socialist regime, they legitimize their own "democratic" parliamentary system, which continues to suffer from the minor defect of having been introduced solely as a result of German defeat in WW II. Dragging crowds of young people through the courtrooms to witness the trials destroys the national pride and self-respect of the young, and thus creates acceptance for Bonn policies, which provide for a complete subordination to American interests. In so doing, the trials contribute greatly to strengthening the post-war New World Order, which is based upon two dogmas: sole German guilt for WWII, and the cruelty of the National Socialist regime (unique in world history, don't forget), a cruelty most clearly expressed in the extermination of the Jews.

### A perfect example: Dr. Johann Paul Kremer

Let us illustrate the above with a particularly notable exemplary case.

Dr. Johann Paul Kremer is one of the star witnesses of exterminationist historians; hardly a single work of Holocaust literature appears without mentioning him and his diary entries on Auschwitz. Here are the facts:

Kremer, born in 1883, was a professor of medicine at the University of Muenster. From the end of August to the middle of November 1942, he was sent to Auschwitz as the replacement for a camp doctor who had fallen ill. While he was at Auschwitz, he made the diary entries which were later to be quoted thousands of times as proof of genocide. He was then sent back to his university. This means that the Nazis were stupid enough to allow Kremer to witness the mass murders at Auschwitz first hand -- they were allegedly in full swing at that time -- and then go back and blabber all about it to his students! This is just the first thing to note in considering the credibility of this Holocaust "star witness".

The ominous entries are very short, and read as follows (12):

"2. Sept. 1942. For the first time outside at 3 o'clock early at a special action. In comparison to this, Dante's Inferno is almost a comedy. It's not for nothing that Auschwitz is called the camp of annihilation!...

5. Sept. 1942. Today after noon at a special action of the F.K.L. (Mohammedans): the most horrible of horrors. Hschf. Thilo -- military

physician -- was right when he told me we were in the anus mundi here. Evening around 8 o'clock again at a special action from Holland. For the special rations given in so doing, consisting of fifth of a litre of brandy, 5 cigarettes, and 100 g sausage and bread, the men volunteer for such actions in droves...

F.K.L. meant "Frauenkonzentrationslager" (women's concentration camp) and "Mohammedans" was camp slang for living skeletons. HSCHF stood for "Hauptscharführer", "anus mundi" means "anus of the world" in Latin.

On 12 October, Kremer entrusted his diary with the following entry (13):

"Protective inoculation against typhus; afterwards strong general reaction towards evening (fever); nevertheless present in the night at a special action from Holland (1600 persons). Horrible scenes in front of the last bunker. This was the 10th special action."

It might be noted that Kremer did not destroy his diary after the war, but rather allowed it to fall intact into the hands of the British.

According to Holocaust literature, the "special actions" were gassings. The "last bunker" was accordingly one of the two bunkers designated as farm houses in Birkenau (the red and white house), which are supposed to have been used as gassing stations before the erection of the Birkenau crematoria.

The doctor himself confirmed this version of the facts before a Polish court in Krakow in 1947 (after the British handed him over to the poles). He was accused of having participated in gassing a group of women. He was sentenced to death, then the sentence was commuted into life imprisonment. In 1958, he was finally [released?] due to his advanced age and good conduct. Soon afterwards, he was hauled into court in the BRD and sentenced to ten year's imprisonment for aiding and abetting murder, which sentence he was, however, considered to have already served. At the age of 80, Kremer took the stand on 4 July 1964 during the Auschwitz Trial and confirmed this story once again. The Holocaust scribblers rely upon such confessions, and argue that the criminals could not have disputed the murders in the gas chambers anyway.

A very convincing discussion of the Kremer case was provided by Robert Faurisson in his work *Mémoire en defense* (14): The following is his discussion summarized in a few points:

- Auschwitz could easily have been called the "camp of annihilation" in late summer of 1942 even without gas chambers and mass murders, since typhus was claiming 300 victims a day at that time;
- no gassing can have been meant by "special action", since Kremer writes that it took place "outside". (Several Holocaust scribblers, for examples, Wellers, Klarsfeld and Poliakov, have revealingly deleted this word in their reproduction of the dairy entries.) The words "last bunker" cannot possibly have meant one of the two Birkenau farmhouses, otherwise Kremer would have spoken of the "second" bunker, and not the "last" one;

- in reality, the special action could have consisted of cleaning dirty train carriages after the arrival of new inmates. Special rations were distributed for such unpleasant work;
- Kremer must have attended about 30 executions during his time at Auschwitz. The horrid scenes could have involved something of this nature.
- that Kremer confirmed the reported gassings before his Polish judges is easily explained: he wanted to save his life, and finally succeeded. If he had disputed the official version, he would inevitably have been hanged;
- even his testimony at the Auschwitz Trial was given on understandably opportunist grounds: at the age of eighty, he simply had no desire to spend the last years of his life behind bars, which is what would presumably have happened to him if he had disputed the gassings.

This is how the confessions came to be given. In any case, Kremer mentions gassings expressly in his diary at one point (entry of 1 September): "afternoon at the gassing of a block with Zyklon B against lice."

Not even Holocaust literature has ever claimed that "lice" is just a camouflage term for "Jews". At least not yet!

### The father of the Auschwitz lie

If one were to bestow the disreputable title of "Father of the Auschwitz Lie", Dr. Rudolf Vrba, today a retired university professor in Vancouver, Canada, would have justifiable claim to that honour. As a young man, the Slovakian Jew was deported to Auschwitz, where he succeeded in escaping on 7 April 1944 with his compatriot and fellow Jew Alfred Wetzler. Together with the testimonies of Czeslaw Mordowicz, Arnost Rosin, and Jerzy Tabeau, a report by Vrba and Wetzler appeared in the WRB report of November 1944.

A careful examination of the Vrba-Wetzler report leads to the conclusion that the two Slovakian Jews never laid eyes on the interior of the crematoria where the gas chambers are supposed to have been located. In particular, they describe the Kremas II and III of Birkenau (designated I and II in the report) as follows (15):

"From the midst of the oven room, a gigantic chimney rises into the sky. Around are 9 ovens with 4 openings each. Every opening takes 3 normal bodies at once, which are fully burnt within one a half hours... On the flat roof are 3 openings, which can be hermetically sealed from the outside by means of lids. From the gas chamber, rails lead through the hall to the oven room... After 3 minutes, everyone in the chamber is dead... The chambers are then ventilated, aired, and the Sonderkommando takes the bodies on railway cars to the oven room, where the cremation takes place."

First, the two Kremas didn't have "9 ovens with 4 openings each", but rather, five three-muffle ovens; secondly, there were no "3 windows which can be hermetically sealed from the outside by means of lids" on the roof of the morgue I (the "gas

chamber"); third, there were never any "rails" to the oven room, but rather, an elevator, since the ovens were located on the floor above. In addition to all these obvious errors, the Vrba-Wetzler report contains a number of other gross errors. With great probability, the two authors received their "information" from members of the Resistance, who never had access to the Kremas.

In 1964, Vrba published his book *I Cannot Forgive* (6). On pages 10 to 13, he describes the gassing of Krakow Jews in great detail; this is supposed to have taken place in Krema II of Birkenau in January 1943 in honour of Heinrich Himmler, then visiting Auschwitz. If Vrba had studied the Holocaust literature somewhat more carefully, he would have known that Krema II was not opened in January 1943 for the first time, but in March 1943 (17); Himmler visited Auschwitz in July 1942 for the last time (18). In his book, Vrba replaces the "rails" leading to the oven room with "special elevators" (in reality, there was only one elevator). The cremation time for 3 bodies in one muffle shrinks down to 20 minutes in contrast to the WRB report. This is an absolute physical impossibility, but it accords with the testimony of Rudolf Höss. There is no longer any mention of three openings in the roof, but only one. Vrba has also "improved" his testimony as compared to his 1944 testimony on a number of other points.

As emphasized by Robert Faurisson (19), it took fully 40 years before any Jewish "eyewitness to the gas chambers" was subjected to cross examination in any trial, as would be the case in any ordinary murder trial to start with. Until that year, these swindlers were free to tell their lies before a court, give presentations and interviews, one after the other, as much as they liked, without any need to answer any embarrassing questions: who would dare torment people with awkward questions? After all, they've suffered so much and only escaped death by a miracle! In 1985, in Toronto, Canada, Rudolf Vrba appeared as star witness in the first trial of a German Canadian, Ernst Zündel, indicted on the basis of a complaint from a Jewish organization by the name of the Holocaust Remembrance Association for dissemination of a revisionist text. Vrba was mercilessly cross-examined by Zündel's combative defence lawyer Douglas Christie; here are some excerpts from the cross-examination. First Christie asks Vrba about the Himmler visit described in his book (21):

**Q:** I would like to ask you whether you mean to say that you actually saw him arrive in January 1943, or is this only...

**A:** In September 1943 or January?

**Q:** Now, in the book it says January 1943.

**A:** No, I saw him in July 1943, and then once in 1943 [sic!].

**Q:** But here it says January 1943.

**A:** Then that's an error.

**Q:** An error?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** But you saw him arrive on this occasion?

**A:** The first time I saw him arrive, because he was as close to me as you are.

**Q:** He was as close to you as I am now?

**A:** About.

**Q:** I understand. And you were...

**A:** He came a step closer to be polite [!].

**Q:** Uh-hum.

**A?** But the second time I saw him in a car, the same as the first time. He drove a black Mercedes and was all surrounded by his subordinates who used to accompany him. I saw him only from about 600 yards away, and I heard it was him, but he didn't come up to me this time, to shake my hand and introduce himself [!]. Perhaps it was him, perhaps it was only a representative, and I do not believe that that makes a big difference...

**Q:** And you want to tell this Court that you actually saw Heinrich Himmler peeking through the door of a gas chamber, isn't that right?

**A:** No, I didn't say I was present when he peeked through the door of the gas chamber, but I put together a story which I had heard several times from various people, who were present had told me all about it... There were many Sonderkommando and SS men with him.

**Q:** Were you there?

**A:** No, I was in the quarantine camp at that time, and I talked with a number of them and hear, and I know that every unfortunate victim had to wait a long time for the gassing, because the big shots don't die that fast, so they had to wait in the gas chamber.

**Q:** But in your book you write that you had seen everything, and you don't mention that you heard the story from other people.

**A:** But in this special case I told what I heard from other people.

Vrba still insisted that he had seen 1,765,000 Jews disappear into the crematoria with his own eyes; this included 150,000 French Jews. Christie mentioned that a total of slightly more than 75,000 French Jews were deported from France, to which Vrba asked "Where did you get that figure? From the Nazi newspapers?" Christie replied calmly that he didn't get them from the Nazi newspapers, but from the standard work on the subject by the French Jew Serge Klarsfeld (22).

The debacle of arch liar Vrba was a turning point in the legal demolition of the Holocaust. Except for the Demjanjuk trial in Jerusalem, at which five liars swore they watched the Ukrainian drive hundreds of thousands of people into the gas chambers with his own hands (23) -- the evidence was so poor that Demjanjuk finally had to be acquitted -- no "eyewitnesses to the gas chambers" have dared to testify in court since 1985.

Ernst Zündel was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment in 1985 and then 9 months imprisonment on appeal in 1988; the basis for the charge was a law against "spreading false news". In August 1992, the Supreme Court of Canada acquitted him and declared the "false news" law unconstitutional. There are two excellent books on the Zündel trial, which are highly recommended to anyone interested in the Holocaust (24, 25).

## The "murder weapon" Zyklon B: refutation of the lie

Death sentences have been carried out with hydrocyanic acid in the United States since 1924; the active ingredient of Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid. The execution of a single convict with this poison gas is a complicated matter. The gas chamber must be hermetically sealed to perfection, otherwise the execution will become a gamble with death for penitentiary personnel and witnesses. Fig. VIII shows the door of a US gas

chamber. The adjacent illustration, Fig. IX, shows the doors of the gas chamber of the main camp of Auschwitz. These pictures speak volumes. The sealing of the death chamber and the disposal of the gas would be an impossibility, and the first mass gassing would have turned into a catastrophe for the SS.

The practical dangers of the use of hydrocyanic acid are revealed in the following report, which appeared in the local newspaper, the *Boeblinger Bote* of 16 November 1995 (and no doubt in other newspapers as well):

### "Pest Exterminators in Botch Job

"Three local residents were nearly asphyxiated while an infestation of wood worm survived intact. This was the final score of a completely botched vermin extermination job in a church in a Croatian holiday resort of Lovran in Rijeka. Several hundred residents of the area had to be evacuated due to the pest exterminators' botched job.

"The exterminators attempted to eradicate woodworm in the church of the Holy Juraj using highly toxic gas in Lovran during the night. Improper hermetic sealing of the church, however, allowed the gas to penetrate surrounding houses in which people were asleep. 'Due to the sudden onset of nausea, the people fortunately woke up immediately. Only this rescued them from certain death', the local newspaper *Vecernij* reported. 'Nevertheless, three residents suffered from severe intoxication. The Mayor decided to evacuate the area. The pest exterminators were arrested, and the woodworm survived.'"

Robert Faurisson was the first to describe the technical impossibility of the mass gassings in the areas designated as gas chambers with Zyklon B, as testified to by eyewitnesses (26). The following sentence is a clear statement of the core of Faurisson's argument (27):

"If the Nazi gas chambers were to work at all, they would have needed the following: absolutely perfect hermetic sealing; a special introduction and distribution system for the gas; a fantastic ventilation system to eliminate the gas from the chambers after the mass murders; a system to neutralize the exhausted gases; and then, quite separately, a device, incredibly clever in design and construction, to eliminate the gas which would adhere stubbornly to the bodies, making touching and carrying them a deadly business. The ventilation and exhaustion of cyanide gas is very time-consuming and difficult. It adheres to the human body, and penetrates the skin so easily that it would be hazardous to touch the body of a person killed with high concentrations of cyanide gas with the bare hands. Contact through the skin alone may lead to intoxication."

These technical considerations refute all "eyewitness reports" on mass gassings with Zyklon B without exception. That the inventors of the gas chamber lie had no knowledge of chemistry and made the mistake of choosing an insecticide as the murder weapon, was to prove a fateful error. First, an assembly line murder of human beings utilizing this poison gas in the areas designated as the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz would be impossible for technical reasons. In addition, the use of Zyklon

B in these premises, if any such had occurred, could be proven by a chemical analysis of samples taken from the masonry, even today. The masonry samples would contain significant quantities of cyanide residues, even after half a century, if mass gassings had really taken place in the areas indicated as homicidal gas chambers. But significant concentrations of cyanide residues are entirely absent (see the following article, points a and b).

Zyklon B is mentioned in the eyewitness reports, the confessions of the accused, trial records, and history books. The exterminationists would dearly like to forget about it, and substitute something else, but it is too late. The lie will stick in their throats, and the liars will choke on their own poison.

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### Notes:

- 1) Ernst Nolte, *Streitpunkte*, Propylaen, 1993.
- 2) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios...*
- 3) Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Allierten*, C.H. Beck, Muenich, 1982.
- 4) As reported by Pressac, the Struthof camp alone contained 40 to 50,000 Hungarian Jews after the war who had been deported in 1944 via Auschwitz (*Les crématoires...* p. 147).
- 5) The complete text of the WRB report is reproduced in Enrique Aynat's *Los protocolos de Auschwitz: Una fuente historica?*, Garcia Hispan, Alicante, 1990.
- 6) Excerpts from the testimonies of these men are reproduced in our book *Auschwitz...*
- 7) Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death*, Arrows Book Limited, 1983, p. 235 ff.
- 8) Nuremberg document 3868-PS.
- 9) See the entries on Belzec and Treblinka in the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*.
- 10) Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militaergerichtshof. Published at Nuremberg, Germany. Photomechanical reprinting by Delphin Verlag, 1984, introduction to volume I.
- 11) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT VII p. 469 (German text).
- 12) Quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en defense*, La Vieille Taupe, 1980 p. 124.
- 13) Ibid, p. 35.
- 14) See note 12.

- 15) Quoted according to Enrique Aynat, *Los protocolos...* appendix I.
- 16) Published by Bantam in 1964.
- 17) See, in this regard, any book of Holocaust literature, for example, Hilberg, p. 946.
- 18) See, for example, Pressac, *Les crématoires*, p. 43/44.
- 19) Faurisson in Gauss, *Grundlagen*, p. 99 ff.
- 20) Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die?* reproduced in the book of the same name by Barbara Kulaszka; see following note.
- 21) Vrba's testimony appears in the trial record of the first Zündel trial in Toronto, 1985, p. 1,244 ff; excerpts from it are reproduced in our book *Auschwitz...* p. 251 ff.
- 22) Klarsfeld, *Le memorial...*
- 23) On the Demjanjuk trial, see for example, Hans Peter Rullman, *Der Fall Demjanjuk*, Verlag für ganzheitliche Forschung und Kultur, 1987.
- 24) Robert Lenski, *Der Holocaust vor Gericht*, Samisdat, Toronto, 1993.
- 25) Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Samisdat, Toronto, 1992.
- 26) See, in this regard, Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, La Vielle Taupe, 1980. The book was written by Thion in collaboration with Robert Faurisson. It appeared in 1995 under the title *Historische Wahrheit oder politische Wahrheit?*, published by the Verlag der Freunde, Berlin. The French original version contains a long interview with Robert Faurisson, given in August 1979 to the Italian periodical *Storia Illustrata*.
- 27) According to Robert Faurisson in his introduction to our book *Der Holocaust Schwindel*, Guideon Burg, 1993, p. ix.



# CHAPTER XI

## AUSCHWITZ: SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF THE CRIME SCENE

### The Leuchter Report

During Ernst Zündel's appeal trial (1988) Zündel and Faurisson assigned the US gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter, responsible for the construction of the gas chambers for the execution of criminals as used in several states, to write a report on the areas designated as gas chambers in Auschwitz I, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Majdanek. Leuchter flew to Poland with a small crew in February 1988, and made the necessary examinations in the former concentration camps. He then drew up the Leuchter Report, the first forensic report on the murder weapon in the "greatest mass murder of history" (1). The conclusions were divided into three principal sections:

- the "gas chambers" were never planned as such, and could not be used as such due to its features of technical construction;
- the capacity of the crematoria would have been insufficient to cremate more than a small fraction of the alleged victims;
- the analysis of mortar samples taken from the walls of the "gas chambers" (and analysed, not by Leuchter, but by an independent laboratory chemist named James Roth) showed no significant quantities, or insignificantly small quantities, of cyanide residue; the findings of the analysis did however indicate an enormously high cyanide content in a sample taken from a delousing chamber at Birkenau, a chamber which is acknowledged to have been simply a delousing chamber.

The Leuchter Report does have undeniable weak points; for example, he erroneously states that the "gas chambers" possessed no ventilation system, and his data on the crematory capacity is faulty, since he had no competence in that field. The exterminationists could have exploited these weaknesses in the Leuchter Report, but neglected to do so due to a lack of competence on their part. They therefore directed their attacks chiefly against Leuchter personally.

Although the Leuchter report is out of date, its effectiveness as an ice-breaker can hardly be overestimated, since it inspired the later, much more detailed, report by Germar Rudolf.

## The Rudolf Report

Germar Rudolf, a certified chemist employed at the Max-Planck Institut, has verified the Leuchter Report in a detailed report of his own (2). He came to the conclusion that the alleged mass gassings in Auschwitz could not have occurred due to technical construction features and chemistry.

### **a) A study of the technical construction features**

Examinations of the technical construction are principally concerned with the alleged Zyklon B introduction holes in the areas designated as "execution chambers" in Krematorium I (main camp) as well as II and III (Birkenau) of Auschwitz. Pressac assumes that the crematoria were originally designed without criminal intent, i.e., planned only for the cremation of corpses, particularly the victims of epidemic disease. The gas chambers are alleged to have been installed there only later, by piercing Zyklon introduction holes in the roofs of the morgues. As usual, the "proof" of these assertions consisted of the usual contradictory eyewitness testimonies.

In the autumn of 1944, after having been put out of operation in July 1943, Krematorium I of the main camp was converted into an air raid shelter through the installation of a few partitions. The Zyklon B introduction holes are supposed to have been sealed at that time. After the end of the war, the officials of the Auschwitz Museum attempted to "recreate" the original conditions, but in so doing, they made so many mistakes that the French magazine *L'Express* (25 January 1995) commented angrily that "everything in it is a fake". For example, the washrooms adjoining the original morgue ("gas chamber") were incorporated into the new, reconstructed museum "gas chamber", presumably to make it bigger and more terrifying. During the reconstruction, the "Zyklon B introduction holes" visible today were also broken through the roof, but not in the original locations, which are alleged to be unknown. If any other openings had ever existed in the reinforced concrete ceiling, there would have been visible damage to the concrete structure of the unplastered ceiling at the corresponding locations. No such previously existing, but now sealed, Zyklon B introduction holes exist. The "Zyklon B introduction ports" testified to by "eyewitnesses" never existed; therefore Zyklon B poison gas could not have been introduced in the manner described.

Allied air photos are often produced as evidence of the existence of Zyklon B introduction holes in the roofs of morgue I of Krematoria II and III at Birkenau -- the buildings containing the alleged "gas chambers". But to the critical observer, it is obvious that the "shadows" on the roofs of morgues I of both crematoria could not have been caused by Zyklon B introduction holes:

- the alignment of the shadows is not consistent with the alignment of the shadows of the crematory chimneys;
- on a picture taken on 13 September 1944, the spots on Krematorium III retain their initial direction and shape, although the sun has changed position;
- in the same picture, the spots on the morgue I of Krema III are missing;

- the length of the shadows indicate that they were thrown by objects 3 to 4 metres higher than the roof and 1.5 metres wide, i.e., that they are the shadows of large chimneys; they are not, however, the shadows of the Zyklon B introduction ports with lids existing at the present time, which are approximately 50 cm high;
- the only two holes to be found in the ceiling of morgue I of Krema II are entirely different, in both location and size.

Both the above mentioned holes bear visible chisel marks along the edges, an indication that the holes were broken through the roof at a later time. Furthermore, one of the holes is completely intact, although it should have been totally destroyed when the building was blown up by the SS in early 1945. In addition, the reinforcement rods running through the hole have not been removed, so that their use as Zyklon introduction ports is impossible. It is absolutely certain that these holes were made after the end of the war, to create the illusion of Zyklon B introduction holes.

To summarize, it is therefore established that there was no way to introduce the poison gas into the alleged gas chambers of Krematoria I and II and III at Auschwitz and Birkenau in the manner described by the witnesses. Faurisson is right when he says, "No holes, no Holocaust." All other considerations relating to the chemistry of the alleged "mass murders with poison gas" are, therefore, simply theoretical exercises.

## **b) The chemical analyses**

First a few remarks on hydrocyanic acid. Hydrocyanic acid must be used in high concentrations (1 % by volume) for several hours' application time to kill the most resistant lice, larvae and eggs with certainty and without special technology. If, however, special technology (circulation procedure) is utilized, enabling the gas to penetrate the minutest cracks and borders of the clothing to be fumigated, the process can be performed in considerably shorter periods of time and with lower concentrations (0.5% by volume and one hour exposure).

This is the only procedure comparable to the gassing of human beings. Human beings are warm-blooded, and more susceptible to hydrocyanic acid gas than insects, in addition to which the hydrocyanic acid gas reaches the victims in an execution gas chamber immediately. Executions in the USA have showed that the victim may take more than 15 minutes to die (*The News and Observer*, Raleigh, North Carolina, 19 June 1994).

Zyklon B insecticide releases its gas slowly, especially when the ambient air is saturated with humidity, as it must have been if the room was cram-packed with human beings. In such cases, the preparation would only have given off 5 - 10% of its content after 10 minutes, 20 - 30% after half an hour, and 50% of its content after one hour (see, in this regard, R. Irmscher, *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie und Schädlingsbekämpfung*, 1942, p. 36). To kill the victims in a few minutes in accordance with the eyewitness testimonies would have required ridiculously large quantities of Zyklon. Under these circumstances, the area would have been exposed to very high concentrations of hydrocyanic acid, comparable to those of a delousing

chamber. Furthermore, a ventilation of the chambers could only have taken place many hours after complete release of all the gas. Thus, the exposure times and contact concentrations between the poison gas and the walls of the chamber would have corresponded to those of the delousing chamber.

Hydrocyanic acid forms a extremely stable pigment (ferric-ferrocyanide) with the iron-bearing components of the masonry itself. This pigment decomposes over time, but in a period comparable to the decomposition of the masonry itself, as shown by long-term experiments over decades. High concentrations of cyanide compounds can still be found in the delousing chambers of Birkenau and Majdanek. Cases in which extensive damage has been caused by these ferric-ferrocyanide compounds during gassings with hydrocyanic acid gas to destroy vermin are reported in the technical literature (for example, G. Zimmermann, Bauschaeden Sammlung, Band 4, Forum-Verlag, Stuttgart 1981, p. 120 ff.).

Analyses of samples from the alleged gas chambers, professional delousing chambers, and other buildings at Auschwitz have shown that the delousing chambers are the only structures to exhibit significant, or even extremely high, residues of hydrocyanide compounds.

It therefore appears certain that, due to the technical construction features of the alleged "execution gas chambers", especially Krematoria II and III -- (humid, cool cellar areas; entry into operation shortly after construction; alkaline, highly-absorbant cement plaster; mediocre ventilation), as well as the conditions described by eyewitnesses (use of very high cyanide concentrations) -- that cyanide residues similar to those found in the delousing chambers should have formed precisely in the areas designated as "homicidal gas chambers", if mass gassings had really taken place. But no significant residues are found there.

This leads to the inescapable conclusion that no mass gassings of human beings ever took place in the areas in question.

So much for Rudolf's conclusions. While the exterminationists have never even attempted to examine Rudolf's arguments relating to technical construction features, they have made all sorts of clumsy attempts to counter his chemical demonstrations. Their favourite argument is that the victims inhaled the entire quantity of hydrocyanic acid before they died (3). The Third Reich must obviously have possessed remote-controlled, heat-seeking hydrocyanic acid molecules which shot directly into the mouths and nostrils of the victims upon orders from the SS, and never even came into contact with the walls of the chamber (4). Moreover, the granulate, as noted above, continues to release its poisonous vapour for at least two hours; but according to the eyewitnesses, all the victims were dead after half an hour at most. Did the corpses continue to inhale the gas for another hour and a half?

The objections raised against Rudolf's expert report by a chemist named Dr. Josef Bailer (5) were answered by Rudolf personally (6), so that interested persons may compare the arguments on both sides.

In the absence of any conclusive arguments, the exploiters of the gas chamber legend could only resort to a personal vendetta against Rudolf. On the order of the Central

Jewish Council, he was fired from the Max-Planck Institut and sentenced to 14 months imprisonment for insulting Jews, slandering the dead, incitement to racial hatred, and other Kafkaesque points of the indictment (7). On the prior history of the trial, see the brochure by Wilhelm Schlesinger (8), as well as Rudolf's own account, published two years later (9); both accounts show how "free democracy" deals with independent thinkers with critical minds.

In May 1996, Rudolf received a summons to appear for another trial, against the publishers and authors of the Grabert anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*. But Rudolf had already turned his back on the "freest state in German history".

### **c) Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana: the crematoria**

The last large gap in technical holocaust research was filled by the Italian researcher Carlo Mattogno.

Mattogno studied the following:

- the real maximum capacity of the crematoria in view of the operating time periods (due to technical defects, the installations were in constant need of overhaul, so that all five crematoria never functioned simultaneously at any time);
- the coke deliveries to the Auschwitz crematoria; the quantities of coke delivered are known with absolute certainty for most of the camp's existence; since we know the average coke required for the cremation of one body, the maximum number of cremations may be calculated for any given period;
- the fact that the fire-resistant refractory brick masonry in the crematory ovens was never replaced, which would have been necessary after 3,000 cremations at the most.
- the technical impossibility of mass cremation of corpses in ditches as described by eyewitnesses.

Mattogno comes to the conclusion that the crematoria could have cremated 162,000 bodies at most. When we consider that Mattogno estimates the number of Auschwitz victims, based on the available documents, at approximately 170,000 (11), and that many thousands of typhus victims were doubtlessly burned in the open (on pyres, not in ditches), the picture is complete.

These studies are conclusive. An anti-revisionist anthology entitled *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge* published in 1995 by Simon Wiesenthal, Wolfgang Benz, Wolfgang Neugebauer, Josef Bailer, Brigitte Bailer-Galanda and others, fails to mention these studies with so much as a single line. Only that corpses in Auschwitz burnt "all by themselves", as testified by that incredible Holocaust survivor, Henryk Tauber.

### **John Ball's Evaluation of the air photos**

From December 1943, the Auschwitz camp complex was photographed repeatedly by Allied reconnaissance planes (doubtless due to its economic significance: Monowitz camp, east of the main camp, was the location of branches of numerous firms, of

which IG Farben was the most well-known). Several of these photos fall into time periods during which, according to the eyewitnesses, mass murders were being carried on. The most important photo is dated 31 March 1944 (Fig. XXX).

At that time, the extermination of Hungarian Jews was supposed to be running full tilt: 400,000 people are supposed to have been gassed between May and July and, for the most part, burnt in the open. None of the events reported by eyewitnesses is visible in the photo. There are no lines of people waiting before the crematoria; no gigantic, blazing fires; no smoke-blackened sky. There is no sign of the gigantic piles of wood and coke which would have been necessary for the cremation of 400,000 corpses in less than two months.

The Canadian air photo specialist John Ball has worked on the evaluation of the photos (13). His studies administer the coup de grace to a focal point of the Auschwitz legend, the alleged extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

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### Notes:

1) Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, Focal Point Publications, 1989, available from Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton St. Toronto, Canada, an abridged German translation appeared in Heft 36 of the *Historische Tatsachen*, but was prohibited by the "freest state in German history".

2) Rudolf, Gutachten... An abridged version appeared in the Gauss-anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*.

3) This nonsense, among other things, was delivered by Klara Obermueller in her introduction to a talk by Deborah Lipstadt on "Holocaust denial" at the University of Zurich on 1 June 1994.

4) Faurisson speaks of "molecules with heat-seeking warheads".

5) Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer (publishers, *Wahrheit und Auschwitzluege*, Deuticke, Vienna 1995).

6) Herbert Verbeke (publisher), *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem-2, Belgium, 1996, p. 93 ff.

7) Trial of Germar Rudolf in Stuttgart 1994/1995, Atkenzeichen 17 KLs 83/94.

8) Wilhelm Schlesinger, *Der Fall Rudolf*, Cromwell Press, 1994.

9) *Kardinalfragen...* (see note 6).

10) Mattogno/Deana in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit.

11) *ibid*, p. 305/307.

12) see note 5.

13) John Ball, *Air photo evidence*, Ball Resources Service, 1992, available from Samisdad Publishers, (see note 1).

## CHAPTER XII

### THE OTHER "EXTERMINATION CAMPS"

#### Preliminary remarks

After disposing of the core of the Holocaust lie -- the Auschwitz lie -- we can deal with the other five "extermination camps". Not so much has been written about them, so a considerably shorter discussion will suffice.

Majdanek, according to most Holocaust historians, was a combination work and extermination camp, and to this extent comparable to Auschwitz. By contrast, Chelmno, Sobibor, Treblinka and Belzec are all alleged to have been pure "death factories". These camps are supposed to have been dismantled by the Germans without a trace, even before the end of the war, and all evidence destroyed. This is supposed to be why there are [no?] documents: the Germans destroyed them!

Let us run through the list very briefly.

#### **Majdanek**

Majdanek, a large work camp, lay immediately on the edge of the city of Lublin, after which it was named; the name "Majdanek" was initially used only by the Poles.

The figures of murdered Jews quoted for Majdanek fluctuate between 50,000 and 1.38 million (1). A few Holocaust writers, for example, Gerald Reitlinger (2) and Wolfgang Benz (3) do not even consider it an extermination camp. In fact, the gas chambers there are only defended in a lukewarm manner. That the premises still shown to tourists as "gas chambers" today were nothing of the kind, has been irrefutably shown by Germar Rudolf (4). The camp is really not worth wasting much of our time.

#### **Chelmno**

At Chelmno, in western Poland, 1.35 million Jews are supposed to have been murdered, according to the *Jewish Year book* (volume 47, p. 398); 400,000 according to Claude Lanzmann (5); 300,000 according to Wolfgang Scheffler (6); 150,000 according to Raul Hilberg (7). That none of the authors makes even the slightest attempt to prove the figures cited, is quite normal practice.

In Chelmno, the murders are supposed to have been carried out exclusively by means of "gas vans". The whole extermination camp stands and falls with the existence or



non-existence of the gas vans. The evidence for their existence will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Sobibor**

Sobibor is mentioned in a short exchange of correspondence between Heinrich Himmler and the Inspector of Concentration Camps, Richard Glücks from 1943. Glücks suggested converting Sobibor into a "concentration camp". Himmler rejected this suggestion on 5 July 1943 (8). So what kind of camp was it? The exterminationists say it was an extermination camp. The number of victims is generally estimated at 200,000 to 250,000 victims. With regards to the murder weapon, it took decades for the ruling cliques in the world to decide which one it was. One of the eyewitnesses, a Soviet Jew named Alexander Pechersky, described the mass murders as follows (9):

"At first glance, as one entered, it like a normal shower: hot and cold taps for running water, wash basins... as soon as everyone was inside, the doors slammed shut with a loud noise. Out of holes in the ceiling, a heavy, blackish substance poured down in spiral shapes..."

To drown out the pitiful cries of the victims, the Germans at Sobibor kept a flock of geese [!] which were made to quack (or whatever noise it is that is made by geese), very loudly, whenever the blackish substance was introduced (10). Historians were not too hot on this version, so they soon changed it into a gas chamber yarn. According to Poliakov, the murder weapon was a Diesel motor (11); Hilberg replaced the Diesel motor with a gasoline motor (12); the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* finally put an end to the debate by declaring that the murder weapon was a Diesel motor, and that settles it (13).

Sobibor and Chelmno play quite a subordinate role in Holocaust propaganda. The names are often unknown, even to people familiar with contemporary history.

## **Belzec**

600,000 Jews are supposed to have been murdered in Belzec between March and December 1942. According to which "historian" you read, between one and five Jews survived the camp (14), so that the monstrous Nazi machine proved itself especially efficient at Belzec. Star witness for the mass murders at Belzec is naturally Kurt Gerstein, who, it will be remembered, reported 20 - 25 million gassing victims, 35 - 40 m high piles of shoes and underwear, and 28 - 32 gas chamber inmates per square metre. Apart from Gerstein, there is only one "witness" to the gas chamber, a Polish Jew named Rudolf Reder, who is supposed to be one of the one to five survivors of the camp. Reder, however, spoke of three million gassing victims at Belzec (15).

For decades, the murder weapon at Belzec was supposed to have been a Diesel motor. During the initial development phase of the Holocaust yarn, nevertheless, all sorts of imaginable variants on this tale were current, ranging from Dr. Stefan Szende's submergible platforms to Jan Karski's quicklime cars, and even an electrical oven mentioned by Abraham Silberschein (16). All these tales have since disappeared into the rubbish bin of history.

## Treblinka

For the largest of the "pure extermination camps", the exterminationists throw numbers around ranging from 750,000 to 3,000,000. At the Jerusalem trial of John Demjanjuk (17), there was talk of 875,000.

According to the classic book *Die Hölle von Treblinka* by the Soviet Jew Vassily Grossman (18), the following methods of murder were used:

- suffocation of the victims by pumping air out of the death chambers. This technically quite impossible horror story -- the chambers would have collapsed due to the underpressure -- immediately disappeared from the arsenal of the Holocaust propagandists;
- baking the victims with hot steam. This variant was decided upon by the Nuremberg tribunal on 14 December 1945 (Nuremberg Document PS-3311);
- killing them with Diesel exhaust gas. This variant pushed the others off the stage of history. In February 1946, a Jew named Samuel Rajzman testified at Nuremberg that, in Treblinka, there were three, later, however, another ten additional gas chambers (Nuremberg trial transcript IMT VIII p. 361, German text). Since then, the exterminationists no longer wish to hear anything about the "steam chambers" (also described at Nuremberg three months earlier), or the air-pumping vacuum chambers, or the chlorine executions and assembly line shootings at Treblinka, of which there was some talk for a while (19).

As at Chelmno, Sobibor and Belzec, the bodies at Treblinka are supposed to have been buried in mass graves, but dug up in 1943 and cremated without a trace under the open sky. The Israeli "specialist" Y. Arad reported (20).

"The men responsible for the cremations noted immediately that the bodies burnt well, even without additional fuel."

This method is supposed to have been developed by a technically ingenious SS man by the name of Herbert Floss, who is said to have discovered that old bodies of fat women burnt best. He then used these ideally combustible cadavers as fuel for the others (21). It is unfortunate that this efficient method of corpse destruction has not yet been discovered by the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent, who have chopped down a large part of their forests just to burn corpses. Perhaps the reason for it is that bodies only burn by themselves under the SS system of hatred and violence; under "free-democratic" conditions, they just won't burn by themselves, due to their high water content (over 60%).

According to documentation drawn up during the war by Jewish groups, there were 10 gas chambers in Treblinka, which could hold a total of 6,000 men at a time. The path to these death chambers was surrounded by hedges and only 1.5 m wide (22), which means, that only two men could march side by side. Assuming an interval of half a metre between every person marching and the person in front, this would mean a line of people waiting 2 kilometres long! According to Adalbert Rückerl, the former director of the Ludwigsburg Central Office for the Prosecution of NS Crimes, there

were only 35 to 40 SS men employed at Treblinka (23), which means that each SS man was responsible for at least 150 Jews! Fortunately, the Jews proved unusually cooperative; instead of running away or overpowering the pair of SS men, they marched, according to a witness at the Düsseldorf Treblinka Trial, "naked and meekly into the gas chamber" (24).

During the Jerusalem trial against John Demjanjuk, Treblinka returned to the spotlight of the world's attention. Demjanjuk, a US citizen of Ukrainian-origin and automobile worker, was extradited from the United States in violation of all democratic procedures to Israel, where he was hauled before the court as "Ivan the Terrible", murderer of hundreds of thousands at Treblinka. Five Jewish "eyewitnesses" swore they had seen him pushing Jews into the gas chambers after cutting off their ears, cutting women's breasts off with a sword, and cutting open the stomachs of pregnant women with a sword. Demjanjuk was first sentenced to death, but was acquitted on appeal for lack of proof, and released in September 1993; once again proving the "credibility" of such eyewitnesses (25).

## The scientific studies

### **a) Friedrich Paul Berg's study of the murder weapon**

The alleged murder weapon in the four pure extermination camps, the Diesel motor, has been studied chiefly by the German-American engineer Friedrich Paul Berg (26). Berg clearly shows the technical absurdity of the Diesel motor legend:

It is, of course, not impossible, as some revisionists have erroneously reported, to kill people with Diesel exhaust, but it is tedious and considerably inefficient, because these exhaust gases are very poorly suited as murder weapons due to their high oxygen and very low carbon monoxide content. While a gasoline motor can easily produce exhaust with a carbon monoxide content of seven percent or more, a Diesel motor cannot even produce a carbon monoxide concentration of one percent, even if the motor is incorrectly adjusted to increase the carbon monoxide content. Ironically, the introduction of Diesel exhaust gases into a chamber cram-packed with people would only prolong the death struggle of the victims, since these gases contain an oxygen content of approximately 16%, which is sufficient for survival. Instead of introducing the exhaust gas, the executioners could have simply allowed them to suffocate. In any case, all the available oxygen would have been breathed up before the carbon monoxide took effect!

Any gasoline motor, not to mention the gas generators already mentioned elsewhere, would have been incomparably more efficient as a murder weapon than a Diesel.

Exactly like the Zyklon B story, the Diesel story was quite obviously invented by technical morons -- to the detriment of the exterminationists, since the Diesel motor story is in the history books, and there's no way to make it disappear.

### **b) Arnulf Neumaier's study of the cremations**

The manner in which the bodies at Treblinka were allegedly disposed of has been studied in detail by the certified engineer Arnulf Neumaier (27). Neumaier assumes

875,000 bodies, the figure given at the Demjanjuk Trial. For Belzec and Sobibor, where the cremations are supposed to have taken place on the same model, the number of victims mentioned in the following must be reduced correspondingly.

To burn 875,000 bodies in the open would have required at least 200 kg wood per corpse, i.e., a total of 195,000 tons. This is equivalent to a forest 6.4 km long and 1 km wide. The cremation actions, which are supposed to have lasted from early March until late August 1943, would have required 2,800 wood cutters per day, assuming that it takes one man to cut down one tree, cut the branches off, and saw it up. According to Holocaust literature, there were only 500 "working Jews" in total at the camp, only 25 of whom, according to a Holocaust survivor named Richard Glazar, were on wood-cutting detail, i.e., less than 1 1/2% of the number required. Deforested terrain of the corresponding size does not, and did not, exist in the vicinity of Treblinka; the transport of 195,000 tons of wood to the camp would certainly have been noted in the records of the Reichsbahn, if the wood had been brought from someplace else.

Further, the 875,000 bodies would have left 2,900 tons of ashes in addition to 1,000 tons of wood ash. These ashes would have contained millions of unburnt pieces of bone, in addition to 20 to 30 million teeth -- even if we assume that each of the 875,000 victims lacked one tooth on average. If the Soviets and the Poles had found only a fraction of these ashes, bones, and teeth, they would have drummed an international commission together with a huge blare of propaganda, and the entire world would have been presented with the proof of German bestiality. So why didn't they?

What were the "pure extermination camps" in reality?

Quite undisputedly, hundreds of thousands of Jews were deported to Treblinka after the defeat of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto revolt alone. What kind of camp was Treblinka?

Revisionists assume that it was a transit camp. It couldn't have been an extermination camp in which the arriving Jews were gassed and burned, because of the technical impossibility of mass gassings with carbon monoxide and cremations using the methods described, quite apart from the fact that the "eyewitness testimony" as to the properties of the camp are not in accordance with the air photos. Nor was it a work camp, since it was much too small to hold to these masses of people. (We are speaking here of the "extermination camp", also called Treblinka 2. Hardly three kilometers away lay so-called Treblinka 1, which was quite undisputedly a work camp, and has never played any role in the holocaust literature.)

The transit camp theory is also supported by the fact that Jews are known to have been deported from Treblinka to other camps. Holocaust literature even mentions Jews who were transferred from Treblinka to Majdanek (29). Why all these unnecessary transports from one "extermination camp" to another?

Presumably, Treblinka served as a transit camp on the way to settlements located further east in the Baltic and White Russia); the existence of these settlements is admitted even by authors like Reitlinger and Hilberg.

In our view, Sobibor and Belzec were transit camps, too; this is supported, among other things, by their location in the outermost east of the General Gouvernement. A clue to this possibility, with regards to Belzec, is furnished by a German document dated 17 March 1942, stating that the Jews "were sent over the border and were not to come back" (30).

Chelmno was presumably a transit camp, too, and was located in the Warthegau; according to the Korherr report, many Jews were transferred from this area to the Eastern regions.

Did the Germans destroy the documents relating to these camps, as stated in Holocaust literature? We cannot exclude this possibility. But if so, why did they carelessly leave all the documentation from Auschwitz and Majdanek just lying around to be captured? It seems much more probable to us that the documents were either destroyed by the Soviets or the Poles, or that they were stored in a safe place because they contradicted the extermination legend. Some interesting revelations may be expected over the coming years.

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### Notes:

- 1) The first number is named by Lucy Dawidowicz (p. 191) and the second by Raul Hilberg (p. 956).
- 2) Reitlinger, p. 512.
- 3) Wolfgang Benz, (publisher), *Dimension des Voelkermords*, R. Oldenburg, 1991, p. 470.
- 4) Rudolf In Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 276 ff.
- 5) Claude Lanzmann, *Shoa*, dtv, 1988, p. 17.
- 6) Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich*, Colloquium, 1964, p. 40.
- 7) Hilberg, p. 956.
- 8) Nuremberg document NO-482.
- 9) Alexander Pechersky, La rivolta di Sobibor, in Yuri Suhl, *Ed essi si ribellarono*, Milan, 1969, p. 31.
- 10) *ibid.*
- 11) Léon Poliakov, *Bréviare de la Haine*, Éditions complexe, Paris, 1986, p. 224.
- 12) Hilberg, p. 941.
- 13) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1496.

14) Compare, in this regard, the comments on Belzec in the next chapter (Six Million Miracles).

15) Reder's book Belzec (Krakau, 1946) was summarized in Carlo Mattogno in *Il rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di un falso* (Sentinella d'Italia, 1985, p. 129 ff).

16) Compare, in this regard, our book *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand*, 1992, p. 47, ff.

17) On the Demjanjuk trial, see Rullmann.

18) Vassili Grossmann, *Die Hölle von Treblinka*, Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Moscow, 1946, excerpts quoted in number 44 of *Historische Tatsachen*.

19) Arnulf Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit.

20) Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka. The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, University Press, Bloomington USA, 1987, p. 174.

21) Jean-Francois Steiner, *Treblinka, Die Revolte eines Vernichtungslagers*, Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1966, p. 294 ff.

22) See, in this regard, Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*

23) Adalbert Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, dtv, 1977, p. 206.

24) FAZ, 2 April 1965.

25) Hans Peter Rullmann, *Der Fall Demjanjuk*, Verlag fuer ganzheitliche Forschung und Kultur, Vioel, 1987.

26) Friedrich Paul Berg in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*

27) See note 22.

28) Richard Glazar, *Die Falle mit dem gruenen Zaun*, Fischer, 1992, p. 126.

29) Alexander Donat (publisher), *The Death Camp Treblinka*, Holocaust Library, New York, 1979, p. 24.

30) Reuter-Memorandum of 17 March 1942, published by Helmut Schwege, Kennzeichen J, Berlin (Ost), 1966, p. 243.

# CHAPTER XIII

## THE GAS VANS AND MASS SHOOTINGS

### The gas vans

The so-called gas vans are supposed to have been used for the extermination of Jews in Serbia and Russia, in addition to their use at Chelmno. Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, in their book *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, discuss these vans at considerable length, for a total of 64 pages (1).

In reading the above books, the observant reader will note the following inconsistencies:

- no physical evidence at all is produced for the existence of these vehicles. There have never been any reports of the capture of such a vehicle, nor its presentation in evidence in any trial. Perhaps this is the reason why no illustration of any gas van ever appears in the literature.
- there are only two (alleged) documentary proofs of the existence of the gas vans;
- all the other "evidence" consists of "eyewitness testimony".

Two leading German revisionists, Ingrid Weckert and Udo Walendy, have made a particular study of the two particular documents which are supposed to prove the existence of the gas vans (2). A detailed study by the French automobile builder Pierre Marais appeared in 1994 (3).

Let us consider the first of these two documents. It was introduced at Nuremberg under number PS-501. This is allegedly a letter supposedly written by a Lt. Dr. Becker to Walter Rauff, Leader of Section II D, Technical Matters, of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). The document discusses technical deficiencies in the murder vans. We will quote a couple of sentences from the original text, paying careful attention to the original style of the German (4).

"I furthermore order that all men be kept as far away from the van as possible when people are being gassed, so as to avoid endangering their health by possibly out streaming gas. Upon this occasion, I would like to draw your attention to the following: several Kommandos have had the vans unloaded by their own men after the gassing. I have drawn the attention of the commander of the Sonderkommando to the terrible damage to their emotions and health which this work may have later, if not immediately, on the men... Despite this, I will not deviate from this order, since it is feared that prisoners withdrawn

for the work may take a suitable opportunity to flee. In order to protect them men from this danger, I request that corresponding orders be issued."

[Translator's note: the style of this is impossible to imitate in English.]

What German would write like that?

The letter is not signed. Instead of a signature, the name Becker is written by typewriter. To the left of the typewritten signature stands the abbreviation (Sgd), which means "signed" in English! Did SS men use English abbreviations when writing letters to each other?

The various hand-written umlauts over the letters (ä) and (ö) leave no doubt about it: the letter is a primitive forgery, probably from an American lie factories.

Hardly less pitiful is the second "documentary proof" for the gas vans, an alleged letter from correspondence between the RSHA and the automobile firm Gaubschat. The letter begins as follows (5):

"Berlin, 5 July 1942

Einzigste Ausfertigung ["Only copy"]

Regarding: technical changes in the special cars used in operation and found in manufacturing themselves [sic].

Since December 1941 for example 97,000 were processed without the appearance of defects in the vehicles."

First, in correct German, it ought to read "einzige Ausfertigung" instead of "einzigste Ausfertigung"; and secondly, it ought to say "an den in Herstellung befindlichen" instead of "an den sich in der Herstellung Spezialwagen"; third, no normal person begins a letter with "for example", and fourth: what the devil were they "processing"?

So much for the "documentary proofs": What the exterminationists offer us as "proof" in terms of "eyewitness reports", is even more idiotic. Adalbert Rückerl outdoes himself in appealing to eyewitness reports in German trials on the "extermination" camp of Chelmno (6):

"These gas vans were large, grey-painted lorries of foreign manufacturer, with closed chassis construction, separated from the driver's compartment, and approximately 2 m wide, 2 m high, and 4 m long... The Sonderkommando had three of these available, two of which were in constant use, and the third used temporarily."

According to which historian you read, between 150,000 and 1.35 million Jews were gassed in two -- or, temporarily, three -- gas vans, with a useful surface area, according to the above, of 16 m<sup>2</sup>. Rückerl furthermore permits a witness named Johann I. to report as follows: (7):



"The gas vans came five or ten times a day, carrying bodies. In the smaller gas vans, there were always an estimated 50 bodies and in the larger, approximately 70 bodies."

How could the "witness" have spoken of "smaller" and "larger" vans, when there were only two, or, temporarily, three of them, all the same size?

The manner in which the legend arose has been revealed by Ingrid Weckert. In revenge for the German revelation of the Soviet massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest, the Soviets accused German prisoners of war in 1943 of murdering Soviet citizens in gas vans. At the Kharkov and Krasnodar trials, several of the accused were identified by eyewitnesses, and executed. A fatal error was that, according to the witnesses, Diesel exhaust gas was relayed to the interior of the vans.

This is why Hans Fritzsche, Assistant to Josef Goebbels in the Propaganda Ministry, testified as follows at Nuremberg (8):

"That was the moment when the Russians, after they had captured Kharkov, started legal proceedings, in the course of which killing by gas was mentioned for the first time. I ran to Dr. Goebbels with these reports and asked him just what was going on here. He stated he would have the matter investigated and would discuss it with both Himmler and Hitler. ...Dr. Goebbels explicitly informed me that the gas vans mentioned in the Russian legal proceedings were a pure figment of the imagination and that there was no actual proof to support it."

With the death vans, Chelmno disappears from history, because the mass murders are supposed to have been carried out exclusively in these vehicles.

### The Einsatzgruppen and the "Massacre of Babi Yar"

The four Einsatzgruppen were formed after the German preventive attack (9) against the USSR. Their principal task consisted of fighting the partisan bands operating behind the front. Total Einsatzgruppen personnel, including radio operators, drivers, translators, nurses, etc., amounted to a total of only approximately 3,000 persons (10). According to the exterminationists, these were responsible, not only for fighting the partisans, but for the pitiless extermination of all Jews in the conquered Soviet territory. According to the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, the Einsatzgruppen killed 1.25 million Jews, and "hundreds of thousands of other Soviet nationalities" by the spring of 1943 alone (11), i.e., a total of least one and a half million people. This means that every member of the Einsatzgruppen, including radio operators, drivers, translators, and nurses, would have had to kill an average of 500 Jewish and non-Jewish people each -- nearly one a day, if we consider Sundays and holidays.

Miraculously, the nearly two million bodies (since the Einsatzgruppen are supposed to have continued murdering people even after the spring of 1943, after all) disappeared without a trace. Under normal circumstances, of course, this is not so. Disposing of the body is the nightmare of every murderer. After the murder of the family of the Russian Czar, the bodies were burnt and acid was thrown on them, but they could still be identified.

The Holocaust scholars report (12):

"The task of the Sonderkommando... was to open the mass graves, remove the bodies, burn them, and scatter the ashes.

According to the above, the murder victims were first buried, then dug up again later, and then burnt! But the former location of mass graves can be identified by aerial photographs quite easily, even years later, due to the disturbance in the terrain. Even if the Germans had succeeded in burning two million bodies and eliminating the bone fragments and teeth, the location of the mass graves could still be found. Where are they?

Thus, there is no physical evidence of the two million murders on the Eastern front. The documentary evidence consists of the "Event Reports" from the Einsatzgruppen in the USSR to the RSHA in Berlin. These reports are alleged to have been found by the Allies in the RSHA files after the war.

According to the exterminationists, the reason why no documents on the gas chambers have ever been found, is because the Nazis wanted to cover up their crimes; they therefore issued their murder orders only orally, or at least destroyed all the existing documents. But the incriminating Einsatzgruppen reports, revealing a monstrous murder programme in the East, were left lying around where they could be found! They could have burnt the few files on the subject in no time, easily! How very strange.

Babi Yar.

The massacre at Babi Yar is mentioned in the Einsatzgruppen reports (13). After the withdrawal of the German army in September 1941, there was a series of explosive attacks causing fires and hundreds of deaths. In reprisal, the Germans are alleged to have taken 33,000 Jews to the edge of the city of Kiev, shot them, and thrown them into the ravine at the end of September. During the war, tens of thousands more Jews were allegedly murdered there. Exactly two years later, as the Red Army approached Kiev, the bodies are supposed to have dug up and burnt without a trace, so that there is no physical evidence of this, either.

Several revisionist authors, principally Herbert Tiedemann and Udo Walendy (14), have investigated the evidence relating to Babi Yar in great detail. The eyewitness reports contradict each other on all possible points. In addition to shootings, there is much talk of stabbings with bayonets, live burials, killings with land mines, hand grenades, drownings in the Dneiper, and other similar nonsense. The number of victims mentioned over the course of the years rose to 300,000.

At the time of the German entry into Kiev in 1941, there were no 33,000 Jews in Kiev, must less 300,000 Jews for the Germans to murder, in any manner at all, since by far the majority of the Jews of Kiev had abandoned the city (15). Air photos of the ravine of Baba Yar taken during the war and evaluated by John Ball were the coup de grace to the Babi Yar legend (16). A comparison of photos taken between 1940 and 1944 shows that the mass graves -- which were allegedly dug up, filled in, later dug up again, and then resealed -- never existed, since otherwise the ravine would have

shown massive topographical changes. These are in no way revealed by the air photos.

So the mass murder of Babi Yar turns out to be just another swindle. No other accusation of crime made against the Germans on the Eastern front has been made with such great propaganda effect; no other atrocity is supposed to have claimed so many victims. Since this invented massacre appears in the Einsatzgruppen reports, the reports were either totally falsified, or at least manipulated on a massive scale. Thus the only "documentary evidence" of the millions of murders on the Eastern front crashes to the ground.

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### Notes:

- 1) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, op. cit. p. 81 ff.
- 2) Ingrid Weckert in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 5.
- 3) Pierre Marais, *Les camions à gaz en question*, Polémiques, Paris, 1994.
- 4) The letter was reproduced in Gauss, *Grundlagen, ...* op. cit., Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 5.
- 5) *ibid*, p. 216, ff.
- 6) Adalbert Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, dtv, 1977, p. 266/267.
- 7) *ibid*, p. 272.
- 8) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XVII p. 201 (German text).
- 9) On the preventive nature of the German march into the USSR, see Viktor Suvorov, *Der Eisbrecher*, Klett-Cotta, 1989, as well as Walter Post, *Unternehmen Barbarossa*, Verlag E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1995.
- 10) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 397.
- 11) *ibid*, p. 399.
- 12) *ibid*.
- 13) Einsatzgruppen report 106 of 7 October 1941, Document R-102 in IMT XXXVII p. 291 ff.
- 14) Herbert Tiedemann in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no 51.

15) In Kiev, practically all the Jews had left the city with the Red Army. Only the elderly remained behind." Institute of Jewish Affairs, Hg. Hitler's ten years' war, New York, 1943, p. 186.

16) John Ball in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 238/239.

## CHAPTER XIV

### SIX MILLION MIRACLES

#### "A unique mass murder"

In the book, *Der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland*, which has also been turned into a film and is praised by the mass media, Lea Rosh and Eberhard Jaeckel write (1):

"The murder of the European Jews was unique. Never before had a state decided to kill as many as possible of a given group of human beings, including the old, women and children and infants, without any examination of each individual case, without exception, and translated this decision into action with state means, not only by killing the members of this group wherever they could be found, but transporting them to special killing installations, mostly over great distances. Mass murders have existed before, but not mass murders of this type."

Let us assume just for the moment that the National Socialists really succeeded in eliminating all the proof of this unique mass murder of an entire people; let's just examine the basic question: "Did the Germans really kill all the Jews who fell into their hands, including the 'old, the women, children, infants, without any examination of an individual cases'?"

The question is extraordinarily easy to answer. All you have to do is read the newspapers regularly, and exercise your brain.

#### A stroll through the "free press" of the world

Let us take a stroll through the media landscape of the "free world", starting with an article in *Der Spiegel* (no. 51/1992), with the title (*Dann bin ich weg ueber Nacht*), and which reads as follows:

- Rachel Naor, 20, whose grandfather survived the Nazi extermination camps" (why wasn't he "exterminated" in the "Nazi extermination camps"?);
- Ralph Giordano, who spent the whole war in freedom, with the knowledge of the Gestapo;
- Leo Baeck, who survived the war in the ghetto for the elderly at Theresienstadt;
- Yohanan Zarai, who survived the Nazi era in the Budapest Ghetto;
- Inge Deutschkron, who described her youth in Germany in an autobiography;
- Theodore Goldstein, 80, "whom the Nazis deported to the work camp at Wullheide".

Not one gassed Jew is mentioned by name in the article mentioned above. At the end of the article, *Der Spiegel* published an interview with the German Jewish leader Ignatz Bubis, a "Holocaust survivor" and successor to "Holocaust survivor" Heinz Schmul Galinski.

Now let's look at the favourite magazine of the German intelligentsia, *Der Spiegel*, issue of 4 September 1995, p. 152. This issue contains an interview with Jewish historian Joseph Rovn. Of Rovn personally, we learn that the Gestapo deported him to Dachau concentration camp as a resistance fighter. Of course, Rovn must have survived his incarceration, otherwise he wouldn't have been alive to give *Der Spiegel* an interview about it 50 years later. But we thought all the Jews who fell into the clutches of the Nazis were murdered; Rosh/Jaeckel and all the other great historians tell us so; they say that the Nazis decided to kill "as many members a given group of human beings as possible, without exception". Since Joseph Rovn was not only a Jew but a resistance fighter, his death must have been doubly certain, but he survived. A miracle!

Another miracle appears in the *FAZ* supplement of 27 April 1995. This is all about the Jewish resistance fighter Arno Lustiger, who is supposed to have been a "survivor of the concentration and extermination camps". Just which "extermination camp" he survived, is not revealed, but Lustiger obviously was not "exterminated" in any of them, otherwise he wouldn't have been able to entertain *FAZ* readers with a

Jeremiad against anti-Semitism and pseudo-scientific revisionist rubbish in 1995.

The Nordwest-Zeitung in Oldenburg in Friesland on 13 April 1994 is also quite miraculous; this one has the following to say about Israel Gutman, the chief publisher of the Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust:

"Israel Gutman was born in 1923, participated in the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943, and was an inmate in the concentration camps of Majdanek, Auschwitz, Mauthausen, and Gunskirchen."

As a Jew and a participant in an anti-German uprising, Gutman was doubly doomed. He was sent to the "extermination camp" of Majdanek, but he was not "exterminated". He survived the largest concentration camp, in addition to two normal concentration camps.

As an explanation, there are only the following three possibilities:

- 1) the stupid Nazis, despite their best efforts, were unable to kill Gutman in four camps. In this case, one really cannot understand why they didn't lose the war the very first day;
- 2) we are looking at an inexplicable chain of miracles;
- 3) the Germans really didn't intend to kill Gutman at all, regardless of the fact that he was both a Jew and resistance fighter. They interned him on security grounds, or because they needed his labour, or both.

Which of the three possibilities is the truth? Let's look at a few well-known examples.

A few examples

The Frank family

This family's tragic fate seems to confirm the extermination theory. But only at first glance. In August 1944, Otto Frank, his wife Edith, and his daughters Ann and Margot, were arrested in Amsterdam, transferred to the "extermination camp" of Auschwitz, but they were not exterminated. Otto Frank survived. His wife died in January 1945 (2); we don't know the cause of death, but she cannot have been gassed, since the gasings had long since stopped by that time, according to the official version of history (3). Anne and Margot died during a typhus epidemic shortly before the end of the war in Bergen-Belsen, where they had been sent during the course of the evacuation from Auschwitz.

Simone Veil

According to the Centre de Documentation Juive, Simone Jacob, born on 13 July 1927 in Nice, was gassed at Auschwitz (4). This cannot be true, since this "gassing victim" later became the President of the European Parliament and French Minister of Health under the name of Simone Veil (as such she made a name for herself by legalizing the murder of children in their mother's womb). Her mother and sister also survived Auschwitz and died of typhus in Bergen-Belsen, just like Anne and Margot Frank. Another tragedy, but not a deliberate policy of extermination, otherwise all three would have been murdered -- either in France or at Auschwitz at the very latest.

Primo Levi and Benedikt Kautsky

Although a Jew and a resistance fighter, Levi was not killed by the Germans after his arrest, but was sent for forced labour at Auschwitz and described his experiences there, after the war, in his book *Ist das ein Mensch?*

The Austrian Jew and left-wing socialist Benedikt Kautsky survived Dachau, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, and again Buchenwald between 1938 and 1945. After the war, he wrote his book *Teufel und Verdammte*, in which he said he never saw a gas chamber at Auschwitz. His eighty-year old mother died in December 1944 in Birkenau, after receiving medical care to the last.

Elie Wiesel

The Nobel Peace Prize winner, according to whom every Jew should feel "a healthy, virile hatred of everything German" (5), survived Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

Other survivors and prisoners of German concentration camps who have become famous include Ignatz Bubis, President of the Central Committee of German Jews, who was interned in a work camp in Poland, as well as his predecessor, the Auschwitz internee Heinz Schmul Galinski. Another "survivor" is the film producer Roman Polanski (Auschwitz). And the Nobel Prize winner for physics Georges Charpak (Dachau). And the Nazi Hunter Simon Wiesenthal, according to his own claim a survivor of twelve camps. And the philosopher Jean Amery (Auschwitz). And the writer Jurek Becker (Neuengamme) and Samuel Pisar (Auschwitz). And the former Knesset President Dov Shilanski (Dachau). And Claude Vaillant-Couturier, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party (Auschwitz). And the CDU politician Erik Blumenfeld (Auschwitz). And the rabbi Leo Baeck (Theresienstadt). And the former Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Cyrankiewicz (Auschwitz). And the satirist Ephraim Kishon ("Too many work camps: Hungarian, German, Russian"). And Leon Blum, Chief of the Popular Front government in pre-war France (Buchenwald). And Herschel Gruenspan, whose murder of a German diplomat led to the Night of Broken Glass; he spent the whole war in prison, and emigrated to Palestine after the war (6). And. And. And. And all the other "Holocaust survivors" who repeat the old refrain in their memoirs: "And I alone am escaped alive to tell thee."

According to the film producer Steven Spielberg (Schindler's List), 50 years after the war, there are still 300,000 Jewish concentration camp inmates alive, 150,000 of whom are to be interviewed in the coming years before the camera (7). How many of them were there in 1945? As Walter Sanning shows in his trail-blazing book *The Dissolution of European Jewry*, there cannot have been any more than 4.5 million Jews in all of German-controlled Europe at the time at which the genocide allegedly took place. Of these, it is recognized that nowhere near all were deported; the great majority of French, Italian, Rumanian and all Bulgarian Jews were never bothered.

The following therefore are the "facts":

- the Germans wished to exterminate "all Jews without exception";
- but in two to six "extermination camps", not all the Jews were exterminated; rather, those who could work were selected;
- in the rest of the four "death factories", there weren't any selections. There, the Germans exterminated all the Jews, except for a handful of "working Jews", thereby simultaneously exterminating innumerable healthy workers, although their own documents show how desperately they needed manpower;
- in several German-controlled countries, most of the Jews were never harmed;
- out of a maximum of 4.5 million "available" Jews, five to six million were murdered;
- 50 years after this unique genocide, in which five or six million Jews were exterminated, out of a total of only four and a half million available -- 300,000 survivors are still alive half a century later!

This is a chain of miracles the likes of which have never been seen! One of the many individual miracles of which this total miracle is composed, was reported by the Jewish humorist Ephraim Kishon; he reports (8):

"Look, I was just on my way to the extermination camp, but I was able to flee. It was a miracle!"

Elie Wiesel's miraculous escapes

Elie Wiesel and his father were immediately led to the flaming ditches of Auschwitz on the very evening of their arrival, ditches in which, as is remembered, Jewish children and adults were burned alive. They both escaped a fiery death in the following manner (9):

"Our column had only 15 steps left to go. I bit my lips, so that my father would not hear my teeth gnashing. Another 10 steps. Eight, seven. We marched together, as if behind the hearse at our own funeral. Only four steps to go. Three steps. It was now quite close, the ditch with its flames. I gathered all my remaining

strength in order to jump out of line and throw myself against the barbed wire. Deep in my heart, I took my farewell from my father, from the whole world, and involuntarily formed words, which took the form of a murmur on my lips: Yitgadal veyitkadah chme rabah... His name be exalted and sanctified. My heart was nearly bursting. It was almost the moment. I stood before the face of the Death Angel. No. Two steps away from the ditch, they ordered us to turn around, and we were told to go into a barracks."

After which they voluntarily joined the retreating German columns instead of waiting for the arrival of the Russian liberators! But Elie and his father needed yet another miracle to save them (10):

"A murmur went through our ranks: a selection! The SS officers carried out this selection: the weak to the left, those who could walk easily, to the right. My father was sent to the left. I ran after him. An SS officer howled behind my back: 'Come back!' I hid among the others. Several SS men looked for me and caused so much confusion that many people were able to cross back over to the right, including my father and myself."

Again in Buchenwald Elie escaped death through a series of miracles (11):

"In Buchenwald, 10,000 people a day were sent to their deaths. I was always among the last hundred before the door. Then they stopped. Why?"

Yes, why? We would gladly like to know why, too. Why, indeed?

How Jewish Holocaust "survivors" cheated death

Otto Frank's second wife escaped the gas chamber in the following manner (12):

"Every inmate had to appear individually, and the SS women inspected the tattooed number with the data on their list... Before me in the line stood Loretta. When she was on the spot, she said, 'Madame Obersturmfuehrerin, we both do not belong here. We were brought here by mistake from another barracks.' The SS woman looked at her list. 'What is your number?' 'A/6894.' 'And mine is A/5271', I said. 'Really?'. The tip of the pencil ran smoothly over the list. We were almost sick from excitement as she searched the entire list for our number ... The doors of the automobile slammed shut, and the driver received the order to drive away. But we were brought into another barracks."

The Jewess Trudi Birger escaped the fiery death at Stutthof in this manner (13):

"In the meantime, I came so close to the ovens that I could see the faces of the Polish inmates, who were throwing living people into the fire. They grabbed the women wherever they could, and pushed them head first into the fire... And then, when I saw that I was next, I stiffened... And then -- I heard the voice, was it a dream?... The camp commandant stood there, a small man of about 45... He shouted: 'Get this girl out of here!' Instead of burning me like the other women, the Polish criminals laid me on the litter..."

Birger escaped not only fire, but also water (14):

"For some reason the German cook led the commando... Suddenly he shouted: 'The ship is too heavy. In the water with the Jews.'... The Polish and Lithuanian inmates began to move to carry out the order.. I lifted my hands in a dramatic gesture and cried as long as I could 'Hear, O Israel!'... Suddenly the German cook who was giving the orders, ordered them to stop... He ordered the Polish and Lithuanian inmates not to push any closer to the edge, and so none of the thirty women were pushed into the water."

Members of the Sonderkommando needed a lot more than just two or three miracles to survive, at least according to the Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust (15):

"The name Sonderkommando... was given to Jewish inmate units in the extermination camps, who had to work in the gas chambers and in the crematoria... The members were killed at intervals of a few months and replaced by new inmates."

This is confirmed by our old friend Dr. Miklos Nysiszli (16):

"The members of the Sonderkommandos could not leave the grounds of the crematorium. Every four months,



when they had seen too much, they were liquidated."

Dr. Nysiszli, who arrived in Auschwitz in May 1944, as all readers of his classic know, was allowed to see everything, and yet was not personally "liquidated". The Jew Szloma Dragon and Milton Buki arrived in Auschwitz as early as December 1942 and were immediately assigned to the Sonderkommando, but they also experienced the liberation of the camp in January 1945. According to the above, they must have survived at least six liquidations by a miracle. But even more miraculous was the rescue of Filip Mueller. Since his epic yarn "Sonderbehandlung" is sub-titled "Three Years in the Gas Chamber", this means he survived nine liquidations (36 divided by 4 = 9)!

Many other Sonderkommando members were saved by similar miracles: Alter Szmul Fynzyberg alias Stanislaw Jankowski alias Kaskowiak alias Alter Feinsilber; Dov Paisikovic; Henryk Tauber; Abraham Dragon; Josef Sackar; Jacov Gabai; Shaul Chasan; Eliezer Eisenschmidt; Leon Cohen, etc. (17).

If, however, a member of the Sonderkommando failed to survive, however, he always found a way, prior to his untimely demise, to draw up a message for posterity, stuff it in a bottle, and bury it on the grounds of the camp, so that it could be discovered years later by a miracle -- such as that of the unknown Jewish author, who was fortunate enough to succeed in leaving us the following (18):

"A certain young Polish girl, naked in front of all those present who had taken their clothes off, gave a quite short but fiery speech in the gas chamber, in which she denounced the crimes and the oppression of the Nazis and concluded approximately as follows: 'We will not die now, our history will make our names eternal, our will and our spirit will live and bloom, the German people will pay more dearly for our blood than we can imagine... At this, the Poles knelt down on the floor and spoke a fiery prayer... With deep sincerity they repressed their last feelings and their hope, as well as the belief in the future of their people. Then they sang the Internationale all together. During the singing, the Red Cross vehicle came up, the gas was thrown into the chamber, and all those present gave up the ghost among singing and extacy, dreaming of brotherhood and a better world... And then a little girl of five years stood up and undressed her one-year old brother. One of the commando approached to undress it. The girl shouted out loud: 'Away, you Jewish murderer! Lay not your hands spotted with the blood of Jews upon my beautiful little brother! I am his good little mother now, and he shall die in my arms... Hauptscharfuehrer Mohl divided the people into groups of four, one after the other in a straight line, and shot them all through with one bullet..."

What will future historians think of an age in which such nonsense is believed?

At Belzec, people needed more miracles to survive than at Auschwitz, since of 600,000 Jews delivered there, according to Kogon/Rueckerl/Langbein, only a single one survived the horror camp, a man named Rudolf Reder (19). As the Israeli researcher Yitzhak Arad tells us on p. 112 of his opus on the death factories (20), Reder had another Jewish comrade who also survived Belzec; on p. 264 of the same masterpiece, the two surviving Jews are fortunate enough to have increased to no less than five! As the only one of the (one to five) Jewish survivors, Reder left us a report. Although he was already over 60 years old when he arrived at Belzec, and though there were certainly younger Jews to choose from, he was selected as one of the working Jews. He lived a few months longer among the "pitiless monsters, who committed disgusting crimes with sadistic joy", but survived no fewer than eighty liquidation actions! This would even make Filip Mueller and Simon Wiesenthal blush with shame. One day, the "pitiless monsters" sent Reder out on a shopping trip with an SS man. The SS man went to sleep, and the lucky devil was able to escape! (21):

Young Jewish death candidates drove the Nazi butchers crazy with their gas-resistance (22):

"Yehuda Bacon was 15 years old when he was sent into the gas chamber. He survived the gas, however, and remembers that there were no holes in the shower heads, but rather, only small indentations, to look like holes."

A Mega-Miracle was reported in 1993 in Canada (23):

"As an 11 year old boy held captive at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp during WW II, Mosche Peer was sent to the gas chamber at least six times. Each he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn't know how he was able to survive. 'Maybe children resist better, I don't know', he said in an interview last week."

We don't know why, either. Not only was little Mosche gas-tight, his whole family was, too, or at least according to the same Canadian newspaper:

"Peer and his sisters, WHO ALL SURVIVED, were cared for by two camp women. After the war, Peer was reunited with HIS FATHER AND HIS WIFE in Paris."

Non-gas resistant Jews escaped extermination through escape from Nazi Germany to Bavaria (24):

"Victor Klemperer, in these years of oppression (i.e., the war years), wrote a whole book on linguistic customs, with the title "Lingua Tertii Imperii"... After the destruction of Dresden, in which all his property was burnt, he could flee his persecutors and settled with his wife just in time TO BAVARIA."

People as tough as that can survive anything. The Welt am Sonntag reported the following miracle on 6 March 1977 (25):

"Precisely 32 years ago, Ilona Sugar was released from a German concentration camp, a seriously ill woman. Sadistic NS doctors had had carried out a medical experiment on her. They transplanted her heart to the right, and her liver to the left -- without anaesthetic! This is called vivisection. Until today, Mrs. Sugar has never received a single penny from Germany."

In view of this unique series of miracles, one might well be grateful to the Juedische Rundschau Maccabi, Basel, for the following revelation, contained in the edition of 11 November 1993:

"Every Jewish person may learn from our survivors and live with the knowledge that the Jewish people are not subject to the restrictions of the laws of nature."

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Notes:

- 1) Lea Rosh/Eberhard Jaeckel, Der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland, Hoffman und Campe, 1991, p. 11.
- 2) Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust, p. 473.
- 3) The last gassing in Auschwitz is allegedly "probably" to have happened on 1 November 1944, according to the Kalendarium of Danuta Czech, p. 921.
- 4) Thion, p. 328.
- 5) Elie Wiesel, Legends of our Time, New York, 1968, p. 177.
- 6) Ingrid Weckert, Feuerzeichen, p. 252/253.
- 7) Tageszeitung, Berlin, 30 March 1995.
- 8) Schweizer Illustrierte, 13 April 1992.
- 9) Elie Wiesel, La Nuit, p. 59/60.
- 10) ibid, p. 151.
- 11) Time, 18 March 1985, p. 79.
- 12) Eva Schloss, Evas Geschichte, Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1991, p. 112/113.
- 13) Trudi Birger, Im Angesicht des Feuers, Piper, 1990, p. 126/127.

14) *ibid*, p. 149/150.

15) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1337.

16) Miklos Nyzizli, *Im Jenseits der Menschlichkeit*, Dietz, 1994, p. 24.

17) See, in this regard, our book *Auschwitz: Taetergestaendnisse...* as well as Gideon Greif, *Wir weinten traenenlos*.

18) *Hefte von Auschwitz, Sonderheft 1, "Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos"*, Verlag Staatl. Museum Auschwitz, 1972, p. 115 ff.

19) Kogon/Langbein/Rueckerl p. 183.

20) Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, University Press, Bloomington, 1987.

21) Reders book, which appeared in 1946 in Krakow, was summarized by Carlo Mattogno in *Il Rapporto Gerstein*. In a large work on Belzec planned for 1998, Mattogno will publish the entire text of Reders book in Italian translation.

22) VPRO, Holland/Belgium, April 1991.

23) *The Gazette*, Montreal, 5 August 1993.

24) "Ein erschuetterndes Dokument", *Das Goetheanum, Wochenschrift fuer Anthroposophie*, no. 7, 19 May 1996, p. 84.

25) Quoted according to certified engineer Wolfgang Froehlich, "Details zum Gaskammerschwindel", available from W. Froehlich, Mauerbachstr. 37/13, A-1140 Vienna.

# CHAPTER XV

## WHERE DID THEY GO?

### The origins of the mythical Six Million figure

The mythical Six Million figure naturally collapses with the gas chambers and gas vans, since we now must subtract 2.7 to 5.37 million gassing victims, according to which historian we read (1). Let us look at the history of the origin of the Six Million figure.

First of all, the Six Million figure is based on the confessions of two National Socialists of only minor importance, namely Dieter Wisliceny and Wilhelm Höttl. Wisliceny, Gestapo leader of Bratislava, gave his confession first at Nuremberg and then again in Communist Czechoslovakian imprisonment. The value of such confessions is nil.

Wilhelm Höttl was a collaborator of Adolf Eichmann in the section for the Jewish Question of the RSHA (Reichs Main Security Office). He pretended to have heard the six million figure from Adolf Eichmann (2). The latter then disappeared, and Höttl took the opportunity to place himself in a favourable light by accusing Germany in any manner desired. This was rewarded, since he was never again bothered. Eichmann was kidnapped from Argentine exile in 1960 in violation of international law, and an ordinary bureaucrat was transformed into a "monster of the century" in a show trial played out before the entire world. Eichmann was executed, i.e., murdered, in 1962.

If we go back to 1942, we discover the remarkable fact that the Zionist activist Nahum Goldman, later President of the Jewish World Congress, had already reported, in May of that year, at an event in the Biltmore Hotel in New York, that, of eight million Jews in Hitler's tyranny, only two to three million had survived (4). But the Holocaust was allegedly only just beginning. How did Goldman know the exact number of Jews to be killed in the future?

Our astonishment takes on huge proportions when we find an article from the 31 October 1919 in the US Jewish newspaper *The American Hebrew* (Fig. XXX).

The article mentions a "Holocaust" (sic!) of "Six Million Jewish men, women, and children". How and where this Holocaust is supposed to have taken place, is not even apparent from this feeble-minded drivel, but the Six Million figure appears no fewer than seven times!

At this point, if not before, the suspicion becomes a certainty: Six is the holy figure of Judaism, and the Six Million figure is, therefore, a delusion probably derived from the Talmud.

### Wolfgang Benz and Walter Sanning

If we keep in mind the overwhelming importance played by the Six Million figure in the propaganda of the past five decades, it is surprising that one single remotely scientific attempt has ever been made to support it. In 1991, a large book appeared under the name of *Dimension des Völkermords*, edited by a collective of authors under the leadership of the professional anti-anti-Semite Wolfgang Benz (head of the Institute for Research on Anti-Semitism in Berlin), according to which between 5.29 and 6.01 million Jews were killed in the Third Reich (5). In his study *Die Auflösung* (6) published eight years before, the German-American Walter Sanning came to the conclusion that there were never more than a few hundred thousand Jews were ever in German-controlled Europe.

Since the books of Benz and Sanning, as well as an accurate comparison of both works by Germar Rudolf (7), are available to everyone, we will satisfy ourselves with only a few sentences on this topic here.

In order to arrive at the figure of Six Million dead Jews, Benz and his team indulge in all sorts of manipulations, such as double counting, resulting from the shifting of territories during the Second World War. Rudolf shows that Benz is guilty of counting 533,193 people twice. In addition, the Polish Jewish victims of Stalinist purges and deportations are calmly added to the German side of the ledger. The number of Polish Jews at the beginning of the war is exaggerated by 700,000. In addition, which is worse, Benz acts as if no Jewish emigration ever took place: every Jew who no longer lived in the same place after the war, is simply counted as "exterminated"! If this were true, a book like *Exodus* by Leon Uris could never have been written.

In contrast to Benz, Sanning pays Jewish emigration the attention it deserves. His book, based almost entirely on Jewish and Allied sources, shows that approximately 1.5 million Jews emigrated to the USA, to South America, Australia, etc. after 1945.

Of course, these one and a half million post-war emigrants do not yet solve the statistical problem. The solution to the riddle is to be found in the USSR. According to the census of 17 January 1939, the Soviet empire had 3.02 million Jews. The first post-war census, in 1959, showed only 2.267 million, but the Zionists all agree that this figure is unrealistically low. First, every Soviet citizen could list his nationality as he wished; wholly or partially assimilated Jews often called themselves simply "Russians", and secondly, the Soviet regime had an obvious motive to support the Holocaust story by deliberately reducing post-war Jewish population figures. On 1 July 1990, i.e., long after the beginning of the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to the West, the *New York Post*, referring to Israeli specialists, spoke of over 5 million Jews living in the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that natural increase on this scale for this particular population group would have been impossible due to its progressive trend towards assimilation and the very low Jewish birth rate, there must have been nearly 6 million Jews in the USSR before the emigration, i.e., almost three million "too many".

What happened? In 1939, after the division of Poland, a huge flood of Polish Jewish refugees moved West to East. After the beginning of the German-Russian campaign, most of the Soviet Jews, at least 80% of them according to Sanning, were evacuated, and the German troops never even came into contact with them. In December 1942, a David Bergelson, Secretary of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committees, reported in Moscow (8):

"The evacuation has rescued the great majority of Jews from the Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, and Latvia. According to information from Vitebsk, Riga, and other large cities, which were captured by the fascists, only a few Jews remained there, when the Germans invaded."

Thus, a large part of Polish as well as Baltic Jewry were absorbed by the USSR. Nevertheless, a British-American Commission reported in February 1946, when hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews had already moved west, that 800,000 Jews were still living in Poland. (9).

So much for the myth of the "extermination of Polish Jewry" in the "extermination camps".

The exemplary case of one "gassing victim": Jenny Spritzer

In his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Serge Klarsfeld calculates that 75,721 Jews were deported from France. To our knowledge, this figure is not disputed by anyone. According to Klarsfeld, no more than 2,500 of them survived the war (10). He found 2,200 such survivors in France, Belgium and elsewhere, 805 of whom reported to the French Ministry of War Veterans at the end of 1945 and were officially declared "survivors"; he rounds the number off at 2,500.

The following, of course, are simply forgotten:

- Jews who only returned to France after 1945, and, for that reason, could not report to the French Ministry of War Veterans at the end of 1945, and, for that very same reason, do not appear on the "official survivor" list;
- Jews who returned before the end of 1945, but did not report to the French Ministry of War because they were in no way required to do so;
- Jews who simply never returned to France. This category must be by far the largest. The overwhelming majority of Jews deported from France -- approximately 80% -- held foreign passports or were stateless persons with no ties to France. Faced with the possibility of emigration overseas, most of them naturally preferred the latter to return to a war-torn country. A book on Bergen-Belsen -- a camp which was used as a reception camp for displaced persons after the war -- states that the Jews, who represented the great majority of these displaced persons, almost always wanted to emigrate to Palestine or another non-European country (11).

### An exemplary case:

In his *Mémorial*, Klarsfeld writes that he found only 14 survivors of transport 8, and that all the survivors were men (12). As a result, Klarsfeld assumes that all the other members of this transport were gassed. But as shown by the Spanish revisionist Enrique Aynat, there was also a woman among the survivors, a Jewess named Jenny Spritzer (13). Spritzer was a native of Austria. Before the war, she emigrated to Holland. When the Germans invaded Holland, she fled to Belgium and then emigrated to France. In 1942, she was arrested in France while preparing to travel on to Spain, and was deported to Auschwitz. After the war, she emigrated to Switzerland and wrote her memoirs, slathering away about three to four million Auschwitz victims, flames shooting out of crematoria chimneys, and gas streaming out of shower heads (14).

As may be observed from the example of Jenny Spritzer, the fact that Jews deported by the Germans did not necessarily return to their former place of residence, doesn't necessarily prove that they were killed. Most of the Jews returning from German camps or settlement areas in the East preferred the USA or Israel to their former countries, and were then entered into the statistics as "gassing victims" or "exterminated Jews".

### Carl Nordling's research

The Swedish Professor Carl Nordling compared the fate of a total of 722 Jews, mentioned in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, who lived in areas of German controlled-Europe (15). Of these Jews, 44% emigrated before the end of 1941, 13% died, 35% remained unaffected by deportation or internment; the rest were deported or interned, but survived.

If we assume 4.5 million Jews living in German-controlled Europe -- a majority of the Polish Jews fled to the Soviet Union after the German attack on Poland 1939 -- and a death rate of 13%, this means 600,000 victims. Sanning concludes a figure of approximately half a million, the English revisionist Stephen Challen 750,000 (16). The parts of the mosaic thus fit together into a more or less complete picture.

### 300,000 "Holocaust survivors" in Israel in 1996

Based on German actuarial statistics (i.e., a table from the Lexikon Institut Bertelsmann, *Ich sag dir alles*, Guetersloh 1968), it is possible to determine just how many people from a population group of all age groups (under conditions comparable to those of the Bundesrepublik) must have been alive in 1945 if 750,000 of them are still alive 51 years later. Germar Rudolf has done this in a still unpublished article (17). As his starting point, he used the Amcha Report, prepared by an Israeli foundation for the psychosocial care of Holocaust survivors, in which Amcha asked all German mayors, in a circular letter on 22 August 1996, for a contribution for 300,000 surviving holocaust survivors.

Since only approximately 40% of the Jews who emigrated from Europe in 1945 or later chose Israel as their new home, and since many Jews remained in Europe, the world-wide "survivor" figure must be at least twice as high. Based on the statistics

mentioned above, it may be calculated that there were 3,500,000 surviving Jews in former-German controlled Europe. Since according to Sannings' most meticulous calculations, only 4,500,000 Jews could have been living in the territories in question at the time of the greatest territorial expansion of the Third Reich, the Amcha Report is further proof that the number of Jewish victims might have amounted to one million at most, but most probably very much less.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that between half a million and one million Jews lost their lives during World War II. This conclusion is supported by four different studies -- the Sannings study, Challens' research, the Nordling statistics, and the Amcha report.

### Questions still open

There is still a lot of work to do in the field of Jewish population shifts during World War II and afterwards. For example, the question of how many Jews were deported via Auschwitz and other transit camps to the transit camps in the occupied Eastern territories, and what happened to the survivors after the war, remain unanswered.

That the Germans deported Jews to the territories in the East was known to the Western allies by 1943 at the latest. In that year, the US demographer Eugene Kulischer wrote a book about population shifts in Europe since the beginning of the war (18), in which he emphasized that the ghettos and work camps of the East were being increasingly used as destinations for Jews from Western Europe including Poland.

Thus, the Jews transferred from the Warsaw Ghetto in the spring of 1942 were being sent "to work camps on the Russian front, to work in the swamps near Pinsk or to the ghettos of the Baltic, White Russian, or the Ukraine" (19). Well-informed observers among the Allies never accepted the fairy tale of the extermination of the Jews in "extermination camps" in the East; on the contrary, they were very quick to recognize the true nature of the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question".

The details, of course, remain largely in the dark.

After the valuable studies by Steffen Werner, Enrique Aynat, and Jean-Marie Boisdefeu (20), a broad field remains open for the revisionists. No court historian will ever do this work. No one knows where the documents are, if they still exist, or even whether they were destroyed by the victorious Allies after the war.

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### Notes:

- 1) The first figure is mentioned by Hilberg, the second by Davidowicz.
- 2) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XI p. 255 ff, 285 (German transcript), as well as Nuremberg trial document volumes IMT XXXI p. 85 ff.



- 3) On the Eichmann trial, see Paul Rassinier's *Was ist Wahrheit?*, Druffel, Leoni, 1980.
- 4) Martin Gilbert, p. 398.
- 5) Wolfgang Benz, *Dimensionen des Voelkermords*, R. Oldenburg, 1991.
- 6) Walter Sanning, *Die Aufloesung*, Grabert, 1983.
- 7) Germar Rudolf in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*
- 8) Sanning, p. 114
- 9) "Keesings Archiv der Gegenwart", 16/17. Jarhgang, Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Verlagskontor, Essen, 1948, p. 651, report of 15 February 1946.
- 10) Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, Delphi Politik, Hamburg 1989, p. 331.
- 11) Paul Kemp, "The Liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in April 1945", *Imperial War Museum Review*, no. 5 (1990), p. 28-41.
- 12) Serge Klarsfeld, *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Transport 8 (publication without page numbers).
- 13) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia, 1994, p. 65/66.
- 14) Jenny Spritzer, *Ich war no. 10291*.
- 15) *R.H.R.* no. 2, 1990, p. 50 ff.
- 16) Stephen Challen, *Richard Korherr and his Reports*, Cromwell Press, 1993.
- 17) The article is to be published in 1997 in the *Vierteljahreszeitschrift für freie Geschichtsforschung*.
- 18) Eugene Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe*, International Labour Office, Montreal, 1943.
- 19) Kulischer, p. 110/111.
- 20) Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, *La controverse sur l'extermination des juifs par les allemands*, Au Roseau Pensant, Brussels, Part 2, 1996.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE INVISIBLE ELEPHANT

Several authors, principally Martin Gilbert, Walter Laqueur, and Jean-Claude Favez, have occupied themselves with the question of what the Allies, the Vatican, and the Red Cross knew about the fate of the Jews during the war (1). Their thick books puzzle endlessly about why no one lifted a finger to rescue the Jews. It is said to be unthinkable that no one in Washington, London and Moscow, in the Vatican, or in Geneva, knew what was going on at Auschwitz and the other extermination camps. In view of this fact, the American David Wyman openly expresses the suspicion that they deliberately acquiesced in the extermination of the Jews (2). For this reason, the German translator of the work gave it the title *Das unverwünschte Volk* [The Unwanted People].

From 1942, innumerable rumours were current about the Jewish extermination in Jewish or Jewish-controlled newspapers (3). But the atrocity stories about steam chambers, gas chambers, gas vans, quicklime vans, underground electrical execution installations etc. were no more taken seriously by the Allied governments than by the International Red Cross or the Vatican. Even in August 1943 -- when, according to the official version of history, millions of Jews had already been gassed -- the US Secretary of State Cordell Hull asked the US Ambassador in Moscow by telegram to delete any mention of the gas chambers from the draft of a joint-Allied declaration on "German Crimes in Poland", since there was no proof of their existence (4).

In his richly documented book *Auschwitz und die Allierten* (Martin Gilbert states (5):

"The names and the geographical location of the extermination camps of Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec were known in the Allied countries by the summer of 1942 at the latest. On the other hand, the secret of the gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau remained hidden from the first week of May 1942, when they were put into operation, until the third week of June of 1944."

As we noted earlier, there were extraordinarily large numbers of transfers from Auschwitz to other camps, as well as releases -- even in early summer 1944, when the extermination of the Jews is supposed to have reached its climax. Every single one of these transferred or released inmates -- tens of thousands of civilian workers in total -- would have been eyewitnesses to the most systematic and brutal extermination of human beings that the world ever saw, if the Holocaust story were true.

According to drawings based on ground and air photos by John Ball (see Fig. XII), the alleged chief extermination locations -- Krema II of Birkenau -- was surrounded

only by a barbed wire fence. This means that the entire camp would have witnessed the daily killing procedure: the introduction of the Zyklon granules through the holes in the roof of morgue I (holes which in reality did not then exist). Right next to Krema III -- the allegedly second largest murder installation -- was a football field, where the inmates regularly played football (6) (no. 15 in Fig. III).

News of the mass murders in the gas chambers would have spread across Europe like wildfire. The Allied capitals would have known all about it within weeks. The Allies would have dropped millions of leaflets over Germany to inform the German people of the crimes of its government. But nothing of the kind occurred.

The Auschwitz camp complex was repeatedly photographed by the Allies from the air, beginning in late 1943. If air reconnaissance photography had revealed proof of any mass extermination, American bombers would have destroyed the only rail connection which still existed between Hungary and Auschwitz in the early summer of 1943, thus preventing the extermination of the Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz. So why didn't they?

Martin Gilbert and Walter Laqueur come to the following conclusion in their weighty tomes:

- the mass murders in Auschwitz couldn't have remained secret for long;
- the Allies, the Vatican, and the International Red Cross said nothing about mass murders in Auschwitz and never lifted a finger to rescue the Jews from the gas chambers;
- ergo, the Allies, the Vatican, and the International Red Cross were guilty of complicity in mass murder.

There is another conclusion, and it is the only one which is logical. It has been best expressed by the American revisionist author Arthur Butz (7):

"I see no elephant in my cellar. If there were an elephant in my cellar, I would certainly see him. Therefore, there is no elephant in my cellar."

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## Notes:

1) Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Allierten* (C.H. Beck, 1982); Walter Lacqueur, *Was niemand wissen wollte* (Ullstein, 1982); Jean-Claude Favez, *Das IKRK und das Dritte Reich* (Verlag NZZ, 1989).

2) David Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews. America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, New York, 1984.

3) In his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz quotes numerous corresponding reports from the *New York Times*.

4) Laqueur, p. 237.

5) Gilbert, p. 44

6) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, State Museum Auschwitz, no. 15 (1975).

7) Arthur Butz, "Context and Perspectives in the Holocaust Controversy", *J.H.R.*, Winter 1982.

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE NESSUS SHIRT

### The Revenge of the Centaur

A Greek myth tells of the Centaur Nessus, who dared to lay a hand on Deianira, the wife of Hercules, and was wounded by the enraged warrior with a deadly arrow soaked in the poison of the Hydra.

As he was dying, Nessus begged Deianira to collect his blood and soak her garment in it. If Hercules was ever untrue to her, she was to ask him to try on the garment. This would renew his old love.

Deianira did as Nessus requested. One day, when Hercules turned away from her in favour of a paramour, she remembered the Centaur's advice and asked Hercules to try on the Nessus shirt. For a short time, the hero was pleased with the magnificent garment. Then it began to burn into his flesh; he suffered horrible torment, but he could not remove the cursed shirt. It clung to his body and could not be extinguished as he perished in agony.

Those with more insight among Jewish leaders might well remember this tale from Greek mythology. The Nessus shirt of the Jews is the lie of the gas chambers, invented more than half a century ago by the Jews to revenge themselves upon the wicked Pharaoh of Berlin who had broken the power of Zionism in Germany and visited the Jews with deprivation of rights, confiscation of property, deportation, and exile. After the war, the Zionists discovered that atrocity propaganda could be continued to make a profit.

No matter how important German reparations may be for Israel and the Zionist organizations, the immeasurable psychological benefits derived from the legend are incomparably more important to the Jews. Before 1945, criticism of Jews was permitted; since 1945, any criticism of Jews has been impossible. Any questioning of Jewish methods and Jewish power, no matter how timid, is immediately branded as anti-Semitism and may easily land a person in court or even prison.

The game could go on forever -- if it weren't for the revisionists! Just as the gas chambers enabled Zionism to rise to unprecedented heights after 1945, the refutation of the gas chamber lie, together with other factors which are beyond the scope of the present work, will lead to the downfall of the Jews in the not too-distant future. The same lie which has done such magnificent service as the miracle weapon of the Zionists -- until now -- will [be] a millstone around their necks.

With the exposure of the lie, people will ask why we have been so shamelessly lied to since 1945, and [in] whose interests. People will start to ask questions like: how did WW II actually start? Who actually started it? What mysterious powers brought it about? Were they the same mysterious powers that caused the First World War?

When that day comes, people will examine the real Holocausts of the twentieth century, Holocausts claiming incomparably more lives -- the crimes of Marxism, and the identity of the true Marxist leaders behind the scenes. Mr. Gunnar Heinsohn, who is mentioned elsewhere in this work in another connection, nevertheless reveals a few truths (almost despite himself) in his book *Warum Auschwitz?* These truths are usually passed over in embarrassed silence. Heinsohn mentions that innumerable millions of Soviet citizens fell victims of the Red Terror. Unfortunately, he forgets to raise the question of the ethnic background of the butchers of the Soviet Union. Other historians have done so. One is the Russian Yuri Begunov, who states that, in 1920, 83% of the Bolshevik leaders in the USSR were Jews (1). Or Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who describes the six top architects of the Communist slave labour camp system in the second volume of his *Gulag Archipelago*. Their names are Aron Solz, Naftali Frenkel, Jakov Rappaport, Matwej Berman, Lazar Kogan, and Genrich Yagoda. All six were Jews.

Facts like these will return to public discussion with a vengeance with the collapse of the Holocaust house of cards.

The refusal of the exterminationists to retreat one single inch

Until the second half of the 1960s, the official version of the Holocaust appeared invincible. Of course, there were a handful of courageous men who denounced the lie. In addition to the pioneer Paul Rassinier, the following authors should be mentioned - for example, Maurice Bardèche, who in the beginning naturally believed in the gas chambers, and only considered the numbers to be exaggerated; Thies Christophersen (author of the brochure *Die Auschwitz Lüge*), Emil Aretz, Erwin Schoenborn, Heinz Roth, Dr. Franz Scheidl, Wolf Dieter Rothe, Richard Harwood, and a few others. But their arguments were not scientific enough to achieve a breakthrough in the wall of lies. The weakest point of the Holocaust story -- its technical absurdity -- was hardly attacked by the early revisionists.

But the Holocaust bore its own refutation in itself because of its historical and technical absurdity. Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, in which a US electronics professor proved how the legend arose, was a decisive step forward in revisionist research. In early 1979, Wilhelm Stäglich published *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, mercilessly demonstrating the fragility of the Auschwitz image. Shortly before, Robert Faurisson entered the scene with a few articles in which he referred to the technical and physical impossibility of the gas chamber yarn. Together with Ditlieb Felderer, who conducted on-the-spot research at the former "extermination camps", at that time hardly taken into consideration, Faurisson was the pioneer of material-scientific research on the Holocaust. Without Faurisson, no Leuchter; without Leuchter, no Rudolf.

Butz, Stäglich, and Faurisson, in particular, sounded the death knell of the myth. Over thirty years had elapsed since the end of the war, and the Zionists and their lackeys in

the politics, culture, the media, and the historical profession have made any retreat impossible: the gas chambers had long since become a symbol of the unique depravity of the National Socialists and the unique suffering of the Jews -- a symbol which could not be jettisoned without threatening the foundations of the Orwellian world of the Permanent Lie called "Free Democracy".

Thus, the profiteers of the Big Lie could only retreat forwards, in a full-scale suicide attack. They have turned up the volume of Holocaust propaganda in the controlled media to the point of insanity. The further the war retreated into the past, the more feverish the incitement, the more desperately they attempted to force the passage of totalitarian laws designed to destroy all freedom of expression and punish "thought crimes" in more and more countries. Scientific revisionism has been criminalized in the Banana Republik of Deutschland, as well as in Austria and France. Anti-revisionist laws have also been passed in Belgium and Spain, but have not so far (April 1997) led to any trials. A rubber-stamp anti-"racial discrimination" law with a disguised anti-revisionist clause was passed in Switzerland in early 1995, and may possibly lead to a trial against the present author, as well as against the publisher of three of his books in 1997. But that's nowhere near enough, of course: Italy needs an Auschwitz Law, too! In England, Labour has actually promised to pass such a law in the event of its winning the election. Denmark is said to need such a law, and Sweden, too -- not to mention, of course, the USA, where revisionism had made very rapid progress thanks to the Institute for Historical Review and its highly effective director, Mark Weber. Anti-revisionist thought-crimes laws are needed very, very urgently (or so we are told): in the words of a desperate call for help (and fund-raising appeal) from Jewish whisky billionaire Edgar Bronfman: "We need to stop revisionism before it's too late!"

We hate to say so, but it's already too late, Bronfman. No doubt the Profiteers of the Lie will put a few more revisionists in prison or even murder a few, if needs be, in the short time remaining to those who profit from it -- but the breaking of the Zionist information monopoly by means of the Internet, as well as spectacular conversions to revisionism such as the Garaudy case, will speed up the demise of the Lie.

Of course, the Zionists now wish that they had only mentioned three million Jews having died mostly of epidemics and malnutrition, instead of Six Million Jews, mostly gassed. But the gas chambers with their millions of gassing victims not only appear in the history books, school books, and dictionaries, but as a "proven fact" in court cases.

### The Garaudy Case

Roger Garaudy is one of the most famous French philosophers. He has changed his ideology on numerous occasions; he was a Catholic, a Protestant, a Stalinist Communist (and as such a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party) before he converted to Islam in the early 1980s. No one cared. After all, we live in a "Free Democracy"; we enjoy freedom of opinion and freedom of religion, you know. Garaudy had published over 40 books by the end of 1995; publishing houses competed for the privilege of decking their shelves with his books. But this book -- *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* -- found no publisher other than Pierre Guillaume's La Vieille Taupe, largely operating underground, which distributed the first edition of the work as "a confidential bulletin

to its friends". Part of the work concerned itself with religious questions, such as the Zionist policies in Palestine, but the core of the book (the Myth of the Justice of Nuremberg, The Myth of the Holocaust), was clearly revisionist. Garaudy showed the fragility of the proofs presented for the Holocaust, explained the Six Million figure as a crass exaggeration, and, without expressly disputing the existence of the gas chambers, tacitly made it clear that he did not believe in them. For those familiar with the material, the Garaudy book offered nothing new; the illustrious philosopher had simply copied from other revisionists, particularly Faurisson, without, of course, mentioning his sources, as scientific decency would have required. In the second edition, which was self-published in the spring of 1996, Garaudy defused the revisionist part of the book, without advising the reader that he had done so. Thus, all references to Butz, Stiglich, and Faurisson -- briefly mentioned in the first edition -- disappeared without a trace in the second edition. Garaudy enjoyed the peculiarity of being a revisionist who, because of his Communist past, could not possibly be dismissed as a Neo-Nazi. The French Zionist mafia howled like a dog whose tail has been trodden on; for months, the media dragged Garaudy through the mire, without, of course, the slightest discussion of the content of his book. Above all, the professional liars kept quiet about the fact that Garaudy doubted the existence of the gas chambers. The situation became even more dangerous for the exterminationists when a cult figure of the Left, the Franciscan priest Abbé Pierre, declared his solidarity with Garaudy in April 1995. Abbé Pierre knew nothing about revisionism, and still knows nothing; to him, it was a matter of freedom of opinion. The Abbé, who is unfortunately a bit short on courage, was frightened into retreating in the face of the witch hunt which now exploded all around him, and begged forgiveness, after showing some feeble resistance at the outset; in July, he finally debased himself before the Jews (*La Croix*, 23 July 1996). As the result of the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affaire, the broad masses of the French population knew, for the first time, that freedom of opinion had been abolished in their country, and that a minority of perhaps two percent of the French population prescribes what the other 98% may say, write, read, and think. In the meantime, increasing numbers of well-known people are demanding the abolition of the anti-revisionist Law Gayssot, including Simone Weil, in the newspaper *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, 27 June 1996. (Weil is a Jewish "mass gassing victim" who was later discovered to be alive after all, and become President of the European Parliament.) For more information on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair, see the article by Robert Faurisson on the Internet (3).

### The confession of an orthodox historian

The French historian Jacques Baynac, a rabid enemy of revisionism, became the first orthodox historian anywhere to admit that there is no proof of the existence of the Nazi gas chambers. This spectacular admission appeared in two consecutive articles in the Lausanne, Switzerland, daily newspaper, *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of 2 and 3 September 1996. The second of the series of two articles read in part:

"Either we grant predominance to documents as against eyewitness testimony, and in this case, we can stop calling the historiography a science and start calling it an art; or we can stick to the predominance of documents, and in this case, we must admit that the absence of documents implies the impossibility of presenting direct proof of the existence of the homicidal gas chambers."



Robert Faurisson comments on this admission as follows (4):

"Jacques Baynac: There's no proof, but I believe it. Robert Faurisson: There's no proof, so I don't believe it."

For the first: Freedom of expression. For the second: Imprisonment for a term of up to one year; fines of up to 300,000 francs, as well as other penalties."

Roger Garaudy is supposed to appear in court in France in 1997. A new trial is scheduled for Robert Faurisson (his eleventh so far). In the country which produced a Voltaire, men are hauled into court because they dare to doubt (Garaudy) or dispute (Faurisson) the reality of something -- a "Nazi gas chamber" -- whose existence cannot even be proven, according to the admission of an orthodox, anti-revisionist historian!

### Korzec and Goldhagen: a new version of the lie

Even before the Garaudy affair, the Zionists understood that it was time to jettison the ballast. The second Pressac book, in which the number of Auschwitz victims was massively reduced, was [an] attempt to do this. The Jewish professor Michel Korzec and Daniel J. Goldhagen went significantly further in late 1995 and the spring of 1996, respectively, by abruptly declaring the gas chambers to be merely a peripheral phenomena, without, of course, ever reducing the total number of five to six million Holocaust victims. On 15 December 1995, a long article by Michel Korzec, a Jew of Polish origins, appeared in the Dutch newspaper *Intermediar*, the title of which, in translation, was "The Myth of the Efficient Mass Murder", and in which the number of gassed Jews was reduced to a total of 700,000 to 800,000. The rest of the Holocaust victims (five million, according to Korzec) were killed by German soldiers, everywhere, wherever they were found, "shot, beaten to death, hanged, allowed to starve to death". With unprecedentedchutzpah (also known as Jewish shamelessness), Korzec attempts to exploit the debacle of traditional historiography in order to accuse the Germans. If the majority of Jews had been gassed in extermination camps, he argues, only a handful of criminals would have been involved in the crime. If, on the other hand, most of the Jews were murdered outside the camps using manual methods of primitive cruelty, a much greater number of Germans would have had to participate in the mass murders. This, in the Talmudic logic of Mr. Korzec, is precisely why "doubting the gas chambers" is criminalized by German courts of law. It distracts attention from the fact that it was not just a handful of criminals who are guilty for the Holocaust, but a large part of the German people!

The nauseating little tome, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, by the American Jew Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (5), follows the same line, by claiming that the entire German people participated gleefully in the Holocaust, since "extermination anti-Semitism" was deeply rooted in German tradition. For his Doctoral thesis, presenting a shorter version of the same argument, Mr. Goldhagen, a docent at the Harvard Minda-de-Gunzberg Center for European Centre, was awarded the Gabriel A. Almond Prize of the American Association for Political Studies (according to the cover blurb). The *FAZ* of 30 April 1996 summarized the book as follows:

"Germany is fundamentally anti-Semitic and willfully committed the murder of the Jews with complete approval. If the country had possessed the means to do so, the extermination of the Jews would have occurred in the 19th century. Under another political system, it would still be capable of another such genocide even today."

Just you keep that in mind, Helmut Kohl, Roman Herzog, Hochmuth, Günter Grass, and all you other belly-crawlers and boot-lickers, you're all Jew-killers too -- just like Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler! On p. 10, Goldhagen writes:

"...A multiplicity of myths and erroneous notions as to the criminals are current in the popular belief as well as in scientific circles, such as the following: it is generally believed that the Germans murdered the Jews mostly in gas chambers, and that the Germans couldn't have been able to kill millions of Jews without gas chambers, modern means of transport, and efficient bureaucracy."

That's a good one. Who spread the "myths and erroneous notions" mentioned by Goldhagen? No one but his fellow Jews: Raul Hilberg and Lucy Davidowicz, Leon Poliakov and Gerald Reitlinger, Yehuda Bauer and Deborah Lipstadt, Georges Wellers, and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Israel Gutman and Gerald Fleming, Yitzak Arad and Serge Klarsfeld, Shmul Krakowski and Nora Levin, Walter Laqueur and Martin Gilbert; in addition to a few Gentiles, such as the American (paid by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre) Christopher Browning, the Frenchman (paid by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation) named Jean-Claude Pressac, and a couple of German "researchers" like Wolfgang Scheffler, Eberhard Jäckel, and Wolfgang Benz, who understood, with an infallible instinct, that, in the "freest state in German history", the way to make a name for oneself very quickly is to spew forth filth upon one's own country, at all hours of the day and night. And who, then, were the "eyewitnesses" upon whom these "scholars" mistakenly relied? Why, nobody but Goldhagen's fellow Jews, almost exclusively -- except for a few SS men tortured by Jews, like Rudolf Höss. Goldhagen becomes even more explicit with regards to the gas chambers on page 521:

"... without regard to the erroneous scientific and popular notion of the Holocaust, gassing was really epiphenomenal to the German mass murder of the Jews."

5.37 million Jews were gassed according to Lucy Davidowicz, and 2.7 million according to Raul Hilberg. Is this sort of slaughter really "epiphenomenal"? In revisionist trials, defence applications are routinely rejected on the grounds that the Holocaust as hitherto described is "a proven fact". Thus, the vindictive sentence passed on NPD leader and revisionist Günter Deckert -- merely for interpreting a technical speech by the American gas chamber expert, Fred Leuchter -- was justified by the Federal Court of Karlsruhe as follows: (6):

"The criminal court (the State Court of Mannheim) correctly assumed that the mass murder of the Jews, COMMITTED ABOVE ALL IN THE GAS CHAMBERS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS, were a proven fact."

It would appear that the mass murders, committed ABOVE ALL IN THE GAS CHAMBERS, might not be such a "proven fact" after all, since the gassings were merely EPIPHENOMENAL according to the admission of the Jewish historical researcher Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Professor at the Minda-de-Ginzburg Centre, and winner of the Gabriel Almond Prize! How will the jurists in the "freest state in German history" get out of this one? In my conviction, the Daniel Goldhagen book, preceded by Korzec's little exercise inchutzpah in Holland, which served as a trial balloon for Goldhagen, marks a change in course and strategy on the part of the leading Zionist authorities. They are shifting course to a radically new version of the Holocaust, according to which almost everything that the "expert historians" have written and taught for half a century will be jettisoned. A moment afterwards, of course, the world's "Free Press" will all parrot the same line over night, with their usual unanimity, just as soon as they get the order to do so from their central control office. A few hundred thousand "gassing victims" will be retained to make things look good, the former figures of total gassing victims, which used to be a "proven fact", will now be depicted as a lie, for which the Germans or the Poles or the Communists may be guilty, but never, never, the poor Jews. And furthermore: does it make any difference to the Six Million victims how they were killed? As in George Orwell's *1984*, history is constantly being rewritten; in our "Free Democracy", one piece of nonsense simply takes over for another when the latter is withdrawn for proven defects.

### The evolution of the Holocaust lie: a summary

We may now distinguish five stages in the evolution of the Holocaust Lie, which are, of course, not strictly segregated, but which merge gradually into each other in turn: 1) from 1942 to around the beginning of 1946, the story was that the Nazis were killing the Jews -- mostly in extermination and concentration camps -- with steam, electricity, fire, acids, pneumatic hammers, quicklime, combat gasses, Diesel exhaust gases, Zyklon B, boiling water, blood poisoning, suffocation, conveyor belt shootings, etc. etc. Even as late as 14 December 1945, at the Nuremberg Trial, it was claimed that Jews at Treblinka were killed with hot steam. 2) between 1946 and 1960, the story changed somewhat; during the Nuremberg Trial, a decision was made to claim that poison gas was the murder weapon: all the other killing methods in the extermination and concentration camps were relegated to the Memory Hole. The claim was now made that almost every camp had one or more gas chambers. 3) from 1960 to 1983, the story was that the Nazis killed the Jews with gas, mostly in five or six extermination camps located on Polish soil. The gas chambers in the Western camps were jettisoned. 4) in the period between 1983 and 1996, the gas chambers in the Western camps (except for Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and Dachau) made a miraculous come-back in Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl masterpiece *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*. In the West, or so the story goes, there were relatively few gassings; the Jews were gassed by the millions in five or six extermination camps in Poland. 5) in 1996, a radical new version of the Holocaust appeared in the form of the Goldhagen book, preceded by the Korzec trial balloon in Holland. The gassings are now to be explained away as an insignificant "epiphenomenon". Everywhere the Germans went, they murdered Jews with primitive cruelty, out of a hatred for Jews rooted in German history and tradition. But how will the ruling cliques explain how we got the story wrong for half a century? The Goldhagen rescue attempt will backfire on the Zionists even more seriously than the

Pressac rescue attempt. The attempts of the desperate "Democratic System" to keep the lie afloat with even crazier, increasingly grotesque and irrational propaganda and cruder forms of intimidation, are only too understandable under the circumstances. But the World Enemy, the destroyers of all freedom in the name of fighting "hatred", are wearing the Nessus shirt; they will be unable to take it off after putting it on. It is burning into their flesh even more deeply with each passing day.

## Notes

- 1) Juri K. Begunow, *Tajny sily w ishorij Rossij*, Petersburg, p. 221 ff.
- 2) Roger Garaudy, *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne*, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1996, 2, amended edition, available from Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem-2, Belgium, or from LibreR, Avenue des Alpes 22, CH-1820 Montreux/Switzerland.
- 3) On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affaire, see Faurisson's article "Bilance der Affaere Garaudy/Abbé Pierre", which appeared on several Internet Homepages, for example <http://www.webcom.com/-ezundel/english>.
- 4) See Robert Faurisson's Internet article on the subject, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Admits that There are No Proofs for the Existence of Nazi Gas Chambers" (see also note 2).
- 5) Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Little, Brown, and Company, London, 1996.
- 6) 1 StR 179/93, BGH Karlsruhe, decision of 15 March 1994 (trial of Günter Deckert). Afterword by Bruno Monitorio.

A question to which revisionists would like a convincing answer: What is the explanation for the irrational behaviour of an entire people which apparently believes in an absurd legend?

The Holocaust -- with its gas chambers which constantly change location; its millions of victims who disappear without a trace into blue vapour at Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka, after being murdered by Hitler's SS butchers, either with Zyklon B insecticide or Diesel exhaust, not to mention mass shootings Babi Yar-style (where the victims also disappear without a trace) -- is, and remains, first and foremost a unique proof of the monumental stupidity of our age. In the early 1980s -- when the major absurdities of the Holocaust swindle had already been exploded, with the exception of a few details -- most revisionist researchers thought it inconceivable that the legend could persist more than a few more years. Since then, more than fifteen years have elapsed, and the Lie continues to drag out its existence, filthier and more luxuriant than ever! Cracks are appearing in the edifice of lies, doubts are appearing -- here and there, in the press, in a few articles, in many private conversations -- as to the truth of the Establishment version of the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. People mention the possibility of minor errors or exaggerations; but almost everyone continues to accept the story as basically correct. It is precisely this general acceptance which is the biggest puzzle to revisionists -- and to any reasonable person

with a minimum knowledge of history. Really, how can anyone of normal intelligence, for example, view the room which is shown to millions of tourists on the grounds of the former camp of Auschwitz as the "only Nazi gas chamber remaining in original condition", without immediately realizing that the physical capacity of the room -- not to mention its immediate surroundings, for example, its proximity to the hospital located nearby -- would make any mass execution using a highly dangerous poison gas impossible? The unspeakable atrocity stories spewed forth to visitors by officials of the Auschwitz Museum, deserve only ridicule. But the very opposite occurs: in these shrines dedicated to the Holocaust religion, people become intellectual cripples: awe-struck, their senses paralyzed, they gape at everything as if it were plausible, and solemnly swallow nonsensical fairy tales! Even the generation of Germans which lived through the war -- i.e., the "generation of criminals", those who supported the National Socialist system which is now slandered all over the world, who remained true to that system and fought for it to the bitter end, with unprecedented self-sacrifice and devotion of spirit -- that generation no longer knows what to believe after half a century of filth and lies. They confuse their personal first-hand experience, that which they saw and experienced themselves, with that which they think they should have seen or experienced (according to the official version of history). Faced with the accusations and ignorance of succeeding generations, the generation of the war years joins in with the chorus of self-incrimination or takes refuge in resigned silence. And yet, - if the gas chambers were technically impossible and the whole story is therefore a lie; - if no material evidence of the crime remains, since the Nazis "destroyed all traces of their crimes at the last moment"; - if millions of bodies simply disappeared into blue vapour, so that not a single body of a single gassing victim has ever been found; - if the official version of history is based on nothing but contradictory "eyewitness testimonies" of witnesses who were never subjected to cross-examination, and confessions extorted from "criminals"; - if a forensic report, including a reconstruction as is ordinary practice in an ordinary murder case, has never even been attempted; - if expert reports on the technical feasibility of the mass gassings are never performed by the courts, but only on behalf of private parties, and if no technical refutation of these reports can be produced. Then how is it then possible for the world to believe this series of grotesque hallucinations? If you ask these questions, most people are either surprised or shocked. But some people, particularly, young people -- who often react spontaneously and emotionally - - immediately and spontaneously declare their conviction that the Holocaust is absurd. One hears remarks like the following: "How could I have believed such nonsense for all those years?" The revisionist may perhaps be pleased in the belief that he has won a new adherent. But in most cases, this is a great mistake. When the shock wears off -- the shock which sets in following the discovery of a new truth, the new convert returns to his old environment, where it is almost impossible to find any information on the subject other than all-pervading Holocaust propaganda. The average person lacks the courage to deviate from his environment; the mass media, of course, are all around us. Upon the slightest expression of doubts, the inevitable reply will be that he has spoken with a horrid, lying Nazi, that he has heard a load of lies, and that he had better forget everything he heard. This is particularly true, unless the convert is a hero willing to jeopardize his social and professional position for historical truth. Since even the crudest lie can be obfuscated and explained away, the heretic falls away from his new belief and returns to the shrine of the incredible. *Credo quia absurdum est.* What at first seemed absurd -- in comparison to reasonable information about the absurdity of the Holocaust religion -- once again seems convincing. In a society in

which propagandists control the media, those who stray from the fold are quick to permit themselves to be persuaded once again that the unanimous opinion (Vox Populi, Vox Dei) which confirmed the reality of the mass extermination of the Jews for over a half a century, bears incomparably more weight than the statements of a single "Nazi".

This abandonment of the elementary duty to seek the truth can, however, have unexpectedly unpleasant results. Today, even re-educated Germans -- despite their anti-fascist fanaticism -- are regarded with mistrust, even hostility, by many people in all parts of the world.

The Zionists and their stooges are skilful at ensuring the perpetuation of this hostility, for example, through hundreds of films, largely produced by Jews, which depict German soldiers either as simple fools or sadistic beasts.

The passivity and cowardice of the majority of the German people today is their decisive contribution to the perpetuation endless hatred. All of German contemporary history has been turned into a sort of crime sheet by the Allied victors. The Germans swallow everything in complete passivity.

A person who refuses to defend himself, ought not to wonder if he is found guilty. He deserves no respect, and should expect none. Germans compete with each other in vomiting upon their own people and themselves at the same time. Do they really expect to gain any sympathy abroad in this way?

Let us nevertheless attempt to understand the reasons for this apparently illogical behaviour on the part of the German people.

Perhaps the main reason for it is the knowledge, or instinctive sense, that any critical discussion of the so-called Holocaust is dangerous; it can cost the victim his job, his position in society, and even destroy his family. In addition, many people don't want to know much about the Holocaust, which is the principal accusation against the German people, since they intuitively feel that many things about it simply cannot be true. They are afraid to know whether the Holocaust is a pack of lies, or just a lie or two; anyone doubting the details of the official version of history runs the risk of being compelled to question the story as a whole.

And that is just what our contemporaries, set on their peace and quiet and comfort at any price, do not want.

On the other hand, it is not easy to live with a lie which one should long ago have recognized as such, and, at the same time, to act as if it were no lie at all. For example, how should the mother of a family, who knows to a certainty that the gas chamber yarn is a lie, answer a child who asks, eyes wide-open with wonder: "Mama, teacher told us that German soldiers gassed the Jews. Did Grandpa gas the Jews, too?" The best way to evade a question like that, which is complex and painful, is simply to know nothing. So the mother simply tells the over-curious child, "I don't know, ask your teacher."

Anything for a peaceful life! Wilful ignorance enables people to conceal doubt, which would inevitably arise if they were to study the facts.

In their own justification, they cast about for excuses: "Why should I worry about all these old stories? I don't know if it's all true, but it can't be all lies, not everything the politicians, professors, and preachers all tell us. After all, there's no smoke without fire."

Another excuse, which at bottom is pure self-delusion, runs as follows:

"Instead of worrying about ancient history, we should worry about the present. There are enough problems in the world today; let's leave the past alone".

Anyone who argues in this fashion should be asked whether the controlled media, with their unceasing campaigns of hysterical hatred, the politicians, with their statements of national guilt and reconciliation, the intellectuals, with their whining rhetoric and rituals of suffering, the criminal justice system, with its witch-hunt for eighty and ninety-year old "Nazi war criminals", are "leaving the past alone".

There are parallels to the present situation in past history: four hundred years ago, the doctors and scholars preferred not to know whether witches really rode broomsticks through the air or had sexual intercourse with the Devil. Intelligent men of their age, like our own, must surely have told themselves that the stories of the Witches' Sabbath may not have been true in every detail, but after all, "there's no smoke without fire"!

Another decisive point: anyone expressing doubt in the Holocaust is immediately suspected of harbouring secret sympathy for the Nazis!

And, of course, no German wants to be a Nazi, because the Nazis were the greatest criminals in history, because of the Holocaust!

Thus the circle closes.

Lastly, it should be noted that acquiescence in the orthodox Holocaust True Faith spares one the humiliation, even in the privacy of one's own mind, of having been a fool for believing absurd nonsense for x number of years, nonsense of the purest sort, nonsense which collapses at the slightest serious examination.

# CONCLUSIONS

The Holocaust is not just a lie, it is a crime.

It is a crime because it not only justifies innumerable other crimes, but because it create a huge mass of hatred, which in turn contains the potential for new crimes.

People whose souls have been drenched in the hatred of the Holocaust Lie must be counted among its victims. This includes the millions of twelve to fifteen-year old school children dragged through the memorials of former concentration camps, often weeping uncontrollably at the atrocity stories and lies vomited up at them.

How much suffering, how much heartbreak, how many tragedies are due to the so-called "Holocaust", this hair-raising Lie of the Century, which the Jews invented, crammed down our throats, and have defended tooth and nail, with fines, with abuse, with imprisonment, for over half a century?

It is painful to think of the thousands, indeed tens of thousands, of people who have been humiliated, persecuted, imprisoned, or even executed in the name of this shameless swindle.

It is pathetic to see the once-great German people, having lost its pride, its sense of direction, its self-respect, to such an extent that it no longer dares to defend itself against a flood of slander and is too ashamed to look itself in the face.

One single mention of the "gas chambers", the extermination of the Jews, was enough to justify purging entire cities and provinces of their German population. Almost 17 million people were driven from their homes between 1944 and 1948 in an unbroken series of atrocities during which over two million died.

"After what they did to the Jews, they had it coming to them", is the classical justification.

It is truly disgusting to think of the millions of people all over the world watching Marvin Chomsky, Claude Lanzmann, Steven Spielberg and all the others -- *Holocaust*, *Shoa*, *Schindler's List*, etc. -- in the cinemas, on television -- and taking it all seriously.

The Jews -- or, more exactly, those who claim to speak for the Jews -- invented a story which they've called the Shoa or the Holocaust, and which they now claim is the history of their people.



The Holocaust money-making machine has brought them such tremendous advantages, that they can no longer live without it. But they made one fatal error: the Holocaust swindle is so endlessly absurd that its inventors can only take refuge in a suicide charge; having lost all sense of proportion, they have gone too far and will soon come crashing down.

To suppress all open debate on the subject appears an impossibility in the long run, despite all manner of repression.

From minor explanations to wholesale re-writing, including whole new "Revised Versions", the profiteers of the myth continue to entangle themselves in increasingly greater numbers of contradictions; the fables of today contradict the fables told yesterday; the defenders of the official version of history are being compelled to make so many concessions that more and more people are starting to wonder about it all.

Doubts expressed in private conversation no longer shock as much as they did a few years ago; it is getting easier for revisionists to gain a hearing.

In brief: for the exterminationists, the time is running out. Increasingly hysterical repression is an unmistakable sign of growing panic.

It is also a sign of weakness.

Instead of listening to the discussion, they simply grab for a truncheon. But how long can they get away with it?

The revisionists must not hope for quick victory; it will not come overnight. They should remember the wisdom expressed in the phrase from the Czech philosopher, Karel Capek, who said:

"Truth must be smuggled. It must be distributed in small doses. A drop here, a drop there -- until people get used to it. Not all at once.

At a time when the Lie appears to be triumphing without hinderance, we would like to close with an optimistic message. We wish to make the following appeal:

All of you, all friends of the truth, both known and unknown, from many European countries, those who, like Günter Deckert and Gottfried Kuessel, sit in German and Austrian prisons for "denying the existence of the gas chambers", or who have been compelled to go into exile like Remer and Rudolf, all persecuted revisionists and nationalists -- do not lose your courage, since your struggle against state-ordained lies is not in vain.

Your courage, the sacrifice of a few, will help to free entire nations and peoples, including the German and Russian peoples -- from the darkness which has so long covered them.

"But no-one would say anything publicly ... for fear of the Jews."  
(The Bible, John 7:13)

# The Trial of Jürgen Graf

## PART I

The criminal trial of Gerhard Förster and Jürgen Graf for  
"Racial Discrimination" in Baden!

(Baden, Switzerland) on 16 June 1998)

Based on Xavier Marx's report on the trial for RECHT + FREIHEIT(22 July).

Presiding judge: Andrea Stäubli  
State prosecutor: Dominik Aufdenblatten  
Sentence Graf: 15 months + fine  
Sentence Förster: 12 months + fine



## GERHARD FÖRSTER'S APPEARANCE AS DEFENDANT

Preliminary remark: this report is based on notes. Since its editor cannot take shorthand, his notes are rudimentary in nature. When the participants are quoted directly in the many passages which follow, it is quite obvious that they may not have spoken word for word as given below. It is just as obvious that the editor has made extensive abridgements. The reader is nevertheless assured that the meaning of the corresponding statements has been correctly given.

## INTRODUCTION

Switzerland's most important political trial to date for violation of the "Anti-Racism law" was held on 16 July 1998. Passed in 1995, application of article 261bis of the Criminal Code ("Racial Discrimination") had been only hesitatingly applied during the first two years of its existence; an avalanche of such trials then began in early 1997 (see, in this regard, the brochure "Abschied vom Rechtsstaat. Das 'Antirassismugesetz' als Instrument zur Errichtung einer totalitären Diktatur in der Schweiz" [Farewell to the State of Law: The 'Anti-racism law' as an Introduction for the Creation of a Totalitarian Dictatorship in Switzerland], edited by Presseclub Schweiz, Postfach 105, 4008 Basel). Judgment was pronounced on 21.7.1998. Graf and Förster were found guilty on the principal counts of the indictment, as was expected in view of the recently created state of totalitarian hysteria with regards to conscientious Holocaust research. Graf was sentenced to 15 months and Förster to 12 -- without probation -- as well to fines of 8,000 Swiss Francs for Graf and 12,000 for Förster. Graf has filed an appeal, Förster died four weeks after the verdicts were handed down.

Presiding judge Guido Näf had previously delayed proceedings for two years, obviously because he was aware of the very weak basis for the indictment filed by Dominik Aufdenblatten (the principal indictment dated 4 April 1996 was later supplemented by several additional counts). Judge Näf was withdrawn from the case in April 1998, and disciplinary proceedings were filed against him, the results of which remain unknown due to official secrecy. A new judge, a woman, Andrea Stäubli, was finally assigned to the case.

The prosecution demanded 17 months imprisonment without probation and a fine of 22,000 SF for Förster, and 18 months imprisonment without probation and a fine of 27,000 SF for Graf. The sentence was the stiffest so far against alleged violators of the "Anti-Racism Law" [ARG]. Graf was indicted for publishing four books ("The Holocaust under the Scanner", "The Holocaust Swindle", "Auschwitz Tatergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust" [Auschwitz Criminal Confessions and Eyewitnesses to the Holocaust] -- only available in German], "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" ["Cause of Death: Research into Contemporary History"] -- only available in German], as well as a brochure "Das Rotbuch" ["The Red Book"], also known as "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit" ["The Decline and Fall of Swiss Freedom"]. He was furthermore indicted for sending several texts on diskette to Ahmed Rami in Sweden, as well as to Ernst Zündel in Canada, who then disseminated those same texts on the Internet. Förster was indicted for publishing the Graf books "Auschwitz..." and "Todesursache", as well as "Das Rotebuch", in addition to other books by Erich Glagau and Harald Cecil Robinson, by means of his publishing company "Neue Visionen" (Postfach, 5436 Würenlos).

The trial began at 8:00 A.M. in the Saal Roter Turm, and ended at 9:00 P.M.. The courtroom (seating approximately 60 persons) was fully occupied, mostly by supporters of the two defendants. Apart from about 10 journalists, the Jewish plaintiffs only succeeded in mobilizing a few sympathizers. All the representatives of the revisionist camp came from western Switzerland or foreign countries.

## DR. URS OSWALD MOVES FOR DISMISSAL

Immediately after the opening of the proceedings, Dr. Urs Oswald, defence attorney for J. Graf, made an application to quash the proceedings. Under the European Convention on Human Rights, the two defendants had a right to a defence, as well as the right to defend themselves. The peculiar wording of the "Anti-Racism Law"[ARG], however, made this quite impossible. If he, Dr. Oswald, as attorney, penetrated to the core of the subject matter under discussion and introduced evidence accordingly, he himself risked indictment for alleged violation of the ARG. If the trial nevertheless continued despite his application for dismissal, the motion continued, he intended to call Dr. Robert Faurisson from France as well as certified engineer Wolfgang from Austria as defence witnesses.

The court adjourned for approximately twenty minutes for consultation. As expected, the court rejected the application to stop the trial. On the other hand, however, it approved Fröhlich's appearance as an expert witness. Dr. Oswald had naturally notified the court prior to trial that two witnesses were to appear, but had not revealed their names. Robert Faurisson is one of the world's best known experts with regards to research into the subject of gas chambers in relation to the Third Reich. Due to the trial's political bias, it was of course expected that the court would refuse to permit Faurisson's appearance. On the other hand, certified engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich is only known in Austria. Peter Liatowitsch (Basel), a Jewish attorney present in the courtroom and acting for assistant prosecuting attorney, Walter Stegemann (Basel), obviously had no idea who Fröhlich was, and raised no objection against Fröhlich's appearance as a defence witness. Liatowitsch must have regretted this afterwards.

## WOLFGANG FRÖHLICH, CERTIFIED ENGINEER, TAKES THE STAND AS DEFENCE WITNESS

The witness, a certified engineer, described himself briefly. His field of specialty was the technique of procedure and handling of toxic gas. He had carried out gassings on innumerable occasions – for the extermination of vermin, but chiefly for the elimination of disease organisms.

Presiding judge Andrea Staubli warned the witness that perjury was punishable by law with imprisonment. She then asked him whether Jürgen Graf's books, in his opinion, were scientific in nature.

Fröhlich answered that, as a non-historian, he was unable to form an opinion with regards to the historical parts of the books. On the other hand, the technical aspects of the mass exterminations as alleged were absolutely untenable from a scientific point of view.

State prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten requested the presiding judge to remind Fröhlich once again of his duty to testify truthfully; this was done. In substance, the following exchange then followed:

Aufdenblatten: In your opinion, were mass exterminations with Zyklon B technically possible?

Fröhlich: No.

Aufdenblatten: Why not?

Fröhlich: The insecticide Zyklon B consists of hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a granulate carrier substance. The hydrocyanic acid is released through contact with the air. The boiling point of hydrocyanic acid is 25.7 degrees C. The higher the temperature, the faster the evaporation rate. The delousing chambers in which Zyklon B was used in National Socialist camps and elsewhere, were heated to 30 degrees C or more, so that the hydrocyanic acid left the carrier granulate rapidly. On the other hand, much lower temperatures are said to have prevailed in the half-subterranean morgues of the crematoria at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where, according to eyewitness accounts, mass murders are supposed to have taken place using Zyklon B. Even if one assumes that the rooms were warmed by the body temperature of the hypothetical occupants, the temperature should not have exceeded 15 degrees, even in the warm season. The hydrocyanic acid in Zyklon B would therefore have taken many hours to evaporate.

According to the eyewitness accounts, the victims died very rapidly. The eyewitnesses speak of time periods ranging from "immediately" to "15 minutes". To kill the occupants of the gas chamber in such a short time, the Germans would have had to use absurdly large quantities of Zyklon; I assume from 40 to 50 kilos per gassing procedure. This would have made any work in the gas chamber radically impossible. The members of the Sonderkommando -- who, according to the eyewitnesses, were responsible for removing the bodies from the chamber -- would have collapsed immediately upon entering the chamber, even if they had worn gas masks. Immensely great quantities of hydrocyanic acid vapour would have streamed into the open air through the open doors, contaminating the entire camp.

Fröhlich's testimony was greeted with applause by members of the public attending the trial.

Prosecutor Aufdenblatten then jumped up, his face flushed red, and shouted:

"I hereby request the court to bring an indictment [against witness Fröhlich] for racial discrimination under article 261; otherwise I will do it myself."

Jürg Stehrenberger, defence attorney for defendant Förster, then stood up and informed the court that, in view of the intolerable restrictions placed upon the defence, he would consider resigning his brief as defence attorney. Together with Dr. Oswald, he then left the courtroom for a few minutes. Finally, the two lawyers announced that they strongly protested against the attitude of the prosecuting attorney, but would nevertheless continue in their duties; otherwise, the last vestiges of a formal defence would be lost to the defendant, and the defendants would be assigned court-appointed attorneys. Court-appointed defence attorneys, by the very nature of the situation, were known to dance to the tune of the state prosecutors, acting as de facto second prosecutors, as was the case in the show trials of the Soviet Union. It was

precisely this which defence attorneys Stehrenberger and Dr. Oswald wished to avoid by not resigning their briefs.

Prosecutor Aufdenblatten's demand for a criminal indictment against defence witness Fröhlich brutally unmasked the true nature of the situation. In point of fact, it amounted to the criminal offence of attempting to intimidate the witness.

Gerhard Förster, managing director of Neue Visionen GmbH, is 78 years old and a sufferer from osteoporosis and other disabilities; he is a widower. His father, along with approximately two million other Germans from the Eastern territories, died during the mass genocide of the mass expulsions of 1944-46. A Silesian by birth, he was a certified engineer, the holder of approximately 50 patents, and has long been a Swiss citizen. Due to his extremely precarious state of health, he was brought into the courtroom in a wheel chair. His examination as a defendant lasted over two hours, visibly tiring the seriously ill old man.

Presiding judge Andrea Stäubli asked the defendant whether he considered himself a "revisionist". Förster rejected the expression, since it had negative connotations, being associated with "right-wing radicalism". He was a searcher for the truth, with a mathematical turn of mind. In reading Holocaust literature, he was struck by the widely divergent figures given in relation to the number of Jews having died during WWII, and sought complete clarity as to the correct number. So far, no one had ever been able to give him an answer to this question.

Did he personally believe in the Holocaust and the gas chambers, the prosecutor then hammered away. Förster replied that he had not been there, and that faith was not his business. Rather, he wanted to know as much as possible, answered Förster. The presiding judge herself had shown that these trials were a matter of the imposition of compulsory belief, that is, modern religious trials, without regard to the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of belief.

Since Förster's memory was, by the nature of things, no longer what it used to be, and in view of his serious illness, he was unable to answer many questions, and got several dates confused. But he held up remarkably well, enduring the ordeal courageously. After about 11:00 A.M., however, his strength visibly waned; he no longer had the strength to speak audibly. This did not prevent the presiding judge from tormenting the mortally ill man with additional questions.

Förster stated that he had sent female federal prosecuting attorney Carla del Ponte a copy of "*Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse...*" prior to the entry into effect of the AGR [on 31 October 1994 to be exact], asking whether the contents were in violation of the ARG. He never received an answer, despite repeated requests. After six months, the Federal prosecutor's office disclaimed competence to answer. Under the circumstances, he felt he was entitled to assume in good faith that there were no objections to the book from the point of view of criminal law.

The examination of the defendant ended at 12:00 A.M., and the proceedings were adjourned until 2:00 P.M. Förster was discharged from any further participation.

## THE PROSECUTION FINAL STATEMENT

After a pause, prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten began his final summation. His miserable performance was purely rhetorical, and, as one trial observer expressed it, speaking crudely, "unter allen Sau" ["really lousy"]. Aufdenblatten made no attempt to show any relation between the passages in the books published by Förster and which were the subject of the indictment, and the wording of the ARG; rather, he contented himself with reeling off an endless litany of phrases ("pseudoscience", "anti-Semitic incitation", racist propaganda", etc.). Graf was said to be an intelligent man, and, therefore, doubly dangerous. Graf was said not to have sought the truth, but to have knowingly distorted the truth. His writings were said to have incited anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Since Graf was unreasonable, and fully acknowledged his revisionist views, there could be no favourable social prognosis. He could not therefore be given merely a suspended sentence. The same was true of Förster, who was just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health was allegedly no reason why he should not be sentenced to imprisonment without probation, since it was not the court's responsibility to determine the defendant's fitness to endure imprisonment; that was the responsibility of a doctor.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY PETER LIATOWITSCH FOR THE CIVIL PLAINTIFF

Jewish attorney Peter Liatowitsch confirmed that his client, Professor Stegemann, felt himself seriously libelled, both professionally and personally, by the dedication to the book. He demanded compensation for his client in the sum of 1000 SF, to be paid into a "Solidarity Fund". Stegemann described himself as "somatized" (whatever that might mean) by Graf's book and its mocking dedication.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY JÜRG STEHRENBARGER

G. Förster's attorney Jürg Stehrenberger spoke for approximately one and a half hours, demanding acquittal for his client in an extremely rapid and passionately delivered final summation. He began by emphasizing that the mere presentation of any defence at all involved the danger of a stiffer sentence or another indictment, even for the defence lawyers and witnesses, effectively denying the defendant of his basic right to a defence.

It was not the court's responsibility to decide what happened 50 years ago, but rather, what the citizens of Switzerland were to be permitted to read and write today. Article 261bis was in conflict with fundamental constitutional rights such the right to the freedom of expression, freedom of scientific research, and freedom of the press.

According to article 1 of the Criminal Code, no one could be punished for committing an act not expressly declared to be punishable. The wording of the Anti-Racism Law was extremely vague, as is openly admitted in the relevant literature, particularly, in the commentary by Professor Marcel Niggli. In doubtful cases, it was the duty of the court to hold for the defendant.

The text of the law spoke of a "systematic denigration" of the members of a "race, ethnic group, or religion". This element of the offence was nowhere to be found in the books in question.

The text of the law spoke of "Leugnen" [to deny] the Holocaust. But "Leugnen" meant "to dispute against better knowledge". Disputing the Holocaust based on subjective conviction must, therefore, remain unpunishable, as emphasized by Stratenwerth in the commentary quoted by Niggli. (Stratenwerth speaks of "stubbornness" or "zeal".)

The concept of "gross trivialization" gave rise to further questions. Niggli's commentary states that human suffering cannot be quantified, and that the number of victims was therefore legally irrelevant to the qualification of a crime as genocide. Before one can trivialize anything, it is first necessary to know what happened. But anyone who arrives at a lower estimate of the number of Holocaust victims than the figures established by certain special interest groups was liable to punishment! This in itself was a contradiction. According to this logic, Jean-Claude Pressac, who arrives at an estimate of 631,000 Auschwitz victims in his book, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Piper 1994), would be liable to criminal indictment in Switzerland.

In view of the class action suits pending against Switzerland in the United States, filed by Jewish organizations for a total of 40 billion Swiss Francs, there was immense public interest in determining what Swiss officials actually knew of the fate of the Jews during WWII. How was it possible for the Red Cross official Rossel, who visited the Auschwitz concentration camp on 29 September 1944 with other fellow workers, to write in his report (quoted in "Documents sur l'activité du Comité international de la Croix Rouge en faveur des civils détenus dans les camps de concentration en Allemagne", Geneva 1947), that he had seen no confirmation of the rumours of mass gassings, and that the inmates questioned had not themselves mentioned them. The visit took place, it must be remembered, in SEPTEMBER 1944!

No one, not even the prosecutor, claimed that Graf had falsely quoted or mistranslated the statements in "*Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse...*". The state prosecutor's office never reacted to Förster's mailing of a copy of the book in October 1994; never expressed an opinion on it, even after repeated inquiries. Finally, six months later, it disclaimed competence to answer the question as to the legality or illegality of the book. This was inconceivable; in any event, it proved that the state prosecutor's office did not consider the book to be automatically in violation of the ARG. The prosecutor at trial flatly, and without justification, dismissed the book as "pseudoscientific"; this was impermissible. "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung", the story of a fictitious secondary school classroom debate, contained references to innumerable works of historical literature, clearly stating the sources in every case. Imbedding these references in a literarily invented project week on the subject of contemporary history was in itself nothing objectionable.

Defendant Förster had already been condemned by ceaseless media hysteria. Although he had served only six weeks at the front as a Wehrmacht lance corporal, the press depicted him as an SS officer; he was constantly smeared as a Nazi. His German ancestry made him a target for the violence of self-styled "anti-racists",



which in itself is the "racism" in its purest form. "My client must therefore be acquitted".

# The Trial of Jürgen Graf

## PART II

The criminal trial of Gerhard Förster and Jürgen Graf for  
"Racial Discrimination" in Baden!

(Baden, Switzerland) on 16 June 1998.

Based on Xavier Marx's report on the trial for RECHT + FREIHEIT (22 July).



According to the 17 July *Aargauer Tageblatt*, Graf's interrogation was "much livelier" than Förster's; this was undoubtedly true. The cat-and-mouse exchange of questions and answers lasted more than two hours.

Graf defended the views expressed in his books with great forcefulness.

Judge Stäubli: Was there a holocaust?

Graf: That is a matter of definition. If, by 'Holocaust', you mean brutal persecution, mass deportations to camps, and the death of many Jews through epidemics, exhaustion, and malnutrition, then, of course, it is a historical fact. But the Greek term 'Holocaust' means 'total burning', or 'victim of fire', and is used by orthodox

historians for the alleged mass gassing and burning of Jews in 'extermination camps'. That is a myth.

Judge Stäubli: Do you consider yourself a revisionist? What does this expression mean?

Graf: Yes, I consider myself a revisionist. In general, the term revisionist is applied to historians who subject the official version of history to critical examination. The Holocaust revisionists under discussion here dispute three central points: 1) the existence of a plan for the physical destruction of the Jews; 2) the existence of extermination camps and execution gas chambers 3) the number of 5 to 6 million Jewish victims. The exact number of victims is unknown, since the documentation is incomplete. Personally, I assume less than a million.

Judge Stäubli: Are you a trained historian?

Graf: No. I must, however, point out to you that the two best-known representatives of the orthodox 'Holocaust' literature, the Jews Gerald Reitlinger and Raul Hilberg, were not, or are not, trained historians either. Reitlinger was an expert in the history of art, while Hilberg is a jurist. The Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac, whom the media have praised as the rebutter of revisionism, is a pharmacologist. If an art historian, a jurist, and a pharmacologist have the right to express themselves on the Holocaust, then a philologist has that right, too.

Judge Stäubli: What was your motivation in writing these books?

Graf: My central motive is not the defence of the German people, although I like the Germans. My central motive is a love of truth. I cannot tolerate lying.

Judge Stäubli: What is your definition of scientific writing?

Graf: The characteristics of scientific writing is that all counter arguments must be taken into account and examined before formulating one's own opinion. Only the revisionists do this.

Judge Stäubli: Would you term your own books as scientific?

Graf: I would classify them in three categories. *Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust*, as well as the book on Majdanek, written by myself in collaboration with Mattogno, which will soon be published, are scientific books. *The Holocaust Swindle* and *The Holocaust Under the Scanner* I would call popular science. In these books, for the most part, I do not set forth my own knowledge; rather, I present a general summary of revisionism. *Todesursache: Zeitgeschichtsforschung* is, finally, quite simply a novel, and as such is not scientific.

Judge Stäubli: What moved you to write your Auschwitz books?

Graf: There is no technical or documentary proof of the reported mass gassings at Auschwitz, but rather, only eyewitness accounts. This suggested the idea of collating

the most important eyewitness statements, quoting them, and analysing them. If no historian ever thought of this before, that is not my fault.

Judge Stäubli: Do you consider the eyewitness statements incredible?

Graf: Yes. Let us assume that three witnesses describe an alleged automobile accident. The first witness says the automobile left the highway, caught fire, and exploded; the second says the automobile had a head-on collision with an on-coming car; while the third says that the automobile hit a bridge, the bridge collapsed, and the automobile fell into a river. What do you do? And what do you do when there is no wreckage of any automobile to be seen anywhere around, and there is no bridge and no river? The eyewitness testimonies on gasings contradict each other on all possible points; and where they agree, they repeat the same impossibilities over and over again, depriving them of all credibility. For example, many witnesses claim that, in Auschwitz, three bodies were burnt in one oven muffle in three quarters of an hour. The actual capacity was one body per muffle per hour; the capacity stated by the witnesses is therefore exaggerated twelve-fold. This proves that the eyewitness testimonies were coordinated in advance. The exact manner in which these testimonies were coordinated, is known in complete detail.

Judge Stäubli: In the introduction to the Auschwitz book, you write that there is no documentary proof of the extermination of the Jews in the extermination camps. Do you stand by that statement?

Graf: The anti-revisionist historian Jacques Baynac, in the "Nouveau Quotidien" on 3 September 1996, wrote that the absence of evidence makes it impossible to prove the existence of the gas chambers. In 1995, I spent almost two months in two Moscow archives, together with Carlo Mattogno, where we viewed 88,000 pages of documents from Auschwitz, and thousands of pages from other camps. Not one document refers to the gassing of a single Jew. This did not surprise us, since if such document had existed, the Communists would have triumphantly displayed them to the world in 1945. But no, the documents disappeared for 46 years and were only made available to researchers in 1991. Why? The German documents set forth the objectives of National Socialist Jewish policy quite clearly. They wanted to transfer the Jews out of Europe, and, in the meantime, during the war, they used their labour power.

Judge Stäubli: In "The Holocaust Swindle" you write: "After the war, the Jews were still there." What do you mean by that?

Graf: I mean that most of the Jews in the German sphere of influence survived. Rolf Bloch, President of the Holocaust Fund, in the "Handelzeitung" of 4 February of this year, said that more than one million Holocaust survivors were still alive today. Any actuary can easily compute that there must have been more than three million survivors in February 1945. As shown by Walter Sanning in his study "The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry", published in 1983 and based almost exclusively on Jewish sources, there could not have been more than four million Jews at most in the German sphere of influence at the time of its broadest geographical expansion. Of these, as admitted above, over three million survived. How can one arrive at a figure of Six Million victims?

Judge Stäubli: Can you imagine that Jews may feel offended by your books?

Graf: Yes, and also many non-Jews. The brain-washing is so complete that anyone who accidentally stumbles across the truth is easily upset.

Judge Stäubli: And don't you care whether Jews feel offended by your books?

Graf: Edgar Bronfmann recently said that Switzerland was like a man who needed to have his feet held in the fire to make him see reason. Can you imagine that a Swiss citizen could be offended at that? Why is there only talk of the feelings of the Jews, and never the feelings of other people?

Judge Stäubli: The ARG (Anti-Racism-Law) was approved by a democratic referendum. Don't you have to respect that?

Graf: The people of that time were told that the law was to protect foreigners from racist violence. In reality, it is used exclusively to protect Jews from any criticism. This is irrefutably proven in the brochure "Abscheid vom Rechtsstaat", to which I participated with two short papers. Not one Swiss citizen has ever been indicted or sentenced for criticizing blacks, Arabs, or Turks. The only people indicted and sentenced are people who criticize Jews.

Judge Stäubli: Did the events described by yourself in your "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung", depicted as a debate in a German high school classroom, really take place?

Graf: The events are obviously invented.

Judge Stäubli: But in your introduction, you describe it as if it really took place.

Graf: That is an ancient, and well-known, literary technique. Many authors pretend to have found an old manuscript or a letter in a bottle.

Judge Stäubli: In the book, one school girl, Marietta, says that, if the Germans had had more Zyklon, fewer inmates would have died. Please explain that statement!

Graf: The main reason for the extremely high mortality rate in Auschwitz was typhus fever, which is transmitted by lice. In the late summer of 1942, this epidemic disease caused 403 deaths in a single day. The documents show that the Germans constantly demanded more and more Zyklon to eliminate lice, but that the stocks were nevertheless insufficient. Thus, Marietta's statement is nothing less than historical fact. Moreover, I must inform you that deliveries of Zyklon were also made to Switzerland, Norway, and Finland during the war. Does that mean that Jews were gassed in these countries too?

Judge Stäubli: In the brochure, "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit", you write that, to the Jews, the Holocaust has become a religion. What is your comment?

Graf: An estimated one third of all Jews today no longer believe in God, but they all believe in the gas chambers. The Holocaust faith is the mortar binding Jews together today.

Judge Stäubli: In the same brochure, you say: "The march into the police state has begun." Why do you speak of a "march into a police state"?

Graf: If we already had a total police state, I would be in prison or dead, and could not speak freely here today. We still possess the possibility of protest today. In five years, that will no longer be true, if present developments continue.

Graf described the trial of Förster and himself as a "classical political trial". The defendants had not been indicted for their actions, but rather, for their opinions. The oppression of dissenting opinion through criminal law was the classic characteristic of dictatorship.

Judge Stäubli: Did you inquire whether the publication of your books violated the ARG?

Graf: No revisionist can be convicted under the ARG in correct legal proceedings in a state of law, since the wording of the law is not specific; no one can be punished for any action not expressly stated to be punishable. But I knew ahead of time that our adversaries have no concept of fairness or justice, and that sooner or later, there would be a trial.

In addition to "Racial Discrimination", Graf was also indicted for "Intimidation", and "Libel". The offence of "Intimidation", according to the state prosecutor's office, was alleged to have consisted of sending the manuscript of an article entitled "How Many People Died at Auschwitz?", in February 1995, to numerous university history professors, among other people, asking them to reply, indicating any errors it might contain. If no errors were reported by a certain date, the article would be published in the newspaper "Aurora" [Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland]. In fact, no errors were ever reported; several of the recipients nevertheless replied, that, as specialists in ancient history or as medievalists, they were not competent to express an opinion on the matter. Graf answered questions from the presiding judge in this regard by stating that his procedure in this matter testified to the seriousness of revisionist attempts to determine the truth. He wanted to know whether there were any errors in his text, and if so, where. If no one told informed him of any errors, that was not his fault.

The offence of "Libel" was said to have been committed in the autumn of 1997, when Graf sent a copy of the book "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" to the theology professor Ekkehard Stegemann, with a dedication reading, "To Professor Stegemann, so that he may serve Christ in future instead of the foes of Christ". Stegemann is one of those theologians who make the guilt of Christian churches for anti-Semitism the central point of their theology, and are rewarded for this by rapid career advancement.

Judge Stäubli: Why did you send Prof. Stegemann this book?

Graf: I knew that he had long engaged in discussion with the well-known revisionist Arthur Vogt, and I therefore considered him ready for dialogue.

[Stegemann later stated that he had not known that Vogt was a revisionist; otherwise he would not have engaged in discussion with him.]

Judge Stäubli: By means of this introduction, did you wish to imply that Prof. Stegemann did not take his duty as a theologist seriously, and did not serve Christ at all?

Graf: Prof. Stegemann calls himself a Christian. To a Christian, Jesus Christ must be more important than anything else. But his only commitment is to serve the interests of Jewry. In front of me, I have a book written by the Israeli professor Israel Shahak, published in 1994 and entitled "Jewish History, Jewish Religion". Shahak shows in great detail that Jewish hatred for all non-Jews, and, in particular, for Christians, is the central motive of the Jewish Religion. According to the Talmud, a book which many Jews place higher than the Torah, Jesus Christ is in Hell, boiling in excrement..."

[Graf's attempts to introduce further evidence of Jewish hatred of Christ from Shahak's book were interrupted by the presiding judge.]

Graf: A person for whom Jesus Christ should be more important than anything else, should not toady up to people who claim that Jesus is in Hell, boiling in excrement."

Judge Stäubli: Then, by "foes of Christ", you mean the Jews?

Graf: Not individual Jews as persons, but the Jewish religion.

## THE PROSECUTION FINAL STATEMENT

After a pause, prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten began his final summation. His miserable performance was purely rhetorical, and, as one trial observer expressed it, speaking crudely, "unter allen Sau" ["really lousy"]. Aufdenblatten made no attempt to show any relation between the passages in the books published by Förster and which were the subject of the indictment, and the wording of the ARG; rather, he contented himself with reeling off an endless litany of phrases ("pseudoscience", "anti-Semitic incitation", racist propaganda", etc.). Graf was said to be an intelligent man, and, therefore, doubly dangerous. Graf was said not to have sought the truth, but to have knowingly distorted the truth. His writings were said to have incited anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Since Graf was unreasonable, and fully acknowledged his revisionist views, there could be no favourable social prognosis. He could not therefore be given merely a suspended sentence. The same was true of Förster, who was just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health was allegedly no reason why he should not be sentenced to imprisonment without probation, since it was not the court's responsibility to determine the defendant's fitness to endure imprisonment; that was the responsibility of a doctor.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY PETER LIATOWITSCH FOR THE CIVIL PLAINTIFF

Jewish attorney Peter Liatowitsch confirmed that his client, Professor Stegemann, felt himself seriously libelled, both professionally and personally, by the dedication to the book. He demanded compensation for his client in the sum of 1000 SF, to be paid into a "Solidarity Fund". Stegemann described himself as "somatized" (whatever that might mean) by Graf's book and its mocking dedication.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY DR. URS OSWALD

Dr. Urs Oswald, court-appointed defence attorney for defendant Jürgen Graf, spoke for more than an hour, sharply attacking state prosecutor Audfenblatten. Although he respected Audfenblatten as a human being, and recognized his competence, he felt it his duty to state that the indictment was very badly written and completely untenable.

According to the principle of "nulla poena sine lege" (no punishment without law), the books, which were written before entry into effect of the ARG, should never have been the subject of an indictment. For that reason, he would not discuss the content. "Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse..." was undeniably written in May 1994, and published in August of the same year. No one claimed that Graf had marketed the book himself. The prosecutor's claim to justification on the grounds that Graf had not expressly forbidden the publishing firm from further distribution after 1 January 1995, and even declared himself to be in agreement with such distribution, was insufficient in law, and contrary to all customary legal practice.

Nor was Graf subject to punishment for continuing to sell his first two books after entry into effect of the ARG, since the "public" element of the offence prescribed by the text of the law, was entirely lacking. Graf carried on no advertising for these two books; he had sent no copies libraries or other places where they might have been available for inspection by the public. On the contrary, he sent them only to people who ordered them. How could this constitute the "public" nature of the offence, as required by the text of the law? In customary legal practice, not even a small group of friends was considered to be "public", much less so a single individual.

There was no proof that Graf had written "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" after 1.1.95. (In this, Dr. Oswald was in error, an error which Graf later corrected.) The brochure "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit" was, of course, indisputably written after entry into effect of article 261bis, but the passages which were the subject of the indictment, in which the author summarizes his Auschwitz books, were written in his own defense. Had he been granted a court-appointed attorney at that point in time, he would not have needed to write the brochure.

That Graf admittedly sent diskettes to Ernst Zündel in Canada and Ahmed Rami in Sweden, who then posted the texts on the Internet, was not a punishable offence, since the crime, in this case, was not committed in Switzerland. The texts were posted on the Internet in Canada, the USA, and Sweden, where there were no laws against revisionism. Any text on the Internet can be retrieved anywhere in the world; they



cannot be expected to conform to the laws of every nation in the world. An extensive study recently published by a jurist named Widmer -- of course, not available to the state prosecuting attorney prior to trial -- showed very clearly that only the provider is responsible for the content of the texts. In the case at issue, however, the provider was in a foreign country.

The count of the indictment mentioning "intimidation" was untenable. Asking historians to report any errors in a text did not constitute the crime of intimidation. No prejudice was caused to any of these historians by the subsequent publication of the article; yet the threat of prejudice was the central characteristic of intimidation (Note: Graf was acquitted on this charge in the first instance.)

The count of the indictment relating to "libel" was civil in nature, and actually had no place in the present trial. In addition, Prof. Stegemann and his attorney had missed the cut-off date; the accusation was now barred by the statute of limitations. Graf was acquitted on this point, as well.

Graf's motive was not to degrade the Jews, but rather, to search for truth. The prosecutor alleged the contrary, but was unable to provide any proof, having made no effort to justify his accusation of "pseudoscience" in any manner whatever.

Dr. Oswald demanded that Graf be acquitted on all points.

Dr. Oswald's summation, like Stehrenberger's, was greatly appreciated by the majority of persons attending the trial, who were favourably disposed towards the defendants. Both lawyers did as much as they possibly could for their clients without jeopardizing their own position, displaying true commitment.

## FINAL STATEMENT BY JÜRGEN GRAF:

"Your Honour, the court, ladies and gentlemen. I would first like to make two remarks. I would like to thank the presiding judge, for the fair manner in which you have conducted this trial [editor's comment: for rejecting Robert Faurisson's appearance as defence witness!?] You have permitted me to speak and defend my statements without hinderance, and you deserve thanks for so doing.

I would like to thank my attorney, Dr. Oswald for his excellent summation, but I would like to permit myself to correct one error. "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" was written mostly in 1995; I say so openly, because I despise lying.

An eminently qualified engineer appeared here today as a defence witness, an expert on the construction of gas chambers for the extermination of vermin and the eradication of viruses. Wolfgang Fröhlich was expressly warned of his duty to tell the truth and took due note of that warning. The state prosecuting attorney Aufdenblatten asked him whether it was possible to gas human beings in gas chambers using Zyklon B in the manner described, and if not, why not. In accordance with his profound technical knowledge and true to his duty to testify truthfully, Fröhlich answered the question in the negative, and justified his answer in detail. What did the state

prosecuting attorney do then? He demanded an indictment for "Racial discrimination" (but not for perjury). That is pure Stalinism, ladies and gentlemen! I know that this is a serious accusation, but I maintain it. Your Honour, you made an effort to ensure a fair trial, but that is not true of the prosecutor.

A few words about myself, although I do not like to call attention to myself. I knowingly exchanged a well-paying job in a state school for an uncertain future [as a revisionist researcher]. Yet the prosecutor has the nerve to attempt to read my mind, and makes the accusation that I never sought the truth, but instead, lies. Do you believe that anyone would willingly risk the destruction of his existence [and jail] for a known lie?

We revisionists make an effort to approximate historical truth insofar as possible. We demand nothing else than to be shown our errors. Of course, there are errors in my books, but do you know who showed them to me? Other revisionists! From the other side, the sole reaction has consisted of insults, incitement, threats, indictments, and trials.

The statements of the prosecutor or Prof. Stegemann betray absolute helplessness in the face of revisionist arguments; this helplessness is as visible here as it was, for instance, in the article published in the "Weltwoche", not long ago, by the famous Hans Stutz. There are never any factual arguments, but rather, empty phrases such as "pseudoscience, anti-Semitism, racist incitement, etc."

Sigi Feigel [Swiss Jewish leader] and his people want to imprison Förster and myself, and to prohibit our books. I would never dream of imprisoning Sigi Feigel [for his incitement against Switzerland]. If he ever wrote a book, I would never dream of prohibiting it. I challenge Mr. Feigel or Mr. Stegemann, or any other spokesman for the official view of the Holocaust, to a factual, dispassionate open debate, on radio or television, as to the existence of the gas chambers and the number of Jewish victims.

In living memory, no one in Switzerland has been arrested for the non-violent expression of an opinion. The last example dates far back into the last century. Ladies and gentlemen of the court, shortly before the end of the 20th century, do you want to break with this tradition? If you absolutely must jail someone, then please jail me; not the mortally ill Mr. Förster!

Jailing me would bring no shame upon myself. But it would bring shame on our country, Switzerland. A Switzerland in which the freedom of expression has been abolished, in which 0.6 percent of the population may decide what the other 99.4% can read, write, say, and think, is a dead Switzerland.

I would like to end my remarks with a quotation from my friend Gaston-Armand Amaudruz from western Switzerland, against whom a trial similar to that held today against Mr. Förster and myself, is now pending in Lausanne.

In number 371 of his "Courrier du Continent" Amaudruz wrote:

"As in earlier historical times, it is a sign of weakness to attempt to enforce a dogma by force. The exponents of the Jewish extermination thesis may win trials based on

censorship law today; but they will lose the last trial before the court of future generations."

# REVISIONIST BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography naturally makes no claim to completeness. The most complete revisionist bibliography to our knowledge appeared in no. 42 of the Italian publication *L'Uomo Libero* (Casella Postale 1658, I-20123 Milan, Italy).

Most of the titles mentioned here can be ordered from the publishers in each case, or from Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem-2, Belgium.

## Newsletters

In German:

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**THE BUNKERS OF AUSCHWITZ**  
**BLACK PROPAGANDA VERSUS HISTORY**

# The Bunkers of Auschwitz

Black Propaganda  
versus  
History

**Carlo Mattogno**



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# Introduction

It is well known that the official historiography on Auschwitz hinges on an order to exterminate the European Jews – supposedly given by Hitler to Himmler and then transmitted to Rudolf Höß – which took on concrete shape when the Auschwitz extermination camp was built.

According to the interpretation that has now become dogma, this order was carried out in four successive stages:

1. In September 1941, the first experimental homicidal gassing by means of Zyklon B was performed at Auschwitz; this represented the ‘discovery’ of the instrument of extermination.
2. In early 1942, the homicidal gassing activity was moved to the mortuary of the Auschwitz crematorium.
3. In the succeeding months two farmhouses located outside the perimeter of the Birkenau camp were transformed into gas chambers (the so-called ‘Bunkers’), and the mass extermination of Jews and sick inmates began.
4. Finally, from March 1943 onwards, the extermination activity was transferred to the four Birkenau crematoria, which all had their homicidal gas chambers.

The starting point for this assumed sequence of events is thus the first homicidal gassing in the basement of Block 11 at Auschwitz between September 3 and 5, 1941, during which (according to the version invented by Danuta Czech<sup>1</sup>) 250 sick detainees and 600 Soviet prisoners of war were murdered. This alleged event is very important for the official historiography on Auschwitz, because it is said to have been the birth of the homicidal gas chambers.

In 1992, I dedicated a fairly extensive study, still the only one of its kind,<sup>2</sup> to this alleged event, in which I demonstrated that this event has no historical foundation whatsoever.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the section entitled “*La metodologia storiografica di Danuta Czech*” of my book *Auschwitz: la prima gasazione*. Edizioni di Ar, Padova, 1992, pp. 140-144, I have shown that the Polish researcher has artificially constructed the official version as published in the *Auschwitz Kalendarium* by fusing individual elements taken from completely contradictory testimonies. Updated English edition: *Auschwitz: The First Gassing*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> Even today, there is no other book dealing with this topic. In the five-volume collective work *Auschwitz 1940-1945. Węzłowe zagadnienia z dziejów obozu* (Fundamental problems of the camp history, by Danuta Czech, Tadeusz Iwaszko, Stanisław Kłodziński, et al.), Wydawnictwo Państwowego Muzeum Oświęcim-Brzezinka, 1995, which represents the historiographical peak of the Auschwitz Museum, scarcely more than four pages are dedicated to the question of the first gassing in the section by Franciszek Piper “*Komory Gazowe i Krematoria*” (Gas chambers and crematoria), Vol. III, pp. 97-102 (pages 97 and 102 contain in total 5 lines concerning this topic).

<sup>3</sup> Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: la prima gasazione, op. cit.* (note 1).

My book managed to shake even the confidence of Jean-Claude Pressac. In 1989, he still followed the official interpretation of the *Auschwitz Chronicle* to the letter;<sup>4</sup> in 1993 he still accepted the reality of Czech's account of the first gassing, but he moved it to December 1941<sup>5</sup> on account of a polemical cue<sup>6</sup> I had given him; in 2000 he came to doubt its historical reality. In an interview, which he gave in 1995 but which was clearly updated in 2000, Pressac referred to my study (of which a French translation<sup>7</sup> had appeared in 1999) stating:<sup>8</sup>

*"If that first gassing did occur, it happened in December of 1941, or perhaps in January of 1942, and it has no link at all with the massacre of the Jews."* (emphasis added)

In the same way as does this elusive 'first gassing,' the alleged extermination activity of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' relies *exclusively* on testimonies.

As I have emphasized in a previous work,<sup>9</sup> the archives of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office, which were preserved in Moscow, allow us to re-establish a complete account of the buildings that were erected in Auschwitz during the first half of 1942. Yet neither Pressac nor Robert Jan van Pelt, the new official 'expert' on Auschwitz, has searched those archives for documentary proof of the homicidal Birkenau 'Bunkers,' or, shall we say, none of them has found any evidence of their existence. But if those installations actually existed, there will be documentary proof of their existence.

The present study, which relies for the most part on unpublished documents, fills this embarrassing gap in the official historiography and supplies us with a solid answer to the question of the alleged homicidal 'Bunkers' of Birkenau. This question has, of late, become particularly pressing. In a recent article entitled "*Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz. Neue Erkenntnisse durch neue William Archivfunde*,"<sup>10</sup> Fritjof Meyer, senior editor of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), has advanced the thesis that the alleged mass gasings at Birkenau were conducted essentially in the so-called 'Bunkers' rather than in the alleged gas chambers of the crematoria. That, in turn, has given rise within the official historiography to an internal dispute, which

<sup>4</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation. New York, 1989, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz. Die Technik des Massenmordes*, Piper, Munich 1994, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in this respect my study *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, Institute for Historical Review, Newport Beach, CA, 1994, pp. 37f.

<sup>7</sup> *Auschwitz: le premier gazage*, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Berchem, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> "Entretien avec Jean-Claude Pressac" by Valérie Igounet at La Ville-du-Bois, June 15, 1995, in: Valérie Igounet, *Histoire du négationnisme en France*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris 2000, p. 644.

<sup>9</sup> *Special Treatment in Auschwitz. Origin and Meaning of a Term*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> *Osteuropa. Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens*, no. 5, May 2002, pp. 631-641. Cf. in this respect my article: "Auschwitz. Fritjof Meyer's New Revisions," in: *The Revisionist*, 1(1) (2003) pp. 30-37.

intensified in November 2003 with the involvement of Franciszek Piper, director of the history department at the Auschwitz Museum.<sup>11</sup>

According to the Auschwitz Museum, the SS called these two presumed gassing ins “*little red house*” (in Polish: *czzerwony domek*) and the “*little white house*” (in Polish: *biały domek*) by the inmates. Although these designations – as I shall show in the Part Two – were invented after the liberation of Auschwitz, I will continue in this study to use the accepted term ‘Bunker,’ but only for reasons of clarity.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. in this respect my article “*On the Piper-Meyer-Controversy: Soviet Propaganda vs. Pseudo-Revisionism*”, *The Revisionist*. 2(2) (2004), pp. 131-139.



# Part One: Reality



# 1. The Alleged Extermination of Jews at Auschwitz: Origins of the Decision and its Execution

## 1.1. The Beginnings

The account of the beginnings of the alleged extermination of Jews at Auschwitz rests essentially on the statements of Rudolf Höß regarding his summons to Berlin by Himmler and on the decisions and the events that were to follow.

Those declarations contain, however, a heap of chronological contradictions so entangled that historians who specialize in this field must resort to interpretations which are not only purely conjectural but also mutually exclusive. In their effort to create a coherent chronology, these scholars have had to distort the Auschwitz commander's statements in every possible way. This deformation has reached the point where – from the historiographical point of view – the safest interpretation is to say that the chronology given by Höß and the events he described are pure fiction. Although I am convinced that this latter view is correct, as I have demonstrated elsewhere with an abundance of arguments,<sup>12</sup> I shall assume in this chapter, as a working hypothesis, that the meeting between Himmler and Höß actually took place.

The specific aim of accepting such a hypothesis is to examine its consequences from the point of view of the planning and the construction of the Auschwitz camp, *i.e.*, to ascertain, by means of documents, whether the alleged extermination order actually did result in the installation of the two gasing 'Bunkers' at Birkenau.

## 1.2. Danuta Czech's Interpretation

In her *Auschwitz Chronicle*, Danuta Czech assigns the origin of the extermination of the Jews at Auschwitz to July 29, 1941. Under that date she writes:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. L' "irritante questione" delle camere a gas ovvero da Cappuccetto Rosso ad...Auschwitz. Risposta a Valentina Pisanty, Graphos, Genova, 1998, pp. 122-148.

<sup>13</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945*, Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek 1989, pp. 106f. Engl.: Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945*,



*“The commander of KL Auschwitz, Rudolf Höß, having been called by the Reichsführer SS, reports to Berlin. Without any witnesses, Himmler discusses with him the technical aspects of the so-called ‘final solution of the Jewish question.’ As a result of this meeting, Höß is charged by Himmler with the execution of the extermination of the Jews at KL Auschwitz; he is to present construction projects for the homicidal annihilation installations within four weeks. Himmler tells Höß that SS Sturmbannführer Eichmann of RSHA will give him the details when the latter went to Auschwitz in the near future.”*

The date is entirely conjectural because there is no document confirming the reality of the Himmler-Höß meeting.

Czech then places Eichmann’s first visit to Auschwitz<sup>14</sup> or a meeting in Eichmann’s office<sup>15</sup> (which according to Höß, however, took place in November<sup>16</sup>) as well as the first experimental gassing by means of Zyklon B carried out by SS Hauptsturmführer Fritzsche in August of 1941.<sup>17</sup> Again, these dates are totally arbitrary, because there are no documents to confirm the reality of any of the three events.

Eichmann’s second visit to Auschwitz cannot be used in the attempt to establish Czech’s chronology; thus, it is not even mentioned in the *Auschwitz Chronicle*. For the same reason, Höß’ alleged trip to Treblinka, as described in his ‘confessions,’<sup>18</sup> does not appear there either.

### 1.3. Jean-Claude Pressac’s Interpretation

Jean-Claude Pressac openly acknowledges that Höß’ declarations are chronologically unsound, but comes to a different conclusion:<sup>19</sup>

*“According to his notes, Höß is ordered to come to Berlin ‘in the summer of 1941.’ His report contains a glaring improbability in that the Reichsführer SS allegedly tells him: ‘The existing annihilation sites in the East (Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka; the killing activities of these camps started only in summer 1942<sup>[20]</sup>) are not in a position to handle the major actions envisaged (quoted from: Rudolf Höß, Kommandant in Auschwitz. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen, edited by Martin Broszat, dtv-doku-*

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H. Holt, New York 1990. Since both books are organized chronologically, we did not replace the author’s original reference to the German edition.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 115.

<sup>16</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), *Death Dealer. The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, Prometheus Books, Buffalo, NY, 1992, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> D. Czech, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 115f.

<sup>18</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 42f.; PS-3868.

<sup>19</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), note 132 on p. 136.

<sup>20</sup> These activities are claimed to have started in late 1941 in Belzec, in early 1942 in Sobibor, and in summer 1942 in Treblinka.

mente, München 1963, p. 237). Hence, an obvious anachronism on Höß' side."

For that reason, Pressac moves the Himmler-Höb meeting to the year 1942.<sup>21</sup>

*"In early 1942, Höß is ordered to report to Himmler in Berlin; the latter informs him that his camp has been selected to become the center for the mass extermination of the Jews."*

Actually, this kind of dating, as I have stressed elsewhere<sup>22</sup> creates further contradictions in chronology; the most serious one is the fact that the installation of the so-called 'Bunker 1' and the beginning of the extermination of Jews at Auschwitz which, according to Höb, were the direct consequence of Himmler's order, would thus have taken place at a date preceding that order.

## 1.4. Debórah Dwork's and Robert Jan van Pelt's Interpretation

Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt worked out a much more sophisticated and original interpretation:<sup>23</sup>

*"According to Rudolf Höß, Himmler discussed the transformation of Auschwitz into an extermination site as early as June 1941. Is he correct? Did he have a conversation with Himmler in June 1941? If so, did they talk about the construction of killing installations at Auschwitz? And if they did, did Himmler mean, in June 1941, that this murder machinery was to be used to kill Jews?"*

To this question they reply in the following way:<sup>24</sup>

*"Höb' Nuremberg confessions seemed to close the case concerning the origins of Auschwitz as a death camp. But internal inconsistencies in his statements, as well as additional indirect but pertinent evidence, suggest that Höß reinterpreted events that had indeed occurred in the light of the ultimate outcome. Probably, he had a conversation with Himmler in June 1941. Probably, they spoke about the construction of extermination facilities at Auschwitz. But probably, in June 1941, those installations were not intended for the mass murder of Europe's Jews.*

*Let us look at Höb' statements more closely. In his affidavit saying 'I was ordered to establish extermination facilities at Auschwitz in June 1941'<sup>[25]</sup> he also explained that 'At that time, there were already in the*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> L' "irritante questione" delle camere a gas..., *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 130f.

<sup>23</sup> D. Dwork, R. J. van Pelt, *Auschwitz 1270 to the present*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York/London 1996, p. 277.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 279.

<sup>25</sup> PS-3868; The German original states: "Ich hatte den Befehl, Ausrottungserleichterungen in Auschwitz im Juni 1941 zu schaffen" – where "Ausrottungserleichterungen" means "extermination relieves," not "extermination facilities."

general government three other extermination camps; Belzek, Treblinka, and Wolzek. (Sobibor) <sup>126]</sup>These camps, however, came into operation only in 1942. In a detailed account of the role of Auschwitz in the genocide of the Jews that Höß wrote later that year, he again related Auschwitz to other killing sites and again made the same mistake about the dates.<sup>[27]</sup>

'Himmler greeted me with the following: 'The Führer has ordered the Final Solution of the Jewish Question. We, the SS, have to carry out this order. The existing extermination sites in the East are not in a position to perform these intended major operations. I have, therefore, chosen Auschwitz for this purpose.'"

In June 1941 there were no 'existing extermination sites in the East.' As Höß insisted on various occasions that the conversation took place in 1941, although acknowledging that he may have been confused about the exact words, it would seem plausible that there was a meeting in June 1941 and that he was ordered 'to establish extermination facilities.' But how large were these meant to be and for whom were they meant?"

The solution proposed by Dwork and van Pelt is that Höß was called to Berlin in 1941, but that Himmler, on that occasion, did not order him to launch the extermination of the Jews. We will see later<sup>28</sup> for what group of persons, according to the two authors, the 'extermination installations,' that is, the Birkenau 'Bunkers' were intended.

## 1.5. Dating the Himmler-Höß Meeting

Richard David Breitman has made an attempt to fix the date of Höß' summon to Berlin on the basis of Himmler's journeys during the summer of 1941, which we know from his diary. He writes:<sup>29</sup>

"And Höss now dated the meeting as sometime during summer of 1941, but he could not remember exactly when.

Himmler was not in Berlin very often during the summer of 1941, especially after the invasion of the USSR. It seems most likely that he actually met with Höss sometime during July 13-15."

In a note, the author explains:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> PS-3868: "Zu jener Zeit bestanden schon drei weitere Vernichtungslager in Generalgouvernement: Belzek, Treblinka und Wolzek." A "Wolzek" camp never existed. Its identification with Sobibór by Dwork/van Pelt is completely arbitrary.

<sup>27</sup> R. Höß, "The Final Solution of the Jewish Question in Concentration Camp Auschwitz," in: by Steven Paskuly (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 27: "Contrary to his usual custom, his adjutant was not in the room. Himmler greeted me with the following: 'The Führer has ordered the Final Solution of the Jewish Question. We the SS have to carry out this order. The existing extermination sites in the East are not in the position to carry out these intended operations on a large scale. I have, therefore, chosen Auschwitz for this purpose.'"

<sup>28</sup> Cf. chapter 8.

<sup>29</sup> R.D. Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide. Himmler and the Final Solution*, Knopf, New York 1991, p. 189.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 294f.

*“Various attempts to redate this meeting have been off the mark. Höss could not have mistaken a summer-1942 meeting with Himmler for 1941 – first, because Himmler’s 1942 appointment book, which exists, contains no such entry, and, second, because Höss was already gassing Jews then.*

*It is most unlikely that Himmler set the Final Solution in motion before 22 June. Organizing the strategy for the Waffen-SS and the Einsatzgruppen must have taken a considerable amount of Himmler’s time, and he had to see how successful the initial attack against the U.S.S.R. would be. Himmler left the capital for East Prussia on 25 June and did not return [to Berlin] until 13 July. On 15 July he went back to East Prussia. At most he went to Berlin for one brief visit during August, though we cannot be sure where he was on several days late that month.”*

Breitman then discusses Himmler’s journeys in August 1942 and concludes:

*“Dates in September are too late for the meeting, since the first test gassing at Auschwitz occurred on 3 Sept. What is left is 13-15 July 1941.”*

Danuta Czech, as we have already seen, proposes a date of July 29, 1941, for this event, justifying it in the following way: On that day, a detainee escaped from the camp and the telegram informing the competent SS authorities was signed by *Lagerführer* Fritzsche, in Höß’ absence.<sup>31</sup> It is possible that Höß had gone to Berlin, but it is certain that he could not have met Himmler there on that day because the latter had been staying in East Prussia since July 15.

Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt propose a different method of dating. They state that Höß was in Berlin on June 13 and 14, 1941, to discuss the enlargement of the Auschwitz camp with Kammler of the Main Office of Budget and Buildings,<sup>32</sup> and on that occasion he also met Himmler;<sup>33</sup>

*“Himmler, too, was in town, to celebrate the fifth anniversary of his appointment as chief of the German police. Given his personal interest in the future of Auschwitz, it seems likely that the completion of the first master plan [for construction of the camp] was an occasion for him to chat with Höss.”*

The document which the authors invoke is a letter from Kammler to Höß dated June 18, 1941, which refers merely to a meeting of Höß with the head of Department I of Main Office of Budget and Buildings, SS *Oberführer* Lörner, and with Kammler without indicating where it took place.<sup>34</sup> In his Cracow ‘notes’ Höß tells of a visit by Kammler to Auschwitz in 1941 when the head of the Auschwitz Construction Office was still Schlachter,<sup>35</sup> hence before October 1, 1941, when Schlachter was replaced by Bischoff. The meeting of June 13-14 thus certainly occurred at Auschwitz.

<sup>31</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 107

<sup>32</sup> D. Dwork, R. J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 23), p. 214.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 280

<sup>34</sup> RGVA, 502-1-11, p. 37. Cf. chapter 2.2.

<sup>35</sup> Kammler profile entitled “*Der Chef der Office Group C im WVHA war der SS Gruppenführer Dr. ing. Kammler*” and dated November 1946. AGK, NTN, 103, p. 244

The most probable date for the Himmler-Höß meeting is therefore 14-15 July 1941. Pressac's proposed dating of this event is historically untenable.

## 1.6. Dating 'Bunkers' 1 and 2

All establishment specialists of the history of Auschwitz agree that the so-called 'Bunkers' of Birkenau were set up for homicidal purposes, although differences do exist among them as to the kind of victims destined for them.

The official chronology of the *Auschwitz Chronicle* regarding the start of homicidal activity in 'Bunkers' 1 and 2 is accepted by practically all scholars dealing with this camp. According to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 'Bunker 1' went into operation on March 20, 1942. The author notes for that date:<sup>36</sup>

*"Gas chambers are put into operation in a Birkenau farmhouse modified for this purpose, this is the so-called Bunker no. 1."*

The only discordant voice is that of Jean-Claude Pressac, who moves this alleged event by two months:<sup>37</sup>

*"The 'red house', after its modification, was given the name 'Bunker 1' and probably began to be used for this purpose from the end of May 1942 onwards."*

In the chronological summary of his book, Pressac writes:<sup>38</sup>

*"In May [1942]: Modification of a small farm at Birkenau. The gas chamber of the Krematorium [I] is moved there because of the impending construction work. The unit, which will later be called 'Bunker 1,' consists of two chambers, not equipped with mechanical ventilation."*

As for 'Bunker 2,' the *Auschwitz Chronicle* affirms that it became operational on June 30, 1942. The following entry for that date appears in the book:<sup>39</sup>

*"In connection with the impending arrival of further transports of Jews who are moved to Auschwitz by the RSHA to be annihilated there, more gas chambers are installed in a farmhouse, similar to Bunker 1. It is situated to the west of crematoria IV and V, which will be built later, and is designated Bunker no. 2."*

Pressac does not give a precise date but accepts the period:<sup>40</sup>

*"The 'white house', Bunker 2, is put into operation at the end of June 1942."*

In the chronological summary, he adds:<sup>41</sup>

*"in June [1942] another Birkenau farmhouse is modified to become a gas chamber. In the process, the delousing plants of the Degesch Co. of*

<sup>36</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, (note 13), p. 186

<sup>37</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 49

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 154f.

<sup>39</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 239

<sup>40</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 52

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 52

*Frankfurt a.M. are taken as a model (the chambers are arranged in parallel). The unit, later to be called 'Bunker 2,' consists of four parallel chambers with a floor area of 105 m<sup>2</sup>; it has no mechanical ventilation."*

To summarize, 'Bunker 1' went into service in March or May 1942, 'Bunker 2' in June of that year.

Having established the chronological limits of the investigation, we must now examine their implications within the general outlines of the construction of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp.

## 1.7. The Location of the Birkenau 'Bunkers'

The location of the 'Bunkers' at Birkenau is presently considered an established fact: they have been definitively sited by the Auschwitz Museum as appears on the official map of Birkenau, published in Danuta Czech's *Auschwitz Chronicle*, where 'Bunker 1' is labeled "*1. provisorische Gaskammer*" (first temporary gas chamber), and 'Bunker 2' is called "*2. provisorische Gaskammer*,"<sup>42</sup> (second temporary gas chamber).

That map will therefore constitute our geographical point of departure for the following historical and documentary study of the 'Bunkers.' In Part Three we will learn how the Auschwitz Museum arrived at its own position.

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<sup>42</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 27. Cf. document 1.



## 2. The ‘Bunkers’ in the Planning of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp

### 2.1. The Bureaucratic Procedure for the Construction of the Installations of Auschwitz-Birkenau

On April 27, 1940, Himmler ordered the old Polish army barracks at Auschwitz to be transformed into a concentration camp. Three days later, the first cost estimate for the camp was drawn up.<sup>43</sup>

In 1941, the Auschwitz concentration camp encompassed the construction project “*SS housing and concentration camp Auschwitz*” of the Waffen-SS and Police, and as such it was subordinate, in all technical, financial and administrative aspects, to Department II, Buildings, of the Main Office of Budget and Buildings, directed by SS *Oberführer* Kammler. Since the camp was situated on the territory of the Reich – East Upper Silesia was annexed by Germany after the Polish collapse in 1939 – it came under the inspectorate of Department II for the region involved, the Construction Inspectorate of the Waffen-SS and Police Reich East, having its seat at Posen, which in November 1941 supervised the Central Construction Offices of Auschwitz, Danzig, Posen, and Breslau.

As it related to the construction industry, the Auschwitz construction project was subordinate to the Regional Administrator for Construction Industry in Military District VIII with its office at Kattowitz, which in turn reported to Reich Minister Speer in his capacity as General Plenipotentiary for Control of the Construction Industry (*Generalbevollmächtigter für die Regelung der Bauwirtschaft* – G.B.-Bau). The realization of a construction project necessitated a preliminary administrative act: its ranking in the order of precedence of the relevant military district (*Wehrkreisrangfolgelisten*), for which a construction authorization was needed. Initially, this authorization, according to the regulations of G.B.-Bau of July 12, 1941, for the third year of the war economy, was given by the control commission for Military District VIII – an organ of the Regional Administrator for Construction in Military District VIII – and required the submission of a file consisting of a sketch of the location, a construction specification, and an initial cost estimate, later to be replaced by a detailed cost estimate. G.B.-Bau would decide on the overall construction volume, a term also including the expense allocation.

<sup>43</sup> “*Kostenaufstellung für das Lager Auschwitz bei Kattowitz*,” written by SS *Obersturmführer* Seidler on April 30, 1940. RGVA, 502-1-176, pp. 37f.



On November 14, 1941, the Auschwitz Construction Office was raised to the level of “*Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz*,” and its head, SS *Hauptsturmführer* Karl Bischoff, was promoted from head of construction to “*Head of Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz*.”

From February 1, 1942, on, the Auschwitz Central Construction Office was attached, for all financial, technical and administrative purposes, to Office Group C, Construction, of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (*SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt* – SS WVHA) run by SS *Oberführer* Kammler, while continuing to be subject to Reich Minister Speer in matters of construction. Within SS WVHA, Office C/I (general construction tasks), headed by SS *Sturmbannführer* Sesemann, was responsible for the supervision and cost control of ordinary construction projects, whereas Office C/III (technical areas), run by SS *Sturmbannführer* Wirtz, exercised the same authority for technical construction projects.

Still within SS WVHA, the supervision of the Construction Inspectorate of Office II of Main Office of Budget and Buildings was taken over by Office C/V Central Construction Inspectorate, which had a double function: technical through Office V/1a (Construction Inspections, Central Construction Offices and Construction Offices) and financial through Office V/2a (budget and accounting). The Construction Inspectorate of the Waffen-SS and Police Reich East, which had controlled the Auschwitz Central Construction Office since November 1941, reported to these two offices; it was replaced in mid-1943 by the Construction Inspectorate of the Waffen-SS and Police Silesia, located at Kattowitz and likewise attached to Office C/V of SS WVHA.

With respect to the construction industry, the Central Construction Office was placed under the authority of Speer’s local offices: the Regional Administrator of the General Plenipotentiary for Control of the Construction Industry in Military District VIII, located at Kattowitz, which handled administrative questions (precedence, construction authorization, etc.) and to the Regional Administrator for Control of the Construction Industry in Military District VIII, located at Breslau, responsible for the allocation of materials.<sup>44</sup>

Any construction order coming from Himmler would be handled along the lines of procedure just described, including orders concerning technical, sanitary and, possibly, extermination facilities.

The bureaucratic channels were described in the following words by SS *Sturmbannführer* Wolfgang Grosch in a postwar ‘confession’:<sup>45</sup>

*“As for building gas chambers and crematoria, that was the responsibility of Office Group C, once such buildings had been requested by Office*

<sup>44</sup> For sources, cf. my study *La “Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz.”* Edizioni di Ar, 1998; Engl.: *The Central Construction Office in Auschwitz*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, in preparation.

<sup>45</sup> Affidavit of Wolfgang Grosch of February 20, 1947. NO-2154. Wolfgang Grosch served from June 1941 at Main Department II/Central Construction Inspectorate of Main Office of Budget and Buildings, from November 1941 through March 1944 at Construction Inspectorate of the Waffen-SS and Police Central Russia, located at Mogilev.

Group D.<sup>[46]</sup> The official path was as follows: Office Group D contacted Office Group C. Office C/I did the drawings for those installations, as far as the buildings themselves were concerned, passed them on to Office C/III, which took care of the machinery, i.e., the equipment concerning for example the ventilation of the gas chambers or the gas injection device. These specifications would then be assigned to a private company, which had to supply the special equipment or furnaces. Further along the official path, C/III would inform Office C/V, which transmitted the order to the Central Construction Office via its Construction Inspectorate West, North, South, East. The Central Construction Office then gave the construction order to the Construction Office of the concentration camp concerned, which carried out the actual project using detainees that had been supplied by D/II.<sup>[47]</sup> Office Group D gave orders and instructions to Office Group C regarding space requirements and purposes of such buildings. The client for gas chambers and crematoria was, basically, Office Group D."

This bureaucratic procedure was followed in the construction of all technical and sanitary installations in the concentration camps (crematoria, disinfection and disinfection equipment, etc.), but it was also valid for undisputed execution installations (gallows, ranges for firing squads, etc.) as well as, perhaps, for homicidal gas chambers.<sup>48</sup> Whenever such installations were built, they inevitably followed the bureaucratic path described above; this is demonstrated, for example, by the fact that Jean-Claude Pressac based his thesis of the existence of homicidal gas chambers on 'slip-ups' in the abundant documentation of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office on the cremation installations.

The construction activities of the various Central Construction Offices were, themselves, subject to a bureaucratic procedure just as complex. Let us examine the pertinent case below.

From March 31, 1942, forward, each site of the construction project Concentration Camp Auschwitz was assigned an identification number preceded by the letters BW (*Bauwerk*=building site). All administrative acts related to a *Bauwerk* had to be marked with the reference "BW 21/7b (*Bau*) 13," in which 21/7b identified the account, "(*Bau*) 13" the title.<sup>49</sup> For the Prisoner of War Camp (the Birkenau camp), such dispositions had already come into force in February 1942.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Office Group D/concentration camps, headed by SS *Brigadeführer* Glücks, dealt with the concentration camps.

<sup>47</sup> Office DII/work allocation of inmates, with its head SS *Sturmbannführer* Maurer, was in charge of the work assigned to the detainees.

<sup>48</sup> None of the alleged homicidal gas chambers was equipped with a "gas feeding equipment" (*Gaseinströmgerät*); this designation applied instead to the gas diffusion equipment of the hydrogen cyanide disinfection chambers using the DEGESCH circulation system.

<sup>49</sup> "Aufteilung der Bauwerke (BW) für die Bauten, Aussen- und Nebenanlagen des Bauvorhabens Konzentrationslager Auschwitz O/S," March 31, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-267, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> "Baufristenplan für Bauvorhaben: Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen SS Auschwitz" of March 9, 1942, for the month of February; RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 9. "Aufteilung der Bauwerke (BW) für die

During the course of the construction of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, the local population was evacuated;<sup>51</sup> many houses that stood in the way of the plans of the SS were demolished, but countless others located within the “*area of interest*” of the camp remained intact and were incorporated into the administration of the camp and entrusted to the SS New Construction Office (later to become SS Construction Office and finally SS Central Construction Office). Some, though very few, houses were not demolished and not incorporated into the camp administration either.

The SS New Construction Office carried out a census of the incorporated houses and gave a serial number to each one. Numbering proceeded by zones, and one of the last zones was that one of the Auschwitz railroad station. The February 1942 report of the surveying section at SS New Construction Office mentions the following activity:<sup>52</sup>

“*Numbering of the houses between Alter and Neuer Bahnhofstrasse.*”

For example, in the former village of Brzezinka (Birkenau), SS New Construction Office incorporated some forty houses, to which it assigned the numbers from 600 to 640.<sup>53</sup>

On September 10, 1944, the Central Construction Office renumbered the houses to reflect a renaming of the streets.<sup>54</sup>

All work on the houses was planned and carried out by the above office, which retained responsibility for maintaining them even after the completion of work and the handover to the camp administration. For example, in October 1944 the Central Construction Office took on the inspection and repair of the damage caused by the American aerial bombardment of September 13, 1944, creating for this purpose a special *Bauwerk* no. 167.<sup>55</sup> Among the structures destroyed or damaged were 18 buildings<sup>56</sup> and 63 houses.<sup>57</sup> For each house and each building the Central Construction Office made a damage assessment

*Bauten, Aussen- und Nebenanlagen des Bauvorhabens ‘Lager II’ Auschwitz,*” copy written by Poles without indication of date; AGK, NTN-94, p. 154.

<sup>51</sup> As early as March 1941, 1,600 Poles and 500 Jews had been evacuated from the Auschwitz “*area of interest*” and moved to the Government General; GARF, 7021-108-32, p. 30.

<sup>52</sup> “*Tätigkeitsbericht der Tiefbau- und Vermessungsabteilung. Februar 1942,*” March 2, 1942; RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 416.

<sup>53</sup> “*Bebauungsplan für den Auf- u. Ausbau des Konzentrationslagers u. Kriegsgefangenenlagers, Plan Nr. 2215,*” dated March 1943. Northern sector of the camp. RGVA, 502-2-94, p. 2. Cf. document 2.

<sup>54</sup> “*Aufstellung. Umnummerierung von Hausnummern auf dem westlichen Sola-Ufer (Planungsgelände für Neustadt-West,*” RGVA, 502-2-95, pp. 22-25. Cf. document 3.

<sup>55</sup> “*Bauantrag für die Instandsetzungsarbeiten an den durch Bomben beschädigten Gebäuden und Aussenanlagen im Interessengebiet des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz. BW. 167;*” the document contains an explanatory report (*Erläuterungsbericht*) and a cost estimate (*Kostenvoranschlag*). RGVA, 502-1-159, pp. 80-90.

<sup>56</sup> Buildings no. 134, 135, 136, 138, 128, 129, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 157A, 157B, 157C, 157E, 157D, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Houses no. 35, 210, 36, 207, 891, 103, 115, 105, 56, 53, 52, 50, 49, 47, 44, 41, 43, 40, 27, 28, 33, 34, 16, 875, 6, 7, 8, 142, 131, 132, 133, 203, 105, 118, 118a, 149, 156, 126, 45, 25, 54, 139, 142, 46, 78, 1, 5, 9, 121, 21, 116, 117, 120, 122, 123, 125, 129, 130, 150, 152, 163, 170, 208.

and a cost estimate for repairs.<sup>58</sup> In the village of Broschkowitz some thirty houses were set aside for those who had been displaced.<sup>59</sup>

Some existing Polish houses were incorporated into the construction project concentration camp Auschwitz and given the number of the corresponding *Bauwerk*. For example, houses 130, 132, 150, 151, 152 and 171 became part of BW 36B (housing for officers and NCOs).<sup>60</sup>

From the administrative point of view, the creation of a *Bauwerk* enabled the accomplishment of a complex series of bureaucratic steps, embodied in the drafting of a number of documents: besides the sketch of the location, the construction specification, and the cost estimate already mentioned, they included a drawing, an explanatory report, a transferal to the camp administration, and a notice of completion. For each *Bauwerk*, it was moreover necessary to keep a cash ledger, in which all work done on the *Bauwerk* and the accompanying payments were recorded and which reflected, so to speak, the administrative life of a *Bauwerk*.<sup>61</sup> The construction or the modification was carried out by the Central Construction Office, using either its own detainees or civilian companies called in from the outside. Ordinary jobs were done by the workshops of the Central Construction Office, which had at its disposal a number of Kommandos of skilled workmen (blacksmiths, painters, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, etc.). The execution of those tasks brought along, in the administrative field, the filing of other bureaucratic forms: the request for materials, the order, the work sheet, the receipt, the delivery slip. The work of the detainees appeared in the accounts of the camp administration and was billed to the Central Construction Office by means of an invoice. The civilian firms also sent regular invoices to the Central Construction Office.

All these documents were issued in several copies, which were distributed to the offices concerned. The addressees of the copies were indicated in the documents under the rubric "*distribution list*."

The *Bauwerke* were also registered in various reports on the construction activities, of which there were at least 14 different types. That practice was also applied to the Polish houses that were taken over by the Central Construction Office, as is shown by the drawing of house 647 located at Budy.<sup>62</sup>

From the complex bureaucratic procedures outlined above, it follows that the Birkenau 'Bunkers,' too, if in fact they existed, had to have appeared in the documents of Central Construction Office. All we have to do, therefore, is

<sup>58</sup> "*Kostenvoranschlag für die Instandsetzungsarbeiten an den durch Bomben beschädigten Gebäuden und Aussenanlagen im Interessengebiet des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz. BW 167.*" RGVA, 502-1-159, pp. 82-90.

<sup>59</sup> "*Lageplan über die ausgebauten Wohnhäuser für Bombenbeschädigte BW. 166. (Eingetragen im Planausgabebuch unter Nr. 18125/29.7.44).*" RGVA, 502-2-50, p. 83. Cf. document 4.

<sup>60</sup> "*Baubericht für den Monat März 1942.*" RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 385; "*Tätigkeits- bzw. Baubericht für den Monat März 1942*" by SS Schütze Jothann (*Abteilung Hochbau*). RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 398.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. in this regard my study in note 44, p. 38 and 45.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. document 5.

to look for documentary proof of their existence. The investigation must be directed at four essential criteria:

1. Number of the *Bauwerk*: In contrast to the alleged homicidal gas chambers of the crematoria, which were included in the corresponding *Bauwerke*, that is, the crematoria II, III, IV and V (BW 30, 30a, 30b, 30c), the gassing ‘Bunkers’ would have constituted a *Bauwerk* in themselves. Therefore, their respective numbers must appear in the documents of the Central Construction Office.
2. Designation: Like all *Bauwerke*, the ‘Bunkers’ had to have a specific designation, which would have to appear in the documents. According to the postulates of the official historiography, that designation was necessarily ‘encrypted’ and was indicated by “*sonder-*” (special), as for example “*Haus für Sondermassnahmen*” (house for special measures).
3. The ‘Bunkers’ were existing houses, and the modification of such houses is characterized in the documentation of the Central Construction Office as “*Ausbau*” or “*Umbau*” (completion, conversions) followed by the mention “*eines Hauses*” (of a house) or “*eines Gebäudes*” (of a building), often with the adjective “*bestehend*” or “*vorhanden*” (existing, present). The transformation of the two houses into ‘gas chambers’ would therefore have to be reflected in the documents as “*Ausbau*” of two houses.
4. The alleged undressing barracks near the two ‘Bunkers’ would, in turn, belong to the respective *Bauwerke* and appear as such in the documents.

## 2.2. Plans and Cost Estimates for the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp (June 1941–July 1942)

As we have seen, Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt have the Himmler-Höb meeting take place on June 13–14, 1941, because (in their opinion) Höb was in Berlin on those two days to discuss the projects for the enlargement of the camp with Kammler. The object of the discussion is confirmed by a letter from Kammler to the camp commander dated June 18, 1941, which refers to “*KL Auschwitz – construction projects 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> year of war economy.*” Kammler writes:<sup>63</sup>

“*Taking into account the construction measures ordered locally by SS Gruppenführer Pohl, and referring to your meeting with the head of Amt I and myself on 13 and 14 of this month, I inform you as follows:*

1) *The construction measures listed below will be punctually registered by Amt II with plenipotentiary general for control of the building industry [Speer] for the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of the war economy (1.10.41 – 30.9.41).*”

This is followed by a list set out below:

<sup>63</sup> RGVA, 502-1-11, pp. 37f.

- "a) Completion of utility buildings*
- b) 30 new accommodations for detainees*
- c) Delousing unit*
- d) Laundry building*
- e) Admission building*
- f) Gate building KL*
- g) 5 watchtowers*
- h) Extension camp wall and wire obstacle*
- i) New construction planning office with garages*
- k) Kommandantur building*
- l) Sentry Kommandantur area*
- m) Motor pool Kommandantur*
- n) Housing Kommandantur staff*
- o) Housing for 1 guard battalion*
- p) Finishing of temporary officers' club and officers' housing in existing buildings*
- q) Work camp for civilian workers*
- r) Sewage system*
- s) Water supply*
- t) Road constructions and gardens*
- u) Electrical installations, external."*

Kammmler then states that the whole construction project CC Auschwitz could no longer be registered for the second year of the war economy but, considering that the camp was to receive 18,000 detainees by December 31, 1941, he agreed to the start or the continuation of the following items:

- "a) Adding upper stories to 14 existing accommodations for detainees*
- b) Completion of utility buildings*
- c) 30 new accommodations for detainees*
- d) Delousing unit*
- e) Laundry unit*
- f) New construction planning office with garages*
- g) Motor pool Kommandantur*
- h) Housing Kommandantur staff*
- i) Finishing of temporary officers' club with officers' accommodations in existing buildings*
- k) Work camp for civilian workers*
- l) Sewage system*
- m) Water supply*
- n) Roads"*

Thus, after the meeting between Himmler and Höß, Kammmler's group of offices planned all kinds of construction measures except those for which the entire camp had allegedly been set up: extermination installations.

On October 30, 1941, Bischoff drew up a first cost estimate for the Auschwitz camp (*SS Unterkunft und Konzentrationslager Auschwitz*) arriving at a total of 7,057,400 RM. The document mentions the following items:

- BW 12, 20A, 20B, 20D, 20E, 20F, 20G, 20L, 20M, 20N, 20O, 20Q, 20R: Accommodations for detainees
- BW 62: Kitchen barrack for detainees
- BW 300A-F: Housing and utility barracks of camp for civilian workers
- BW 300E: 1 utility barrack
- BW 300F: 1 washing and toilet barrack
- BW 172: Utility barrack for guard unit
- BW 100-107 and 112-132: Accommodations for detainees
- BW 9A: Sanitary installations in the Auschwitz concentration camp (water and sewage installation, sewers)
- BW 9B: Drainage ducts
- BW 21: Roads.<sup>64</sup>

The same day, Bischoff also elaborated an “*Explanatory report to preliminary plan for the new construction of the Waffen-SS POW camp at Auschwitz, O/S*” (= Upper Silesia), which contained the following *Bauwerke*:

1. BW 3: Prisoner housing barracks 1-174
2. BW 4: Utility barracks 1-14
3. BW 5a: Delousing barrack 1
4. BW 5b: Delousing barrack 2
5. BW 6: Washing barracks 1-16
6. BW 7: Toilet barracks 1-18
7. BW 8: Corpse barrack
8. BW 9: Quarantine camp, entrance building
9. BW 10: Kommandantur building
10. BW 11: Guard building
11. BW 12: Area, fenced in, with open toilets
12. BW 13: Watchtowers, wood
13. BW 14: Barrack camp for guard unit
14. BW 15: Warehouse
15. BW 16: Access road and parking area
16. BW 17: Road consolidation within camp
17. BW 18: Sewage system with treatment plant
18. BW 19: Water supply plant
19. BW 20: Power plant
20. BW 21: Electrical power line from Birkenau
21. BW 22: Telephone system
22. BW 23: Alarm system
23. BW 24: Enclosure
24. BW 25: Wiremesh fencing within camp
25. BW 26: Transformer station
26. BW 27: Siding from Auschwitz station

<sup>64</sup> “*Kostenüberschlag für das Bauvorhaben: SS Unterkunft und Konzentrationslager Auschwitz,*” October 31, 1941. RGVA, 502-2-97, pp. 3-6.

Furthermore, a new crematorium was planned as item 30, which was, however, to be built in the Auschwitz main camp.<sup>65</sup>

On February 27, 1942, SS Oberführer Kammler visited Auschwitz for an on-site discussion of the camp construction program for the third year of war economy. On March 2, the head of SS WVHA, SS *Gruppenführer* Oswald Pohl, approved the proposals listed below:<sup>66</sup>

*I. Agricultural constructions*

1. 30 to 35 horse stable barracks for the temporary housing of animals, etc.
2. 2 permanent cow-sheds for a total of 400 head of cattle
3. 3 field barns and 4 temporary farm barns
4. Temporary greenhouse of 3000 m<sup>2</sup>
5. 4 storage buildings for potatoes
6. Completion of Raisko building as a laboratory

*II. Erection of temporary buildings for Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe*

1. Construction of a temporary bridge across the Sola river toward detainee entrance, making use of temporary road overpass of road administration, to be dismantled
2. Adding upper stories to 6 permanent detainee buildings
3. Completion of 5 permanent detainee buildings and new construction of 15 detainee buildings to be used initially as follows:  
     5 housing buildings as workshops  
     5 housing buildings for storage  
     5 housing buildings for the guard units  
     The distance between the permanent buildings will be 14 m edge to edge
4. Laundry building
5. Entrance building, detainees
6. Water supply system
7. Sewage system
8. Bio-gas utilization system
9. Finishing utility barrack, Kommandantur
10. Crematorium in the POW camp
11. 4 officers' housing barracks
12. Construction office barrack
13. Roads as required
14. Completion of existing houses and completion of one house for the commander of the agricultural units at Auschwitz."

On March 17, in response to this letter, Bischoff transmitted to SS Sturm-bannführer Lenzer, head of Office Group C V/1 (supervision of all SS build-

<sup>65</sup> "Erläuterungsbericht zum Vorentwurf für den Neubau des Kriegsgefangenenlagers der Waffen-SS, Auschwitz O/S" and "Kostenvoranschlag für den Vorentwurf über den Neubau des Kriegsgefangenenlagers der Waffen-SS, Auschwitz O/S." RGVA, 502-1-233, pp. 13-30.

<sup>66</sup> Letter from Pohl to Central Construction Office Auschwitz of March 2, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-319, pp. 210f.



ing offices and building projects) of SS WVHA the list of construction projects (and *Bauwerke*) submitted for approval to the Regional Administrator for Control of the Construction Industry in Military District VIII. The *Bauwerke* are listed in Table 1 in the Appendix (p. 232) without the corresponding cost estimate.

On March 31, 1942, Bischoff compiled a list of all *Bauwerke* planned for the construction project CC Auschwitz. It was later completed by hand by adding new *Bauwerke* that had not been originally planned. I have reproduced Bischoff's list in its entirety in Table 2 in the Appendix (p. 234).

The "*Explanatory report on the construction project concentration camp Auschwitz O/S*" written by Bischoff on July 15, 1942, covers the projects and constructions of the Auschwitz camp up to the end of the third fiscal year of the war, *i.e.*, until September 30, 1942. The document lists in order the *Bauwerke* as given in Table 3 in the Appendix (p. 238).

Between October 26 and 29, 1942, Bischoff compiled a cost estimate entitled "*Project: POW camp Auschwitz (carrying out of special treatment)*." It dealt with a project for the Birkenau camp and lists 12 *Bauwerke*, the first of which included only the following 18 items:

1. 1. 182 housing, provisions and personal storage barracks
2. 27 washing and toilet barracks
3. 10 utility barracks
4. 12 infirmary barracks
5. 10 block leader barracks
6. 3 washing barracks
7. 6 toilet barracks
8. 3 utility barracks
9. 11 uniform store and administration barracks
10. 16 troop housing barracks
11. 2 Kommandantur and washing barracks
12. Warehouse 1
13. Wire-mesh fence and watch-towers
14. Cooking kettles and stoves
- 15a. 4 crematoria
- 15b. 4 morgues
- 16a. Delousing unit
- 16b. Troop delousing unit

The other *Bauwerke* are the following:

2. Water supply installation
3. Sewage system
4. Railroad siding
5. Electric lighting
6. Alarm and telephone installation
7. Emergency power plant
8. Substation
9. Bakery

10. Workshop hall, 3 camp barracks and 1 housing barrack for supervisory personnel
11. Disinfestation plant I and 4 housing barracks for civilian workers' camp I
12. Disinfestation plant II, 2 washing and 2 toilet barracks for civilian workers camp II.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> "Vorhaben: Kriegsgefangenenlager Auschwitz (Durchführung der Sonderbehandlung)," VHA, Fond OT 31(2)/8.



### 3. The ‘Bunkers’ in the Construction of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp

#### 3.1. The Construction Reports of the Camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau

The first half of 1942 is the best-documented period for the projects and construction work of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office. There are two series of reports that allow us to appreciate the full scope of its building activities. There is, on the one hand, the “*Baufristenplan*” (construction deadline schedule), a monthly report prepared by the head of the Central Construction Office and sent to Office Group C/V of SS WVHA. These reports list all *Bauwerke* under construction or already built, showing the starting date and the degree of progress in percent as well as the estimated completion date or the date of completion for *Bauwerke* already terminated. Each *Bauwerk* is shown either by its identification number or by its designation (e.g., BW 24 commandant’s residence).

The other set of documents is the series of *Bauberichte* (construction reports), monthly reports from the head of Central Construction Office to the camp commandant. These reports contain detailed descriptions of the various building sites (*Baustellenbeschreibung*) and of the individual *Bauwerke*, arranged by construction project.

The construction projects within the scope of this report were “*Construction project concentration camp Auschwitz*,” “*Construction project POW camp Auschwitz*,” “*Construction project construction depot Auschwitz*” and “*Construction project agriculture Auschwitz*.”

The documents of greatest interest for our investigation are the following:

- 1) Construction report on the progress of construction work for construction project CC Auschwitz, dated April 15, 1942, covering the period up to April 1, 1942 (see Table 4 in the Appendix, p. 241).
- 2) Construction report of March 1942 (see Table 5 in the Appendix, p. 243).
- 3) Construction schedule plan of March 1942 for construction project CC Auschwitz (see Table 6 in the Appendix, p. 244).
- 4) Construction schedule plan of April 1942 for construction project POW camp of Waffen-SS in Auschwitz O/S (see Table 7 in the Appendix, p. 245).
- 5) Construction schedule plan of May 1942 for construction project CC Auschwitz (see Table 8 in the Appendix, p. 246).

6) Construction schedule plan of May 1942 for construction project agriculture (see Table 9 in the Appendix, p. 247).

7) Construction schedule plan of May 1942 for construction project construction depot (see Table 10 in the Appendix, p. 247).

8) Construction schedule plan of May 1942 for construction project POW (see Table 11 in the Appendix, p. 247).

9) Construction report of May 1942 (see Table 12 in the Appendix, p. 248).

10) Construction schedule plan of June 1942 for construction project CC Auschwitz (see Table 13 in the Appendix, p. 250).

11) Construction schedule plan of June 1942 for construction project agriculture (see Table 14 in the Appendix, p. 250).

12) Construction schedule plan of June 1942 for construction project construction depot (see Table 15 in the Appendix, p. 251).

13) Construction schedule plan of June 1942 for construction project POW (see Table 16 in the Appendix, p. 251).

14) Construction report of June 1942 (see Table 17 in the Appendix, p. 252).

If ‘Bunkers’ 1 and 2 at Birkenau started functioning on March 20 or at the end of May 1942, and on June 30, 1942, respectively, specific references to those installations would necessarily have to appear in the documents cited – references such as “*Bunker*,” or “*Rotes Haus*” / “*Weißes Haus*” or some kind of ‘code word.’ A thorough examination of all entries in Tables 1 through 17 in the Appenedix reveals, however, that not a single entry can even remotely be interpreted as referring to any of these ‘Bunkers.’ This clearly indicates that the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’ never existed as extermination installations.

### 3.2. A Significant Example: House No. 44 / BW 36C

How decisive is the absolute lack of documentary traces becomes obvious by comparison with other houses that were taken over and modified by the SS New Construction Office (later SS Construction Office and finally Central Construction Office) at Auschwitz. The most significant example to be cited is that of house no. 44, a “*bestehender Rohbau*” (an existing building shell), which was rebuilt as BW 36C and assigned as living quarters to SS *Sturm-bannführer* Cäsar, head of agricultural units. Although I have not investigated this *Bauwerk* in detail, it appears in several documents in my possession, which I shall list chronologically:

**March 2, 1942:** Letter from the head of SS WVHA to Central Construction Office with reference to “*Construction program 3rd year of war economy, budget year 1942 for CC Auschwitz*”:<sup>68</sup>

“*modification of existing residential houses and modification of a house for head of agricultural units at Auschwitz.*”

<sup>68</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, p. 211.

**March 17, 1942:** Letter from Bischoff to Office Group C V/1 of SS WVHA with reference as before: "*modification of a house for head of agricultural units at Auschwitz.*" Estimated cost: 25,000 RM.<sup>69</sup>

**March 31, 1942:** Individual *Bauwerke* (BW) for buildings, externals and secondary installations of construction project concentration camp Auschwitz: "*BW 36C residential house modification for head of agricultural units Auschwitz.*"<sup>70</sup>

**May 13, 1942:** Letter from the Regional Administrator for Control of Construction Industry at Kattowitz to Central Construction Office with reference to "*construction authorization*": "*modification of residential house for head of agricultural units.*" Cost estimate: 25,500 RM.<sup>71</sup>

**June 29, 1942:** Letter from the head of Central Construction Office to the Regional Administrator for Control of Construction Industry concerning "*Construction project Auschwitz – construction authorization*": "*modification of an existing shell no. 36 (temporary).*"<sup>72</sup>

**June 1942:** Construction report from the head of Central Construction Office: "*BW 36C residence of head of agricultural units. Continuation of modifications, roof framework mounted and covered, lighting and sewers installed.*"<sup>73</sup>

**June 1942:** "*Construction schedule plan*" of the head of Central Construction Office: "*BW 36C residence for head of agricultural units.*" This document also mentions the construction order for the BW (item no. 178), the date work started (May 4, 1942) the degree of progress (45 percent) and the estimated date of completion (August 15, 1942).<sup>74</sup>

**July 15, 1942:** "*Explanatory report on the building project concentration camp Auschwitz O/S*" written by head of Central Construction Office: "*BW36C finishing of an existing shell.*"<sup>75</sup>

**July 15, 1942:** "*Cost estimate for construction project concentration camp Auschwitz O/S*": For BW 36C a detailed cost estimate is given, amounting to 29,000 RM.<sup>76</sup>

**July 15, 1942:** "*Construction description*" of BW 36 C: "*Completion of the existing shell.*"<sup>77</sup>

**July 15, 1942:** "*Cost estimate for completion of existing shell BW 36C.*"<sup>78</sup>

**July 15, 1942:** Location sketch of BW 36C.<sup>79</sup>

**July 30 [1942]:** "*Summary of all Bauwerke that are to be achieved on order of SS WVHA Berlin within the area of CC Auschwitz and/or under the au-*

<sup>69</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, p. 205.

<sup>70</sup> RGVA, 502-1-267, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, illegible page number.

<sup>72</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, p. 192.

<sup>73</sup> RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 223.

<sup>74</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 26.

<sup>75</sup> RGVA, 502-1-220, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> RGVA, 502-1-220, p. 27. Cf. document 6.

<sup>77</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, page number illegible. Cf. document 6a.

<sup>78</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, page number illegible. Cf. document 6b.

<sup>79</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, page number illegible. Cf. document 6c.

thority of Central Construction Office of Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz within the third year of the war economy.”<sup>80</sup>

**July 1942:** “Construction report” from head of Central Construction Office: “BW36C Modification of residence for head of agricultural units. Installation of floors at all levels, doors and windows put in, painting done, externals arranged.”<sup>81</sup>

**July 1942:** “Construction schedule plan” of the head of Central Construction Office: “Completion of residential home for head of agricultural units.” Progress: 85%.<sup>82</sup>

**August 1942:** “Construction schedule plan” of the head of Central Construction Office: “Completion of residential home for head of agricultural units.” Progress: 100 percent as of August 15, 1942.<sup>83</sup>

**September 25, 1942:** “Report of completion” of the head of Central Construction Office to Office CV of SS WVHA: “already finished [...] modification of existing shell no. 36C for KL Auschwitz.”<sup>84</sup>

**September 1942:** “Construction schedule plan” of the head of Central Construction Office: “BW 36C Completion of residential home for head of agricultural units.” Construction order no. 178; start of work: May 4, 1942; progress: 100%; termination: Aug. 15, 1942.<sup>85</sup>

**October 1942:** List of *Bauwerke* entitled “VIII U pa I”: “BW 36C = modification of an existing shell, residence Cäsar.”<sup>86</sup>

**December 16, 1942:** “Workshop orders (administration) starting June 1, 1942”: “Installation of window pane in House 44 Stubaf. Cäsar (very urgent!).”<sup>87</sup>

**April 8, 1943:** “Construction schedule plan” of the head of Central Construction Office; Construction order no. 178; start of work: May 4, 1942; progress: 100%; termination: Aug. 15, 1942.<sup>88</sup>

**October 2, 1943:** “Construction schedule plan” of the head of Central Construction Office; Construction order no. 178; start of work: May 4, 1942; progress: 100%; termination: Aug. 15, 1942.<sup>89</sup>

**December 14, 1943:** “Construction Office Industrial Constructions. State of construction invoicing”: “BW 36C CC. Completion of residential home for head of agricultural units.” The report states that 95 percent of the cost of 38,000 RM had been paid.<sup>90</sup>

This series of construction reports and construction schedule plans also documents the progress of the modification work going on in other Polish

<sup>80</sup> RGVA, 502-1-275, p. 33.

<sup>81</sup> RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 181.

<sup>82</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 36.

<sup>83</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 39.

<sup>84</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 48.

<sup>86</sup> RGVA, 502-1-317, p. 42.

<sup>87</sup> RGVA, 502-1-153, order n. 145.

<sup>88</sup> RGVA, 502-1-320, p. 4.

<sup>89</sup> RGVA, 502-1-320, p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> RGVA, 502-1-8, p. 123.

houses that predated the camp, for example those assigned as housing for officers and NCOs (*Führer- und Unterführerwohnhäuser*), later subdivided into "housing and residences for married officers" (*Führerunterkünfte und Wohnhäuser für verh. Führer*), BW 36B, and "residences for married NCOs" (*Wohnhäuser für verh. Unterführer*), BW 27. Other officers and NCOs lived in other formerly Polish houses. For example, SS *Untersturmführer* Schwarzhuber lived in house no. 53,<sup>91</sup> SS *Unterscharführer* Kapper in house no. 171, SS *Rottenführer* Stockert in house no. 154, SS *Rottenführer* Schulze in house no. 130, SS *Unterscharführer* Vollrath in house no. 740, SS *Sturmmann* Siebel in house no. 203.<sup>92</sup> Garrison order No. 19/42 of July 23, 1942, mentions "dependents of SS personnel" who lived both inside and outside the outer surveillance perimeter.<sup>93</sup> The register of tasks assigned to the Central Construction Office by the camp administration contains, moreover, indications of work done on various houses, as for example house 23, occupied by SS *Untersturmführer* Ziemssen.<sup>94</sup> Other houses – 151, 136, 1, 25, 130, 132 – are mentioned in a report from the detainee painting detail (*Häftlings-Malerei*) for the period March 26 to April 25, 1942.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.3. The 'Bunkers' on the Birkenau Maps

The certainty that we have acquired in the preceding paragraphs that the 'Bunkers' of Birkenau never existed as extermination installations is further enhanced by three maps of the Birkenau camp.

1) "*Site Map of Area of Interest CC Auschwitz No. 1733*" of October 5, 1942.<sup>96</sup> This map shows the area of the Birkenau camp prior to its construction. Within the area of the camp – the limits of which are indicated – 12 houses appear in the field later called construction sector III (*Bauabschnitt*, BA), numbered as follows: H[aus]. 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914. Outside the camp limits, to the north, there are three more houses (H. 586, 587, 588); to the east, in the former village of Birkenau, there is a group of 39 houses, numbered 601 to 639. All these houses had been taken over by Central Construction Office and had either a temporary function (those inside the camp) or a permanent one (the others). The map also shows the houses that are designated 'Bunker 1' and 'Bunker 2' by the official historiography, but none of these buildings has an identification number allocated

<sup>91</sup> RGVA, 502-1-240, p. 27.

<sup>92</sup> "Standortbefehl Nr. 40/43" of November 2, 1943. GARF, 7021-108-54, p. 55.

<sup>93</sup> RGVA, 502-1-66, p. 219.

<sup>94</sup> RGVA, 502-1-153, orders no. 37 (July 1, 1942: brickwork), 39 (July 1, 1942: electrical installations), 41 (July 1, 1942: painting), 82 (Sept. 11, 1942: metal work), 88 (Sept. 23, 1942: electrical installations for mess hall), 94 (Oct. 1, 1942: wood-working), 151 (Jan. 6, 1943: hygienic services).

<sup>95</sup> "*Häftl. Malerei. Arbeitsleistung in der Zeit vom 26.III.-25.IV.1942.*" RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 370f.

<sup>96</sup> RGVA, 502-2-93, p. 14. Cf. document 7.



by the Central Construction Office. Thus, none of them had been pressed into service by Central Construction Office or assigned any purpose whatsoever.

2) “*Development Map for the Erection and Extension of the Concentration and POW Camp, map no. 2215*,” dated March 1943.<sup>97</sup>

This master plan shows the complete map of the Birkenau camp. To the north of section BAIII, just outside the camp enclosure, the houses 586, 587 and 588 are visible, together with other houses further north (H. 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 589, 590) as well as the group of houses from the former village of Birkenau to the east of BAIII. The house that official historiography today calls ‘Bunker 1’ and the other five houses to the west of it are not shown, because they had been demolished to make room for a soil sewage basin (“*Erdkläärbecken*”). To the west of the central sauna, however, still appears the house which today is known as ‘Bunker 2’ by the official historiography, as well as another house predating the camp in front of it, both without identification numbers. Near them on the map, the Soviets have crudely sketched in three rectangles supposed to represent the alleged undressing barracks of ‘Bunker 2,’ which, however, should have been only two in number, not three. Realizing their mistake, the Soviets struck out the third barrack with three strokes of the pen!

That those ‘barracks’ are indeed the work of the Soviets can be seen above all from their draft technique. In the drawings of barracks done by Central Construction Office<sup>98</sup> the lines forming the outer edges intersect crosswise at each corner, while those drawn by the Soviets form a closed angle and show, moreover, a thicker penstroke. Furthermore, there is another version of this drawing, identical except for the fact that the “*soil sewage basin*” was changed into a “*sewage plant*” (*Kläranlage*). On this map, the two houses mentioned above appear to the west of the central sauna, – again without an identification number – but there is no trace of any barracks.<sup>99</sup>

### 3.4. The Logistics of the ‘Bunkers’

Thus, in the construction reports of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp for the months of March, April, May, and June 1942 (or, for that matter, for the entire year of 1942) there is not even the slightest trace of any ‘Bunker.’ Furthermore, there is no hint of them to be found in the entire documentation of Central Construction Office. This, however, would have been absolutely impossible if two farm houses had actually been taken over by this office and modified for any purpose whatsoever,

<sup>97</sup> RGVA, 502-1-93, p. 1. Cf. document 8.

<sup>98</sup> The drawing was executed by the detainee 471, the Polish draftsman Alfred Brzybylski.

<sup>99</sup> “*Bebauungsplan für den Auf- u. Ausbau des Konzentrationslagers u. Kriegsgefangenenlagers, Plan Nr. 2215*” dated March 1943. RGVA, 502-2-94, p. 2. Cf. document 9.

Had that actually taken place, other sets of documents of Central Construction Office would inevitably contain some sort of proof, traces, or additional indications.

The transformation of two farm houses into homicidal gas chambers would in fact have entailed a variety of structural and logistical tasks, the most important of which would have been the following:

### 3.4.1. Water Supply

After each homicidal gassing it would have been necessary to wash both the houses and the corpses to remove organic residues given off by the dying.<sup>100</sup> This would have required the two 'Bunkers' to be connected to the camp's water supply network; as late as October 28, 1942, however, such a connection was neither present nor planned, as can be seen from the "site map" for the "water supply POW Birkenau," in which the water pipes went up to the crematoria and ended there.<sup>101</sup>

### 3.4.2. Sewage

This washing operation would have required a sewer for the discharge of the effluents which, however, does not appear on either of the two maps of Birkenau dated March 31, 1942, mentioned above. These drawings show all of the sewers of the camp, which came together in a single ditch, called the "Königsgraben" (royal ditch), which in turn ended up in the Vistula river. Even though it stood only 200 meters away from this ditch, the house that allegedly became 'Bunker 2' was not hooked up to it by any sewer line.

### 3.4.3. Fencing and Watchtowers

Fencing in the area of the 'Bunkers' would have been indispensable to prevent the alleged victims from fleeing. It turns out, however, that no such work was done in that area. Central Construction Office map no. 3512 displays the entire system of enclosure of the camp.<sup>102</sup> The small watchtowers ("Kleiner Wachturm") are shown as well as the large ones ("Großer Wachturm"), and also the existing enclosure ("Bestehender Zaun") and the planned one ("Projektierter Zaun"). The outermost fence in the west, "Zaun 34," ran a few meters beyond the central sauna and continued into BAIII as "Zaun 38." There were three large watchtowers (nos. 5, 6 and 7) in this area, and 4 small ones

<sup>100</sup> "Once we had taken out all the corpses from this house, we had to clean it up meticulously, wash the floor with water, sprinkle the floor with sawdust, and whitewash the walls." Szlama Dragon on 'Bunker 2.' Cf. chapter 5.1.

<sup>101</sup> "Vorhaben: Kriegsgefangenenlager Auschwitz (Durchführung der Sonderbehandlung)," VHA, Fond OT 31(2)/8.

<sup>102</sup> "Absteckungsskizze der Wachtürme um das K.G.L." RGVA, 502-2-95, p. 19.

(nos. 19, 20, 21 and 22). No ‘existing’<sup>103</sup> fence appears in the zone around ‘Bunker 2’ and no known document indicates that this zone was enclosed.

#### 3.4.4. Installation of a Power Line

Lighting in the ‘Bunkers’ and of the enclosed space would have been indispensable for nocturnal operations. For example, when the Central Construction Office realized that the construction of crematorium II was not proceeding on the schedule ordered by Kammler, it decided to speed up the work by running night shifts. To enable this, it issued an order to the “*Electrician Kommando*” of its work shops, which was described as follows in the corresponding “*work card*”:<sup>104</sup>

“*Re: Crematorium II – BW no. 30 in POW camp. Lighting for construction works in Crematorium II and focusing of searchlights for night shift / guard unit.*”

The work was carried out between January 15 and 23, 1943, and entailed 14 specialist man-hours and 28 helper man-hours for a total expenditure of 1,413.76 RM, consisting of 1,283.32 RM for materials (explicitly listed), a surcharge of 10% amounting to 128.34 RM and 2.10 RM for the 42 man-hours of the detainees. No such voucher exists for the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’

#### 3.4.5. Installation of Undressing Barracks for the Victims

According to the official thesis, two barracks were set up next to each ‘Bunker,’ which the victims had to use as ‘undressing rooms.’ The installation of these barracks would have left evidence and references in the Central Construction Office documentation, starting with three documents of the June–December 1942 period, which deal specifically with the distribution of the barracks (*Barackenaufteilung*) for Auschwitz and Birkenau.<sup>105</sup>

#### 3.4.6. Transportation of Materials

The motor pool (*Fahrbereitschaft*) of the Central Construction Office, commanded by SS *Scharführer* Kurt Kögel, was responsible for the use and the maintenance of all vehicles assigned to the Central Construction Office. The head of this section had to write a monthly report – “*Activity report of the motor pool of Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz*” – which contained, a “*detailed employment of vehicles within camp area*” and a “*detailed employment of vehicles outside camp area.*” The report contained a list of all worksites and locations to which the vehicles had been driven, the total number of trips they had made, and the reason for the

<sup>103</sup> If ‘Bunker 2,’ in contrast to ‘Bunker 1,’ was not demolished on account of possible future re-use, it is not clear why the fence should have been removed.

<sup>104</sup> RGVA, 502-2-8, pp. 1-1a.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. chapter 3.5.

trips. The report for May 1942<sup>106</sup> mentions 1,171 trips, the one for June<sup>107</sup> 1,532 trips. Various trips involved houses predating the camp that were being modified by the Central Construction Office: for example there were 17 trips to bring construction materials to houses 171 and 28 in the month of May; in the June report are 8 trips to the Waffen-SS building, 7 to house 24, 105 to house 28, 1 to house 210, 9 to house 170, all to transport construction materials as well. However, even though 'Bunker 2' allegedly belonged to the same category, there is not even the slightest hint – open or veiled – of construction materials or dismantled barracks being taken to that worksite<sup>108</sup>

### 3.4.7. Laying of a Camp Railway

The corpses of the alleged victims – according to the most important witness<sup>109</sup> – were taken to mass graves (later to become incineration ditches) by means of carts running on a field railway. This device is not mentioned in any document. A field railway (*Feldbahngleis*) for a totally different purpose was offered to the Central Construction Office by the company Schlesische Industriebau Lenz & Co. in a letter dated February 2, 1944. It was used in BW 47 – transport of materials – of BAIII at Birkenau.<sup>110</sup>

### 3.4.8. Road Works

For the victims to be transported to the 'Bunkers' by truck (by day, all those unable to walk, and everybody by night), it was also necessary to build a suitable road. The construction reports describe the road works during the month covered in detail, but they do not contain the slightest trace of linking any 'Bunkers' to the camp. The construction report for March, under the entry "road works," mentions beginning work on the road linking the "*Deutsche Haus*" to the Auschwitz camp as well as works within the Birkenau camp.<sup>111</sup> The construction report for May informs us of the continuation of work on the road from "*Deutsches Haus*" to the Auschwitz camp (450 meters ~1,500 ft.), of a road of 600 meters from the Main Industrial Camp to the new stables, and also of road works within the Birkenau camp.<sup>112</sup> The construction report for June, finally, refers only to the progress on the two roads just mentioned.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> "Tätigkeitsbericht der Fahrbereitschaft vom 1.-31. Mai 1942." RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 295f. I have not found any prior documents of this type and it is probable that this was the first of the series.

<sup>107</sup> "Tätigkeitsbericht der Fahrbereitschaft der Zentral-Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz für den Monat Juni 1942." RGVA, 502-1-181, pp. 282-287.

<sup>108</sup> In the report for June, the transportation of barrack parts (*Barackenteile*) is borne out for the POW camp in general (786 trips), for DAW (*Deutsche Ausrüstungs-Werke*, 27 trips), and for the disinfection barracks (14 trips).

<sup>109</sup> Szlama Dragon, cf. chapter 5.1.

<sup>110</sup> RGVA, 502-1-346, p. 44.

<sup>111</sup> "Baubericht für Monat März 1942," written by Bischoff on April 3, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 385.

<sup>112</sup> "Baubericht für Monat Mai 1942" written by Bischoff on June 2, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 263.

<sup>113</sup> "Baubericht für Monat Juni 1942" written by Bischoff on July 2, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 222.

### 3.4.9. Gastight Doors

The modification of two Polish houses into homicidal gas chambers would have required, first of all, the installation of gastight doors. It is well known that documents for doors of this type exist in connection with the Birkenau crematoria (and are considered by the official historiography to be ‘traces’ of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in these structures). There are also documents referring to 22 gastight doors of the Birkenau disinfestation plants BW 5a and 5b,<sup>114</sup> but no document speaks of the production of a gastight door for the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’

## 3.5. The So-called “Code Language”

We have seen above that, according to bureaucratic practice at Auschwitz, the ‘Bunkers,’ just like all other *Bauwerke*, needed a specific designation, which would have shown up in the documents. As the existence of these installations is, in fact, not shown by the documents, Polish investigators doing research on Auschwitz invented the fiction of ‘code words’ as early as 1946, that is, by claiming that the SS allegedly used innocent sounding terms in order to camouflage the ‘real,’ but unspeakable designations.<sup>115</sup> Later Holocaust scholars endorsed this expedient with great relief and embarked on a quest for ‘camouflaged’ designations for the ‘Bunkers.’ After nearly six decades of effort, they have only been able to come up with three alleged designations, which we will examine in the following sections.

### 3.5.1. “Baths for Special Actions”

This designation, which appears a single time in the existing documentation – in a file memo by SS *Untersturmführer* Fritz Ertl of August 21, 1941<sup>116</sup> – has been interpreted by Jean-Claude Pressac as an ‘encryption’ referring to the ‘Bunkers’;<sup>117</sup> in this, as for all the rest of Pressac’s arguments, he was slavishly followed by Robert Jan van Pelt.<sup>118</sup> Such an interpretation is groundless, as I have demonstrated with an abundance of evidence in a specific historical analysis, to which I refer the reader.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Cf. in this regard my study *Special Treatment...*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 46-50.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 9f.

<sup>116</sup> RGVA, 502-1-313, p. 159.

<sup>117</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 61.

<sup>118</sup> R.J. van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz. Evidence from the Irving Trial*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis 2002, pp. 297-299.

<sup>119</sup> C. Mattogno, “The ‘Bathing Facilities for Special Actions’” in: *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 66-71.

### 3.5.2. "House for Special Measures"

This designation appears in two documents, rather late in the chronology of the 'Bunkers': the "*Explanatory report on the construction project concentration camp Auschwitz/OS*" of September 30, 1943,<sup>120</sup> which mentions "*modification of an existing house for special measures*" for BAII and one for BAIII at Birkenau, and the "*Cost estimate for extension of POW camp of the Waffen-SS in Auschwitz*" of October 1, 1943.<sup>121</sup> Both documents also mention "*3 barracks for special measures*" for each house. According to Fritjof Meyer, the designation "*house for special measures*" is the encrypted designation of the 'Bunkers.'<sup>122</sup> As I have shown elsewhere, this alleged encryption actually refers to the program for the improvement of the hygienic installations of the Birkenau camp, appropriately called "*special measures for the improvement of the hygienic installations*," which was ordered by SS *Brigadeführer* Kammler in May of 1943.<sup>123</sup> More specifically, the barracks "*for special measures*" bore the label BW 33a; they were, therefore, a sub-site of site BW 33 – *Effektenbaracken* (personal property barracks, storage of inmate belongings), just as BW 11a – "*new construction chimney crem. concentration camp*" – was a sub-site of BW 11 – crematorium.

The two houses and the three barracks constructed as an addition to them had obviously all the same function: the storage of inmate belongings. Furthermore, in 1942 no *Bauwerk* bore the designation "*for special measures*," which is further confirmation of the fact that the two houses did not, in fact, refer to the 'Bunkers.'

### 3.5.3. "Barracks for Special Treatment"

This designation, which appears in a number of documents in 1942, the first one dated March 31, 1942, refers to BW 58. By referring to the "*Explanatory report on the construction project concentration camp Auschwitz/OS*" of July 15, 1942, J.-C. Pressac asserts that the barracks "*for special treatment of detainees*" of BW 58, which are mentioned in this document, were the alleged undressing barracks of Bunkers 1 and 2 at Birkenau.<sup>124</sup> This assertion is, however, not borne out by documents.<sup>125</sup> Not only is it not confirmed by any documents, but it is categorically ruled out by three Central Construction Office documents that deal with the assignment or allotment (*Aufteilung*) of the barracks. The first document dates from June 30, 1942, and is entitled "*Barackenaufteilung*" (barrack allotment).<sup>126</sup> All barracks planned are listed here by construction project and by type of barrack. The construction project

<sup>120</sup> RGVA, 502-2-60, pp. 80-82.

<sup>121</sup> RGVA, 502-2-60, pp. 83-94.

<sup>122</sup> F. Meyer, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 632, note 7.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. *Special Treatment...*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 60f.

<sup>124</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 57.

<sup>125</sup> C. Mattogno, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 25-27.

<sup>126</sup> RGVA, 502-1-275, pp. 270-273.

POW comprised 516 barracks; none of them was assigned to a worksite even remotely connectable to the 'Bunkers.' The sole 'suspicious' designation – but suspicious only in the sense of an assumed 'encrypted language' of the SS – belonged to the "Construction project SS housing and concentration camp Auschwitz" and concerned three "*Effektenbaracken für Sonderbehandlung*" (personal property barracks for special treatment), which served only for the storage of personal belongings taken from inmates upon their arrival at Auschwitz ("for storage of [personal] effects"). The second document, entitled "*concentration camp Auschwitz, barrack allotment*,"<sup>127</sup> is dated July 17, 1942, and is a general account of the barracks of the camp, listing their purpose, their type, the number of barracks needed, the number of barracks erected, the number of barracks stored, and the number missing. Here, too, the only 'suspicious' assignment concerns the barracks for 'special treatment': needed – 5, erected – 3; we are dealing with the 5 storage barracks of BW 58. The third document is a "*barrack allotment*" dated December 8, 1942,<sup>128</sup> following the same lines as the preceding document, but with the additional specification of the construction sector or *Bauwerk* to which they belonged. Again, the 5 barracks for 'special treatment' appear in this document, but they belong to BAII of Birkenau and were therefore located inside and not outside of the camp. Their function was that indicated above.<sup>129</sup>

We have thus demonstrated that in the archives of the Central Construction Office of Auschwitz there is no document, explicit or 'encrypted,' which refers to the so-called 'Bunkers' or to the alleged 'undressing barracks.'

### 3.6. Conclusion

In the beginning of this study I assumed, as a working hypothesis, that the meeting between Himmler and Höß actually took place. It is now time to verify the validity of this hypothesis. Leaving aside the obviously false chronology presented by Rudolf Höß and its insurmountable contradictions, let us turn our attention to two serious, unresolved, and irresolvable problems deriving from this hypothesis about the Birkenau 'Bunkers.'

1. Himmler's order, Pressac assures us, made Auschwitz the "*center for the mass extermination of Jews*,"<sup>130</sup> and the entire camp was to fulfill this function. Why, then, in order to carry out this monstrous task, would the Office Group C of SS WVHA (and consequently Himmler himself)<sup>131</sup> have had to make use of two existing cottages rather than build two completely new and efficient extermination installations? This is all the more surprising as the cost

<sup>127</sup> RGVA, 502-1-275, pp. 237-239.

<sup>128</sup> RGVA, 502-1-275, pp. 205-208.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. my study *Special Treatment*..., *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 37f. and document 10 on p. 121.

<sup>130</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien*..., *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 51.

<sup>131</sup> Oswald Pohl, SS *Obergruppenführer und Generalmajor der Waffen-SS*, in his position as head of SS WVHA, reported directly to *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler.

estimate for the Birkenau camp of October 30, 1941, totaling 7,700,000 RM, included the installation of two disinfestation barracks,<sup>132</sup> designated BW 5a and 5b, which were equipped with a gas chamber ("*Vergasungsraum*") using hydrogen cyanide, showers and wash basins ("*Brause- und Waschraum*"). The cost of each of them was 41,040 RM.<sup>133</sup> We must remember that, by the end of October 1941, Höß and Eichmann are alleged to have already decided, more than a month earlier, to carry out the alleged extermination of the Jews in gas chambers by means of hydrogen cyanide. Therefore, Office Group C of the SS WVHA, and thus Himmler himself, while prepared to spend 82,080 RM on two new gas disinfestation chambers in order to save the lives of the Auschwitz inmates, did not bother to build two new buildings for the alleged homicidal gassings, a task to which the whole camp had allegedly been assigned!

Van Pelt asserts that on Birkenau drawing 885, dated January 5, 1942, the new crematorium, originally destined for the main camp, was placed at the north-west corner of the Birkenau camp instead, so as to be in 'connection' with the alleged 'Bunker 1'.<sup>134</sup> In practice, 'Bunker 1' would have produced the corpses and the crematorium would have incinerated them. This interpretation<sup>135</sup> is in itself nonsensical both because the 'Bunkers' never existed as such and because of the presence of some 10 additional morgues on the drawing mentioned: it thus renders Himmler's and SS WVHA's alleged *modus operandi* even more senseless. The new crematorium, according to the construction program for the third fiscal year of the war economy dated March 17, 1942, had a cost of 400,000 RM.<sup>136</sup> Thus, Himmler would have created a conveyor-belt for the extermination with a final link in the form of a new building costing 400,000 RM, whereas the initial link – far more important – would have been a ramshackle old house to be equipped with gas chambers!

2. According to Himmler's order, the entire camp of Birkenau was built to carry out the future mass exterminations. But then why did Himmler and the SS WVHA build a crematorium for the natural mortality among the detainees, while the victims of the mass extermination, whose number would be vastly superior, were to be simply buried?

In the first construction project for the Birkenau camp, dated October 31, 1941, there is an entry for just one crematorium with five furnaces of three muffles each to be built at the Auschwitz camp at an estimated cost of 270,000

<sup>132</sup> In spite of the designation, the buildings were made of brick.

<sup>133</sup> "*Kostenvoranschlag für den Vorentwurf über den Neubau des Kriegsgefangenenlagers der Waffen-SS Auschwitz O.S.*," October 30, 1941. RGVA, 502-1-233, p. 23.

<sup>134</sup> R.J. van Pelt, "A Site in Search of a Mission," in: Yisrael Gutman, Michael Berenbaum (eds.), *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis 1994, pp. 146f. See also: D. Dwork, R. J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 146f.

<sup>135</sup> I will come back to this interpretation by R.J. van Pelt in chapter 8.4.

<sup>136</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, p. 204.



RM.<sup>137</sup> On November 12, 1941, the head of the Central Construction Office described its purpose as follows:<sup>138</sup>

*"The company Topf & Söhne, incineration technical devices, of Erfurt has been given an order by this office to build an incineration plant as quickly as possible, in view of the fact that the Auschwitz concentration camp will be enlarged by a POW camp that will shortly be occupied by 120,000 Russians. The construction of the incineration plant has thus become urgently necessary in order to prevent epidemics and other risks."*

This crematorium, therefore, served only for deaths from natural causes among the prisoners, as Pressac, too, accepts when he writes that this crematorium had nothing directly to do with the extermination of the Jews.<sup>139</sup>

The cremation of the alleged victims of mass exterminations in the 'Bunkers,' on the other hand, is said to have been begun on September 21, 1942,<sup>140</sup> and to have been based on an order from Himmler himself given after his visit to Auschwitz on July 17 and 18, 1942.<sup>141</sup>

In conclusion, the story of the use of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' as a means of homicidal gassings has no foundation in the documents and is nonsensical organizationally. It is, propaganda, not reality. In the second and third part of this book we shall see how this propaganda arose and how it grew to 'historical reality.'

<sup>137</sup> "Kostenvoranschlag für den Vorentwurf über den Neubau des Kriegsgefangenenlagers der Waffen-SS Auschwitz O.S.", RGVA, 502-1-233, p. 27. The project of the crematorium had not yet been approved.

<sup>138</sup> RGVA, 502-1-314, pp. 8-8a.

<sup>139</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Le macchine dello sterminio. Auschwitz 1941-1945*, Feltrinelli Editore, Milan 1994, p. 67. R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 118), p. 72 expresses himself in the same way.

<sup>140</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 305.

<sup>141</sup> F. Piper, "Gas Chambers and Crematoria," in: Y. Gutman, M. Berenbaum (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 134), p. 163.

## Part Two: Propaganda



## 4. The Origin of the Propaganda Story of the ‘Bunkers’ – Wartime Rumors

### 4.1. The First Reports

The first rumors about the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’ began circulating at the end of August 1942. In a “*Letter written from the Auschwitz camp*,” dated August 29, 1942, we read:<sup>142</sup>

*“Most terrible are the mass executions by means of gas in chambers built for that purpose. There are two and they can take in 1200 persons. They are equipped with baths and showers, but instead of water there is gas coming out of them. In this way, first and foremost are murdered entire transports of unsuspecting persons. They are told that they are going to have a bath, they are given towels – in this way, 300,000 persons have already perished. At first, they were buried in graves, now [the corpses] are burnt outside in ditches dug for that purpose. Death occurs by suffocation, because blood is coming out of the nose and the mouth.”*

This story, although a rather crude concoction, already contains the leitmotif of the later propaganda: the showers that gave off gas instead of water, something rather absurd in the case of gassing with Zyklon B. The cause of death is clearly nonsensical. Poisoning with hydrogen cyanide, in fact, provokes a form of asphyxiation by the cessation of cellular functions caused by the blocking of the principal path by which cellular redox reactions take place, so that the body cells can no longer utilize the oxygen that comes to them via the blood.<sup>143</sup>

The number of alleged victims claimed in this statement is four times as high as the total number of Jews deported to Auschwitz up until August 29, 1942: some 76,000, of whom some 37,000 were properly registered.<sup>144</sup> The incineration of the corpses of the victims is in contradiction with official historiography, according to which, as we have already seen, such a practice started only on September 21, 1942.

<sup>142</sup> Kazimierz Smoleń (ed.), “*Obóz koncentracyjny Oświęcim w świetle akt Delegatury Rządu R.P. na Kraj*,” *Zeszyty Oświęcimskie*, Numer specjalny I, Oświęcim 1968, p. 43.

<sup>143</sup> *Enciclopedia medica italiana*, Sansoni, Florence, 1951, p. 1404.

<sup>144</sup> Data taken from the *Auschwitz Kalendarium* (note 13) after elimination of its 10 fictitious transports. Cf. my study *Special Treatment...*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 34f.

The number of the ‘gas chambers’ is in contradiction to the final propaganda story worked out by Szlama Dragon, who speaks of 6 rooms altogether with a total capacity of over 4,000 persons.<sup>145</sup>

On September 8, 1942, edition no. 33 (58) of the *Informacja Bieżąca* (Current Information) published this news item:<sup>146</sup>

“Over the last few months, in the camp area were organized [sic]:

1) Gas chambers have been installed in which the Jews (on average 1000 persons per day) are poisoned.”

This news item was too vague to make an impression. On October 10 of that year, the Department of Information (i.e., of propaganda) and Press of the Delegatura of the (Polish exile) government<sup>147</sup> drew up a “Report on the situation in the country during the period of August 26 through October 10, 1942,” in which it furnished more detailed information:<sup>148</sup>

“Gas chambers: The first use of gas chambers took place in June 1941. A transport of 1,700 incurable patients was organized and ‘officially’ sent to a sanitarium at Dresden, but in reality [it went] to a building transformed into a gas chamber. This installation, however, turned out to be too small and not very practical. It was therefore decided to build 5 new gas chambers at Brzezinka [Birkenau] some 7 km from the camp. Construction was terminated in April 1942. These 5 chambers are windowless, with double doors that have bolts, and with gas input and ventilation devices. Each chamber is laid out for 700 persons. A railroad has been laid out between these buildings, by which the corpses are taken to graves that have been dug in the woods nearby. Gassing of 3500 persons, including all activities before and after, takes 2 hours. Those gassed are primarily Bolshevik prisoners of war and Jews. Among the Poles, mainly the terminally ill.”

This story was repeated in “Annex I,” entitled “Copies of a tale and of reports from the Auschwitz penal camp” of a report dated November 1942, but with an important addition: the German term “Degasungskammer”:<sup>149</sup>

“On January 1, 1942, 2000 Jews were brought in. During 1942, some 30,000 Jews and 15,000 Jewesses and children. Out of that number some 3,000 and 7,000 Jewesses were registered on the numerical list. The others (including all the children) went directly to the Degasungskammer. [...] The Degasungskammer was used for the first time in June 1941. A transport of 1700 persons (incurably ill from venereal disease, *Körperschwache* [=frail persons<sup>150</sup>], wounded who had had their ribs removed, patients with meningitis) was formed and sent to a sanitarium at Dresden (according to the official communication). Actually, they went to the building that had been converted into a gas chamber. It turned out, however, to be too

<sup>145</sup> Cf. below, chapter 5.1.

<sup>146</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 44.

<sup>147</sup> The *Delegatura* was the secret representation in Poland of the Polish government in exile in London.

<sup>148</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 48.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 60f.

<sup>150</sup> In German in the text.

small and not very practical. [Then] an installation of 5 modern chambers was built at Brzezinka, some 7 km from the camp. Construction was finished in April 1942. It comprises 6 [sic] blocks (windowless, with double doors and modern apparatuses for feeding the gas and for ventilation), each one for 700 persons. Between the buildings there is a narrow-gauge railway which takes the corpses to graves, each 4 km long, in the woods nearby. The entire area of the D-kammer is off limits, anyone found there, unless on assignment, faces the death penalty (this goes also for the SS, the Wehrmacht, civilians and detainees) Gassing of 3,500 persons takes two hours."

In an earlier study<sup>151</sup> I have already demonstrated that the alleged first use of the "Degasungskammer" is gossip without historical foundation. It is worthwhile, though, to follow up on how Polish historiography transformed this gossip into historical reality.

In the first version of the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, Danuta Czech asserted that on July 28, 1941, 575 invalids, cripples, and chronically ill, selected by an *ad hoc* government commission, were sent to the Königstein hospital for the mentally ill in Saxony, where they were gassed with carbon monoxide.<sup>152</sup> In a later article, entitled "The first selection for the gas at Auschwitz – the transport to the Dresden sanitarium," Stanisław Kłodziński took a closer look at this alleged event: he stated that the gassing of these detainees did not take place at Königstein but "near Sonnestein [sic] some 20 km from Dresden."<sup>153</sup> Consequently, Czech corrected "Königstein" to "Sonnestein" in the second edition of the *Auschwitz Chronicle*.<sup>154</sup> However, there is no document supporting the reality of this alleged event: it is based on second-hand testimonies only, in particular on the declarations of Rudolf Höß. There is no direct testimony by persons who had witnessed the alleged massacre, or its preparations, or who had seen the corpses of the alleged victims, or who had merely seen the transport arrive at Königstein, Schloß Sonnenstein in Pirna, or Dresden. All the testimonies collected by Kłodziński refer exclusively to the departure of the transport from Auschwitz; thus, even if it really did leave, there is no real proof of the gassing. During his trial, Höß, the only (indirect) witness to the alleged event, declared that the alleged homicidal gassing at Königstein had been reported to him by his subordinate, Franz Hößler, at that time SS *Obersturmführer*.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> C. Mattogno, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 119-121.

<sup>152</sup> D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 2, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1959, pp. 106f.

<sup>153</sup> Stanisław Kłodziński, "Pierwsza oświęcimska selekcja do gazu. Transport do 'Sanatorium Dresden'," *Przegląd Lekarski*, no. I, 1970, p. 40; this probably refers to Schloß Sonnenstein in Pirna, 20 km southeast of Dresden.

<sup>154</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 106.

<sup>155</sup> S. Kłodziński, *op. cit.* (note 153), p. 40.

The historical veracity of this event is thus based only on the hearsay testimony of a single person who, moreover, had been dead for 14 months when the Höß trial began.<sup>156</sup>

Let us look at the “*Degasungskammer*.” This term is a deformation of the German word “*Begasungskammer*,” which designated a hydrogen cyanide disinfestation chamber using the DEGESCH circulation system. At the time there was no such installation at Auschwitz, but 19 DEGESCH circulation chambers were planned for the admissions building of the main camp. Now, whereas a ‘Gaskammer’ could have referred also to a homicidal gas chamber, a *Begasungskammer* could mean only a gas chamber for disinfestation. But then, where did the term *Begasungskammer* – deformed into “*Degasungskammer*” – originate? It came, no doubt, from an article by G. Peters and E. Wüstinger entitled “*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure in Kreislauf-Begasungskammern*” (Delousing with Zyklon-hydrogen cyanide in circulatory gas chambers).<sup>157</sup> This article had been requested as technical background information from the HELI company (Heerdt-Lingler GmbH), the main representative of DEGESCH, by the firm Friedrich Boos, which had received the order to build the 19 Auschwitz disinfestation chambers mentioned above; it was received by the then SS New Construction Office at Auschwitz on July 3, 1941. After having been kept in the archives for a year, it was dusted off by the civilian engineer Rudolf Jährling, who worked in the technical department of the Central Construction Office and supervised the construction of the disinfestation installations in the admissions building.<sup>158</sup> The admissions building project was the subject of specific discussions at that time; on July 31, 1941, Bischoff drew up a “*first cost estimate regarding new construction of the laundry and admissions building with delousing and bath for detainees in concentration camp Auschwitz O/S*” and the corresponding site plan.<sup>159</sup> One may assume that, at that time in Auschwitz, only a detainee who worked at the planning office (*Baubüro*) of Central Construction Office could have any knowledge of *Begasungskammern*. In February 1943, the planning office employed 96 detainees in various sections of the Central Construction Office.<sup>160</sup> They had access to classified documents and produced such documents themselves. For example, drawing no. 2136 of crematorium III was prepared by the Polish detainee Leo Slawka (ID number 538), drawing no. 2197 of crematorium II by the Czech Jewish detainee Ernst Kohn (ID Number 71134), and the two maps of Birkenau of March 1943 mentioned above were done by the Polish detainee

<sup>156</sup> Franz Hößler was sentenced to death by the British in the Belsen trial and the sentence was carried out on December 13, 1945. The Höß trial began on March 11, 1947.

<sup>157</sup> The subtitle of the article is “*Sach-Entlausung in Blausäure-Kammern*” (Disinfestation of objects in chambers of hydrogen cyanide).

<sup>158</sup> RGVA, 502-1-332, p. 87 (Letter of transmittal from the HELI Co. of July 1, 1941) and 87-90 (article “*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure in Kreislauf-Begasungskammern*”). Both documents show the “in”-stamp (*Eingang*) of the SS New Construction Office and Jährling’s signature with date of July 21, 1942.

<sup>159</sup> “*Kostenüberschlag zum Neubau des Wäscherei- und Aufnahmegebäudes mit Entlausungsanlage und Häftlingsbad im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz O/S*,” RGVA, 502-1-319, pp. 129f.

<sup>160</sup> “*Kommando: Baubüro der Zentralbauleitung*,” RGVA, 502-1-256, pp. 171-173.

Alfred Brzybylski (ID number 471). The various resistance groups at Auschwitz had members or sympathizers in the planning office, as well. In August 1944, three female detainees who worked in that office, Vera Foltynova, Valeria Valova, and Krystyna Horczak, secretly prepared two photocopies of Birkenau crematorium drawings and managed to smuggle them out of the camp.<sup>161</sup>

The report mentioned above contains other significant details that confirm the soundness of this interpretation.

First of all, there is the mention of “*modern apparatuses for feeding the gas and for ventilation.*” None of the hydrogen cyanide gas chambers in the Auschwitz camp at that time had “*apparatuses for feeding the gas and for ventilation.*” As they were only temporary gas chambers, that is to say not in conformity with the standard DEGESCH circulation type, they were indeed equipped with exhaust ventilation, but not with Zyklon B input apparatuses; the product was simply thrown into the disinfestation room. Only the DEGESCH circulation *Begasungskammer* was equipped with devices that enabled a can of Zyklon B to be put in the gas chamber, opened, and the hydrogen cyanide safely vaporized from the outside: the contents of the Zyklon B can fell automatically onto a plate, where it was struck by a current of warm air that vaporized it, thus creating a form of gas input.<sup>162</sup> According to the official historiography, the alleged homicidal gas chambers of the ‘Bunkers’ had neither gas input apparatuses nor ventilation equipment.

Second, there is the fact that the alleged homicidal *Begasungskammern* were equipped with double doors, just like the disinfestation *Begasungskammern*,<sup>163</sup> and had no windows. Windows are perfectly useless in disinfestation gas chambers, but some openings are absolutely necessary for the homicidal gas chambers as attested to by witnesses.<sup>164</sup>

The fusion of gas chambers and showers, which we have noted in the letter of August 29, 1942, and which became a permanent feature of later propaganda, stemmed from the fact that the planned admission building included, under one roof, 19 *Begasungskammern* and an installation of showers for the detainees. At that time, however, two major disinfestation installations were constructed at Birkenau, labeled BW 5a and 5b, which consisted of a gas chamber using hydrogen cyanide and a shower and washing section. The individual parts were called “*gas chamber*” and “*wash and shower room*,” respectively. The latter installation, equipped with 50 showers, stood in front of the gas chamber at a distance of only 5.52 meters and was separated from the lat-

<sup>161</sup> Henryk Świebicki, “*Die lagernahe Widerstandsbewegung und ihre Hilfsaktionen für die Häftlinge des KL Auschwitz*,” *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 19, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1995, p. 152.

<sup>162</sup> “*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure...*,” *op. cit.* (note 158), RGVA, 502-1-332, p. 69.

<sup>163</sup> To prevent the disinfested objects from being recontaminated they were introduced into the gas chamber from the unclean side (*unreine Seite*) and, thanks to the system of the double door, taken out on the opposite clean side (*reine Seite*).

<sup>164</sup> I refer to the alleged little windows for the introduction of Zyklon B which, in this literary phase, were unnecessary because the gas was claimed to have come from the shower-heads!



ter by an air lock and a vestibule.<sup>165</sup> It is thus highly probable that the idea of a shower installation in the alleged gas chamber suggested itself to the first fabricators of the propaganda story because of the disinfestation installations, which were then being built or planned.

The problem of the ventilation of the alleged gas chambers in the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’ is so senseless that it deserves to be investigated in greater depth.

We have already seen that in order to carry out the alleged extermination order given by the Führer, the Main Office of Budget and Buildings and later the SS WVHA, hence Himmler himself, are said to have created the entire Birkenau camp from scratch, but that for the most important installations, those for which the whole camp had been set up, they were seemingly happy to modify two Polish farm houses. What is even more nonsensical, though, is the assertion that these installations – which were to accomplish an order of mass extermination coming from the government – were technically rudimentary and not at all in keeping with a country which was at the international forefront of gas chamber technology employing hydrogen cyanide. The circulation system allowed an effective disinfestation (but also the rapid killing of human beings) by hydrogen cyanide to be carried out safely even in large spaces. In an article dated 1938, for example, there is the photograph of a disinfestation chamber of 100 cubic meters, using hydrogen cyanide and the circulation system at normal pressure, and another one showing a 400-cubic meter chamber for the gassing of railroad carriages at Budapest,<sup>166</sup> also using the circulation system and hydrogen cyanide.

Thus, we are supposed to believe that in order to carry out the government order of the alleged mass extermination of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people in the ‘gas chambers’ of the ‘Bunkers’ at Birkenau, the SS WVHA (which had absorbed the Main Office of Budget and Buildings), Himmler himself would *not* have made use of those miraculous technical circulation installations, would *not even* have installed a miserable exhaust fan! Yet the gas chambers in the disinfestation units of BW 5a and 5b, which had a floor area of about 105.7 square meters<sup>167</sup> and were thus practically the same size as ‘Bunker 2’ (104.3 m<sup>2</sup>),<sup>168</sup> were equipped with two exhaust fans each!

Jean-Claude Pressac, while citing the abovementioned “*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure in Kreislauf-Begasungskammern*,” has completely avoided the problem outlined above. He writes:<sup>169</sup>

*“Not very far away from Bunker 1 stood another small farmhouse. It was whitewashed and had a floor area of some 105 square meters. To turn this building into a gas chamber was easy enough (after all, this had been done with Bunker 1 earlier on), and one could have squeezed some 500*

<sup>165</sup> Drawing 801 of November 8, 1941, 1293 of May 9, 1942, and 1715 of September 25, 1942. Cf.: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 55-57.

<sup>166</sup> G. Peters, “*Begasungsanlagen. Von der Kiste zur Kreislauf-Kammer*,” in: *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie und Schädlingsbekämpfung*, 1938, pp. 183f.

<sup>167</sup> The chambers measured 10.90 × 9.70 meters.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. chapter 9.2.

<sup>169</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien...*, *op. cit.* (note 5), pp. 51f.

persons into it. But Höß wanted the ventilation to be improved. He consulted Bischoff who showed him an article by Dr. G. Peters, the director of Degesch Co. (a firm producing Zyklon B), which described a delousing unit employing Zyklon B consisting of 8 small cells of 10 m<sup>2</sup> each arranged in parallel.”

The article was the one already mentioned: “*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure in Kreislauf-Begasungskammern*”. The anecdote of Höß’ consultation with Bischoff is simply a fanciful invention by Pressac who then came to an even more imaginative conclusion:<sup>170</sup>

“Finally, the ‘white house’ was split into 4 small gas chambers of about 50 cubic meters arranged in parallel. They were not equipped with mechanical ventilation but were located in such a way as to catch the wind where it was most frequently blowing (north-south at Birkenau).”

So Höß and Bischoff had used the least significant element of the article in question: the arrangement of the chambers “in parallel.” Pressac, finally, did not even touch upon the most ludicrous problem in terms of design: the splitting of ‘Bunker 2’ into four sections. If we assume a total floor area of 105 m<sup>2</sup><sup>171</sup> as a basis for the capacity of the individual chambers, their respective floor areas were 49.6, 28.9, 16.5 and 9.3 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>172</sup> Now we are told that ‘Bunker 2’ was put in service because ‘Bunker 1’ was no longer able to satisfy the needs of the alleged mass extermination – but then why on earth was ‘Bunker 2’ split into four ‘gas chambers’ of such odd dimensions? What would have been the advantage for efficient mass extermination of this foolish arrangement?

These two reports on the “*Degasungskammern*” contain, moreover, three major contradictions with respect to the final version of the propaganda story.

According to the official history, there was in fact no “*building transformed into a gas chamber*” in June 1941. Furthermore, the buildings that were allegedly turned into ‘gas chambers’ numbered two and not five. Also, neither of those two buildings was finished “in April 1942,” but one in March or May, the other in June.

Finally, the story of the graves “each 4 km long” is false and nonsensical. Such graves would have been more than twice as long as the length of the Birkenau camp (1,657.01 m).

Annex III of the November 1942 report cited above contains another tale entitled “*From the correspondence of an Auschwitz detainee*”:<sup>173</sup>

“Every week, two transports on average arrive from Slovakia, from France, from the [Ruhr] Basin and from the Government [General]. The Jews from the Basin and from the Government are poisoned en masse; it is difficult for us to determine their number, but it is so enormous that it is impossible to remove the clothing after [the Jews] have been poisoned.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 52.

<sup>171</sup> F. Piper, *op. cit.* (note 141), note 29 on p. 178.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. below, Chapter 9.2.

<sup>173</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 69.

*Near the gas chambers, there are some 15,000 garments, these have to be removed every day by wagons.*

*There are two places for poisoning: in the camp crematorium (capacity 400 persons) and at Brzezinka where a few cottages of considerably greater capacity have been arranged for this purpose near the forest. The gassed are buried in large graves. A small train specifically built to facilitate those transports runs up to them. The Jewish civilians who have to load it are themselves poisoned after a certain time, others take their place. Among the garments, once [the Jews] have been eliminated, there is an enormous percentage of women's and children's clothes. On the latest transport from Slovakia (200 persons) there were some 80 children (the families were apparantly used for work), they were poisoned at Brzezinka together with their mothers."*

The report is rather vague. It does not mention the four undressing barracks (where were those "15,000 garments"?), and does not even mention the number of 'gas chambers' ("a few cottages"). Besides, at that time, according to the official history, the corpses were not buried but incinerated.

## 4.2. An Anonymous Report from the Secret Resistance Movement at Auschwitz<sup>174</sup>

This report on the living conditions in the camp, dating from December 1942 or January 1943,<sup>175</sup> was entered into evidence by the prosecution at the trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison (the Cracow trial, November 25 to December 16, 1947). The section "*Executions*"<sup>176</sup> described three assassination methods. The first is by means of an air-hammer.<sup>177</sup> The second method is by lethal injections in the detainee hospital of the camp, the third by gassing in the 'Bunkers.' The latter two methods are described as follows:<sup>178</sup>

*"The second killing center is the camp hospital. There were killed all those who had become so weak by diseases that, according to the opinion of the camp commander, they were no longer fit for work. From time to time, a German doctor would inspect the patients and note their [ID] number. The next morning, very early, [the detainees] were called out and killed by means of injections. If their number was too high, they would be loaded on a truck and taken to the Birkenau gas chamber. There are two of those, and they can accept 1,000 persons at a time. They are two residential houses, from which the inner walls and the windows have been removed. Only wide, airtight doors and small openings for ventilation have*

<sup>174</sup> AGK, NTN, 155, pp. 297-301.

<sup>175</sup> The report gives the strength of the men's and the women's camp as of December 1, 1942. This is the latest date mentioned there.

<sup>176</sup> "Egzekucje"

<sup>177</sup> "przy pomocy młota powietrznego 'Lufthammer'"

<sup>178</sup> AGK, NTN, 155, pp. 299f.

been left. On the inside, the chambers are arranged to look like a bath, from which they differ only by the fact that instead of water, toxic gas comes out of the showers. Inside, there is the track of a narrow-gauge railroad to take away the corpses. Between the two chambers, there is a barrack which has been spilt into two sections, one for women and children and one for men. The drawing<sup>[179]</sup> explains the rest. The transport [of detainees] arrives on a dead-end track, specifically laid for this purpose. It is received by the elite, persons devoid of any feeling. Their number is small, that is why there are 30 of them. When the train arrives, the escort, which always consists of several persons, helps them. All luggage is placed next to the track. Then there is the separation and loading onto trucks. When strong persons for work are needed, 100 or 200 out of the 1000 are selected and taken on foot to the camps of Auschwitz or Birkenau. The rest are taken by truck to Brzezinka. In the barrack they must undress immediately, because they must go to the bath. For that purpose they are handed soap and a towel. After the bath they are to receive underwear and clothing. When the chamber is full, the doors are closed and the gas comes out from openings shaped like a shower[head]. What then happens inside is difficult to say. After half an hour, ventilators are switched on, and after 45 minutes, the corpses are already loaded on the carts and taken away. Death occurs probably through asphyxiation, because all are bleeding from the mouth. Initially, the corpses were interred and created enormous tombs that contained about 200,000 persons. Presently, they are being burned in trenches specifically dug for this purpose. In these trenches, a layer of wood is put down, then a layer of human bodies, then a layer of paper, more wood and another layer of corpses. When we come back from work, we see Brzezinka on fire."

This report is based on a reworking of the previous literary motifs with the addition of a dash of originality. The attached drawing shows the author's effort to make history out of the propaganda story. The result is most fanciful claims: that the 'gas chambers' were in two buildings next to each other; that in both buildings the inner walls had been removed so that in each there was a single 'gas chamber;' that the 'gas chambers' were equipped with showers that spurted the lethal gas; that there was ventilation; that there was one undressing barrack split up into two sections; that the camp railway went into the 'gas chambers.' All these details are literary motives in contradiction to the final version of the story.

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<sup>179</sup> Cf. document 10.

### 4.3. The Reports from 1943

In a report dated April 1943 and written by a member of the secret resistance movement at Auschwitz under the pseudonym “Tadeusz,” one can read:<sup>180</sup>

*“In the crematorium, the walls are stained with blood – because the people who were overcome by the gas regain consciousness in the oven and scratch the cement with their fingers in defense before they die. The same thing happens also with the open-air incinerations, where the poisoned victims remain conscious for some time in the cremation trenches. About these burning trenches there are legends – they are known as the ‘Eternal Fire’ because they burn day and night.”*

With this report, the propaganda acquires another literary motif standard for the ‘horror’ genre: the incineration of semi-live, hence semi-conscious people, which will later become, in an effort to make things even more horrific, the incineration of living human beings and finally the burning of living children.

The use of the word legend regarding the “Eternal Fire” of the burning trenches is obviously a Freudian slip.

Annex I of *Informacja Bieżąca* no. 37 (110) of September 22, 1943, contains a report dated June 10, 1943, which includes the following passage:<sup>181</sup>

*“Up to the month of September 1942, 468,000 non-registered Jews were gassed at Oświęcim. Between September [1942] and June 1943 arrived some 60,000 Jews from Greece (Saloniki, Athens), 60,000 from Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, some 50,000 from Holland, France and Belgium, 6000 from Chrzanów, and 5000 from Kęt, Żywiec, Sucha, Slemien and their environs. Of these persons, 2% are alive today, the other 98% were sent into the gas, mostly young and very healthy people, and were burnt semi-live. Each transport arriving at Oświęcim is unloaded, the men are separated from the women, then 98% (mostly women and children) are loaded haphazardly onto trucks and taken to the gas chambers at Brzezinka; after horrible tortures (suffocation), which last 10 to 15 minutes, the corpses are thrown out through an opening and burned on a pyre. It should be stressed that before going into the gas chamber the condemned must take a bath.”*

*Because of a lack of toxic gas, people are also burned half-alive. At the present time, there are three large crematoria at Birkenau, for 10,000 bodies per day, which burn corpses all the time and are called ‘Eternal Fire’ by the local population.”*

The figure of 468,000 Jews burned up to September 1942 is decidedly mad: some 92,800 Jews had been deported to Auschwitz up to September 30, 1942, of whom some 43,200 were registered, that is: not gassed even accord-

<sup>180</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), pp. 100f.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 124f.

ing to official historiography.<sup>182</sup> The report mentions only a single 'gas chamber' at Birkenau. The bath, which in former reports was only a means of fooling the victims and of killing them (the gas came out of the showers), has now become reality: "*It should be stressed that before going into the gas chamber the condemned must take a bath.*" As the victims are claimed to have soiled themselves with feces and urine before dying, the function of this bath is not particularly clear.

The "*Eternal Fire*," formerly constituted by the "*burning trenches*," is now applied to the three Birkenau crematoria,<sup>183</sup> to which an absurd incineration capacity is attributed.<sup>184</sup>

The annex referred to above contains another report, dated August 12, 1943, which states:<sup>185</sup>

*"As the crematoria are not able to cope with the number of people, the corpses were normally cremated in an open trench in a field near Birkenau, and for three days one could see nothing but towering flames where the corpses were being burned. More transports arriving from France were executed in this way. Brzezinka celebrated its record with the gassing of 30,000 persons in a single day."*

Here we must note that the trenches of the preceding reports have become a single trench. The assertion that 30,000 persons were gassed within a day demonstrates how far this type of propaganda, predicated on its horrific impact, has departed from credibility. Nowhere near as many persons ever arrived at Auschwitz on a single day, not even during the deportation of the Hungarian Jews (May to July 1944).

Annex I of the *Informacja Bieżąca* no. 32 (105) of August 18, 1943, contains a "*Letter from an Auschwitz detainee*,"<sup>186</sup> stating:<sup>187</sup>

*"Entire transports are sent directly into the gas, without any registration. Their number exceeds 500,000 persons, mainly Jews. Recently, transports of Poles from the district of Lublin have gone directly to the gas (men and women). Children were thrown directly into the fire. Outside of Birkenau, there is the so-called 'Eternal Fire' – a pyre of corpses in the open air – the crematorium cannot cope.*

*Lately, gassing tests in the open air are being carried out for – military ends."*

The 500,000 'gassed' belong to the shock propaganda already mentioned. The "*Eternal Fire*," initially consisting of some "*burning trenches*,"<sup>188</sup> then of

<sup>182</sup> Data taken from D. Czech's *Kalendarium*, *op. cit.* (note 13).

<sup>183</sup> The fourth crematorium, no. III, was handed over to the camp administration on June 24, 1943, RGVA, 502-2-54, p. 84, "*Übergabeverhandlung.*"

<sup>184</sup> Cf. in this respect my article "*The Crematoria Ovens of Auschwitz and Birkenau*," in: G. Rudolf (ed.), *Dissecting the Holocaust. The Growing Critique of "Truth" and "Memory,"* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago 2003, pp. 373-412.

<sup>185</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 129.

<sup>186</sup> "*List więźnia Oświęcimia*"

<sup>187</sup> K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 111.

<sup>188</sup> "*doły spaleniowe*"

the crematoria, now becomes a pyre.<sup>189</sup> The literary motif of semi-conscious persons burned alive moves on: “*Children were thrown directly into the fire.*” The open-air gassing experiments for military ends are likewise a product of the imagination.

In the “*Review of Major Events in the Nation. Weekly report of August 27, 1943,*” there is the following item:<sup>190</sup>

*“In the crematorium, 5000 corpses are burned every day, but as there are more, the remaining [Jews] are burned alive in the ‘Eternal Fire’ in the open air at Birkenau – the children are thrown into the fire alive.”*

Here, the three crematoria of the report of June 10 have become a single one, but its capacity has grown enormously: 5,000 corpses per day! The horror story of people burned alive reaches its literary climax: the victims are no longer killed in the ‘gas chambers’ but directly on the pyre.

#### 4.4. The Report of the “*Polish Major*” (Jerzy Tabeau)

Jerzy Tabeau, of Polish citizenship, was born at Zabłotów on December 18, 1918, and was interned at Auschwitz on March 26, 1942, under the name of Jerzy Wesołoski, receiving the ID number 27273. On December 19, 1943, he escaped from the camp. Between December 1943 and early 1944 he wrote a report about his ‘experience’ at Auschwitz, which was published in August by A. Silberschein in mimeographed form<sup>191</sup> and in November 1944 by the War Refugee Board.<sup>192</sup> The author of the report was claimed to be a “*Polish major*” who was identified as Jerzy only several years after the end of the war. The part I will quote is taken from the handwritten report attributed to Tabeau, of which only three pages have survived, and from the translation by A. Silberschein:<sup>193</sup>

*“The gas chambers.*

*For the realization of these executions special gas chambers were installed in the wood at B[irkenau]. They were halls that had no openings in the walls except for valves,<sup>[194]</sup> which could be opened or tightly closed as needed. They were built in the nature of a bathing establishment in order to divert the attention of the persons taken there. The execution was done in the following way: The prisoners who were destined for execution were checked once more and separated into those fit for work and those unfit, and then loaded onto trucks. Such a convoy consisted of 8-10 tightly*

<sup>189</sup> “stos”

<sup>190</sup> “Przegląd najważniejszych wydarzeń w kraju. Meldunek tygodniowy z dn. 27. VIII 43 r,” K. Smoleń (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 142), p. 120.

<sup>191</sup> A. Silberschein, *Die Judenaustrittung in Polen*, IX, Dritte Serie, Geneva, 1944.

<sup>192</sup> Executive Office of the President, *German Extermination Camps – Auschwitz and Birkenau*, War Refugee Board, Washington, D.C., November 1944.

<sup>193</sup> APMO, D-RO/88, t.Va, pp.322b-323a. *Das Lager Oswiecim (Auschwitz)*. A. Silberschein, *op. cit.* (note 191), pp. 67-68.

<sup>194</sup> The English text has “ventilators”, p. 11.

packed cars. The condemned went along without a guard, because everything happened inside the camp. Only an ambulance followed the convoy because the camp doctor, by reason of his function, had to be present at each execution. After arriving in the area of the chamber, which is surrounded by barbed wire, the condemned had to undress, men, women and children together. Each one was given a towel and soap. Then everyone was herded into the chamber with many blows and ill-treatments. They herded in as many as the chamber would allow, then the door was tightly closed, and specially selected SS men threw [into the chambers] bombs filled with prussian acid<sup>[195]</sup> through the valves<sup>[196]</sup> in the walls. Ten minutes later, the doors were opened and a special unit<sup>[197]</sup> (always consisting of Jews) pushed the corpses away and made room for the next convoy.

At that time, the crematoria were only being built, so that the small crematorium, located, by the way, at Auschwitz, could not be considered at all for the disposal of the corpses. Because of that, enormous trenches were dug, and the corpses were buried there, one on top of the other. This state of affairs lasted until about the autumn of 1942. As the gassing of the Jews, at that time, proceeded with great intensity, enormous corpse-fields resulted, with masses of Jews [lying around] just barely covered by a thin layer of earth. As the corpses putrified, vapors developed, and there was a horrible stench of corpses. Because of this, in the autumn of 1942 all trenches had to be excavated, the decomposing remains taken out and burned in the crematoria (four of those had already been finished at that time) or else piled into enormous heaps, and those [heaps] soaked with gasoline and incinerated that way. The great masses of ash which resulted from this were moved away and strewn on the fields as fertilizer. Once the crematoria had been completed, the corpses were burned there, but even then, as the crematoria could not cope, one had to resort to the old method and burn piles of corpses."

This description is clearly inspired by the disinfection buildings at BW 5a and 5b. As I have already mentioned, these installations had a hall with 50 showers (Wasch- und Brauseraum) and a gas chamber for hydrogen cyanide of about 105.7 m<sup>2</sup> floor area.

Those delousing chambers were equipped with two ventilators, which were set into two round openings in the wall opposite the one with the two entrance doors. On the outside of the two openings, two short sheet-metal tubes were set<sup>[198]</sup> which could be closed by means of a round lid with a hinge that was welded to the upper part of the tube, as can still be seen today in the outer walls of the gas chambers located on the first floor of Block 3 of the main

<sup>195</sup> "Mit Preussensäure gefüllte Bomben." In the English text: "hydrocyanic bombs," pp. 11f. Prussic acid = hydrogen cyanide.

<sup>196</sup> In the English text "through the ventilation openings," p. 12.

<sup>197</sup> "Ein spezielles Kommando." In the English text: "a special squad," p. 12.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. photographs 1 and 2.



camp.<sup>199</sup> During the gassing operation, the lid stayed closed under the force of gravity; before the ventilators were switched on, the lid was raised by means of a wire attached to a little wheel located somewhat above the lid. These devices changed into “*valves*” in the propaganda stories of the secret resistance movement. The use of the Polish word “*wentyl*” (from German: Ventil), which means valve, can, in fact, be explained only in this way. Buildings BW 5a and 5b thus corresponded perfectly well to all the propaganda requirements for homicidal gas chambers of the ‘Bunkers’: they had a “*bathing installation*” and “*special gas chambers*” for disinfection, which were equipped with “*valves*” that could be opened and closed as needed and otherwise “*had no openings in the walls.*” Furthermore, they were “*inside the camp,*” but this was not true for the so-called ‘Bunkers’ (another Freudian slip!).

The “*bombs filled with prussian acid*” was a rather infelicitous literary device, quickly abandoned in subsequent tales.<sup>200</sup>

Two other literary finds treated in the report, which certainly reflected the propagandistic climate of the era, fared better. The first is the one about the use of human ash as fertilizer. This anecdote, similar to the tale about ‘human soap,’ had a similarly wide distribution among the former detainees of German concentration camps in the years after the war, giving rise to variants that were sometimes so grotesque as to border on the ridiculous, such as the one about Dachau camp told by the ex-detainee Isaak Egon Ochshorn:

*“The Jews were thrown alive into gigantic concrete mixers and ground in a pulp. This material was used for road paving and the roads were therefore usually referred to as ‘Jewish roads.’”*

The other find concerns the name of the auxiliaries for the alleged gasings, “*special unit,*”<sup>201</sup> which was to become a mainstay of the official historiography in its German translation of “*Sonderkommando.*”

In Annex III of the report of November 1942 mentioned above, this body of men was simply called “*the civilian Jews.*”<sup>202</sup> In the anonymous report of December 1942 or January 1943 they were called “*elite.*”<sup>203</sup> With Jerzy Tabeau we have not yet arrived at the German term “*Sonderkommando,*” but the (Polish) designation “*specjalne komando*” anticipates it. As I have shown elsewhere, various “*special units*” did indeed exist at Auschwitz, but this designation never applied to the personnel of the crematoria.<sup>204</sup>

Jerzy Tabeau claims that the four crematoria at Birkenau had already been completed in the fall of 1942;<sup>205</sup> this shows the reliability of his sources.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. photograph 3.

<sup>200</sup> Zyklon B was furnished in cans (German: *Dosen*), in Polish *puszki*.

<sup>201</sup> “*specjalne komando*”

<sup>202</sup> “*żydzi ciwile*”

<sup>203</sup> “*elita*”

<sup>204</sup> C. Mattogno, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 101-103.

<sup>205</sup> Crematorium IV, which was completed first, was handed over to the camp administration on March 22, 1943.

## 4.5. The Report of Alfred Wetzler

Alfred Wetzler, born at Trnava on May 10, 1918, was deported to Auschwitz on April 13, 1942, and received ID number 29162. On April 7, 1944, he escaped from the camp together with Rudolf Vrba, born at Topolcany on September 11, 1924, who had been interned under the name of Walter Rosenberg since June 30, 1942 (ID number 44070). After their escape, the two detainees wrote a long report, which began to be circulated in May 1944.<sup>206</sup> It was first published by A. Silberschein, and later by the War Refugee Board together with the report by the "*Polish major*." The report appeared anonymously: its authors were identified as "*two Slovakian Jews*."

In the section of the report written by Alfred Wetzler we read the following about the Birkenau 'Bunkers':<sup>207</sup>

*"At the same time the so-called 'selections' started. Twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, the garrison surgeon (camp surgeon) set the number of detainees that were to be killed by gassing and then cremated. The selectees were loaded onto trucks and taken into the birch forest."<sup>[208]</sup> Those who arrived there alive were gassed in a large barrack that had been set up for this purpose near the cremation pit, and then thrown into the pit and burned."*

This pit, as Wetzler states on the preceding page, was "*several meters deep and 15 meters long*."

The following section of the report, drawn up jointly by Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba, deals also with the alleged extermination of Jews at Birkenau:<sup>209</sup>

*"38,000 – 38,400."<sup>[210]</sup> 400 naturalized French Jews. These Jews arrived with their families. The whole transport consisted of about 1600 souls. Of these, some 400 men and 200 girls were admitted to the camp by the procedure described while the other 1000 persons (women, old people, children, and also men) were taken directly from the railway siding to the birch forest, without any evidence or treatment, and gassed and cremated there. From this moment on, all Jewish transports were treated in the same way. About 10% of the male deportees and 5% of the women were admitted to the camp while the others were gassed on the spot. Even before, Jews from Poland had suffered the same fate. For months on end, trucks kept on taking thousands of Jews from the various ghetti [sic] directly to the pit in the birch forest."*

<sup>206</sup> *Tatsachenbericht ueber Auschwitz und Birkenau*. Geneva, May 17, 1944. RL, WRB 61. Chronologically speaking, this is the first known version of the Wetzler report.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>208</sup> The German original has "*in den Birkenwald*;" the name of the camp, Birkenau (birch meadow), is the German equivalent of the Polish Brzezinka, related to the Polish word brzoza = birch.

<sup>209</sup> *Tatsachenbericht ueber Auschwitz und Birkenau*, *op. cit.* (note 206), pp.11f.

<sup>210</sup> The ID numbers assigned to the detainees.

The report then lists enormous exterminations of Jews in the “birch forest,” stating laconically “*all others gassed in the birch forest*” or “*some 3000 persons were gassed in the birch forest*” or “*the remainder gassed in the birch forest.*”<sup>211</sup>

*“At the end of February 1943 the new and modern crematorium and the gassing installation were opened at Birkenau. The gassing and the cremation of the corpses in the Birkenau [sic] were abandoned and those procedures were, from now on, carried out in the 4 new crematoria built for this purpose. The large pit was filled in, the land leveled, the ash had always been used as fertilizer in the camp agricultural unit at Hermensee [Harmense], so that today there is hardly a trace to be found of the horrifying mass murder that took place here.”*<sup>212</sup>

The two authors give to understand that the source of this information was the “special unit” of the “birch forest,” with which they had been in contact until December 1942, when it was “eliminated.”

*“On December 17, 200 Jewish boys from Slovakia who had worked, as a so-called special unit, at the gassing and the cremation of the corpses, were executed at Birkenau. [...] The unit was replaced by 200 Polish Jews who had just arrived with a transport from Makow. [...] This change of the special unit cut us off from our direct contact with this ‘worksite,’ with unfortunate consequences for our food supply.”*<sup>213</sup>

The information contained in these two reports is in total contradiction with the final version of the story. In lieu of the two farm houses allegedly transformed into homicidal gas chambers (‘Bunkers’ 1 and 2) we have “a large barrack that had been set up for this purpose,” and instead of the four “cremation pits” only one is mentioned. Vrba and Wetzler, too, make a little mistake when they write that the pit was filled in and the land leveled “so that today there is hardly a trace to be found of the horrifying mass murder that took place here.” In other words, even at that time there was no proof of this “horrifying mass murder.”

The theme of the human ashes used as fertilizer takes shape: they are being used in “the camp agricultural unit at Hermensee,” and the auxiliaries for the alleged homicidal gassings become the “special unit.”

## 4.6. Anonymous Reports from 1944

The “Periodic report of May 5 to 25, 1944,”<sup>214</sup> written on May 26, 1944, by an anonymous member of the secret resistance movement at Auschwitz, contains a section entitled “The Death Factory,”<sup>215</sup> in which we read:<sup>216</sup>

<sup>211</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 12.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 15f.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibidem*, p.13.

<sup>214</sup> “Sprawozdanie okresowe od 5 V 1944 – 25 V 1944”

<sup>215</sup> “Fabryka śmierci”

*"Up to the spring of 1943, two small farm cottages at Brzezinka/Birkenau were used as gas chambers. All the windows had been walled up, and there are only a few hermetically closed openings and fake shower heads on the ceiling. It has to look like a bath! The truck convoys arrive, escorted by armed SS men who straight away push in a naked crowd holding their towels, unaware and unsuspecting, and close the door hermetically. Through the openings they pour in a pulverized gas, from cans which bear the name 'Cyklon.' The powder, oxidizing itself, immediately poisons the persons shut in. In order to consume less 'Cyklon' – a gas that smells like mustard – they first throw in other cans which absorb the oxygen of the air. The ventilator [is switched on] and special 'Sonderkommando[s]' throw the corpses into two enormous pits, arranging them in layers and covering them with calcium chloride. Because the pits fill up quickly, as early as summer 1942 the corpses were laid on pyres of branches and wood and burned with petroleum or gasoline. Children would be thrown directly on the pyres amid really terrible curses. A black and dense smoke infests the surroundings."*

This report takes up the previous literary motives with one important addition: it names the 'weapon' – "Cyklon." In this respect the author makes use of somewhat questionable items of information, however: a "pulverized gas"<sup>217</sup> which "oxidizes itself"<sup>218</sup> and "smells like mustard."<sup>219</sup> The anecdote of "cans which absorb the oxygen" is pure fantasy. The "ventilator," as I have explained above, was located in the disinfection gas chambers of BW 5a and 5b, but not in the alleged homicidal gas chambers of the 'Bunkers.'

The term "special unit" in the sense explained above had been created only a short time before, and this explains the insecurity of the author of the report when it comes to its use: "specjalne 'Sonderkommando'" is, in fact, equivalent to "special 'special units'," particularly in the plural. With this report, the sinister story of the children burned alive comes to the fore again, this time they are burned on pyres<sup>220</sup> and not in cremation pits.<sup>221</sup>

Besides the "Cyklon," the report introduces another novelty, which later becomes an essential element of the official versions: the openings for the introduction of the Zyklon B. Having jettisoned the utterly nonsensical story of the introduction of the gas through shower heads, the Auschwitz propagandist now had to invent appropriate openings.

<sup>216</sup> APMO, D-RO/85, vol. II, p. 437.

<sup>217</sup> Zyklon B was hydrogen cyanide adsorbed on gypsum.

<sup>218</sup> Controlling the temperature suffices to release the hydrogen cyanide vapors. Hydrocyanic acid has a boiling point of 25.7 °C (78.26°F).

<sup>219</sup> Hydrocyanic acid has hardly any smell, only remotely resembling bitter almonds. The author of the report confuses it with Yprit, which smells like mustard and was therefore called mustard gas (German: *Senfgas*) by the British.

<sup>220</sup> "na stosach"

<sup>221</sup> "doly spaleniowe"

“*Special Annex to the periodic report of May 5 to 25, 1944*” tells us the following about the topic which interests us:<sup>222</sup>

*“Before entering into the gas chamber, everybody leaves the money and valuables they have with them at a deposit.*

*They strip naked, checking all their garments, which will then be examined again for valuables that might be concealed in them. Now they go into the ‘bath,’ i.e., the gas chamber, in groups of 1,000 persons. Nowadays, they no longer get towels or soap – there is no time for that.*

*The two gas chambers work without pause and still do not manage to keep up. Between two gassings, there is time only for ventilation. Elsewhere – invisible to those coming in, of course – enormous piles of corpses are going up. There is no time to burn them.”*

The report then describes the treatment of the corpses (extraction of gold teeth, cutting the women’s hair, search of the bodies) and concludes:

*“The corpses will be burned only after having been treated and controlled in this way.”*

The propaganda story takes on new literary terms. The number of gassing houses varies, eventually stabilizing at two.

The report of Czesław Mordowicz and Arnošt Rosin,<sup>223</sup> written after their escape from Auschwitz on May 27, 1944,<sup>224</sup> contains a single reference to the “birch forest” with respect to the period after May 15, 1944:<sup>225</sup>

*“Because the crematoria are insufficient, trenches are dug again in the birch forest – as during the time before the crematoria were built<sup>[226]</sup> – 4 of them, [each] 30 m long and 15 m wide, in which corpses are burned day and night.”*

The source for this were men of the so-called ‘special unit,’ with whom the two authors claimed to have been in touch:<sup>227</sup>

*“According to a Jew of the special unit, [...] was told by the people of the special unit.”*

<sup>222</sup> APMO, D-RO/85, vol. II, pp. 441f.

<sup>223</sup> The report was published in November 1944 by the War Refugee Board, together with the reports by J. Tabeau, A. Wetzler, and R. Vrba. These reports were sometimes collectively called the “Auschwitz Protocols.” See E. Aynat, *Los “Protocolos de Auschwitz”*: ¿Una fuente histórica?, García Hispán, Alicante 1990.

<sup>224</sup> Czesław Mordowicz, born at Mława on August 2, 1911, was interned at Auschwitz on December 17, 1942, with the ID no. 84216. Arnošt Rosin, born at Snina on March 20, 1913, was interned on April 17, 1942, with the ID no. 29858.

<sup>225</sup> Michael Dov Weissmandel, מן המצר (Min Hammetsar)\*, facsimile document outside of text, p. 3 of the document. Cf. Henryk Świebicki (ed.), *London wurde informiert... Berichte von Auschwitz-Flüchtlingen*, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Oświęcim, 1997, p. 303.

\* Beginning of psalm 118:5 “*In my anxiety I called onto Jah[veh]*.” Emdunah, New York 1960.

<sup>226</sup> The text mistakenly says “*arbaut*” instead of “*erbaut*” or “*gebaut*.”

<sup>227</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 4 of the document.

## 4.7. Conclusions

For the members of the Auschwitz resistance, the idea of the 'Bunkers' was thus inspired by the disinfestation buildings BW 5a and 5b; they projected these installations – showers, gas chambers, ventilation, lids for the ventilation openings – onto the alleged gassing installations, obviously with the appropriate adaptations and distortions, starting with the very term "*Degasungskammer*." As for the number of the 'Bunkers' and the 'gas chambers' they contained, and, more generally, the number of the alleged victims, the Auschwitz propagandists had not yet come to a common decision – their statements on these contain contradictions. This was clearly due to the fact that the various resistance groups then active – that of the Polish socialist party, that of the Union of Military Organizations, the Kampfgruppe Auschwitz, the group directed by Colonel Aleksander Stawarz, Captain Włodzimierz Koliński's group, the one founded by Colonel Jan Karz, Roman Rybarski and Jan Mosdorf's group<sup>228</sup> – spread their propaganda with minimum coordination, and each one wanted to surpass the others with their own horrifying stories.

Typical in this respect is the intensification of the propaganda theme of people being burned alive, which, starting with semi-conscious adults, over a number of intermediate stages ends up with children being thrown alive onto pyres. In the same way, the assignment of the designation "*Eternal Fire*" to cremation pits, to pyres, and to the crematoria shows the same lack of propaganda coordination, not to mention the odd and contradictory literary themes which were tossed around the camp at that phase of propaganda. All these topics, like literary seeds, entered the minds of the detainees to a greater or lesser extent and, after the liberation, blossomed in wider propaganda fields.

The central part played by the members of the resistance in the creation of propaganda about Auschwitz was candidly admitted by Bruno Baum, an ex-detainee who had founded the German resistance group made up of socialist, communist, and anti-fascist inmates. In 1949, he published a book on the activities of the secret Auschwitz resistance movement in which he states:<sup>229</sup>

*"From my side, the propaganda material went to Cyrankiewicz who passed it on. From mid-1944 on we sent something at least twice a week. Now the Auschwitz tragedy went around the world."*

*I think it is no exaggeration to say that the major part of the Auschwitz propaganda, which spread through the world at that time, was written by us in the camp."*

<sup>228</sup> B. Jarosz, "*I movimenti di resistenza interni e limitrofi al campo*," in: F. Piper, T. Świebicka (eds.), *Auschwitz. Il campo nazista della morte*, Edizioni del Museo Statale di Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1997, pp. 193f.

<sup>229</sup> B. Baum, *Widerstand in Auschwitz. Bericht der internationalen antifaschistischen Lagerleitung*. VVN-Verlag, Berlin-Potsdam 1949, p. 34.



## 5. The Propaganda Is Consolidated: Postwar Testimonies

### 5.1. Szlama Dragon's Testimony

In the preceding chapter, we saw that between 1942 and 1944 the black propaganda literature on the Birkenau 'Bunkers' produced, a hodge-podge of topics too strongly divergent and too contradictory to be accepted as history. The literary reworking of these themes into as coherent a story as possible was done in the first month after the liberation of Auschwitz. The artisan was Szlama Dragon, who became, whether because of his self-styled role as an eyewitness or because of the moment at which he testified, undoubtedly the most important witness to the Birkenau 'Bunkers.'

On February 26, 1945, Dragon was interrogated by the Soviet military investigating judge Captain Levin; he gave a deposition, of which I shall quote the essential parts on the 'Bunkers.' He declared that he had arrived at Birkenau on December 7, 1942, with a transport of 2,500 persons, of whom only 400 young and strong men were registered. The selection was done by the "fascist SS Mengele," by *Rapportführer* Plagge and by Moll. On December 8, Dragon was tattooed with the ID number 80359. Two days later, Plagge and Moll selected 200 men from the 400 that had been registered and divided them into two groups. On December 11, the two groups were taken to work. Dragon says:<sup>230</sup>

*"As a member of one of the two groups, I was taken to the gas chamber called gas chamber no. 2, the other group was taken to gas chamber no.1. [...] The group brought in to work at gas chamber no. 2 was assigned various tasks by Moll. Twelve persons had to take away the corpses from the gas chamber – I was one of those; 30 persons had to load the corpses on the carts, 10 persons had to carry the corpses to the carts, 20 persons had to throw the persons into the pits, 28 persons had to bring the wood to the pits, 2 persons had to take gold teeth, rings, earrings etc. from the corpses – which happened in the presence of two SS men – and two persons had to cut the hair off the women in the presence of one SS man. Moll personally lit the pyres.*

*After having worked for one day in gas chamber no. 2, I became sick and was therefore assigned to cleaning work and other jobs in barrack no. 2. In that barrack I worked until May 1943, then I was assigned to work*

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<sup>230</sup> GARF, 7021-108-12, pp. 182-185.



salvaging bricks from semi-underground stores and from storage buildings in masonry that the Germans had blown up. I worked there until February 1944 and at the same time for about two months in gas chamber no. 2 and a few days in gas chamber no. 1.

The gas chambers 1 and 2 were located about 3 km apart from each other, in the area of the village center of Brzezinky which the Germans had burned.<sup>[231]</sup> The gas chambers were two modified houses whose windows had been hermetically sealed. In the gas chamber called gas chamber no. 1 there were two rooms, in gas chamber no. 2 there were four.

At some 500 meters from gas chamber no. 1, there were two standard wooden barracks, another two barracks stood some 150 meters from gas chamber no. 2. In these barracks, men, women and children had to undress, they were then herded naked into the gas chambers, all of them together, with the help of dogs. In each of the rooms of gas chamber no. 1 there were two doors; the naked persons entered through one and the corpses were taken out through the other. On the outside of the entrance door was written 'To the disinfection' and on the inside of the exit door 'To the bath.' Next to the entrance door there was an opening of 40 by 40 centimeters through which the Zyklon containing the hydrogen cyanide was poured in from a can. At that time, the SS personnel wore gas masks. One can contained 1 kg [of hydrogen cyanide]. The empty cans were taken away by the SS.

About 1,500 to 1,700 persons were squeezed into the two rooms of the gas chamber. The gassing operation lasted about 15 to 20 minutes. Gas chamber no. 1 had a floor area of 80 square meters. The Zyklon was poured into the chamber by various SS men, one of whom was called Scheimetz. The removal of the corpses from the chamber, as I have already explained, was carried out by 12 persons who took out 6 corpses every 15 minutes. It was difficult to stay in the chamber for more than 15–20 minutes, because the odor of the Zyklon, in spite of the open doors, did not go away. The clearing of the chamber took 2 to 3 hours. [Then] the gold teeth were removed from the corpses and rings, earrings, and [gold] pins were taken away, and the women's hair was cut off. The pockets of the garments were searched for valuables, especially gold. An SS man was present when the women's hair was cut. Five hundred meters away from gas chamber no. 1 there were four trenches where the persons [sic] were burned, each one 30–35 meters long, 7–8 meters wide and 2 meters deep. The corpses were transported to the trench by means of five carts of a narrow-gauge railway. Each cart was loaded with 25–30 corpses. It took about 20 minutes for a cart to go to the trench and back. Near the trenches 110 persons worked day and night in shifts. In 24 hours 7,000–8,000 persons were burned in the trenches.

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<sup>231</sup> Actually, a number of houses had been demolished, others modified and handed over as lodgings to camp officers and non-coms.

*Gas chamber no. 2 had a floor area of about 100 square meters, each room – there were four – had two doors. Gas chamber no. 2 could take in 2000 persons. Gassing took 15 to 20 minutes. The Zyklon was introduced into each room of gas chamber no. 2 in the same way as for gas chamber no. 1. The removal of the corpses did not take more than two hours, because all the doors could be used and, moreover, the narrow-gauge railway passed along both sides of gas chamber no. 2, near the doors. With this railway, the corpses were taken to the trenches on 7 to 8 carts. At 150 meters from chamber no. 2, there were six trenches of the same dimensions as those near chamber no. 1. About 110–120 persons emptied the chamber and burned the corpses. Over 24 hours, all the trenches of chamber 2 could burn no fewer than 10,000 persons. On average, in the ten trenches, no [fewer than] 17,000 to 18,000 persons were burned in 24 hours, but on certain occasions the number of persons burned reached 27,000 to 28,000; they had come from various countries and had different nationalities, primarily Jewish [nationality]. To obtain a good combustion in the pyres, when lighting, a liquid – low-grade gasoline – was poured on, but also human fat. The human fat came from the trenches, in which the persons were burning, by means of a small channel that went to another small trench, into which the fat would flow; it was then recovered by the SS. In February 1944 I was sent to work at crematorium no. 4.”*

The activity of “gas chamber no. 2” in 1944 is described by the witness in a few lines:<sup>232</sup>

*“In each crematorium there were gas chambers and simultaneously gas chamber no. 2 was in operation, from which the corpses went to the trenches to be burned. Gas chamber no. 2 worked mainly when there were 6 to 7 transports of persons, then the corpses were burnt on pyres, in addition to the crematoria”*

According to the witness, this happened mainly between May and August 1944 during the deportation of the Hungarian Jews.<sup>233</sup>

On May 10 and 11, 1945, Dragon was again interrogated, this time by the Polish judge Jan Sehn, as part of the preparation for the trial of Rudolf Höß. The relevant parts of this deposition, as far as the ‘Bunkers’ are concerned, are as follows:<sup>234</sup>

*“We were led into a forest where there was a brick cottage with a straw-thatched roof. The windows were walled up. The door leading into the house had a metal plate with the inscription ‘Hochspannung – Lebensgefahr’ [high-voltage – danger of death]. At about 30 to 40 meters from this cottage stood two wooden barracks. On the other side of the house there were four trenches, 30 m long, 7 m wide, and 3 m deep. [...] Once we had taken out all the corpses from this house, we had to clean it up meticu-*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 186.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 187f.

<sup>234</sup> Höß trial, vol. 11, pp. 103, 104, 106, 107.

lously, wash the floor with water, sprinkle the floor with sawdust, and whitewash the walls.

The inside of the house was split into four rooms by means of partitions. One of them could take in 1,200 naked persons, the second 700, the third 400, and the fourth 200 to 250. The first one, which was the largest, had two little windows in the wall. The other three had only one. These little windows were closed with wooden shutters. Each room was accessible by means of a separate entrance. On the entrance door there was the plate of which I have already spoken, with the inscription 'Hochspannung – Lebensgefahr.' This inscription was visible only when the entrance door was closed. When the door stood open, it could not be seen, instead, there was another sign 'Zum Baden' [to the bath]. The victims destined for the gassing saw another sign on the exit door of the chamber which said 'Zur Desinfektion' [to the disinfection]. Of course, behind the door with this inscription there was no disinfection at all, because this was the exit door from the chamber, through which we pulled out the corpses into the yard. Each room had a separate exit door. The chamber that I have described has been faithfully drawn on the basis of my testimony by the engineer Jan Nosal from Oświęcim. This chamber was designated Bunker no. 2. In addition to it, at a distance of about 500 meters, there was another chamber, identified as Bunker no. 1. This, too, was a brick house, but it was divided into only two rooms, which could take in a total of fewer than 2,000 naked persons. These rooms had only one entrance door and one little window.<sup>[235]</sup> Not far from Bunker no. 1 there was a barn and two barracks. The trenches were very far away, a narrow-gauge railway led to them. [...]

Bunker no. 1 was dismantled completely as early as 1943. After the construction of crematorium no. 2 at Brzezinka, the barracks near Bunker no. 2 were dismantled as well and the trenches filled in. The Bunker itself, however, remained until the end and, after a long period of inactivity, was put back into operation for the gassing of the Hungarian Jews. Then new barracks were built and new trenches were dug. [...]

The capacity of Bunkers no. 1 and 2 was about 4,000 persons. Bunker no. 2 could contain, at one time, over 2,000 persons, and Bunker no. 1 fewer than 2,000 persons.

In 1943, we were transferred from the women's camp to camp BIId, and were first housed in Block 13 and then in Block 11. In the fall of that year, I think, I was again employed at the 'Sonderkommando.' Between the work at the Bunkers [and the new job] I was assigned to the 'Abbruchkommando' [demolition detail]."

Attached to this deposition are a drawing of 'Bunker 1',<sup>236</sup> a drawing of 'Bunker 2',<sup>237</sup> and a location sketch of 'Bunker 2'.<sup>238</sup> These three drawings do

<sup>235</sup> This is at variance with the corresponding drawing by the engineer Nosal, which shows two small windows (O<sub>1</sub>-O<sub>2</sub> and O<sub>3</sub>-O<sub>4</sub>) in each of the gas chambers. Cf. document 11.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. document 11.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. document 12.

not have the normal north-south orientation, but are laid out east-west because they take the Birkenau camp as a point of reference.<sup>239</sup>

## 5.2. Comparative and Critical Analysis of the Two Depositions of Szlama Dragon

Even a cursory reading of the sections quoted above makes it obvious that the Polish deposition of Szlama Dragon presents significant contradictions with respect to the Soviet one, dated less than three months earlier. In the following comparative analysis I shall examine the most important ones.

### 5.2.1. Terminology

The first thing to note is that Dragon, at the time of the Soviet deposition, did not yet know the terms ‘Bunker 1’ and ‘Bunker 2,’ allegedly used even by the SS. In this deposition he speaks always of “*gazokamera*” (газокамера) nos. 1 and 2 and states explicitly that this was the official designation: “*I was taken to the gas chamber called gas chamber no. 2.*” In the Polish deposition, the term for these alleged extermination installations becomes ‘Bunker:’ “*This chamber was designated Bunker no. 2. In addition to it, at a distance of about 500 meters, there was another chamber, indicated as Bunker no. 1.*” The term occurs here with the same frequency as the term “*gazokamera*” in the preceding deposition. However, in this deposition Dragon is still unaware of the other two designations, “*czerwony domek*” (little red house) for ‘Bunker 1’ and “*biały domek*” (little white house) for ‘Bunker 2,’ which were invented a few years later during the Höß trial.

The fact that in February-March 1945 the abovementioned official terminology was still unknown is also clear from the deposition of Henryk Tauber, dated February 27 and 28, 1945, in which he refers to the ‘Bunkers’ merely as “*gas chambers*” (газовые камеры).<sup>240</sup>

The Polish-Soviet experts, in their report prepared between February 14 and March 18, 1945, also speak only of “*gas chambers*” (газовые камеры) nos. 1 and 2.<sup>241</sup>

The term ‘Bunker’ appears for the first time in the April 16, 1945, deposition of Stanisław Jankowski,<sup>242</sup> which was concocted between March 9 and April 16, 1945. The reason is simple: in a legal procedure it was unacceptable that two buildings of the Auschwitz camp, in which, as was alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews had been murdered, did not even have an official name!

<sup>238</sup> Cf. document 13.

<sup>239</sup> The Birkenau camp is normally shown with an east-west orientation, *i.e.*, with the crematoria at the top (= west).

<sup>240</sup> Cf. chapter 6.1.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. chapter 7.1.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. chapter 6.1.

Hence the alleged ‘official’ designations of ‘Bunker 1’ and ‘Bunker 2,’ where the term ‘Bunker’ was simply taken from the term sometimes used for the building of the old crematorium of the main camp.<sup>243</sup> In the black propaganda of the camp, the term later came to designate the morgue of that crematorium, allegedly transformed into a homicidal gas chamber, and then the morgues of crematoria II and III in Birkenau. For Henryk Mandelbaum, deported to Auschwitz on April 23, 1944, and assigned to the so-called ‘special unit’ in early June, the term ‘Bunker’ designated, in fact, only the alleged semi-underground gas chambers of crematoria II and III. At the trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison he declared:<sup>244</sup>

*“In crematoria III and IV [= IV and V], the gas chambers were smaller than those of crematoria I and II [= II and III]. These crematoria were of a new kind: they could accommodate a transport of 3,000 persons. This Bunker was some 50 m long and divided into two parts. In this Bunker, there was a bath with showers and faucets, and a normal person entering it could believe that it was, indeed, a bath, [...]”*

In the end, by analogy, the term ‘Bunker’ was extended to the two alleged gassing houses.

The term “*little white house*” was introduced by Ludwik Nagraba, a Catholic Pole, who was deported to Auschwitz on February 15, 1941, and who became, according to his own statement, a member of the so-called ‘special unit’ in May 1944. At the eleventh session of the Höß trial, he declared:<sup>245</sup>

*“When the crematorium did not yet exist, there was [at Birkenau] a little white house, a barrack.”*

A variation on this theme was the designation “*grey house*” (*graues Haus*) used by the witness Adolf Rögner.<sup>246</sup> Actually, the Polish house allegedly converted into ‘Bunker 2’ was made of natural brick without plastering,<sup>247</sup> which is why the designation “*little red house*” would have been appropriate!

The designation “*little red house*,” as we shall see, was introduced by the former detainee Wilhelm Wohlfahrt.

### 5.2.2. ‘Bunker 1’

In this section, I shall list the major discrepancies of the two depositions on the subject of ‘Bunker 1.’

#### 1) Soviet deposition.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>243</sup> For example in “*Baubericht über den Stand der Bauarbeiten für das Bauvorhaben Konzentrationslager Auschwitz*” of April 15, 1942, one can read: “*Krematorium: Im vorhandenen Bunker eingebaut...*” (RGVA, 502-1-24, p. 320).

<sup>244</sup> AGK, NTN, 162, p. 165.

<sup>245</sup> AGK, NTN, 110, p. 1147.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. chapter 6.2.5.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. chapter 7.5. & 9.2.

<sup>248</sup> “*В каждом отделении газокамеры по 1 имелись две двери, в одну из которых загоняли голых людей, а из другой выносили трупы*”

*"In each of the rooms of gas chamber no. 1 there were two doors; the naked persons entered through one and the corpses were taken out through the other."*

Polish deposition:<sup>249</sup>

*"In addition to it, at a distance of about 500 meters, there was another chamber, indicated as Bunker no. 1. This, too, was a brick house, but it was divided into only two rooms, which could take in a total of fewer than 2000 naked persons. These rooms had only one entrance door and one little window."*

On the corresponding drawing, too, the two gas chambers of 'Bunker 1' have only one door each.

2) Soviet deposition:<sup>250</sup>

*"On the outside of the entrance door was written 'To the disinfection' and on the inside of the exit door 'To the bath.'"*

Polish deposition:<sup>251</sup>

*"On the entrance door there was the plate of which I have already spoken, with the inscription 'Hochspannung – Lebensgefahr.' This inscription was visible only when the entrance door was closed. When the door stood open, it could not be seen, instead, there was another sign 'Zum Baden' [to the bathing]."*

The inscription "Zum Baden" was therefore (Soviet deposition) on the inside of the exit door, but (Polish deposition) on the inside of the entrance door.

3) Soviet deposition:<sup>252</sup>

*"At some 500 meters from gas chamber no. 1, there were two standard wooden barracks."*

Polish deposition:<sup>253</sup>

*"Not far from Bunker no. 1 there was a barn and two barracks."*

In the Soviet deposition Dragon affirms that the incineration trenches were located about 500 meters from 'Bunker 1'; in the Polish one he declares: *"The trenches were very far away."*<sup>254</sup> It follows that the barn and the two barracks which were "not far" from 'Bunker 1' stood at a distance much less than 500 meters from Bunker 1: the witness contradicts himself.

<sup>249</sup> "Oprócz niej istniała bowiem w odległości około pół km. druga komora, oznaczona jako bunker nr.1. Był to również dom murowany, składał się jednak tylko z dwóch komór, które razem mieściły mniej aniżeli dwa tysiące rozebranych ludzi. Komory te miały tylko drzwi wejściowe i po jednym okienku"

<sup>250</sup> "На входной двери на наружной стороне была надпись: 'Для дези[н]фекции,' а на выходной двери, на внутренней стороне ее: 'Вход в баню.'"

<sup>251</sup> "Na drzwiach wejściowych wisiała tabliczka, o której już poprzednio wspomniałem, z napisem 'Hochspannung-Lebensgefahr.' Napis ten widoczny był tylko wówczas, gdy drzwi wejściowe były zamknięte. Gdy drzwi były otwarte napisu tego widać nie było, a widać było natomiast napis drugi 'Zum Baden'."

<sup>252</sup> "На расстоянии приблизительно 500 метров от газокамеры по.1 были два деревянных стандартных барака."

<sup>253</sup> "W pobliżu bunkra 1 stała stodoła i 2 baraki"

<sup>254</sup> "Doły znajdowały się bardzo daleko"

### 5.2.3. 'Bunker 2'

We now come to the major contradictions of the two depositions on the subject of 'Bunker 2'

1) Soviet deposition.<sup>255</sup>

*"The gas chambers were two modified houses, whose windows had been hermetically sealed."*

Polish deposition.<sup>256</sup>

*"The windows were walled up."*

2) Soviet deposition.<sup>257</sup>

*"[...] another two barracks stood at some 150 meters from gas chamber no. 2."*

Polish deposition.<sup>258</sup>

*"At about 30 to 40 meters from this cottage stood two wooden barracks."*

3) Soviet deposition.<sup>259</sup>

*"At 150 meters from chamber no. 2 there were six trenches of the same dimensions as those near chamber no. 1."*

Polish deposition.<sup>260</sup>

*"On the other side of the house there were four trenches, 30 m long, 7 m wide and 3 m deep."*

In the Soviet deposition these trenches are 30 to 35 meters long, 7 to 8 m wide, and 2 m deep.

4) Soviet deposition.<sup>261</sup>

*"Gas chamber no. 2 could take in 2,000 persons."*

Polish deposition.<sup>262</sup>

*"One of them [the rooms] could take in 1,200 naked persons, the second 700, the third 400, and the fourth 200 to 250."*

At maximum, then, the four rooms of 'Bunker 2' could contain 2,500 to 2,550 persons.

5) Soviet deposition.<sup>263</sup>

*"The gas chambers 1 and 2 were located about 3 km apart from each other."*

Polish deposition.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>255</sup> "Газокамеры были переоборудованы из 2-х домов, окна которых были герметизированы"

<sup>256</sup> "Okna miała zatynkowane"

<sup>257</sup> "[...] на расстоянии 150 метров от газокамеры по.2 были такие же два барака"

<sup>258</sup> "W odległości około 30-40 metrów od owego domku stały dwa baraki z drzewa"

<sup>259</sup> "На расстоянии 150 метров от камеры по.2 находилось шесть рвов такой же величины, как и при камере по.1."

<sup>260</sup> "Po drugiej stronie domu znajdowały się 4 doły o wymiarach 30 m. długości, 7 m. szerokości i 3 m. głębokość."

<sup>261</sup> "В газокамеру по.2 вмещалось 2000 челрвек."

<sup>262</sup> "Jedna, w której pomieścić można było rozebranych 1200 osób, w drugiej mieściło się 700, w trzeciej 400, a w czwartej 200-250 osób."

<sup>263</sup> "Газокамеры по.по. 1 и 2 находились одна от другой на расстоянии приблизительно 3-х километров"

*"In addition to it, at a distance of about 500 meters, there was another chamber, indicated as Bunker no. 1."*

#### 5.2.4. Critical Analysis

For this analysis, I shall again restrict myself to the most important points.

1) In the Soviet deposition, Szlama Dragon affirms that 'Bunker 1' had a total floor area of 80 square meters and 1,500 to 1,700 persons could be squeezed into it – i.e., 19 to 22 persons per square meter in rounded figures! In the Polish deposition he speaks of "*fewer than 2,000 persons*" which corresponds to a density of "*fewer than*" 25 persons per square meter! On the other hand, 'Bunker 2' had a total floor area of 100 square meters and could take in 2,000 persons according to the Soviet deposition or up to 2,550, if we follow the Polish one. Thus, here again, we have a density of 20 to 25 persons per square meter!

2) In the Soviet deposition, the witness, referring to 'Bunker 1,' declares:<sup>265</sup>  
*"The removal of the corpses from the chamber, as I have already explained, was carried out by 12 persons who took out 6 corpses every 15 minutes. [...] The clearing of the chamber took 2 to 3 hours."*

Actually, if 12 men carry 6 corpses every 15 minutes, the clearing of 1,500, 1,700, or "*fewer than 2,000*" corpses would have required about 62 hours, or about 71 hours, or "*fewer than*" 83 hours respectively. To carry 2,000 corpses within 3 hours would require that each of the 12 persons carried roughly one corpse each and every minute!

3) In the Soviet deposition the witness declares that his transport (2,500 persons), which arrived on December 7, 1942, was received at Birkenau by Dr. Mengele, who carried out the selection.<sup>266</sup> However, Dr. Mengele was not dispatched to Auschwitz until six months later, on May 30, 1943.<sup>267</sup> Dragon adds that the gassings were performed "*by various SS men, one of whom was called Scheimetz.*"<sup>268</sup> In the Polish deposition the witness declares that the gasings were carried out by Rottenführer "*Scheinmetz*" upon the orders given by Mengele; the Zyklon B was brought by a car with the sign of the Red Cross, which the Germans called "*Sanker.*"<sup>269</sup>

At the time – as we have already seen – Mengele was not yet at Auschwitz. As to "*Scheimetz*," "*Scheinmetz*," or "*Steinmetz*" – a rather common German

<sup>264</sup> "Oprócz niej istniała bowiem w odległości około pół km [= half a km]. Druga komora, oznaczona jako bunker nr. 1."

<sup>265</sup> "Разгрузкой камеры от трупов, как я выше указывал, занимались 12 человек попеременно, разгружали каждые 15 минут по шесть человек. [...] Разгрузка камеры продолжалась 2-3 часа."

<sup>266</sup> GARF, 7021-108-12, p. 181.

<sup>267</sup> Helena Kubica, "Dr. Mengele und seine Verbrechen im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau," in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 20, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1997, p. 376.

<sup>268</sup> "Шайметц."

<sup>269</sup> Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 105; the German term for an ambulance or similar vehicle was "*Sanka*" = *Sanitätskastenwagen*.



last name – nothing at all is known about him,<sup>270</sup> and there is therefore no proof that he ever existed. It is true that this name was also mentioned by Henryk Tauber in his deposition of May 24, 1945, but Tauber gave his deposition after Dragon's. That the source is really Dragon is borne out by the fact that for the gassings Tauber, too, evokes the duo Mengele-Scheimetz.<sup>271</sup> It is likewise clear that Dragon, at the time of the Soviet deposition, did not yet know anything about the alleged vehicle with the Red Cross, which brought the Zyklon B and which appears in many later testimonies.

4) In his declarations regarding the extermination capacity of the 'Bunkers,' Dragon reaches the pinnacle of absurdity. He states:<sup>272</sup>

*"Over 24 hours, all the trenches could burn no fewer than 10,000 persons. On average, in the ten trenches, [no fewer than] 17,000 to 18,000 persons were burned in 24 hours, but on certain occasions the number of persons burned reached 27,000 to 28,000."*

Hence, between December 1942 and March 1943 not fewer than  $(17,000 \times 30 \times 4 = )$  2,040,000 persons, most of them Jews, were exterminated! However, during the period in question, only some 125,000 Jews had arrived at Auschwitz, of whom 105,000<sup>273</sup> were not registered. As far as 1944 is concerned, during the deportation of the Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, 6 or 7 transports never arrived on a single day.

These nonsensical figures, by the way, clash with the technical data furnished by the witness. For example, at the rate of 6 corpses being removed every 15 minutes it would have taken 290 to 333 hours, or 12 to 13 days, to clear 7,000 to 8,000 corpses from the gas chamber at 'Bunker 1,' to say nothing of the transportation of the corpses to the trenches, or of their incineration. The incineration of 7,000 to 8,000 corpses per day would have required a daily supply of 1,120 to 1,280 tons of wood,<sup>274</sup> which would have had to be carried to the trenches and laid out by a detail of just 28 detainees; each one of them would have had to carry and lay out in the trenches some 40 to 46 tons of wood every single day! Not to mention the question of the two barbers and the two dentists for a daily load of 7000 to 8000 corpses!

Dragon did not dare repeat these absurd figures to Judge Jan Sehn; he had provided them to please the Soviets, or else the Soviets had suggested them to him.

5) Just as absurd is the assertion that the SS collected the human fat of the corpses to feed the combustion in the trenches. Animal fat has a flashpoint<sup>275</sup>

<sup>270</sup> Even F. Piper admits that on Scheimetz/Scheinmetz "there is no further information." *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz*, Verlag Staatliches Museum in Oświęcim, 1993, p. 207, note 19.

<sup>271</sup> Declaration by H. Tauber on May 24, 1945. Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 139.

<sup>272</sup> "В течении суток во всех рвах при газокамере по 2 сжигали не менее 10000 человек. В среднем во всех десяти рвах в течении суток сжигали не (менее) 17-18 тысяч человек, а в отдельных случаях число сожженных в течении суток составляло 27-28 тысяч человек."

<sup>273</sup> Data taken from *Kalendarium* by Danuta Czech, *op. cit.* (note 13).

<sup>274</sup> Cf. C. Mattogno, J. Graf, *Treblinka. Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?* Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2004, pp. 148-150.

<sup>275</sup> The temperature at which the fat begins to produce appreciable quantities of vapors that can ignite when in contact with a flame.

of under 184°C (363°F),<sup>276</sup> considerably less than the ignition temperature of dry wood, which varies between 325 and 350°C; on the other hand the combustible substances in a corpse start to gasify (into carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons) at around 400 to 500°C,<sup>277</sup> so that in any kind of burning trench<sup>278</sup> for corpses the first thing to burn would be the fat.

I have demonstrated the impossibility of recovering burning human fat for fuel in a series of specific experiments.<sup>279</sup>

The facts did not keep the literary theme of human fat as fuel from being employed successfully in later accounts. This, in turn, was an elaboration of the theme of the recovery of oils and fats for machinery and washing soaps.<sup>280</sup>

6) In the Polish deposition, the witness attributes to ‘Bunker 2’ four incineration trenches, which in the Soviet deposition he had assigned to “gas chamber no. 1.”

7) We must also note that the first description of the installations of the two ‘Bunkers’ follows a pattern that is both repetitive and nonsensical. For ‘Bunker 1’ it is as follows:

undressing barracks  $\xrightarrow{500\text{ m}}$  ‘Bunker’  $\xrightarrow{500\text{ m}}$  burning trenches

For ‘Bunker 2’ it is as follows:

undressing barracks  $\xrightarrow{150\text{ m}}$  ‘Bunker’  $\xrightarrow{150\text{ m}}$  burning trenches

From the point of view of logistics, it does not speak strongly in favor of German organizing methods to have 2,000 naked people walk or run 500 m in the open and to transport the corpses over the same distance.

8) A final observation: According to official historiography, the members of the so-called ‘special unit’ were regularly murdered by the SS after a few months as potentially dangerous ‘witnesses.’

According to Danuta Czech, the previous ‘special unit,’ consisting of 300 persons, was gassed on December 3, 1942, “*in the gas chamber near crematorium I,*” and three days later, a new ‘special unit’ was formed, which included Szlama Dragon.<sup>281</sup> This same witness, in the Polish deposition, relates that his ‘special unit’ was housed near Block 2 and states:<sup>282</sup>

*“This Block was a closed one, and, different from the other Blocks, was surrounded by a wall. They did not want us to communicate with the detainees in another Block.”*

After his first day at work in “*gas chamber no. 2,*” he fell ill, but instead of being gassed, he was assigned to cleaning duty and other tasks in barrack no.

<sup>276</sup> J.H. Perry, *Chemical Engineer's Handbook*, Wilmington, Delaware, 1949, p. 1584.

<sup>277</sup> C. Mattogno, “*The Crematoria...*”, *op. cit.* (note 184), pp. 410f.

<sup>278</sup> It is better to speak of burning rather than cremation, because a real cremation – yielding only incombustible ash – is possible only in a crematorium oven at a temperature not below 800°C.

<sup>279</sup> C. Mattogno, “*Combustion Experiments with Flesh and Animal Fat,*” *The Revisionist*, 2(1) (2004), pp. 64-72.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. chapter 6.1.

<sup>281</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 349 and 352.

<sup>282</sup> “*Był to blok zamknięty i otoczony, w odróżnieniu od innych bloków, murem. Nie wolno nam było komunikować się z więźniami z innego bloku.*” Hßß trial, vol. 11, p. 105.

2, where he worked until May 1943. He was then transferred to the unit in charge of gathering bricks, where he stayed until February 1944. At the same time, though, he worked for 2 months in “*gas chamber no. 2*” and for some days also in “*gas chamber no. 1*” until he was finally assigned to crematorium IV. Dragon remained with the so-called ‘special unit’ until January 18, 1945, when he and the other 100 men<sup>283</sup> of the unit – instead of being shot as dangerous witnesses – were sent to Germany on foot (!), and he was able to escape unobserved along the way.<sup>284</sup>

One can see that the SS had a strange way of keeping their ‘secrets,’ about which Dragon and his brother Abraham were to provide further accounts in 1993, just as amusing.<sup>285</sup>

### 5.2.5. The Topographical Location of the ‘Bunkers’

Szlama Dragon provides us with no indication that would allow us, even only approximately, to locate the two ‘Bunkers.’ His statements as to the distance between them are contradictory (3 kilometers in the Soviet deposition, 500 meters in the Polish one). That is strange, to say the least, because in 1945 establishing the location of both houses would have been extremely easy, as their positions could have been determined in relation to that of two other major buildings in their vicinity, i.e., the central sauna and the sewage plant of BAIII. One might therefore reasonably suspect that Dragon never even set foot into the places he speaks of. When it comes to ‘Bunker 2,’ this suspicion becomes certainty. All the maps of the area around the Birkenau camp show, in fact, two houses in the zone of ‘Bunker 2.’ As the two versions of drawing 2215 “*Development Map for the Erection and Extension of the Concentration and POW Camp*”<sup>286</sup> demonstrate, the second of these two houses, which stood some 25 meters to the east of ‘Bunker 2,’ was still standing in March 1943. Nevertheless, Dragon never mentions it in his depositions, although it must have been clearly visible, considering its position right next to ‘Bunker 2.’ Why then, doesn’t he mention it?

The alleged ‘Bunker 1’ was a house situated at some 25 meters from the western enclosure of BAIII, in the area between the sewage plant and the northwest corner of the camp, hence in a location that could be easily identified and described. The “*Site Map of Area of Interest Concentration Camp Auschwitz No. 1733*” of October 5, 1942,<sup>287</sup> shows that close by the house, to the west, there were also two barns and another larger house within a radius of 40 meters. Still, Dragon affirms that “*in the vicinity of Bunker 1,*” aside from

<sup>283</sup> Actually, the crematorium personnel, called “*Kommando 53-B, Heizer Krematorium IV,*” consisted of scarcely 30 persons on January 16, 1945. “*Arbeitseinsatz für den 16. Januar 1945*”, RGVA, 502-1-67, p. 17a.

<sup>284</sup> Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 114.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. below, chapter 6.4.6.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. documents 8 and 9.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. document 7.

the two barracks allegedly built by the Central Construction Office, there was only one small barn.

It is true that he says he began his activity in the so-called ‘special unit’ on December 11, 1942, while the map dates from October 5, 1942, and the situation may have changed in the interim. But it is also true that ‘Bunker 1’ is said to have started its alleged extermination activity in either March or May 1942. Hence, there are two possibilities: either the situation changed after October 1942, in which case the Central Construction Office would have left the two barns and the other house intact for five or seven months and then suddenly, for some mysterious reason, have demolished one barn and the house, or else the situation did not change – but in that case Szlama Dragon never set foot in the area of ‘Bunker 1.’ Which of the two possibilities is the correct one is immediately evident from the fact that the witness was not able to locate ‘Bunker 1’ (or ‘Bunker 2’ either) or to help the Soviet investigative commission with its identification,<sup>288</sup> even though – as Andrzej Strzelecki tells us – he was present during its proceedings.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Cf. chapter 7.2.

<sup>289</sup> A. Strzelecki, “*Evacuazione, liquidazione e liberazione del campo*,” in F. Piper, T. Świebocka (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 228), p. 259.



## 6. Literary Variations on the Propaganda

### 6.1. Witnesses Who Stayed Behind at Auschwitz

With Szlama Dragon, the black propaganda about the ‘Bunkers’ no doubt achieved its best organized and most complete literary level, later to rise to the higher order of ‘history.’ During the first months of 1945, however, even at Auschwitz, the ‘Bunker propaganda’ was known only to a small circle of detainees.

On March 4, 1945, four eminent university professors – Mansfeld Geza of Budapest-Pecs, Berthold Epstein of Prague, Bruno Fischer of Prague, and Henri Limousin of Clermont-Ferrand – representing some 4,000 detainees whom the Soviets had liberated at Auschwitz, published a four-page appeal entitled “*An die internationale Öffentlichkeit*” (To the International Public). The aim of this appeal was to publicize the terrible crimes committed at Auschwitz by the German “*Bestien in Menschengestalt*” (beasts in human form). Item d) of the appeal dealt with the alleged exterminations by means of gas:<sup>290</sup>

*“The greatest number of murders was, however, attained when the gasings started, in 1941. In succession, 5 crematoria were built, which also contained the gas chambers. People of all nations were gassed without distinction as to sex or age. For the gasings that were realized by means of Cyklon-gas, the detainees were selected from the Auschwitz main camp and the 36 subsidiary camps. Not only the severely ill were taken from the infirmaries, but, on the contrary, mostly slightly ill patients. Then, at will, people were screened from the various work units. It often happened that entire work units were seized, such as the lumberyard, removed from their workplace and transported to the Birkenau subcamp, where the gas chambers and crematoria were located. Gassings of an unimaginable scope occurred on the arrival of transports of deportees from the countries of France, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Polish camps, and Norway. When the trains arrived, the deportees had to pass in front of the camp doctor or the camp commander, who pointed with his thumb either to the right or to the left. Left meant death by gassing. Transports comprising some 1,500 persons usually sent 12 or 13 hundred into the gas. The percentage of people meant to survive was rarely greater. It happened that the SS doctors Mengele and Thilo would whistle a tune while doing the selection.*”

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<sup>290</sup> GARF, 7021-108-46, p. 9.

*The people meant to be gassed had to undress in front of the gas chambers, to be whipped into the gas chambers. Then the doors were closed and the gassings were carried out. After 8 minutes – death occurred after 4 minutes – the chambers were opened and the corpses taken out by a specifically assigned special unit and taken to the various hearths of the crematoria that burned day and night. At the time of the Hungarian transports, the ovens did not suffice, and gigantic incineration trenches had to be dug for the corpses. Piles of wood had been soaked with petroleum. The corpses were thrown into these pits of fire. It often happened that the SS men threw children and adults into these burning pits alive, and the victims died a horrible death by fire. To save petroleum, oils and fats necessary for the cremations were partly recovered from the corpses of those gassed. The corpses also yielded oils and fats for machinery, even washing soaps.”*

Therefore, even in early March 1945, the propaganda story of the gassing ‘Bunkers’ of Birkenau was unknown to the majority of the detainees the Soviets had liberated.

Even important witnesses like Henryk Tauber and Stanisław Jankowski, both self-styled members of the so-called ‘special unit,’ knew almost nothing about the ‘Bunkers’ in the first months of 1945.

Henryk Tauber, a witness held in high esteem by historians like Jean-Claude Pressac and Robert Jan van Pelt, declared in his deposition of February 28, 1945:<sup>291</sup>

*“[in May 1944] the separate gas chamber<sup>[292]</sup> with the pyres<sup>[293]</sup> near it was built and went into service. [...]*

*At Birkenau, besides the crematoria, the Germans also built the separate gas chambers<sup>[294]</sup> nos. 1 and 2 and the pyres near them where the people would be annihilated. I don’t know when these [gas chambers] started to work, but I know that the Germans stopped to kill people there in April 1943. Gas chamber no. 2 and the pyres nearby as well as the pyres near crematorium no. 5 were in operation between May and October 1944 inclusive.”*

This is a description somewhat wanting for an ‘eye’-witness who pretended to have worked in the four crematoria and around the pyres and therefore to know “everything in detail.”<sup>295</sup>

Stanisław Jankowski, alias Alter Feinsilber, was deported to Auschwitz from the camp at Compiègne on March 27, 1942, and received the ID number 27675. He claims to have been part of the so-called ‘special unit’ from November 1942 until January 18, 1945. On April 16, 1945, Jankowski was ques-

<sup>291</sup> GARF, 7021-108-13, p. 10.

<sup>292</sup> “газовая камера”

<sup>293</sup> The text erroneously says “the chambers.”

<sup>294</sup> “газовые камеры”

<sup>295</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 6.

tioned by Judge Edward Pęczalski and prepared a written deposition, which contained the following account of the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’:<sup>296</sup>

*“Initially at Birkenau, the gassings were done in the bunkers, and the corpses were burnt in pits. The bunkers were camouflaged as ordinary quaint farmhouses. Bunker 1 was in a field on the right-hand side of Birkenau, Bunker 2 on the left.”*

Jankowski declared later that during the deportation of Hungarian Jews (May to July 1944) to Birkenau, an average of 18,000 Jews were murdered every day and adds:

*“When the necessary number of people had not been attained, they were shot and burned in pits. The rule was that the gas chambers would be used only for groups in excess of 200 persons, as it was not worthwhile to put them into operation for smaller groups of people. It happened that several detainees resisted during the executions or that children wept; then Oberscharführer Moll would throw these people into the fire alive.”*

In this case, too, the description is not at all in keeping with the credentials of an ‘eye’-witness.

Jankowski attempts even to rationalize the theme of the children thrown into the fire alive, but is rather clumsy at it: he actually claims that in the four crematoria of Birkenau “a total of 8000 corpses could be burned daily”<sup>297</sup> – a figure, by the way, which is technical nonsense. The rest of his average of 18,000 victims daily had thus to be exterminated in ‘Bunker 2’, i.e., 10,000 a day. Therefore, there cannot have been a situation where there were fewer than 200 victims to be killed, hence the shootings of small victim groups near the pits and the subsequent ritual of throwing live babies into the fire in fact never occurred.

## 6.2. Witnesses Transferred Away from Auschwitz before the Liberation of the Camp

The literary version of the propaganda story created by Dragon was not, in itself, unique: the ‘eyewitnesses’ who had been moved to other camps and had not been able to benefit from this version developed their own literary versions of the black propaganda which circulated in the years 1942 to 1944 in various and contrasting versions. I shall set forth six of the most significant examples.

<sup>296</sup> Teresa Świebocka, Franciszek Piper, Martin Mayr, *Inmitten des grauenvollen Verbrechens. Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos*, Verlag des Staatlichen Auschwitz-Birkenau Museums, 1996, p. 42 and 49.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43.



### 6.2.1. David Olère

David Olère was deported to Auschwitz from Drancy on March 3, 1943. Next to nothing is known about his function in the camp. He has left us more than 120 paintings and drawings, which allegedly represent atrocious scenes of Auschwitz and which stem mostly from the period of 1945 to 1949. Serge Klarsfeld, who published them, wrote about him as follows:<sup>298</sup>

*“At Auschwitz, David Olère was saved because he was an artist who spoke several languages: Polish, Russian, Yiddish, French, English, and German. It was his knowledge of this last language and his gift as an illustrator that made him useful to the SS. He wrote letters to their families for them, with elegant calligraphy and floral designs. Nevertheless, he was assigned from time to time to the garbage ovens or had to participate in the ‘emptying’ of the gas chambers. He saw the paroxysms of horror that took place in the crematory: the undressing in the cloakroom, the gassing, the recuperation of dental fillings and hair, the incineration of the bodies, the sexual violation by the SS of young Jewish girls, the so-called medical experiments, the terror of the victims and the cruelty of the executioners.”*

Olère was never deposed nor has he written an account of his experiences in the camp; his account of Auschwitz as presented by Serge Klarsfeld is taken exclusively from the paintings and drawings we have mentioned. Klarsfeld supposes – without proof – that Olère himself witnessed directly all that he represented in his works. Actually, if Klarsfeld’s assertion were true, Olère must have been omnipresent in the camp, to judge by the variety of themes he treats.

The one painting by Olère which will concern us here has already been published by Jean-Claude Pressac. It was done in 1945 (the month is not indicated) and depicts ‘Bunker 2’ in 1944.<sup>299</sup>

Here is Pressac’s comment:<sup>300</sup>

*“Inexact details:*

- *The hilly nature of the terrain. Reacting to the monotonous flatness of Birkenau, David Olère, in some of his drawings, has introduced a hilly landscape, clearly for artistic reasons only.*
- *The orientation of the hut on the right. We we [sic!] should see the entrance, not the side.*
- *The house in the background on the right is probably a reminder of Bunker 1, which no longer existed in 1944.*

*Exact details:*

- *The relative positions of the ditch, Bunker V<sup>[301]</sup> and an undressing hut are well respected though they are shown somewhat too close together.*

<sup>298</sup> Serge Klarsfeld (ed.), *David Olère, 1902-1985. A painter in the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz / un peintre au Sonderkommando à Auschwitz*, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989, pp. 8f.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34. Cf. document 14.

<sup>300</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), p. 178.

- The positions of the door and of the opening for the introducing the gas in the west corner of Bunker V are also correct.
- The hut is of the stable type.
- Part of the north-west wall was indeed set back as shown by the ruins, but in the reverse direction.
- There was still a tree in front of Bunker V in 1982, of identical shape, a striking coincidence as forty years later it is [...<sup>302</sup>] the same tree.

*This scene recorded a year after the events by D. Olère is of such remarkable precision as to be almost as good as a photograph."*

Pressac's judgment is a little too benevolent. Let us look a little closer at Olère's drawing:

### 6.2.1.1. The Trees

On the aerial reconnaissance photograph of May 31, 1944, no. 3056, there are at least 9 trees around the house alleged to have been a homicidal gas chamber ('Bunker 2'). The map drawn by engineer Nosal on March 3, 1945, entitled "*Location zone of gas chamber no. 2 and of the pyres for the cremation of the corpses at Birkenau*"<sup>303</sup> shows 5 trees around the house. In 1990, there were still 4 large trees around the foundations of the house: one with a trunk circumference of 1.70 meters at 17.25 meters from the eastern corner at an angle of 96° from north, another, with a circumference of 2 meters at 18.40 meters from the western corner at an angle of 32°, a third, with a circumference of 2.40 meters at 3.55 meters from the western corner at an angle of 285° and a fourth with a circumference of 1.24 meters at 5 meters from the western corner, at an angle of 233°. These trees could also be seen from the southern yard of the central sauna. In May 1944<sup>304</sup> and in February 1945<sup>305</sup> the area between the central sauna and the area of 'Bunker 2' was completely open, so that those trees could also be seen from the northern yard and even better from the strip of land to the west between this building and the enclosure.

On Olère's drawing, the tree that stands in front of the corner of the house (between the door and the little window) is indeed in its proper position, but the other two trees shown on the left of the cottage are in an erroneous position with respect to the perspective of the drawing: there were no trees behind the cottage, as is borne out by the photograph of May 31, 1944.

Thus, if we suppose that Olère had actually seen the sight that he drew, we should be more surprised by the absence of at least six trees than by the presence of the one in front of the house.

<sup>301</sup> Alleged redesignation of 'Bunker 2' in 1944. Cf. chapter 6.3.1. below.

<sup>302</sup> I omit the word "*not*" which was apparently an error in translation and gives the sentence a meaning opposite to what was intended.

<sup>303</sup> Cf. document 20.

<sup>304</sup> Cf. photograph 9.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. photograph 11.

### 6.2.1.2. The Background

Pressac's assertion that the drawing in question brings in non-existent elements into the actual landscape "*for artistic reasons*," but still has almost the same value as a photograph clearly makes no sense. Not only has Olère introduced two non-existent elements – a hill and the two structures that appear on it<sup>306</sup> – into the background, but he has failed to include an existing element which, from the perspective of the drawing, was clearly visible: the central sauna. Even today, if one places oneself in the perspective of the drawing, one can see in the background a sizeable portion of the western façade of the central sauna.<sup>307</sup> Between May 1944 and February 1945 the view was even more open and the central sauna could be seen in full, obscured only here and there by the trees mentioned above, which were very small at the time. Is this serious omission also justified by "*artistic reasons*"?

### 6.2.1.3. The Cottage

- The cottage drawn by Olère has nothing whatsoever in common with the description provided by Szlama Dragon and the corresponding design by engineer Nosal.<sup>308</sup> The latter, as we have seen, has an east-west rather than a north-south orientation and depicts the house turned south by about 25°; however, standing the drawing<sup>309</sup> on its head, we obtain a perspective quite close to that of Olère's drawing. It is true – as Pressac states – that the position of the little window for the introduction of Zyklon B is in agreement with that shown by Nosal's drawing, but on this wall (turned north-west) there should appear another three windows (Nosal's openings O3, O4 and O5) as well as three exit doors. (W2, W3 and W4).
- Moreover, the position of the entrance door was not in the middle: it was next to the southern angle of the wall facing southwest.
- On its left-hand side, the roof of the cottage juts out well past the wall, and is supported by a wooden post at its outer edge: This, too, contradicts Dragon's description, according to which there was no projecting roof.
- Finally, the sign which appears above the cottage door – "*Dezinfektion*" – is wrong and in the wrong place. According to Dragon, the signs with the inscriptions were on the door (one on the outside and one on the inside) and not above it; also, as the door stands open on Olère's drawing, the sign "*Zum Baden*" should be visible on it, as Pressac has carefully done on his own drawing.<sup>310</sup>
- As an afterthought: The presence of such an inscription is contradicted by Wohlfahrt, Paisikovic, and Müller.<sup>311</sup>

<sup>306</sup> The building on the right resembles a horse stable barrack, the one on the left a private house with a very tall chimney.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. photograph 4.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. document 12.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. document 12a.

<sup>310</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), p. 172.

<sup>311</sup> Cf. chapters 6.2.6., 6.3.1., 6.3.3.

#### 6.2.2.4. The Undressing Barrack

Pressac states that the barrack on the right is not shown properly, because “one should see the entrance, not the side.” Actually, this barrack should not be visible at all. It stands next to a trench to the west of the cottage whereas it should be to the east, roughly where the little hill appears: in that position one would be able to see its front with the door.<sup>312</sup>

#### 6.2.1.5. Conclusion

Far from having “almost the same value as a photograph,” Olère’s drawing represents merely the illustration of a propaganda script which, by 1945, had become well known.

As we shall see in chapter 7, this drawing is, furthermore, in total contrast with another drawing of ‘Bunker 2’ worked up from the declarations of another ‘eye’-witness – Dov Paisikovic.

Robert Jan van Pelt’s analysis, as might be expected, is rather superficial. He dedicates to Olère’s drawing the few lines that follow:<sup>313</sup>

*“The drawing shows not only Bunker 2 but also the undressing barrack in the correct position vis-à-vis the cottage. Of particular interest is the small window in the side of the cottage with the heavy wooden shutter. This was the opening through which the SS introduced the Zyklon B into the room. The same way of introducing the gas was adopted in crematoria 4 and 5, and not only do the plans, elevations and photographs of the crematoria show these openings, but three of these shutters still survive and are presently stored in the coke room of crematorium 1. Even in its details, Olère’s drawing is supported by surviving material evidence.”*

As we have already seen, the position of the barrack in the drawing with respect to the cottage is actually quite wrong: it should have stood to the southwest of the cottage, whereas Olère places it in the north-west. The representation of the “heavy wooden shutter” may be similar to the little windows of crematoria IV and V, but that proves absolutely nothing with respect to ‘Bunker 2’ – in the same way as the fact that the door of the cottage is a heavy wooden door similar to those of the disinfestation chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau proves nothing, either.

All this, together with all the other mistakes pointed out above, proves that Olère’s drawing is nothing but the pictorial rendering of the literary propaganda about the ‘Bunkers,’ i.e., the painter-detainee had done nothing but sketch out a fictional scene based on the black propaganda.

As for van Pelt, he knows nothing of the other three windows and three doors, which would have been visible on the side of the cottage. He says nothing at all about the other alleged undressing barrack, and speaks of a single window and a single room, as if the ‘Bunker’ contained only one gas chamber

<sup>312</sup> Cf. chapter 9.1 and 9.3.

<sup>313</sup> R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 118), p. 180.

and not the four that have been sanctified by official historiography. This is not very flattering for the author of an expert report on Auschwitz!

## 6.2.2. Miklos Nyiszli

Miklos Nyiszli was deported to Auschwitz from Hungary on May 29, 1944. At the camp, he was registered with the number A-8450. In early June,<sup>314</sup> so he says, he became a member of the so-called special unit as a physician and kept that post until January 18, 1945, when he was evacuated to the Mauthausen camp.

In 1946, he published a book of memoirs in Hungarian with the title *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az Auschwitz-i krematóriumban* (I was an anatomist with Dr. Mengele at the Auschwitz crematorium), in which he speaks in great detail about ‘Bunker 2.’ In the following I quote the relevant passages in a direct translation from the Hungarian original, because the available translations are rather inaccurate:<sup>315</sup>

“One day, early in the morning, I received an order by telephone, asking me to go immediately to the pyre<sup>[316]</sup> and to take the medicines and eyeglasses that had been collected [there] to the crematorium I<sup>[317]</sup> to be sorted and then shipped. The pyre was behind a grove of birches at Birkenau, at some 500 – 600 meters from crematorium IV<sup>[318]</sup>, on a clearing surrounded by a forest of fir-trees. It is located outside the electrified camp enclosure, between the first and the second chain of guards. My freedom of movement did not extend that far. I asked for a written permit at the office. I obtained a ‘Passierschein’ [permit<sup>319</sup>] valid for three persons. I was, in fact, accompanied by two men who were to help me carry the load. We walked towards the huge black swirling column of dense smoke. It was visible from all parts of the concentration camp,<sup>[320]</sup> and on it fell the terrified look of all those who, having climbed down from the cars, fell into line for the selection. Anyone who had the misfortune of being in this place saw the column of smoke. It was visible at any hour of the day or night. By day, it covered the sky above the Birkenau forest like a dense cloud. By night, it lit up the surroundings as if it was a hellish fire. On our way we passed along the

<sup>314</sup> In his sworn statement of October 8, 1947, (NI-11710) Nyiszli asserted, on the other hand, that he had arrived at Auschwitz on May 19, 1944, and to have been immediately moved to Monowitz from where he was transferred to Birkenau a couple of weeks later.

<sup>315</sup> Miklos Nyiszli, *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az Auschwitz-i krematóriumban*, Tipografia “Grafica,” Oradea, Nagyvárad 1946, pp. 59-61, 62. Italian translation: *Medico ad Auschwitz*, Longanesi, Milano, 1976; German translation: *Im Jenseits der Menschlichkeit. Ein Gerichtsmediziner in Auschwitz*, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1992; English translation: *Auschwitz. A Doctor’s Eyewitness Account*, Fawcett Crest, New York 1961.

<sup>316</sup> “A máglyához;” the noun “máglya” = pyre, with the directional suffix “hoz.”

<sup>317</sup> Nyiszli uses the numbering system I-IV instead of the more common one of II-V.

<sup>318</sup> Crematorium V in today’s numbering system – ed.

<sup>319</sup> In German in the text.

<sup>320</sup> „K.Z. tábor.” “Tábor” means “camp.” “K.Z.” is the abbreviation for “Konzentrationslager” in use among the detainees.

crematorium. We came to a passage through the enclosure and, after having shown the document to the SS guards on duty, walked through without difficulty.

A fresh and green clearing comes into view, a quiet landscape, but my searching eyes soon discover the second chain of sentries, standing or sitting in the grass with their enormous dogs, next to their automatic rifles. Crossing the clearing, we come to the entrance to the grove that surrounds it. Again, we come to a wire fence with a wooden gate covered with barbed wire. On the fence is a large warning sign with a text just like the signs on the iron gratings of the crematoria 'Access to this zone is strictly prohibited, even to unauthorized SS personnel.' We, men of the 'Sonderkommando',<sup>[321]</sup> entered. We did not even have to show our permits. The SS from the crematorium was on duty here, as well as 60 men from crematorium II, men from the 'Sonderkommando' to which we are assigned. This is the day-shift. They work from 7 in the morning until 7 at night when they are relieved by 60 men from crematorium IV who do the night shift.

On the other side of the fence, we come to a square, looking like a court-yard, in the middle of which stands a long house with a thatched roof of straw and a well-worn layer of plaster. Its small windows are covered with boards. The construction has the well-known look of German farm houses. It is at least 150 years old. One can see that from the old roof of blackened straw and from the plaster that has fallen off the wall in some places. The German State has expropriated the village of Birkenau, near Auschwitz, to build its KZ there: they have demolished the houses, with the exception of this one, and have moved the people away. What was the real purpose of this house? A residence? It had separate rooms that had been knocked into one large space by the removal of the dividing walls for a new purpose, or for another similar task? I don't know. Today, it is an undressing room, those who find their death on the pyre leave their clothes there.

Here end up, coming from the 'Jews' ramp,' those transports which do not go into the four crematoria. Their end is horrible. Here are no faucets for them to quench their burning thirst. There are no magic words to dispel their ugly expectations. This is not a gas chamber which they believe to be a disinfestation installation. This is only a farm house with a thatched roof, at one time painted yellow, with its shutters closed, but behind it an enormous column of smoke rises into the sky spreading an odor of burning human flesh and of hair that smolders.

In this yard, there is a crowd of 5000 souls, petrified with horror. Around them there is a tight chain of SS guards with enormous dogs held on the leash. They go to the undressing room 300–400 at a time. Here, pursued by incessant lashings they quickly drop their garments and leave through the door that is on the other side of the house. Once in the open,

<sup>321</sup> In German in the text.

*they do not have time to look around and to comprehend the horror of their situation, because right away a man from the 'Sonderkommando' seizes them by the arm and carries them through a cordon of SS guards along a path lined with trees and some 150 meters long, leading to the pyre which they can make out at the end of their road only once they come out of the tree-lined lane.*

*The pyre is a trench 50 meters long, 6 meters wide and 3 meters deep full of hundreds of corpses on fire. On the edge of the trench, toward the tree-lined lane, there are SS guards, every 5–6 meters or so, pistol in hand—small-caliber pistols, 6 mm, for shooting people in the neck. Coming out from the tree-lined lane, two men from the Sonderkommando working at the pyre grab the unfortunate victim by both arms and drag him [or her] some 15–20 meters to the pistol of some SS man. Then, over the horrible noise a shot rings out. It resonates and more often than not they throw [the victim] only half dead into the sea of fire in the trench. Fifty meters away, there is another trench just like it. Here, at the pyres, the commander is SS Oberscharführer Moll [...].*

*The daily capacity of the two pyres was about 5000–6000 bodies, somewhat more than one crematorium, but the death of those who arrived here was a hundred thousand times worse."*

The propaganda story invented by Nyiszli did not meet with objective material criticism and presented, moreover, insurmountable contradictions with what might be called the 'official' version of Szlama Dragon.

Nyiszli had wanted to lend credibility to his tale by a detailed description of the site which, actually, was only the fruit of his imagination. In reality, the house that was to be called 'Bunker 2' stood some 250 meters to the west of the central sauna, which was the closest major structure to it: why does Nyiszli make crematorium V his reference point? This is all the more astonishing as crematorium IV was closer to 'Bunker 2' than crematorium V. The answer is that the witness believed that in order to get to the house one had to leave the camp at the level of crematorium V after having passed "*alongside the crematoria.*" Actually, starting out from crematorium II, where Nyiszli claims to have had his quarters and worked (in the dissection room), one only had to pass along crematorium III and then along the sewage plant to leave the camp through the gate next to the four settling basins. That was the only road leading to the house. The gate itself opened not onto a clearing, but a grove of trees.

Besides, there is no trace of two cremation trenches of 50 by 6 meters on any of the air reconnaissance photographs taken of Birkenau in 1944.

Nyiszli obviously did not know the later designations 'Bunker 2' or 'little white house'; he even says that the house had been painted yellow at one time—so that, if anything, it should have been called the 'little yellow house.'

Furthermore, according to Nyiszli, the house was not split into four rooms, but consisted of only one large room and had no signs with "*magic words.*" Its windows had not been walled up but simply "*covered with boards.*" Finally,

the house was not a gas chamber but an undressing room. Nyiszli, in fact, knows absolutely nothing of the two undressing barracks that are claimed to have been set up near the house. The assassination technique at 'Bunker 2' was, for him, not gassing but shooting with small arms.

Although the testimony of Miklos Nyiszli is a pile of inventions and absurdities,<sup>322</sup> Jean-Claude Pressac considers it "*precious*."<sup>323</sup> He even attempts to explain the contradiction regarding the extermination technique at 'Bunker 2' in the following way:<sup>324</sup>

*"Towards the end of the summer, when Zyklon B ran low, the infirm from the various transports who still arrived at Auschwitz were thrown directly into the cremation pits at crematorium V and Bunker 2."*

Pressac names as his source the following deposition of Hermann Langbein at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial:<sup>325</sup>

*"In 1944, children were thrown alive into the huge fires that were burning near the crematoria. We heard about this at the main camp and I informed the garrison surgeon. Dr. Wirths refused to believe me. He went to Birkenau to find out. When I went to him the next day for dictation he simply said 'that was an order of camp commandant Höß. It was issued because there was no more gas.' From that time on, Dr. Wirths believed anything I told him."*

This was only a clumsy attempt at rationalizing the propaganda motif of the burning of children alive, the literary origins of which we have seen in chapter 2. Langbein's credibility can, by the way, be judged by his 1945 assertion that 5 million persons had been gassed at Auschwitz.<sup>326</sup>

The lack of Zyklon B at Auschwitz is a tale without foundation. It is known with certainty that 195 kg of Zyklon B were supplied to the camp on April 11, 1944, 195 kg on April 27, and another 195 kg on May 31.<sup>327</sup> In connection with various documents presented at the IG Farben trial, Raul Hilberg has examined the question of Zyklon B supply and has come to the conclusion:<sup>328</sup>

*"The supply was kept up to the end – the SS did not run out of [Zyklon B] gas."*

Therefore, the aforementioned contradiction on the subject of 'Bunker 2' remains real.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. in this respect my study "*Medico ad Auschwitz*": *Anatomia di un falso. La falsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1988.

<sup>323</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), p. 479.

<sup>324</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *op. cit.* (note 139), p. 102.

<sup>325</sup> H. Langbein, *Der Auschwitz-Prozess. Eine Dokumentation*, Europa Verlag, Vienna 1965, vol. 1, p. 88.

<sup>326</sup> Declaration by H. Langbein given in Vienna on August 8, 1945, to *Polizeidirektion*. GARF, 7021-108-34, p. 22: "*Im Zuge dieser Transporte wurden etwa 5.000.000 Menschen vergast*" (In the course of these transports about 5,000,000 persons were gassed).

<sup>327</sup> PS-1553.

<sup>328</sup> R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, Fischer, Frankfurt 1999, vol. 2, p. 954.



### 6.2.3. Sigismund Bendel

Sigismund Bendel – from Piatra in Romania – settled in Paris in 1932. He was arrested by the French police on December 4, 1943, and after a week was moved to the Drancy camp, to be deported to Auschwitz on December 7, 1943.<sup>329</sup> On arriving at the camp on December 10, Bendel was registered under ID no. 167460 and sent to Monowitz, and, three weeks later, to Birkenau, where he was employed as a physician, first at camp BIIa, then at the Gypsy camp (BIIe). On June 2, 1944, by his own account, he became part of the so-called special unit as a physician.

On October 7, 1947, Bendel was interrogated by an inspector of the Paris police on behalf of the Polish authorities, which at the time were preparing the trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison. He made the following declaration on the so-called ‘Bunkers’ of Birkenau:<sup>330</sup>

*“From May 15, 1944, on, a new gas chamber was set up, outside the camp enclosure itself. It was installed in a farm cottage divided into two parts, in which the detainees were gassed. From that time on, the bodies coming from this chamber were no longer cremated in the crematorium ovens, except in crematoria I and II [= II and III]. The bodies were placed in gigantic trenches, in which the cremation was carried out. It was done in this way: among the bodies, gasoline-soaked logs were put in and the fire was lit. This new method was introduced in the course of 1944 on account of an influx of deportees, because the normal crematoria were insufficient. With this new system, it was possible to burn 1000 persons [sic] in one hour whereas a crematorium oven would have taken 24 hours to achieve the same result.”*

Bendel had learned the details of this story from the rumors that circulated immediately after the war. In his debut as a professional witness, on October 1, 1945, when he appeared as a witness for the prosecution at the Belsen trial, he limited himself to the following evasive hint:<sup>331</sup>

*“Q: How many crematoria were there?”*

*A: Four, and one which was called the ‘Bunker’ which was finally a gas chamber. All were at Birkenau.”*

In his declaration of October 21, 1945, however, there is not even that hint.<sup>332</sup> On March 2, 1946, when Bendel testified for the prosecution at the IG-Farben trial, his knowledge was still rather basic:<sup>333</sup>

*“Q: How many gas chambers were there at Birkenau?”*

<sup>329</sup> Sigismund Bendel actually figures on the alphabetical list of transport no. 64, departed from Drancy on December 7, 1943. S. Klarsfeld, *Le Memorial de la déportation des Juifs de France*, Klarsfeld, Paris 1978, alphabetical list of transport no. 64 (the book does not contain page numbers).

<sup>330</sup> Ministère de l’Intérieur. Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Procès verbal de l’audience de Sigismund Bendel du 7 octobre 1947. AGK, 153, p. 211.

<sup>331</sup> Raymond Phillips (ed.), *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, William Hodge and Company, London-Edinburgh-Glasgow 1949, p. 135.

<sup>332</sup> NI-11390.

<sup>333</sup> NI-11953.

*A: Four crematoria and one Bunker [...]*

*Q: How many people could enter together into one crematorium?*

*A: Into crematorium 1 and 2, 2000 each, into crematorium 3 and 4, 1000 each and into the Bunker 1000."*

In 1946, a book about Auschwitz was published in France that contained an account by Dr. Paul [sic] Bendel entitled "*Les crématoires. Le 'Sonderkommando'*" (The crematoria. The 'special unit'). Here, too, Bendel is rather taciturn on the alleged 'Bunker 2,' but he ventured to say that the alleged 'Bunker 2' had to be a farm cottage:<sup>334</sup>

*"There were four crematoria, the fifth, called 'Bunker,' was a simple farm cottage converted into a gas chamber 'for the requirements of the cause.'"*

At the time, he did not yet know that this "cottage" had to be a full-sized house.

What is curious is that Dr. Bendel, just like Dr. Nyiszli, claims to have been assigned to the so-called special unit by the same person – Dr. Mengele<sup>335</sup> – at the same time – early June 1944 – but not only do the two physicians, in their testimonies, not mention one another, but on the subject of 'Bunker 2' (and not only on this point) they have given us totally contradictory accounts.

#### 6.2.4. André Lettich

Doctor André Lettich was deported from Angers (France) on July 20, 1942, and arrived at Auschwitz on July 23 to be registered under ID no. 51224. A doctor, he worked at hospital blocks nos. 7 and 12. After September 1942, from an unspecified date onwards until March 1943, Lettich claims to have worked as a physician in the so-called special unit; in March 1943 he was transferred to the Gypsy camp. In July 1943 he was sent to the hygiene institute of the Waffen-SS, where he worked as a bacteriologist. Lettich was evacuated from Auschwitz on foot on January 18, 1945.

In 1946 he published a report entitled "*Thirty-four months in the concentration camps. An account of the 'scientific' crimes committed by the German doctors,*"<sup>336</sup> in which he devotes an entire chapter to his life in the so-called special unit. The most important section reads as follows:<sup>337</sup>

*"One day, we<sup>[338]</sup> heard of a Kommando (special Kommando) where they were looking for a physician and – it was said – where they did not suffer from hunger. Seeing that we were getting sick, we asked to be called*

<sup>334</sup> Amicale des Déportés d'Auschwitz (ed.), *Témoignages sur Auschwitz*, Edition de l'Amicale des Déportés d'Auschwitz, Paris 1946, p. 160.

<sup>335</sup> "Dr. Mengele gave me the honor of sending me to the crematorium." R. Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 331), p. 131.

<sup>336</sup> André Lettich, *Trente-quatre mois dans les Camps de Concentration. Témoignage sur les crimes "scientifiques" commis par les médecins allemands*, Imprimerie Union Coopérative, Tours 1946.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>338</sup> Lettich writes using the *pluralis majestatis*.

*there, as doctor[s], to the block where this Kommando was housed. We had believed that the 'Sonderkommando' was a Kommando that was simply burning the corpses, but as soon as we entered and came into contact with our co-detainees, we learned of its real task. They, these co-detainees, were the ones who took care of the death service when the trains arrived and the new transports deported from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Holland, and France, men, women, and children had to be taken directly and immediately to the gas chambers and burned. Right there we had the opportunity to gather the most detailed account of the barbaric acts committed by the SS.*

*This is how we went ahead: [...]*

*Up to the end of January 1943, there were no crematorium ovens at Birkenau. In the middle of a small birchwood, some 2 km from the camp, there was a little house, looking quaint, in which a Polish family had lived before they were driven out or murdered. At over 500 meters from there, there were two barracks: the men went to one side, the women to the other. Very politely, very kindly they were told 'you have come a long way, you are dirty, you must take a bath, undress quickly.' Towels and soap were handed out and, suddenly, the beasts broke through and took on their real shape: this human herd, these men and women, were forced by violent beatings to go out naked, in summer as well as in winter, and had to walk those several hundred meters up to the 'shower room.' Above the door, there were the words<sup>339</sup> 'Brausebad' [shower-bath]. On the ceiling one could even see shower-heads that had been placed there, but which had never squirted any water. These poor innocent people were squeezed together tightly one against the other, and at that point they would panic: they finally understood what was to be their fate, but the beatings and the pistol shots soon calmed them down and finally all went into the chamber of death. The doors were closed, and ten minutes later the temperature was sufficiently high to allow the vaporization of the hydrogen cyanide, because that was what the delinquents were gassed with. The German barbarians used 'Cyklon B,' a diatomaceous earth impregnated with hydrogen cyanide at 20 percent. Now, through a little window, SS Unterscharführer Moll threw in the gas. One could hear the most horrible cries, but after a few moments there was complete silence. After 20–25 minutes, doors and windows were opened for ventilation and the corpses were immediately taken to the trenches to be burned, but not before the dentists had pulled out any gold teeth from their mouths. One also checked if the women had not hidden any valuables in their intimate parts, and their hair was cut and collected for some industrial use. The efficiency of this gas chamber did not appear to be high enough. One could gas only 400–500 persons per day.*

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<sup>339</sup> Plural in the original text.

*Now, with the great scheme to destroy all its enemies that the Greater Reich had devised (and one knows well how numerous these enemies were), in August 1942 one had begun to build the crematorium ovens. From the ground up, four crematorium ovens were built: ultramodern in design, as only the Germans were able to conceive them. Huge chimneys towered above them like those of factories. Of those four ovens, two had nine hearths and the other two had six. On each hearth one could burn six corpses at a time in about fifty minutes. Altogether, 180 corpses reduced to ashes in one hour. Really advanced German technology. To give the reader an idea of the destructive power and the size of those ovens, suffice it to say that, to fan the flames, each hearth was equipped with an electric blower of 12 horse-power. At the end of February, those ovens were ceremoniously inaugurated. [...]*

*In this way, we have been able to watch, for nearly three years, transports coming to Auschwitz from all parts of Europe disappear and vanish in the flames and the smoke rising to the sky above Auschwitz. Without exaggeration, one can set at four or five million the number of victims who perished in this way in this death camp. A 'colossal' execution worthy of the German Kultur.<sup>[340]</sup>*

*Realizing what role the Sonderkommando played, we were repelled and tried to leave this Kommando by all means.*

*And those miserable ones in the Sonderkommando, who had imagined that by virtue of those horrid tasks, to which they had been forced by threats of death, they would be able to be themselves saved, they did not suspect the fate that German 'technology' had reserved for them. In order for the veil of secrecy to be well spread over all these horrors, those slaves of death were housed in a separate block, shut off from any information about their future. Having come from afar, condemned to silence and carefully watched, they disappeared without a trace in total mystery. These unpleasant witnesses, who were present, in fact, at the undressings and the gassings and who then 'liquidated' the corpses, could one day have too loose a tongue, therefore every three or four months, German prudence liquidated them in turn. The labor squads were thus radically and definitely renewed.*

*We managed to obtain our transfer and were assigned as doctor to the Gypsy camp in March [1943]."*

First of all, one can say that André Lettich not only did not know the designation 'Bunker' (nor 'little red house' or 'little white house'), but also that he did not know that there had to be two such 'Bunkers,' something absolutely dumbfounding for a detainee claiming to have worked in the 'special unit' as a physician between late 1942 and early 1943. The description given by the witness regarding the gassing cottage does not fit either 'Bunker 1' or 'Bunker 2,' anyway. The existence of "two barracks" "over 500 meters" away, while it

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<sup>340</sup> Emphasis in original.

does agree with Szlama Dragon's declaration in the Soviet deposition, is limited to this isolated fragment of the propaganda story. Finally, Lettich places the cottage "*some 2 km from the camp*" and explains the presence of two barracks by the fact that one was for men and the other for women.

The description of the cottage is also completely in contradiction with the 'official' version by Dragon. Lettich asserts that the word "*Brausebad*" was written above the door, whereas for Dragon the sign "*Zum Baden*" (and not "*Brausebad*") was attached, not above the entrance door but on the inside of the entrance door and, in further contradiction, on the inside of the exit door of the cottage. Together with the literary theme of the "*Brausebad*," Lettich also takes up the corresponding theme of the "*shower heads*" attached to the ceiling of the gas chamber. This chamber, moreover, had "*windows*," which were opened for ventilation, and had a capacity of 400–500 victims per day: both of these assertions are in contradiction with those of Dragon.

The eminently fictional character of Lettich's testimony shows through no less clearly when he speaks of the Birkenau crematoria. He declares that two "*ovens*" – i.e., crematoria II and III – had "*nine hearths*" (= ovens), in keeping with the rubbish disseminated by Vrba and Wetzler in their report,<sup>341</sup> while the other two "*ovens*" (crematoria IV and V), on the other hand, had six "*hearths*" (= ovens) each, which is wrong as well.<sup>342</sup> The cremation capacity indicated by this witness – 180 corpses per hour – is of course technical nonsense. Lettich then asserts that "*to fan the flames, each hearth was equipped with an electric blower of 12 horse-power*." Actually, the blowers of the three-muffle-ovens of the crematoria (Druckluftanlagen) were not meant "*to fan the flames*," but to feed air for combustion to the corpses, and were powered by a three-phase engine of 1.5 hp. This rubbish was also repeated by Miklos Nyiszli who wrote:<sup>343</sup>

*"They have switched on the gigantic blowers that fan the flames in the boilers [i.e., in the ovens]<sup>344</sup>. Fifteen blowers of this type are running at the same time! There is one next to each oven."*

We have here a good example of independently converging – but wrong – statements.

Lettich also brings up to the anecdote of the so-called special unit being exterminated every three or four months by the SS who wanted to eliminate the witnesses to their crimes, but then patently retracts it when he says that he had himself transferred away from this so-called special unit without any difficulty.

Finally, his estimate of the number of Auschwitz victims – 4 or 5 million, "*without exaggeration*"(!) – speaks for itself.

<sup>341</sup> *Tatsachenbericht ueber Auschwitz und Birkenau*, Geneva, May 17, 1944. RL, WRB 61, p. 16.

<sup>342</sup> Crematoria II and III actually had 5 ovens with 3 muffles each, crematoria IV and V one oven and 8 muffles.

<sup>343</sup> Miklos Nyiszli, *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa...*, op. cit. (note 315), p. 32.

<sup>344</sup> Nyiszli often uses a vague terminology: here "*kazánokban*," where "*kazán*" means "*boiler*" but it obviously stands here for "*hearth*" or "*oven*."

### 6.2.5. Adolf Rögner

Adolf Rögner, detainee no. 15465, wrote an exceedingly long account entitled “*Tatsachenbericht aus dem Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslager Auschwitz I, II und III i. O/S*” (factual account from the concentration and annihilation camp Auschwitz I, II and III in Upper Silesia), which was presented in evidence by the prosecution at the Polish trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison. Among other things, he provides us with the following description of one of the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’:<sup>345</sup>

*“Initially, there was as yet no railroad siding to the new gas chambers and crematoria, it was laid only during the course of the Aktion. But until it came to that, the gassings were carried out in the so-called ‘gray house.’ This was a former farmhouse inhabited by a Polish family, the owner had to relinquish the property. He was married and had children, but was put under pressure, regardless, being made to understand that one was quite ready to move him, too, into the Auschwitz I KZ, it was an attempt at coercion which, however, brought results.*

*There were three large rooms in this farmhouse, they were turned into small gas chambers. The tradesmen from all the workshops received the order to prepare these rooms. Especially thick doors were installed, closing hermetically, the windows were equipped with special shutters. The electricians’ shop, too, received an urgent order, the electrical installations had to be put up as fast as possible and confirmation of termination had to be given by 3:30 p.m.*

*There was no power line available, it had to be done by overhead cable. We had to give up that idea and run a 1000 meter ground-cable and feed it directly into the house, the installations were done in Anthygron, and everything had to be acid-proof, all this was done in a terrible hurry, and it worked, otherwise there would have been unpleasant reports.*

*Altogether, 5–600 people could be gassed at the same time in these three chambers. Outside the windows were tracks of a field-railroad leading to the mass graves that had been prepared, and the corpses would be covered there, because one could not speak of a burial, they were laid out in layers, 4–5 corpses one on top of the other, with chlorinated lime in between, and only a very thin layer of earth on top. The rain caused the whole thing to sink down and so one could clearly see that corpses had been interred there. Everywhere parts like noses, fingers or buttocks stuck out, in the heat of the summer the bodies would boil, one could never walk across one of those mass graves, it was like a roller-coaster, you would sway and slip. These mass graves were some 350 meters long and about 10 meters wide. Altogether, we brought 1.8 million corpses there.*

*How was a gassing carried out, this was different depending upon where it was done. Near the gray house there was a wooden barrack, this*

<sup>345</sup> Trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison (proces załogi), vol. 49, pp. 21–24. AGK, NTN, 131, pp. 21–24.

was destined to store the corresponding clothes, underwear and other things of the Jews. They had to undress there, were given each a towel and a piece of soap, and then go 'bathing'! Then they were led to the 'bath-rooms,' they entered, and the doors were closed right away, they were locked hermetically anyway. In those doors there was a so-called 'food trap,' the gas was thrown in through it. It was the gas 'Zyklon B' that was supplied for this purpose by the car-load from the firm Stab und Teschow [sic] in Hamburg. There were cans of 250 and 500 grams. There were also larger packs, in rubber-soaked cans. This gas was then thrown and so the gassing started.

*It happened that the detainees thought it was something to eat, caught some of the gas thrown and swallowed it, the effect was terrible. I once talked about it with the detainee-physician Dr. Döring, who explained to me as follows: The gassing is very quick, the people inhale 7 or 8 times this toxic gas, then the lungs fill, they burst causing an immediate heart-attack. The gas tastes disgustingly sweet and it takes several days to get it out of your throat. I, too, had a taste of this by accident, when my workshop was gassed against insects.*

*After a quarter of an hour, the chambers would be opened, then the ventilations go into service, in this case [the case of the 'gray house'] the windows are opened and then some detainees start inspecting the corpses for gold teeth, implants and prostheses, finger and earrings. Everything had to be taken from the dead. Only then the corpses were allowed to be loaded on the waiting carts, which took them to the mass grave. For this work, the detainees wore rubber gloves and rubber aprons.*

*The Firm Tesch and Stabenow has already been prosecuted by the British military court and sentenced. This firm had also done the gassing of the detainee blocks because of the lice infestation of the whole camp.*

*In this gray house gassing was done for some time until the termination of the 4 new large and modern crematoriums in Birkenau-Auschwitz II!"*

In his version of the propaganda story, Adolf Rögner – who writes after the Tesch trial (March 1946), of which he had knowledge – reworks the well-known literary themes and thickens them with new rich and fanciful elements from his imagination. His declaration does not allow us to establish whether he refers to 'Bunker' 1 or 2. Rögner does not even know that there ought to have been two gassing 'Bunkers' and therefore he mentions only one, which he calls "*gray house*" rather than 'white' or 'red' house. The story of the Polish family that had lived in it is pure fantasy. The witness states that the house contained three rooms, but this figure does not agree with either 'Bunker 1' (two rooms) or 'Bunker 2' (four rooms). The windows of these rooms were equipped with "*special shutters*" which would be "*opened*" during the ventilation.

According to the Polish deposition of Szlama Dragon, however, "*the windows were walled up.*" Also, the capacity of the three 'gas chambers' is in disagreement with Dragon's information: 500 – 600 persons at a time as against

1500 – 1700 or “fewer than 2000” (‘Bunker 1’) or “over 2000” (‘Bunker 2’). The existence of a single undressing barrack collides with both ‘Bunkers.’ The story of the gas chambers disguised as baths is a well-worn literary theme, but the system for feeding Zyklon B into the chambers that the witness adopts, although no doubt rather original, is also quite nonsensical: the Zyklon B was allegedly thrown into the rooms through a “food trap”! The story that the victims ate the Zyklon B, believing it to be food – granules of gypsum soaked in hydrogen cyanide! – is even greater nonsense. The toxicological effects of hydrogen cyanide mentioned by the witness are pure invention, as is its “disgustingly sweet” taste. The length of the mass graves that Rögner gives (350 meters) is silly and the assertion that 1,800,000 corpses were interred in these graves is simply ridiculous.<sup>346</sup>

If an existing Polish house had really been turned into a ‘gas chamber,’ then the labor mentioned by Rögner as well as others would indeed have been necessary, but as we have seen above, there is not the slightest trace of them in the documentation of the Central Construction Office.<sup>347</sup>

### 6.2.6. Wilhelm Wohlfahrt

Wilhelm Wohlfahrt was sent to Auschwitz on January 8, 1942. In March he was assigned to the Construction Office, where he was employed as a surveyor at Birkenau together with two other detainees. At an uncertain date he was sent to a different camp. Wohlfahrt, a Polish citizen who had lived in Warsaw, was called as a witness at the fourth hearing of the Höß trial and made the following deposition:<sup>348</sup>

*“From that place, we could see what was going on at the so-called little red house, the first gas chamber at Birkenau. From a distance of 400–500 meters, we observed through the lenses of the [surveying] instruments the naked bodies of the gassed that were loaded onto carts from the sides of the little houses.”<sup>[349]</sup> They were, for the most part, women and children. The carts were so full that very often the heads of the corpses were dangling towards the grave. At the time, the hair of the women was not yet shorn because very frequently it was hanging down. My companions and I began to watch closely and to note everything that went on, so that whoever might survive would be able to testify. About two months later, with another group, I went near the little red house out of curiosity and looked at the place where they had thrown the corpses. Those graves measured about 20–30 meters. [The corpses] were arranged in the ground, one with his head one way, the next one the other way. They had been sprinkled with a thin*

<sup>346</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the credibility of Adolf Rögner as a witness see Germar Rudolf, “From the Records of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial”, parts 1 through 4, *The Revisionist*, 1(1,2,3,4) (2003), pp. 115–118, 235–238, 352–358, 468–472.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. chapter 3.4.

<sup>348</sup> Höß trial, vol. 24, pp. 210, 216–218.

<sup>349</sup> “z bocznych domków”



layer of lime, leveled and covered with another layer. At that time, detainees were digging new graves [...]

*In 1944, when I was still at the camp, while doing surveying work at Birkenau and making use of the fact that the second gas chamber was inactive, we did work near the little white house, and I then had an opportunity to see the arrangement of the temporary little house, where the people had been murdered. I have a sketch of the whole area. On the outside doors there was a sign saying 'To the disinfection' and on the inside, on the side opposite that door, 'To the bath.' From this one can surmise that the poor people who entered that room were being deceived. Behind the building there was a track for carts, little wagons with which [the corpses] were immediately taken away.*

*Presiding judge: Does the witness speak of the little red house?*

*Wohlfahrt: There were two cottages, one they called red [cottage] because it was built of brick, the other one was plastered and they called it white [cottage].*

*P.: Were gassings done in both?*

*W.: Yes.*

*P.: Can you indicate the location of the cottage, seeing that you are familiar with measuring?*

*W.: I can do that precisely. The red cottage was more or less to the west of the third sector at Birkenau,<sup>[350]</sup> at a distance of 200–300 meters. Near that cottage there was a clearing with graves. That cottage was demolished in 1943, when I went there at that time<sup>[351]</sup> the whole area had been plowed and the cottage was gone.*

*P.: Was the cottage visible or was it surrounded by the forest?*

*W.: The red cottage was visible, whereas the white cottage was surrounded by woods, furthermore, on the side towards the camp, [surrounded] by branches to conceal any movement that might go on there [...].*

*P.: What did the inside of that white cottage look like? What signs were there?*

*W.: There were no signs, it was rough. [...]*

*P.: What was the capacity of that structure?*

*W.: Four rooms and, although it was made of brick, I think it was straw-thatched; it must have been a barn that had been made into a house. Then it was redone in such a way that there were three rooms in the main part, and in the annex<sup>[352]</sup> a fourth [room]. Each room had a door on either side and little windows of 50–60 centimeters.*

*P.: How many people could it take in?*

*W.: The floor area was around 30 [square] meters, about 4 meters by 7–8. Each room [could contain] over 100 persons.*

<sup>350</sup> BAIH.

<sup>351</sup> The witness does not indicate the month.

<sup>352</sup> "przybudówki"

P.: Hence about 400 at one time?

W.: Yes."

The witness belonged to the improvements section of the construction office, which was associated with the surveying section. His name appears, in fact, in a document dated August 26, 1943. It is the list of detainees of the planning office of the Central Construction Office, who were employed outside the sentry chain. The 16 detainees employed at the "*construction office improvements*" are listed, and among them, specifically, the Polish detainee no. 25439.<sup>353</sup>

He had therefore effectively enjoyed a certain freedom of movement, but that does not mean that he had actually seen the 'Bunkers.' This is excluded, last but not least, by his description. He states that the "*red cottage*" ('Bunker 1') was located "*more or less to the west of the third sector of Birkenau, at a distance of about 200–300 meters,*" whereas the house allegedly transformed into a homicidal 'Bunker' stood less than 50 meters from the fence of BAIII. Regarding the location of 'Bunker 2,' on the other hand, the witness says nothing at all, other than that the corpses of the gassed were loaded on carts "*from the sides of the little houses*" which, according to the official version, did not exist. The structure of the "*white cottage*" ('Bunker 2') is also in disagreement with that claimed by Szlama Dragon. Whereas Dragon also mentions four rooms turned into gas chambers, the house itself contained only three according to Wohlfahrt, the fourth being located in an "*annex.*" For him, those rooms all had the same size (4 by 7–8 meters) whereas – according to Dragon – all four had different sizes.<sup>354</sup>

### 6.3. Later Accounts

For a long time, the two depositions of Szlama Dragon on the gassing 'Bunkers' at Birkenau remained inaccessible to the public at large: until now only the brief extract of the Soviet deposition which appeared in the "*Communication of the Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation and the Research of the Crimes of the Fascist-German Invaders and Their Associates,*" published on May 7, 1945, in *Pravda* had been known; it was presented as a deposition by the witnesses Henryk Tauber and Szlama Dragon.<sup>355</sup>

*"In the beginning of the camp activity, the Germans had two gas chambers, which were three kilometers apart from each other. Next to them stood two wooden barracks. The persons who arrived with the transports were led to the barracks, undressed, and were then taken into the gas*

<sup>353</sup> "Kommando Baubüro. Liste der ausserhalb der Postenkette beschäftigten Häftlinge," August 26, 1943. RGVA, 502-1-26, p. 150.

<sup>354</sup> Cf. chapter 9.2.

<sup>355</sup> *Pravda*, May 7, 1945, n. 109. The article was later accepted as proof for the prosecution at the Nuremberg trial (document URSS 008).

chamber. [...<sup>356</sup>]. Up to 1500–1700 persons were crowded into the gas chambers, then the SS, wearing gas masks, threw [in] Zyklon through openings. The gassing took 15–20 minutes, then the corpses were pulled out and taken on carts to the trenches where they were burned.”

The article was published in various languages. The English translation appeared as early as May 29, 1945,<sup>357</sup> and in 1945 there was also a translation into French.<sup>358</sup>

As we shall see in chapter 7, in the succeeding years the official historiography set the central propaganda theme of the homicidal gassings in two ‘Bunkers’ but embellished it with rather scant particulars.

However, the witnesses who decided to ‘speak out’ in the 1960s and the 1980s knew precious little of even those rare details. Therefore in their tales they often had to reinvent the fictional scenario of the gassing ‘Bunkers’ from scratch. In the pages that follow, we shall examine the witnesses who fall into this category.

### 6.3.1. Dov Paisikovic

On October 17, 1963, in Vienna, Dov Paisikovic wrote a report on his experience as a member of the so-called special unit at Auschwitz. As he states frequently, Paisikovic (born at Rakowec, then in Czechoslovakia, on April 1, 1924) was deported to Auschwitz from the ghetto at Munkacs (Hungary) in May 1944 and was registered with ID no. A-3076. However, according to Danuta Czech’s *Chronicle*, the ID nos. A-2846 through A-3095 were assigned to 250 Dutch Jews coming from the Westerbork camp.<sup>359</sup> On the third day, SS *Hauptsturmführer* Moll made his appearance in the sector BIIC, where Paisikovic stayed, and selected 250 robust men. Of these, 100 were sent to crematorium III; as for the others, Paisikovic relates the following:<sup>360</sup>

*“The others had to march on to the so-called Bunker V (another farmhouse in which gassings took place). There, SS Hauptscharführer Moll received us; he had gone there on a motorcycle, in a white uniform. He addressed us with the words: ‘You will get grub here, but you will have to*

<sup>356</sup> In the complete report prepared by the Soviet interrogators there appears the following sentence: “on the entrance door to the gas chamber, externally, there was the inscription ‘to the disinfection,’ and on the exit door, internally, ‘entrance to the bath.’” Сообщение Чрезвычайной Государственной Комиссии по установлению и расследованию злодеяний немецко-фашистских захватчиков и их сообщников (Communication of the Extraordinary State Commission for the Ascertainning and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German-fascist Invaders and Their Associates), GARF, 7021-116-103, p. 45.

<sup>357</sup> Extraordinary State Commission for the Ascertainning and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German-fascist Invaders and Their Associates, “Statement”, in: *Information Bulletin*, Embassy of the Soviet Socialist Republics (Washington, D.C.), vol. 5, no. 54, May 29, 1945.

<sup>358</sup> Extraordinary State Commission for the Ascertainning and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German-fascist Invaders and Their Associates, “Oswiecim (Auschwitz). Le camp où les nazis assassinèrent plus de quatre millions d’hommes,” in: *Forfaits hitlériens, documents officiels*, Ed. des Trois Collines, Geneva-Paris, 1945.

<sup>359</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, op. cit. (note 13), p. 779.

<sup>360</sup> ROD, c[21]96, p. 1.

work.' We were taken to the other side of Bunker V, and while we could not see anything particular in the front, we saw in the back what this Bunker was used for.

A pile of naked corpses was there, the corpses had swollen, and we were ordered to carry them to a pit that was about 6 meters wide and 30 meters long and that contained corpses already on fire. We tried to take the corpses to the place indicated. But that was too slow for the SS. We were savagely beaten, and one SS man ordered 'one man will carry one corpse.' Not knowing how to do this, we were beaten again, and then the SS man showed us that we had to seize these corpses by the neck with a crook and drag them over. We had to do this work until 18 hours [6 pm]. At noon, we had thirty minutes of rest. Food was brought but none of us wanted to eat. Then we had to line up again. We were led to the Birkenau camp section [BII]d, Block 15 – an isolated block. That night, we were tattooed with our detainee numbers.

The next day, we had to march out again, the one group of 100 to crematorium III and the 150 of us to Bunker V. Our work did not change. It stayed like that for eight days. Some of us threw themselves into the fire because they could not go on. If I should estimate their number today, I should say eight or nine. A rabbi was among them."

On August 10, 1964, Paisikovic gave a long account which was taken down by Tadeusz Szymański, curator of the Auschwitz Museum.<sup>361</sup> Attached to the report are 2 pages containing 4 sketches of "Bunker 5."<sup>362</sup> The witness describes it as follows:<sup>363</sup>

"[...] there were 150 persons who were taken to crematorium 4 (V),<sup>[364]</sup> the other 100 were led farther away, to 'Bunker 2.' It was a farmhouse consisting of 3 rooms. As we approached the house, I saw three windows and three doors. The doors were very strong and had bolts, which attracted my attention, and they had nothing in common with the normal doors of a farmhouse. The house was thatched with straw. On the other side of the house there were doors as well. As far as I can remember there were also three doors on that side. The rooms had a concrete floor. When I was made to stop – just like the others – in front of that house, a Haupt-scharführer arrived – I later learned that his name was Moll. He moved around on a heavy motorcycle. Moll told us in no uncertain terms that we had to work here, but would also get food. Moll took us to the back of the house, where we saw the hell of Auschwitz that no normal human being could imagine: there was an enormous pile of corpses stacked up like hay. Moll started to scream at us to get us to work. He told us to take the corpses from the pile to a trench that had already been dug. Four of us took one corpse, two by the arms and two by the legs. When we came near

<sup>361</sup> APMO, *Zespół Oświadczenia*, vol. 44, pp. 85-113a.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 111f. Cf. documents 15 and 16.

<sup>363</sup> APMO, *Zespół Oświadczenia*, vol. 44, pp. 87f.

<sup>364</sup> In this account, the witness uses explicitly the numbering 1-4 for the Birkenau crematoria

*the trench, which was 30 meters long and 10 meters wide, we noticed that on the bottom there was wood, logs. Near us I saw another trench that was already on fire; the one to which we were taking the corpses had just been dug. At that moment an SS man pounced on us and started to hit us, yelling that each of us should take one corpse. He showed us many walking sticks with the knob bent into an arc and showed us how we should work: he put the curved part under the neck of a corpse and dragged it across the ground behind his back. We now had to do the work like that."*

The victims were taken to "Bunker 5" in groups of 300, escorted by 8–10 SS soldiers.<sup>365</sup> Paisikovic did this work for two weeks.<sup>366</sup> The four sketches (on two sheets) attached to his story were done by Tadeusz Szymański in the presence of Jan Mikulski, judge at the Central Commission for Investigation into the Hitlerian Crimes in Poland, in accordance with the description by Paisikovic, who signed, on each of the two sheets, a declaration to the effect that the sketches were in conformity with his declarations. The first sheet contains three sketches.<sup>367</sup> The first sketch<sup>368</sup> is a floor plan of "Bunker 5": the front part (at the bottom) shows three entrance doors and three small windows for the introduction of Zyklon B. In the rear are shown only three doors.

The second<sup>369</sup> is a front view of "Bunker 5." The roof is covered with straw, and on the front wall the three doors and the three small windows are indicated. The little circles on the doors no doubt represent mechanical levers for closing (which the witness wrongly calls "bolts"). On the side of the house runs the fence of the 'Bunker' area.

The third<sup>370</sup> shows the backside of the 'Bunker' with the three doors but without windows.

The fourth sketch<sup>371</sup> represents the area near "Bunker 5," which is located against the enclosure in the upper part of the drawing. In the center there are two cremation trenches – a new one (to the left) and an old one in operation (to the right). The area shown is a rectangle measuring 100 by 70 meters.

None of these sketches shows any orientation, and the position of "Bunker 5" with respect to the Birkenau camp is not indicated. However, judging from the ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' the drawings are roughly oriented north-south (actually the axis is about 340°), but they have different perspectives: the first two drawings are seen from the south, the third and fourth from the north. The third drawing has a perspective similar to Olère's drawing.<sup>372</sup> Comparing those two drawings, we can note the following differences:

1) House

– chimney present on Olère's drawing, absent on Paisikovic's.

<sup>365</sup> APMO, *Zespół Oświadczenia*, vol. 44, p. 89f.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 90.

<sup>367</sup> Cf. document 15.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. document 15, top.

<sup>369</sup> Cf. document 15, middle.

<sup>370</sup> Cf. document 15, bottom.

<sup>371</sup> Cf. document 16.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. document 14.

- side of the house: Olère has a single window, Paisikovic 3 doors and 3 windows.
- front: Olère shows a door with a sign “*Dezinfektion*” above it. Paisikovic shows nothing at all, the wall is completely bare, no doors, no windows, no signs.
- tree shown on Olère’s drawing, not shown on Paisikovic’s.

2) Barrack: the barrack drawn by Olère is absent on Paisikovic’s drawing.

3) Trenches: Olère has drawn the beginning of a trench roughly running east-west; the two trenches on Paisikovic’s drawing, on the other hand, run north-south.

Paisikovic’s only contribution to the propaganda story is one of terminology: “*Bunker V*,” the alleged new designation of ‘Bunker 2’ in 1944, was coined by R. Höß<sup>373</sup> but had remained totally unnoticed.<sup>374</sup> This designation, later picked up by Filip Müller, was used after that only by Jean-Claude Pressac, who coined the new term “*Bunker 2/V*.”<sup>375</sup>

The sketches mentioned also contrast with the deposition by Szlama Dragon. The drawing done by engineer Nosal in accordance with Dragon’s Polish deposition presents, in fact, 4 rooms, but the sketch done by Tadeusz Szymański based on Dov Paisikovic’s story shows 3 rooms. For Dragon, the 4 rooms all had different sizes, for Paisikovic, the 3 rooms all had the same size. For Dragon, one of the long walls of the house had 4 entrance doors and a small window for the introduction of Zyklon B, the opposite wall had three exit doors and 4 small windows, and one of the short walls had an exit door; for Paisikovic, on the other hand, one of the long walls had three entrance doors and 3 small windows, the opposite wall 3 exit doors and no windows, and the two short walls no doors and no windows.

When it comes to the capacity of the ‘Bunker,’ Dragon sets it at 2000 to 2550 persons, Paisikovic at 300 persons.

Finally, the sketch of the area of “*Bunker 5*” is in disagreement with the on-site findings: it is shown in the form of a rectangle, whereas in reality the area around the house allegedly turned into ‘Bunker 2’ (or “*Bunker 5*”) had the form of a pentagon.<sup>376</sup>

It would seem that Paisikovic was unaware of the literary motif of the camp railway, because he asserts that the corpses were moved to the cremation trenches by seizing them by the throat with a curved stick and dragging them along the ground – a decidedly impractical way of transporting tens of thousands of victims every day over a distance of some 100 feet!

<sup>373</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 37.

<sup>374</sup> The designation “*Bunker V*” is unknown even to Franciszek Piper. Cf. his paper “*Bunkry – prowizoryczne komory gazowe*,” in: various authors, *Auschwitz 1940-1945...*, *op. cit.* (note 2), vol. III, *Zagłada*, pp. 113-122.

<sup>375</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz:...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 171.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. chapter 9.1.

One should note that in 1942–43, when it was allegedly necessary to move fewer than 800 corpses per day,<sup>377</sup> the camp administration is said to have decided to lay a narrow-gauge camp railroad from ‘Bunker 2’ to the alleged cremation trenches to transport the bodies, but in 1944, when ‘Bunker 2’ (or “*Bunker 5*”) allegedly exterminated thousands of Hungarian Jews every day<sup>378</sup> and the bodies had to be taken to the “*cremation trenches*,” the camp administration resorted to the system of ... walking sticks!

### 6.3.2. Franciszek Gulba

Franciszek Gulba was interned at Auschwitz on February 11, 1941, and received ID no. 10245. In November 1944 he was transferred to Buchenwald. On December 2, 1970, he wrote a long report in Polish, which he deposited with the Auschwitz Museum, as registered by Tadeusz Iwasko. I have translated the passages which refer to the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’.<sup>379</sup>

*“One day, the Birkenau Lagerführer, Schwarzhuber, came to the penal company. I already knew him from [my time at] Auschwitz, where he was Fritsch’s substitute. Schwarzhuber called me out. This happened after the roll call but before the details moved out for work. He asked me, using the polite form ‘sie,’ whether I had built roads at Auschwitz. I answered in the affirmative. He ordered me to go in the direction of the Königsgraben [royal ditch]. At the level of the future crematoria III and IV there was a straw-covered house that had been turned into a gas chamber. But there was no access [road]. Schwarzhuber ordered me to go there, adding that someone from the Bauleitung would arrive presently and tell me what to do. That was probably in early August 1942, but I don’t remember the exact date.*

*When I was at the site, I saw a steam roller. The driver was a civilian. I asked him what he was doing there. He answered that he was to roll out a road but did not see it. I explained to him that not far from there the detainees of the penal company<sup>[380]</sup> were still at work, about 500 of them at that time. It consisted then mostly of Jewish detainees from France.*

*I looked around when, suddenly, a motor-car arrived. An SS officer who worked at the Bauleitung got out. He already knew my name. He told me that I was to build a road at that place – but I did not know how. He answered that detainees from the S.K.<sup>[381]</sup> would be assigned to me to do the*

<sup>377</sup> The maximum number of persons allegedly gassed during the activity of the two ‘Bunkers’ in the years 1942–1943 was in January 1943, about 45,700, an average of  $(45,700 \div 2 \times 31 =) 737$  persons for each ‘Bunker.’ Data derived from the *Kalendarium* of Danuta Czech.

<sup>378</sup> During the deportation of the Hungarian Jews a full 6,800 persons per day are stated to have been burned in the open air, the better part of whom are said to have been gassed in ‘Bunker 2.’ Cf. in this respect my article “*Supplementary Response to John C. Zimmerman on his ‘Body Disposal at Auschwitz’*” online: [www.vho.org/GB/c/CM/Risposta-new-eng.html](http://www.vho.org/GB/c/CM/Risposta-new-eng.html).

<sup>379</sup> APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, t. 70, pp. 50–52.

<sup>380</sup> In Polish “*Karina Kompania*.”

<sup>381</sup> “*Strafkompanie*,” penal company.

work and that the construction material for the road (bricks) would be brought by detainees, who were demolishing a couple of houses and some barns in the area. We decided to put down a layer of bricks, then some gravel, which would be rolled, and finally sand on top. On the sides we were to dig a ditch with vertical brick walls to sustain it. The officer told me that the road had to be ready within three days.

After he left, the equipment was delivered: some of the detainees of the S.K. were assigned to the demolition of the buildings mentioned and to the transportation of the bricks. Work proceeded quickly, but on the third day we were still far from having finished. We had done a stretch of 150 meters, but there were still another 300 to be done.

In the afternoon three trucks full of women arrived from somewhere. Some days earlier, near the gas chamber cottage, a large excavator had been at work. Deep trenches had been dug. The cottage itself stood among a few rather tall trees. Towards the trenches, in the winter time, red firs had been planted to hide the trenches.

Inside the house there were doors opening onto a corridor from which other doors led into two rooms, to the right and to the left of the corridor. These rooms also had doors which opened directly to the outside, toward the trenches. I remember that earlier, the ceilings in that building had been taken out and replaced by a concrete slab. A bricklayer Kapo, a German detainee who was part of the S.K., had supervised that work. His name was Zimmer.

The house, if I remember rightly, was made of brick, but the roof was covered with straw. That I recall very well. The whole house was painted white. In the new ceiling openings had been left from which, in the center, the gas was thrown. The Kapo bricklayer told me about this.

I shall go back to the day when the three trucks arrived. They advanced even though the road had not yet been finished. The house – the gas chamber – stood some 50–80 meters away from the road. When the trucks stopped, the women were unloaded. The trucks disappeared. The SS personnel ordered the women to go into the house. They refused and did not want to follow the order. The SS unleashed the dogs – there were several, four or five – and set them on to the women. The dogs fell on them like wild beasts. It was a horrible sight. The dogs tore into the abdomens and yanked out the bowels, biting into their backs and their hands. The women let out screams and moans and in a panic ran towards the doors. After that, we had to pick up the women who were lying on the ground. I saw all that with my own eyes because I stood fewer than a hundred meters from that spot. The trees were high and quite sparse and thus did not hide the house from view. Of course, the same scene was observed by the detainees working on the road. The women were still quite well fed and wore civilian clothes. Among them I did not notice any children. In my opinion, that was the first gassing in the Birkenau zone.”



On December 30, 1974, Franciszek Gulba wrote a letter to the International Auschwitz Committee at Warsaw, in which he gave the following account:<sup>382</sup>

*"In April 1942 I was moved to Birkenau, camp BIIb, with the penal company. The penal company, in which I served, had been assigned between early May and the 20th of the month to dig ditches in the camp. At that time, over by the [later] crematoria, some 50 meters [outside] the fence, the foundations for a concrete slab had been completed to a height of a meter and a half and were partly covered by boards. Only a few civilians were at work there, one of them whom I knew would throw me pieces of bread over the fence.*

*One morning in early August 1942, after the roll call, Lagerführer Schwarzhuber came to the penal company, checked everyone and asked me whether I had built roads at Auschwitz, which I confirmed. He then took me to the camp office and sent me to the road from the present Birkenau monument<sup>[383]</sup> towards crematorium IV.*

*An officer from the Bauleitung came up and with him I determined how to build the road with a solid pavement. The entire penal company, some 600 men, was assigned to that task. On the third day, near the Bunker 2 farmhouse, which was in that area, three trucks with women detainees arrived, and the first gassing was carried out in that Bunker. That must have been on August 10, 1942. Where could the first cottage, turned into Bunker 1, have been at that time? I wish to add here, when I was still at Auschwitz in the penal company, I once worked as a bricklayer with a German Kapo (Zimmer Hainc [Heinz]) who was transforming that second farmhouse into Bunker 2. He described that Bunker in detail and drew it for me. But he did not tell me anything about this other farmhouse [Bunker 1]."*

The variation on the propaganda theme of the 'Bunkers' presented by Gulba exhibits new details which, however, place it completely at variance with the other versions.

The date of the first homicidal gassing in 'Bunker 2' – around August 10, 1942 – is in disagreement with the official date of June 1942. The description of the 'Bunker' is original and fanciful: the house was traversed by a corridor with a gas chamber on either side. The ceiling had been removed and a concrete slab put in instead while, nonetheless, the house kept its straw roof! The gas was not introduced into the gas chambers from the side, through little windows in the wall, but from above, through openings in the slab. In the letter of December 30, 1974, Gulba affirms that in May 1942, *"the foundations for a concrete slab had been finished to a height of a meter and a half and were partly covered by boards"* and he identifies this building with 'Bunker 2.' The witness therefore saw the outside walls on which the slab would have had to be placed, but then, he says, 'Bunker 2' was being built from the ground up; that is at variance with what he says in his story, that the 'Bunker'

<sup>382</sup> APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 70, p. 70.

<sup>383</sup> The monument situated between the ruins of crematoria II and III.

was an existing building, in which the old ceiling was replaced by a concrete slab.

Until 1970 Gulba did not even know the official term ‘Bunker.’ He only learned it at the end of 1974, when the International Auschwitz Committee sent him their “*Biuletyn Informacyjny*” (Information Bulletin) no. 9, which contained an article speaking of ‘Bunkers.’<sup>382</sup> From the same source he also learned of the (alleged) existence of ‘Bunker 1’! The story of the building of the access road to ‘Bunker 2’ by order of the Auschwitz Construction Office is simply a literary trick to justify his self-styled ‘eyewitness’ testimony: as we have already seen, no report about the construction of the camp in 1942 mentions that job.

### 6.3.3. Filip Müller

This witness was deported to Auschwitz from Slovakia on April 13, 1942, and registered under the ID no. 29136. A month after his arrival, he was transferred to the special unit of crematorium I and later to the crematoria at Birkenau, where he stayed until January 1945, when he was moved to Mauthausen and later to Melk. His testimony of 1979 refers to 1944:<sup>384</sup>

*“There was great activity also in the whitewashed farmhouse, separated from the camp of Birkenau by a wooded area which was now bunker 5.”*

*“In addition, the farmhouse, which had served as a place of extermination in 1942, was put in running order. Its four rooms served as gas chambers while an additional four cremation pits were dug outside. The changing rooms were located in three wooden barracks, and the whole complex was known as bunker 5.”*<sup>385</sup>

*“[...] while on the site of bunker 5 with its four gas chambers corpses were burnt in four pits.”*<sup>386</sup>

*“[...] mass extermination in bunker 5 had ceased altogether. For some time now no corpses had been burnt in the pits behind crematorium 5. But the ovens in this crematorium were operating again. As we had feared there was another selection. It came on 7 October.”*<sup>387</sup>

*“The hot summer had ended and now it was autumn. For some time now pits had not been used for burning corpses, [...]”*<sup>388</sup>

Even as late as 1979, Filip Müller had only a very superficial and incoherent knowledge of the propaganda story of the ‘Bunkers.’ His summary account adds nothing new: he has taken over the designation “Bunker V” from Paisikovic, whereas the number of rooms in the house (four) and the number

<sup>384</sup> F. Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz. Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, Stein and Day, New York 1979, here quoted from the 1999 reprint by Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, p. 124.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 133.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 143.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 160.

of cremation trenches (four as well) stem – indirectly no doubt – from the Polish deposition of Szlama Dragon. The number of undressing barracks (three), on the other hand, has been taken from the declarations of Rudolf Höß.<sup>389</sup>

### 6.3.4. Moshe Garbarz

Moshe Garbarz was deported to Auschwitz from Drancy on July 17, 1942. In 1983 he published his souvenirs, written up by his son Elie, which contain an account of the ‘Bunkers.’

One unspecified day, while working with the electricians’ detail, he and six other detainees were allegedly picked out by an *Unterscharführer* who had them follow him. He tells in the following words what he claims to have happened then:<sup>390</sup>

*“On arrival, all seven of us, without exchanging a word, understood why our SS man had been so kind. I immediately had to throw up. We saw two large rectangles traced out on the ground some 20–30 meters wide and 50–60 meters long. In one of them, there were red stains. In the middle there were, at regular intervals, three posts with spotlights on top. The other rectangle was only sketched out on the ground, the earth had a normal color and at the places of the posts had been dug three holes.”*

Garbarz’ unit had to set up the posts and install spotlights on top. The next day he came back for work at the same site. Garbarz says:

*“We had seen a kind of barn, closed on three sides, of the type where the farmers store their hay, and not far from there three or four pretty buildings, like country houses, of which only the first, fairly close, was clearly visible. The convoys arrived, adult men and small children together, women, girls, and babies together. They moved, completely naked, in groups of twenty towards the cottage. Even from a distance, we could see that they were not scared. They were led by an odd-looking group in white, four men, then two SS [men].*

*When the persons had entered the cottage, a heavy door was closed on them. When the door had been well locked, an SS [man] walked by with a tin-can (the tin-can that I saw looked exactly like a paint can) and disappeared from view, hidden by the house. Then we heard a clanking sound of an opening, more like a trap than like a window. Then two more clanking sounds, the prayer Shma Israel sounded, then we heard some screams, but only very faintly.*

*One by one, at the last moment, before vanishing behind the door, the people understood. I saw one group of men resisting. The event had been foreseen: a detail of four or five persons waiting near the door pushes them in while an SS [man] shoots them in the head. The outside of the cottage was so ordinary that such an incident was very rare. Over seven days, I*

<sup>389</sup> Cf. chapter 6.5.3.

<sup>390</sup> Moshé and Elie Garbarz, *Un survivant*, Éditions Plon, Paris, 1983, pp. 109–116.

*only saw one revolt with my own eyes. But others did occur because several times, from a distance, we heard the characteristic noise of a point-blank shot."*

Garbarz then states that the corpses were taken to the mass graves by means of a camp railroad with "little flat cars" like "rotating platforms," on which the bodies were stacked "like flour sacks, five across, five lengthwise." He also mentions a night unit assigned to excavating the mass graves. On the fourth day, Garbarz claims to have managed to get near the door of a gas chamber: he could see the corpses and realized that, as a kind of euthanasia, the mothers "had strangled their children"! He recapitulates:

*"Thus, the hole was gigantic, laid out to bury several thousand Jews. On the other hand, if it had contained only a few corpses, the earth would not have been stained with blood. Now, four houses and twenty persons per house were insufficient to fill such a basin."*

Garbarz quotes, finally, a "direct witness, Erko Hajblum," deported from Beaune-la-Rolande and registered as no. 49269, who had told him:

*"When the first crematorium oven became operational, the victims were recovered to be burned: I was part of the Kommando made to dig out the dead, thousands of dead."*

Garbarz adds:

*"Two months later I met a detainee still employed at digging out the dead. Not just mud: the ground was frozen. They had to break the ground and the dead with pick-axes."*

Garbarz is a latter-day witness who knew the propaganda story of the 'Bunkers' only from second-hand or third-hand accounts and did not even go to the trouble of finding out what his predecessors had to say. He thus let his imagination run riot, inventing a rather dull story at variance with the official version, and it is therefore surprising that he was considered serious by Jean-Claude Pressac.<sup>391</sup> The witness asserts, in fact, that there were four gassing houses, each of which could take in only twenty victims at a time!

To say nothing of the assertion that the corpses removed from the mass graves were burned in the new crematorium and that the exhumation was still going on in the winter of 1942/1943, when "the ground was frozen."

### 6.3.5. Milton Buki

On January 14, 1965, Milton Buki appeared as a witness at the 127<sup>th</sup> session of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. He declared the following about the 'Bunkers':<sup>392</sup>

*"President: Where were gassings done in 1942?"*

*Buki: I was put into the special unit on December 14, 1942. Our first task was to burn the corpses of the preceding special unit. The striped*

<sup>391</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 163f.

<sup>392</sup> H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), vol. 1, pp. 95-96.

*clothes of those detainees were all over the place. The corpses were burned in trenches. There were as yet no crematoria. The gassings were done in little whitewashed houses. Our unit was split up into special units I and II. From our transport 200 detainees had been selected for the special unit. Later, special units I and II were enlarged.*

*P: How long were the two little houses used for gassing?*

*B: Until the crematoria were built.*

*P: Were there gassings every day?*

*B: Yes, most days, day and night.*

*P: How did the incineration run, when the crematoria were not yet built?*

*B: SS men with dogs were guarding the arrivals. They had to undress and line up. Then the door to the farmhouse was opened, it was 'walk up!' and the dogs were turned on the people. Not all would go in each time. Sometimes there were too many. In the end it was always the sick and elderly who remained. They were shot outside, dressed.*

*P: Then what happened?*

*B: The door was screwed shut. Then the gas was thrown in through the window. There was a specialist for that. A car with a red cross also came up. This car was present at every gassing.*

*P: Were there any doctors around?*

*B: Yes."*

On December 15, 1989, in Jerusalem, Buki released a notarized declaration from which Pressac published the passages referring to 'Bunker 1':<sup>393</sup>

*"On 10th December 1942, I... was arrested by the Germans and transported to Auschwitz where I arrived on the 12<sup>th</sup> of that month...*

*The next morning at 5 o'clock, an SS officer accompanied by several men ordered us to go outside and took us to a brick farmhouse on the edge of a wood. In front of this house there were about 40 corpses of shot (?) men. We loaded these bodies onto trolleys mounted on narrowgauge rails. The door of the house was then opened by an SS man. We saw that the interior was full of corpses, some lying some standing and others hanging onto one another. About twenty minutes or perhaps half an hour after the door was opened, we were given the order to remove the bodies and load them on the trolleys.*

*The bodies were all naked and some had blue stains on them. We took the trolleys to a grave about 40 metres long and I dank about 6 metres wide which was about 100 metres (actually 300 to 400) from die house. Before the grave there was another group of deportees who threw the bodies into the hole... We learned that we formed part of a group called a 'Sonderkommando' whose job was to transport the bodies of the gassed to the grave...*

<sup>393</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 163. Omission ellipses, emphases, and comments in parentheses in the text are Pressac's.

*While, on the first occasion, we were taken to the house after the gassing had already taken place, later we were already there when the convoy arrived. Under these conditions I was able to see the whole process. The men, women and children were made to undress in a shed near the house. They were then obliged to walk very quickly or even run between two ranks of SS who had dogs. In this way they reached the open door of the house and went in. They were told that it was simply a shower for disinfection purposes, after which they would be admitted to the camp to work there under normal conditions. When the interior of the house was absolutely full, the door was closed. Doctor Mengele who was often (present) or another doctor replacing him, gave an SS man the order to inject the gas. To do this he climbed several steps by the side wall of the house and introduced through a little chimney (opening) the contents of the can that he opened with a knife. About twenty minutes after the injection of the gas, the door was opened and the work of removing the bodies commenced about half an hour afterwards. After being taken back to Block 11, we could see the flames that consumed the bodies in the grave."*

Milton Buki claims to have arrived at Auschwitz on December 12, 1942, and that the SS selected from his transport 200 persons for the so-called special unit. According to Danuta Czech, Buki, who had ID number 80312, became a member of the so-called special unit that had been set up on December 6, 1942.<sup>394</sup> Hence, Buki would have arrived at Auschwitz with the same transport as Dragon, but the dates are in disagreement – December 7 for one, December 12 for the other. On the other hand, if we follow Dragon, the new special unit was formed on December 10 and started to work the next day when Buki was not yet at Auschwitz.

It is certainly possible for a witness – even both witnesses – to be wrong about the dates, but the contradictions in their accounts are far more serious than that, as we shall see.

Buki asserts that the first job of the new special unit was to burn the corpses of the preceding special unit. Obviously, this concerned "*about 40 corpses of shot men*" that he saw on his first day at work with the new special unit. Dragon, however, does not mention this disgusting job at all, which is moreover at variance with the official version of this alleged event. In fact, if we follow, the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, the preceding special unit, made up of 300 men, was gassed in crematorium I on December 3, 1942,<sup>395</sup> and besides, the witness Jankowski affirms that their corpses were burned in the ovens of that crematorium.<sup>396</sup> Hence, there were 300 members of the special unit, not only about forty; they were gassed and not shot; and their corpses were burnt in crematorium ovens and not in cremation trenches.

The witness uses also another literary theme of the propaganda story, that is: the presence of Dr. Mengele at 'Bunker 1'; the latter, as has been pointed

<sup>394</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, op. cit. (note 13), p. 352.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349.

<sup>396</sup> T. Świebocka et al., op. cit. (note 296), pp. 41f., p. 48.

out already, arrived at Auschwitz long after that ‘Bunker’ had been demolished.

Buki had previously given two depositions in January 1946. The first, dated January 4, was before a section of the U.S. War Crimes Division at Linz, Austria. This deposition, drawn up in English, is entitled “*Atrocities of SS Oberscharfuehrer in Auschwitz Camp*”<sup>397</sup> and concerns exclusively the alleged atrocities of SS *Oberscharführer* “*Hustek*” or “*Hustek-Erbers*.”<sup>398</sup> Here, Buki makes no mention of his presumed activity near the so-called ‘Bunkers.’

The other deposition is dated January 7, 1946, and concerns Maximilian Grabner, the head of the Political Section at Auschwitz. It was drawn up at the Police Directorate of Vienna and is in German. The witness declared:<sup>399</sup>

“[I] Was deported to the Birkenau camp in 1942 as detainee, and within a few days of my arrival at the camp [I] was assigned to the special unit that had to do work in and around the crematorium.

My work consisted of moving the corpses from the gas chambers to the various incineration sites (crematorium, cremation pits). This I did until November 1944 [when] the gassings were stopped.

The gassings occurred in the following way:

After the arrival of a transport, a selection was carried out on the platform of the station, in the presence of *Obersturmführer* Grabner. They were told to undress quickly and totally, under the pretext that they would be taken to a bath. Those who did not undress quickly enough were brutally beaten with clubs by the SS, besides, the heat in the gas chambers was so great that most people were numbed before they actually died. Here, too, *Obersturmführer* Grabner was sometimes present. The gassing as such took 6–8 minutes, and the rooms were opened after half an hour, whereupon the corpses – sometimes so entangled they had to be torn from one another – [were] transferred to the incineration.

But before they were burned, the women’s hair was cut and all corpses possessing gold teeth were divested of them. These objects were thrown into a particular box, which was immediately taken to the Political Department, of which Maximilian Grabner was the head.

Grabner participated in the ill-treatment of the people before the so-called bathing; he was always dressed exceedingly pedant[ically] and walked around with polished boots, his hands crossed behind his back, and beat the people or kicked them with [his] feet.

My declarations made above correspond fully and completely to the truth and I affirm this by a signature with my own hand.”

<sup>397</sup> Trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison, vol. 45a, p. 64.

<sup>398</sup> Probably Josef Houstek, of whom it is known only that he was promoted to *Rottenführer* on October 3, 1941. Norbert Frei, Thomas Grotum, Jan Parcer, et al. (eds.), *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940-1945*, K.G. Saur, Munich 2000, p. 70.

<sup>399</sup> Trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison, vol. 45a, p. 79.

There is another handwritten document by Buki, but it is a simple postcard, in which he informs the Vienna Police Directorate that he has changed residence.<sup>400</sup>

In 1946, his memory still fresh, Buki did not yet know anything about the so-called ‘Bunkers’ of Birkenau, and one cannot object that he did not speak about them because his deposition concerned Maximilian Grabner: if the latter, in fact, had been implicated in the homicidal activity of the crematorium (the witness uses this term always in the singular as if there had been only one crematorium at Birkenau),<sup>401</sup> he would be all the more implicated in the alleged homicidal activity of the ‘Bunkers,’ and by stating that Grabner dealt out his heavy kicks also to those ‘selected’ for the ‘Bunkers,’ he would have aggravated the latter’s situation.

### 6.3.6. Maurice Benroubi

The following testimony by Maurice Benroubi was made public by Jean-Claude Pressac.<sup>402</sup> He informs us that the witness was born at Saloniki on December 27, 1914, was arrested in France on July 16, 1942, and deported on July 20 to Auschwitz, where he arrived on July 23 and was given ID no. 51059. On January 17, 1945, he was evacuated from the Jawischowitz camp. Benroubi was assigned to the grave-diggers at an unknown point in time. Pressac does not give the date of his deposition either:

*“We left the camp. We passed through small clearings, a little wood. About every 300 metres there was a watch tower.*

*Suddenly, a deportee left the ranks and started running in the direction of the camp shouting ‘Nein, nein/no, no, I want to go back to the camp’. We stopped, an SS man shouted to him to come back. He did not obey, the SS shot him. Four deportees went to fetch him. Three hundred metres further on, another deportee did exactly the same as the first. I could not understand a thing...*

*... Ten minutes later, I saw in the distance big heaps of corpses, as if there was a death factory near by. As we approached, we could see them better. They were all mixed up together like wooden dummies. Some had their cheeks torn. Their gold teeth had been extracted. There were women, children, babies.*

*We marched 200 metres and stopped in a clearing. Two SS officers were there and gave orders to the SS men. Further on about one hundred Sonderkommando men were pushing platforms of 3m by 2m mounted on wheels and on these platforms there were corpses lying one on top of the other. They put them in front of graves about 20m long, 3m wide and 2.50m deep.*

<sup>400</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82.

<sup>401</sup> But in compensation he speaks of “cremation trenches” in the plural.

<sup>402</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 162f. Omission ellipses are Pressac’s. I have omitted his inserted comments.



*There were about ten graves ready to receive the martyrs. Parallel to these open graves there were some that had been covered with earth and these extended over about 300 metres. It could not have been long since they were covered over. On the earth in places there were trickles of light coloured decomposed fat mixed with blood. After receiving orders, the Capos split us into groups. Some of our comrades took picks and shovels and jumped into the graves. As for me, I went with other comrades to join the Sonderkommando to transport the corpses like them. The men of the Sonderkommando received us with stone throwing and called us all sorts of names. They laughed and amused themselves like criminals, making themselves accomplices of the SS to please them. Basically, it was that, the nazi regime... all of a piece.*

*In this Kommando, the Capos, the SS and the Sonderkommando all hit us, and threw us on the heaps of bodies to laugh at our fear. The SS fired on us and every day we had to take to assassinated comrades back to the camp to be counted at the evening roll call.*

*At midday the Sonderkommando ate separately and we ate far from them, almost a double ration and a few potatoes. There was also a distribution of bread from a convoy, stale and even mouldy. Some comrades exchanged non-mouldy bread for mouldy in order to have a bigger quantity. Little pools of water formed in the graves and as we were very thirsty, we quickly jumped down and lapped up the water and climbed out again very fast. We were reduced to the state of animals...*

*One morning, we had hardly arrived and were getting ready to pick up the picks and shovels, when an SS who was waiting for us ordered the guards to keep marching and to follow him. We crossed the entire clearing and took the track along which the wagons arrived...*

*We arrived in another clearing. There were two big concrete blocks at least 20m wide and perhaps as many long. Near these blocks there were three mountains of bodies. One of men, one of women and one of children under ten.*

*The Sonderkommando men received us as on previous occasions with stone throwing and abuse. We stopped in front of the big heaps of corpses and the Capos made us understand that we had to load the corpses on the wagon platforms and transport them to the empty graves. We rushed to the wagons and started working like mad... for what mattered most was to get away from the gas chambers...*

*One morning, the doors of the Bunkers, as they called them, were open. I noticed that there were shower heads and along the walls clothes hooks. I remember that a comrade made signs to me to make me understand that we should never look in that direction, which meant also, 'if you don't want to be shot at by a sentry, don't look'. In fact I saw that all the comrades were working with their backs to the Bunkers to avoid giving even the slightest glance towards the two extermination Bunkers...*

*One day, arriving at work I saw electricians installing lamp posts by the empty graves and fitting big lamps. I immediately realised that there were also going to be night shifts...*

*The same day, 4th September 1942, after the roll call, there was a 'selection' and contrary to what normally happened every time there was a selection, this time the nazis chose the strongest, the most healthy.*

*We waited a good hour before departing. A comrade said to me: 'What are you doing amongst us ? Didn't you hear the order that those who worked in the Sonderkommando were not to step out of the ranks?' I was dumbfounded...*

*After two hours march we arrived at the Jawischowitz camp."*

Pressac then relates what Benroubi told him during an interview, about which he gives no details. This is how the witness described the 'gas chamber':

*"The Bunker was a brick-built house, with the windows filled in... We had to turn our backs to the Bunker when we picked up the corpses, never look at the gas chambers...*

*Twenty metres from me, there was a door still open, of the rolling or sliding type, and beyond it on one side a ground floor door through which we could see shower heads. From the back no writing was visible. The Sonderkommando took the people out of the gas chambers and twenty metres away made them into separate piles of women, children and old men."*

Benroubi, too, has tried to fill in with his imagination his defective knowledge of the propaganda story of the 'Bunkers.' Thus, he describes "two large concrete blocks at least 20m wide and perhaps as many long," which agrees with the official version neither in the number of gassing installations (two at the same site rather than one), nor in the material of which they were made (concrete instead of bricks), nor in the dimensions (about 20 by 20 m, instead of about 15 by 6 [Bunker 1] or 17 by 8 [Bunker 2]). The sliding door, too, is a figment of the witness' imagination – later picked up by Dr. Kremer<sup>403</sup> – whereas the shower heads are among the canonical literary themes of the propaganda.

The literary variations of Maurice Benroubi, Milton Buki, and Moshe Garbarz are moreover so imprecise that it is impossible to know even whether the authors are talking about 'Bunker 1' or 'Bunker 2,' and it is only by calling on his imagination Pressac that attributes them to 'Bunker 1.'

## 6.4. The Latter-day Witnesses

Between 1985 and 1993 the Israeli writer Gideon Greif interviewed several former Auschwitz detainees who asserted that they had been members of the

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<sup>403</sup> Cf. chapter 6.5.9.

so-called “Sonderkommando.” He then recounted his interviews with seven ex-inmates in a book published in 1995.<sup>404</sup>

The witnesses Josef Sackar, Jaacov Gabai, Shaul Chasan and Leon Cohen all belonged to a transport of Athenian Jews that arrived at Auschwitz from Athens on April 11, 1944. Among those interviewed were also Szlama Dragon (then spelling his name Shlomo) and his brother Abraham.

With the exception of Szlama Dragon none of the witnesses had made a deposition at the Auschwitz trial or at the trial of the camp garrison, or afterward, or had written an account of his experience. They were all complete unknowns who had “kept silent” for more than forty years!

As we shall see below, fully four witnesses out of the seven introduced a decidedly new note into the official propaganda version: the ‘Bunker’ (they knew no later additional specifications, such as “2” or “2/V”) was not the alleged Polish house turned into a gas chamber, but one or more cremation trenches!

#### 6.4.1. Josef Sackar

The witness arrived at Auschwitz on April 11, 1944,<sup>405</sup> with a Jewish transport from Athens and was registered with ID no. 182739. After having spent three weeks in the quarantine camp BIIa, he became a member of the so-called special unit and was assigned to ‘Bunker 2.’ He relates the following about his first day with this Kommando:<sup>406</sup>

*“I remember the first day very well. We were in the D-camp, and one night we were taken behind the outermost crematorium building, where I saw the most gruesome thing I have ever experienced in my life. A small transport had arrived that day. We did not have to work, we were taken there only to get used to the sight. There were excavated trenches, called ‘Bunkers,’ to burn the corpses. They brought the corpses from the gas chambers to those ‘Bunkers,’ threw them in, and burned them in a fire.”*

“The outermost crematorium” was crematorium V; therefore the witness placed ‘Bunker 2’ in the yard of that crematorium!

When asked “Can you describe the ‘Bunker’?” the witness answered:<sup>407</sup>

*“Yes, it was a large pit, to which the corpses were brought and then dumped in. The pits were deeply excavated, wood had been piled up at the bottom. From the gas chambers they brought the corpses here and threw them into the pits. The pits were all outside, in the open air. There were some pits, in which corpses were being burned.”*

The witness makes no mention at all of the house with the alleged gas chamber, so that from his statements one does not even understand whether

<sup>404</sup> G. Greif, *Wir weinten tränenlos... Augenzeugenberichte der jüdischen “Sonderkommandos” in Auschwitz*, Böhlau Verlag, Köln Weimar Wien 1985.

<sup>405</sup> He speaks erroneously of April 14.

<sup>406</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), pp. 9f.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

the corpses burned in these ‘Bunker’-pits came from the crematoria or from the ‘Bunker’-house. He does not indicate the number of pits either.

#### 6.4.2. Jaacov Gabai

This witness, too, arrived at Auschwitz with the transport of April 11, 1944, and was registered with ID no. 182569. He too claims to have been assigned to the so-called special unit. With respect to the topic of interest he declared:<sup>408</sup>

*“From the end of April and throughout the month of May, several transports of Hungarian Jews came to Birkenau [every day?]. There were so many people in the transports that the capacity of the crematoria was too low to handle them all. So pits were made, and in this way one could burn another thousand every day. My group from the special unit worked in the wood next to the ‘Saubäudegebäude’ [incomprehensible, perhaps sauna building] opposite crematoria III–IV. Pits were arranged there to burn the corpses that the crematorium itself could not handle. Those pits were called ‘Bunker.’ I worked there for three days. From the gas chamber, one brought the corpses to the Bunker and burned them.*

*The Bunker was in the middle, among trees, so one could not see what happened there.*

*The method of cremation was as follows: the corpses were put down on a layer of wood, then more wood and boards was laid on them and so on, three stories or more. Then an SS man came, poured gasoline on top, threw in a match – and everything went up in flames. About 1000 corpses were burned per hour. The fat from the corpses was sufficient for the fire. One put down a kilogram of coal and two boards, lit up, fire, among the bodies.”*

Not even this witness speaks explicitly of the ‘Bunker’-house, rather, according to him, the corpses burning in the pits were those of Jews gassed in the crematoria!

We can judge his credibility not only from what he says about the ‘Bunker’-pits and about their cremation capacity (1,000 corpses per hour!), but also from the following assertion:<sup>408</sup>

*“One had to burn 24,000 Hungarian Jews every day.”*

To say nothing of his description of Zyklon B and gaseous hydrogen cyanide:<sup>409</sup>

*“When he [an SS man] threw in the gas from above, it spread blue [i.e., as a blue cloud]. The material itself came in blue cubes, which dissolved on contact with air, liberating a gas that caused immediate suffocation.”*

Hence, Zyklon B was composed of blue cubes that dissolved on contact with air into a blue gas. Just as all the others like him, the witness thought that

<sup>408</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 132.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 141.

“*Blausäure*” (literally ‘blue acid’, vernacular German for hydrogen cyanide) was itself blue and gave off blue vapors, whereas it actually is a colorless liquid;<sup>410</sup> the porous carrier, on which it was adsorbed for the manufacture of Zyklon B, on the other hand, was made of gypsum, as is well known.

The literary motif of the blue vapors of hydrogen cyanide was later taken up by Richard Böck.<sup>411</sup>

### 6.4.3. Eliezer Eisenschmidt

The witness came to Auschwitz on December 8, 1942, with a transport of Jews from Grodno and received ID no. 80764. The next day, he was assigned to the so-called special unit. He worked “*for half a year*” from “*arrival until the new crematoria were put into service in May-June 1943*”<sup>[412]</sup> at ‘Bunker 1.’ However, according to the official historiography this building was demolished in March 1943!

Eisenschmidt, too, believed that the term ‘Bunker’ referred to the “*pits*” instead of a building:<sup>413</sup>

*“They themselves then threw the corpses into the pits. The pits, or ‘Bunkers’ as we called them, were large and deep.”*

The witness does not follow his alleged colleague Jaacov Gabai’s absurd statement regarding the cremation capacity of 1,000 corpses per hour, declaring in this regard:<sup>414</sup>

*“The cremation of corpses in a pit took 24 hours, sometimes even a day and a half.”*

In compensation, he perpetrated another absurdity, one scarcely mentioned by his colleague<sup>413</sup>

*“The fuel for these cremations was basically the fat from the corpses.”*

This is a real revolution in the field of cremation!

When Greif asked him: “*Can you describe this first ‘primitive’ gas chamber in the former farmhouse?*” the witness replied:<sup>414</sup>

*“There was a sign on the door saying ‘shower bath.’ There were two entrances; the victims went in through one and the corpses were taken out through the other. The sign mentioned hung on this other door, which was exactly opposite the entrance door.”*

This description is at variance with the ‘official’ one, inasmuch as it rests upon the existence of a single gas chamber. According to Szlama Dragon, in fact, ‘Bunker 1’ was split up into two rooms, each with its own door, which

<sup>410</sup> In an official questionnaire for civilian disinfectors we read: “*Q.: Does hydrogen cyanide have a definite color? A.: No, hydrogen cyanide is colorless both as a liquid and as a gas. Q.: Then why is it called Blausäure [blue acid]? A.: Because initially it was made from Prussian Blue.*” O. Lenz, L. Gassner, *Schädlingsbekämpfung mit hochgiftigen Stoffen, Heft 1: Blausäure*, Verlagsbuchhandlung von Richard Schoetz, Berlin 1934, p. 15.

<sup>411</sup> Cf. chapter 6.5.7.

<sup>412</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 180.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 178.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 179.

thus served both as an access for the victims and to extract the corpses. These two doors, furthermore, were not located one in front of the other on two opposing walls, but side by side.

On the basis of this, the witness continues with his alleged eyewitness testimony:<sup>415</sup>

*"They took us into the yard, opened the door of the building – and our eyes turned blind."*

Here *"the door"* is the alleged door for the removal of the corpses. On the other hand, if the gas chamber had two doors, one does not see why it was not possible to take out the corpses from the entrance door as well.

The witness also mentions the alleged undressing barracks, for which he invented the new designation *"huts 3 and 4:"*<sup>414</sup>

*"They were all taken to huts 3 and 4, which served for undressing. They had originally been horse-stables."*

Here, the witness confuses the *"Pferdestallbaracken"* (horse stable barracks), a standard German barrack type, with actual stables!

#### 6.4.4. Shaul Chasan

This witness, too, arrived at Auschwitz with the transport of April 11, 1944, and was given ID no. 182527. He, too, claims to have been assigned to the so-called special unit and to have stayed there for eight months.<sup>416</sup> Here is his account of his first job near 'Bunker 2':<sup>417</sup>

*"We looked around in the wood, and what did we see? A little farmhouse, an isolated hut. We got there, entered, and when they opened the door I saw the horror. The inside was full of corpses, from some transport, well over 1,000 corpses. The whole room chock-full of corpses."*

This *"farmhouse"* thus had a single gas chamber with a single door. According to the official version, on the other hand, there were four gas chambers in the house, each with two doors, eight doors in all.

But for this witness as well, the 'Bunker' is not the *"farmhouse,"* but a pit:<sup>417</sup>

*"We had to take out the corpses. There was, in the area, a basin, a deep pit, which was called 'Bunker'."*

Asked by the interviewer *"Where was this basin?"* the witness emphasizes:<sup>418</sup>

*"They called that 'Bunker.' Now, when I was at Auschwitz again, I could find neither the pit nor the house. That must have been behind crematorium IV [= V]."*

Here, the witness places 'Bunker 2' in the yard of crematorium V! Then, too, at variance with the official version, there was a single 'Bunker'-pit,

<sup>415</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 247.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 228.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 229.

which was located “a few meters, perhaps thirty meters” from the gas-chamber;<sup>418</sup> such a distance would have completely obviated the need for a narrow-gauge railroad for the transportation of the corpses, mentioned by his colleagues.<sup>419</sup> And this is what he says about the ‘Bunker’-pit:<sup>418</sup>

*“The pit was very deep, I think some four meters. [...] the fire burned day and night, and we had to throw in corpses all the time.”*

If the pit had been that deep, the water would have filled it to at least three meters, because at the time, in the vicinity of ‘Bunker 2,’ the water table was at a depth of 0.30 to 1.20 meters.<sup>420</sup> The depth stated by the witness serves merely to explain the enormous cremation capacity of the pit, as can be seen clearly from the declaration of Leon Cohen about the placement of the corpses in layers (layers of wood and corpses) in a pit (cf. below).

On the other hand, the cremation “all the time” in the pits is in contradiction with the declarations of the other witnesses, like Dragon, who said:<sup>421</sup>

*“We took out the ash from the pits, but only 48 hours after the cremation.”*

The witness also makes use of the sinister propaganda story of people thrown alive into the cremation pits:<sup>422</sup>

*“After these cremations, so I remember, one night a truck arrived full of old people, sick, unable to walk, and with their clothes and all they were dumped from the truck, the way you dump gravel, directly into the pit – alive! I saw that twice – once on the first day of my work with the special unit, and then again later when more transports arrived – they threw these people alive into the bunkers – and burned them alive.”*

For the description of this scene, the witness took his inspiration from two pictures by David Olère, which show an SS soldier tossing children into a cremation pit directly from a truck parked right next to its edge.<sup>423</sup> It is not an accident that Gideon Greif’s book is illustrated with numerous pictures by Olère including the one showing ‘Bunker 2.’<sup>424</sup> The two pictures mentioned above do not appear in it, but they were no doubt known to all the Israeli witnesses. To make up for this, there is a picture illustrating a similar scene:<sup>425</sup>

*“The SS man Moll shoots young women and throws them into a cremation pit of crematorium IV.”*

We shall conclude with a gem about the gas chamber of crematorium II which, by itself, shows the reliability of this witness:<sup>426</sup>

*“Sometimes, poison gas was left over, and we could have been suffocated ourselves by inhaling this gas.”*

<sup>419</sup> For example, from E. Eisenschmidt, *ibidem*, pp. 177f.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. in this respect my article “Open Air Incinerations in Auschwitz: Rumor or Reality?,” in: *The Revisionist*, 1(1) (2003), pp. 14-17.

<sup>421</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 69.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>423</sup> S. Klarsfeld (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 298), p. 40.

<sup>424</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 66.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 236.

*"Yes, it did happen that another [member of the detail] and I wanted to inhale gas the moment they opened the gates of death. Life there was no longer worth living. I planned that with someone else who was working there with me. But, in the end, we walked out, lay around gasping for air and were able to breathe again."*<sup>427</sup>

Hence, the witness and his colleagues entered the 'gas chamber' without a gas mask and worked while holding their breath!

#### 6.4.5. Leon Cohen

This witness arrived at Auschwitz with the Jewish transport from Athens on April 11, 1944, and was registered with ID no. 182492. He claims to have been assigned to the so-called special unit and sent to work at 'Bunker 2'.<sup>428</sup>

*"The Germans took us not to the buildings with the incineration installations but to the incineration pits. I saw several carts there, next to the pits, and very close by [I saw] a building with a small door. Later, I realized that they were asphyxiating people there with gas. We waited outside some 15 minutes and then opened the doors, having been ordered to do so by the Germans.*

*The corpses fell out in clusters, and we started to pack them on the carts. Those were small open carts the way you have them in coal mines. Much smaller than railroad cars. The corpses were taken to the pits. In the pits, the corpses were arranged in this way: one layer of women's and children's corpses, then a layer of wood, then a layer of men and so on until the pit – which was a good three meters deep – was full. Then the Germans poured gasoline into the pit. The mixture of dead bodies and wood caught fire immediately."*

The witness knows neither the official term for the gassing 'building' nor the one invented by his colleagues ('Bunker'=pits). His original contribution to the propaganda story is the arrangement of the bodies in the cremation pits, based on the silly belief that the bodies of women and children burned better than those of adult men and could thus function as fuel for the latter! So much so that the first layer in the pit was not wood, but the bodies of women and children! As we have seen above, the legend of the autocombustion of corpses by means of corpse fat developed from this belief.

He, too, moreover – like the others of his kind – has fallen into the trap of the "*Blausäure*,"<sup>429</sup> because he asserted that Zyklon B "*looked like small blue-green stones*."

<sup>427</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 248.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 266f.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271.



#### 6.4.6. Szlama (Shlomo) and Abraham Dragon

Gideon Greif has expressed his admiration for the prodigious memory of these two brothers, whom he interviewed in the summer of 1993:<sup>430</sup>

*"Both brothers possess an excellent memory."*

But twenty-one years earlier, in Vienna, at the 26<sup>th</sup> session of the Dejaco-Ertl trial (March 2, 1972), Szlama, after having confused crematorium I and 'Bunker 2' the previous day, had to admit:<sup>431</sup>

*"I can't remember [that] today, after 30 years..."*

Somewhat miraculously, then, in 1993 Szlama remembered things he could not recall in 1972! Thus the prodigious memory that had so astounded Gideon Greif simply depended much more on the fact that, this time, Szlama Dragon was more careful, and had reread attentively his Polish deposition of 1945; this was all the easier as the interview took place at Birkenau<sup>432</sup> and the deposition was kept at the Auschwitz Museum.

Still, the two brothers made statements that clash violently with the official image of the SS at the camp. They were assigned to the so-called special unit on December 9, 1942, and were taken to 'Bunker 2' the day after. But on that very day, Szlama attempted suicide by slitting his wrist with a piece of glass, and therefore could not go on working.<sup>433</sup> He was transported to Block 2, where the detainees of the special unit were housed, and then the following happened:<sup>434</sup>

*"For this, they selected the sick and the weak. Luckily, I belonged to the injured and the weak, and so I was selected. I asked for my brother to be assigned to the room detail as well [...] thus we remained in Block 2 and did not go out for work."*

Hence, Szlama was not only not "selected" for the 'gas chambers' as a dangerous witness to SS mass murder who was, to top it all, unable to work and weak, but instead received medical treatment, was transferred to barracks clean-up, and even managed to have his brother assigned to the same work! Abraham then tells a story no less surprising:<sup>435</sup>

*"While we were still working at the pits, one of the guards beat one of our comrades. We dropped our tools and declared we would not go on working. We thus made a small revolt. And what happened? They immediately called in higher officers. Someone by the name of Hößler arrived and asked us what was the matter. We told him while doing this awful work we were being beaten to boot. They could kill us, but we would not go on working. Hößler calmed us down and said we would no longer be beaten."*

<sup>430</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>431</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), p. 172.

<sup>432</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 49.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73. We should remember that in the Polish deposition he had stated that he had become ill.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76.

*He immediately ordered additional food brought us. And they no longer beat us."*

Therefore, this revolt of the special unit was not drowned in blood, but rather Hößler calmly accepted the requests of the insurgents, Jews allegedly doomed to be killed soon anyway! At that time SS *Oberscharführer* Franz Hößler was head of detainee labor (*Arbeitseinsatzführer*); in that capacity, he had no jurisdiction over the crematorium personnel (the so-called special unit), and so this kind of event can only be explained in the context of normal relations between the SS and the detainees, and not at all as part of a policy of extermination.

Abraham describes his escape from a 'selection' of 200 detainees of the special unit who were to be sent to Majdanek to be murdered in that camp as follows:<sup>436</sup>

*"I became ill. The SS did not want to reveal that this transport went to their death. So it was said 'the sick will not go along. You will have to stay here. There, they need men who can work.'"*

According to the official version, registered inmates at Auschwitz were killed because they were sick, but Szlama and Abraham, on the other hand, two more dangerous witnesses to the SS mass murder, were saved precisely *because* they were sick! Here we have a 'selection' the other way around.

As far as the destination of the 'selectees' is concerned, Abraham reveals:<sup>436</sup>

*"They had taken them to Lublin – locked [them] in a railroad car and somehow – I don't know how – pumped in gas."*

A brand-new method of extermination! On top of this, the official Polish propaganda has them not go to Lublin-Majdanek but to Stutthof.<sup>437</sup>

Let us go back to the 'Bunkers.' In consequence of what has been related, the brothers Dragon worked a single day (the 10<sup>th</sup>) near the alleged 'Bunker 2' in December 1942, and Szlama worked there another two days in 1944:<sup>438</sup>

*"At the time, we worked near Bunker 2 day and night. I myself worked there for two days."*

This means that altogether Szlama Dragon spent three days near 'Bunker 2.' But thanks to his prodigious memory he still managed to give to the Poles and the Soviets those detailed accounts that we have already discussed! During the interview, he furnishes additional details:<sup>439</sup>

*"Snow fell while we marched. We came to an open field, at the end of which there was a building that looked like a horse stable, with rough doors and a little further up a white farmhouse with a straw-thatched roof."*

<sup>436</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 82.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. C. Mattogno, J. Graf, *Concentration Camp Stutthof and Its Function in National Socialist Jewish Policy*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2003, pp. 69-73.

<sup>438</sup> G. Greif, *op. cit.* (note 404), p. 83.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

He then confirms that their march led them actually “over the snow,”<sup>440</sup> something absolutely normal for a month of December at Auschwitz. But then how could those four cremation pits (ca. 20 by 7–8 by 3 meters) have operated with the groundwater, the firewood frozen, in the snow, and with more snow falling?

Szlama goes on to say that when “the door” opened after the gassing “one sensed the sweetish taste of the gas.”<sup>441</sup> Apparently, no one had told him that hydrogen cyanide actually smells of bitter almonds<sup>442</sup> and is therefore not sweetish!

#### 6.4.7. Shlomo Venezia

This witness holds the record for keeping silent, having held his peace for nearly 45 years!<sup>443</sup> He acquired a certain fame in 1995 when an interview he gave to a certain Fabio Iacomini appeared in Italy; it was entitled “*The testimony of Salomone Venezia, survivor of the special unit[s]*.”<sup>444</sup> His “*Testimony given to S. Melania on January 18, 2001, on the occasion of the first Day of Memory*,” was also published on the web.<sup>445</sup> In January 2002, finally, Shlomo Venezia gave another interview to a certain Stefano Lorenzetto.<sup>446</sup>

Shlomo Venezia, born at Saloniki in 1923, was arrested in Athens on March 24, 1944, and later deported to Birkenau, where he arrived on April 11 and was registered with ID no. 182727. He claims to have been assigned to the so-called special unit, but has given two contradictory accounts of his first day at work with this group. According to the first account, he was sent to crematorium III,<sup>447</sup> but in the interview published by *Il Giornale*, Shlomo Venezia described his first day at work with the so-called special unit in an entirely different way:<sup>448</sup>

*“The next day [May 6, 1944] we had to pass through a grove of trees. We arrived in front of a shabby-looking farmhouse. Woe to anyone who moved or breathed. All in a corner waiting. Suddenly, we heard voices in the distance: entire families with little children and grand-parents. They were forced to undress in the cold. Then they had to enter the cottage. Up came a small truck with the sign of the Red Cross, an SS man got out, opened a little trap with a tool, and dropped in a can of some stuff, about two kilos. He closed [the trap] and walked away. Ten minutes later, a door*

<sup>440</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>441</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67.

<sup>442</sup> *Enciclopedia medica italiana*, *op. cit.* (note 143), p. 1402.

<sup>443</sup> Regarding this witness, I refer to my *Olocausto: dilettanti a convegno*, Effepi, Genova 2002, pp. 150–160.

<sup>444</sup> In: “*Ragionamenti sui fatti e le immagini della storia*.” *Mensile di Storia Illustrata*, June 1995, pp. 30–37.

<sup>445</sup> [www.santamelania.it/approf/shlomo/shlomo.htm](http://www.santamelania.it/approf/shlomo/shlomo.htm).

<sup>446</sup> “*Io, l’ultimo dei Sonderkommando addetti ai crematori di Auschwitz*,” in *Il Giornale*, Jan. 13, 2002, p. 1 and 16.

<sup>447</sup> “*La testimonianza di Salomone Venezia...*,” *op. cit.* (note 444), p. 35.

<sup>448</sup> “*Io, l’ultimo dei Sonderkommando ...*,” *op. cit.* (note 446).

*opposite the entrance was opened. The Kapo called us to take out the bodies. We had to push them into the fire in a kind of swimming pool 15 meters away."*

This version refers to the so-called 'Bunker 2.' The witness does not know that, according to the official version, this 'Bunker' was put back into operation for the arrival of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz, *i.e.*, after May 17, 1944. The same is true for the alleged incineration "*pool*." Nor is the witness aware that the alleged 'Bunker 2,' again according to the official version, on its reactivation was divided up into 4 rooms and had 4 entrance and 4 exit doors, to say nothing of 5 traps for the introduction of Zyklon B. Thus, it does not make sense to speak of "*a door opposite the entrance*."

Besides, the expression "*to undress in the cold*" not only clashes with the season (May 6) but is also at variance with the official version, according to which two barracks had been erected near 'Bunker 2,' in which the victims would undress. Furthermore, the gastight traps of the disinfestation chambers (and those of the alleged homicidal gas chambers) were not opened "*with a tool*" but with a simple butterfly bolt. It is not clear how Shlomo Venezia could have determined that "*about two kilos*" of Zyklon B were introduced into the cottage, because Zyklon B came in various sizes, from 100 grams to 1500 grams of hydrogen cyanide. Moreover, 2 kg of hydrogen cyanide in the entire volume of the alleged gas chambers would have yielded a theoretical concentration of about 7.5 grams per cubic meter – some 25 times as high as the immediately lethal concentration, which causes death within 3 minutes. Therefore, if Venezia and his companions had gone in "*ten minutes later*" they would have dropped dead within less than a minute!

## 6.5. The Contributions of the SS Witnesses

In this section, we shall examine the version of the propaganda story of the Birkenau gassing 'Bunkers' as told by SS witnesses immediately after the Second World War. In this context, we should rather speak of the non-contributions by the SS witnesses, because none of them, starting with Rudolf Höß, has furnished any new and important details that could have been incorporated into the official version. This is not surprising, because what the SS witnesses knew of the propaganda story about the 'Bunkers' is nothing but the reflection of what their interrogators knew. And this is true not only for this topic of the extermination allegation.

In the preceding section we saw that the article on the Extraordinary Soviet Investigation Commission on Auschwitz appeared in *Pravda* on May 7, 1945, and was available in an English translation as early as the end of that month. And from November 1944 onwards, the so-called *War Refugee Board Report*<sup>192</sup> had been circulating. In 1945, the American and British secret services

were already in possession of various reports of ex-detainees at Auschwitz,<sup>449</sup> and over 100 written or verbal declarations were submitted as evidence at the Belsen trial, which lasted from September 17 through November 17; the accused was SS *Hauptsturmführer* Josef Kramer, who had been commander of the KL Auschwitz II–Birkenau camp and later of Bergen-Belsen. The majority of those witnesses were former Auschwitz detainees, such as Ada Bimko and Charles Sigismund Bendel.

But it also happens that – as in the case of Maximilian Grabner – the interrogators knew nothing of the ‘Bunker’ story and that, therefore, the witnesses has nothing to say about it either.

### 6.5.1. Maximilian Grabner

Maximilian Grabner was head of the Political Department of the Auschwitz camp between May 1940 and September 1943. In his first deposition after his arrest, that of September 1, 1945, he relates the history of the mass extermination allegedly perpetrated at Auschwitz in the following way:<sup>450</sup>

*“From early 1942 onwards, detainees at Auschwitz were murdered by gassing, initially in Block 11. I have seen these gassings myself, the SS went around equipped with gas masks, the detainees, 20 to 40 of them, were herded into the cells. Then the cells were made tight and put under gas. Later the gassings were done in the old crematorium, opposite the SS infirmary. In addition to detainees selected for this, the police, the Gestapo, and the Wehrmacht brought in people. Holes were drilled into the concrete ceiling of the bunkers, through which the gas (Zyklon) [sic] was fed. The bunker had a capacity of 700–800 people. Next to the bunker was the crematorium, in which the dead were burned immediately.*

*Such gassings took place several times a week. Inmates who had been picked out for this special labor unit worked in the old crematorium and helped with the gassing. This labor unit was itself gassed after some time and replaced by new detainees. I myself, or my assistant, in our capacity as head of the Political Department, was informed about each one of these gassing actions.*

*By order of the camp commander, SS Obersturmbannführer Höß, 4 modern crematoria were built during the winter of 1942/43, as the old crematorium was no longer performing. Together with these 4 crematoria there existed another 4 crematorium halls with a capacity of 2000 persons each. The gassings were ordered by Office Group D of the SS Economic*

<sup>449</sup> For example: “*Jewish Survivors Report. Documents of Nazi Guilt. No.1 Eighteen Months in the Oswiecim Extermination Camp.*” received from “*Jewish Central Information Office*” in May 1945 (ROD, e[21]09); United Nation War Crimes (Research Office). Statement by Ochshorn on massacres of Jews in concentration Camps, of September 1945 (NO-1934); affidavit of Werner Krumme of September 23, 1945 (NO-1933).

<sup>450</sup> GARF, 7021-108-34, pp. 26-26a.

and Administrative Main Office in Berlin. The head of this section was SS Brigadeführer Glück[s]. [...]

While I was head of the Political Department at Auschwitz, some 3–6,000,000 persons were murdered in this or a similar way.”

The Police Directorate of Vienna, which interrogated Grabner, had not yet been informed about the propaganda story of the ‘Bunkers.’<sup>451</sup> Therefore the witness, in spite of his obvious eagerness to collaborate and his wondrous ‘confessions,’ said nothing of these. As Reitlinger would say, the assertion of the alleged extermination of three to six million people at Auschwitz is laughable, as is his claim that “during 1941–42 alone, some 300,000 dead were interred in one go,”<sup>452</sup> or his claim to have sabotaged two crematoria at Birkenau by pouring motor oil into the chimneys.<sup>453</sup>

### 6.5.2. Hans Aumeier

Hans Aumeier, SS *Hauptsturmführer* at the time, was transferred to Auschwitz on February 16, 1942, and was First Commander of the Detainee Camp of the main camp until August 15, 1943.<sup>454</sup> From October 1943 onwards he was commander of the concentration camp Vaivara in Estonia, and in February 1945 commander of concentration camp Mysen in Norway, where he was arrested by the British on June 11, 1945.

As did Josef Kramer,<sup>455</sup> H. Aumeier experienced the power of distortion of the Allied propaganda. Initially, he did not understand what the British interrogators really wanted from him and therefore did not know what his best defense strategy might be. In his first declaration, at Oslo on June 29, 1945, he wrote:<sup>456</sup>

*“In the Main Camp there was a crematorium consisting of two ovens.<sup>[457]</sup> Corpses were burned there. The crematorium was under the responsibility of the head of the Political Department and the camp surgeon. During my time, 2 or 3 crematoria were under construction at Birkenau. I*

<sup>451</sup> As we have seen in the preceding section, the self-styled member of the “*Sonderkommando*” Milton Buki, knew nothing about the so-called ‘Bunkers’ when he was questioned about Maximilian Grabner by the Vienna police directorate on January 7, 1946.

<sup>452</sup> Declaration by Grabner on September 12, 1945, GARF, 7021-106-34, p. 25.

<sup>453</sup> “*Bericht über das Lager Auschwitz*” by Grabner, dated September 17, 1947. Trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison, vol. 53b, p. 361.

<sup>454</sup> The following day, August 16, SS *Hauptsturmführer* Schwarz took over the post of “*1. Schutzhaftlagerführer*” from Aumeier, who had been transferred to Riga. *Standortsonderbefehl* of August 18, 1943. GARF, 7021-108-54, p. 124.

<sup>455</sup> In his first interrogation, J. Kramer affirmed that the stories of the gassings, told by the witnesses, were “*false, from beginning to end,*” but later, in the subsequent declaration, he adopted completely the ‘truth’ on trial: the axiomatic existence of the gas chambers. Indeed, as J. Kramer’s own defense counsel, Major Winwood, stated: “*the gas chambers existed, there can be no doubt about that.*”

<sup>456</sup> PRO, File WO.208/4661, Report “*Gefangener Oslo, den 29 Juni 45,*” p. 5. These documents were discovered by D. Irving, who has published them on his website: [www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/Aumeier/](http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/Aumeier/).

<sup>457</sup> The third oven was installed in April 1942.

*have no knowledge of gas chambers and during my time no detainee was gassed. At the time of my transfer, there were some 54,000 detainees at Auschwitz and Birkenau, among them about 15,000 women and children. Detainees who fell ill were moved to the infirmary, which was under the exclusive responsibility of the camp surgeon."*

But soon H. Aumeier would be compelled to understand. The British handed him a questionnaire which included the following questions:<sup>458</sup>

*"f) Precise details about Birkenau*

*g) Gassings (with all details), number of daily and total victims*

*h) Confession about own responsibility in case of gassings. Who carried them out (names) and who assigned these people to the task."*

H. Aumeier thus realized that the 'gassings' were deemed an unquestionable and undeniable fact by the British interrogators, and he simply adjusted his defensive tactics accordingly. In the "*Report about the interrogation of prisoner No. 211, Sturmbannführer Aumeier, Hans,*" dated August 10, 1945, one can read:<sup>459</sup>

*"The interrogator is satisfied that the major part of the material of this report is in conformity with the truth as far as the facts are concerned, but the personal reactions of Aumeier and his way of thinking may change a bit when his fate gets worse."* (emphasis added)

It is therefore clear that the British interrogators had in mind their own 'truth' about Auschwitz, to which Aumeier simply had to adjust, only such an adjustment being 'satisfactory' to them. For his part, as soon as Aumeier grasped the situation, he became very 'cooperative.' It is in this context that his report of July 25, 1945, should be evaluated. He speaks of homicidal gasings and also the 'Bunkers,' the topic that most interests us here:<sup>460</sup>

*"In the meantime, at Birkenau near the burying area, the construction office modified two empty houses into gas chambers. One house had 2, the other 4 gas chambers. The houses were called bunker 1 and 2. Each chamber accommodated 50–150 persons. In late January or early February [1943]<sup>461</sup> the first gassings were carried out there. The detail was called SK (Sonderkom.), it was directly attached to the LK [camp commander] under the direction of U. Grabner and was itself led and managed by U. Hessler [Höbller]. The area was signposted and designated as security area, furthermore surrounded by the Kommando with a sentry chain of 8 men. [...]*

*Near the bunkers I and II, 2 barracks had been set up, and the dets. had to undress in them and were told that they would go to the delousing and*

<sup>458</sup> PRO, File WO.208/4661. Questionnaire "*Freiwillige Aussage des Kriegsgefangenen Hans Aumeier*" = voluntary statement by the POW Hans Aumeier.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibidem*, Report no. PWIS Det (N)/18 Report on interrogation of prisoner no. 211 Stubaf. Aumeier, Hans; Akershus prison – Aug. 10, 1945.

<sup>460</sup> *Ibidem*, Report by H. Aumeier of July 25, 1945, pp. 7f.

<sup>461</sup> Briefly before that, Aumeier stated: "*According to my memory, it was in the month of November or December 1942[sic!] when the first gassing of about 50-80 Jewish inmates occurred.*"

*the bath. Then they were led into the chambers. These chambers had vents in the side wall.*

*The gassings took place under the direction of the physician as described above. The bunkers were regularly opened only the day after. The following day, gold teeth were broken out from the corpses, as directed by a dentist or a medic; later the women's hair would also be cut. After that, the corpses were burned in pits as already mentioned."*

What strikes us here in this respect, is the use of the term "*bunkers I and II.*" As we have already seen, the term 'Bunker' was coined at Auschwitz during the Judge Jan Sehn's investigation no later than April 1945. Is it possible that the British interrogators knew at least a summary of the Polish investigations of Auschwitz? In my opinion this is not only possible but certain. Aumeier 'confessed,' like S. Jankowski,<sup>462</sup> that the first gassing had taken place in November or December 1942 in the mortuary of crematorium I<sup>461</sup> – more than a year later – and in a different location – than what official historiography maintains. By order of Himmler given during summer of 1941, the Jews who were unable to work or ill were to be gassed, but, as Rudolf Höß stated:<sup>463</sup>

*"the crematorium was too small and could not cope with the incinerations so that during the construction of the crematoria at Birkenau gas chambers were built as well."*

If Höß was right, however, then the Birkenau crematoria would have been designed from the very beginning with homicidal gas chambers – a thesis which, at the time, was unquestionable, but which today, after the studies of Jean-Claude Pressac, no specialist accepts anymore, not even Robert Jan van Pelt.<sup>464</sup>

Aumeier, on the other hand, maintains that the first gassings in the 'Bunkers' were carried out as late as January or February 1943, which is a glaring contradiction to the date assumed by official historiography. But if he was to testify about the alleged, very first gassing in Auschwitz and any subsequent gassings in the Bunkers, he had to place those events during the time of his presence in Auschwitz, that is, between February 1942 and August 1943. Thus his time shift.

Finally referring to crematorium II, Aumeier writes:<sup>465</sup>

*"In front of the crematorium, also for undressing, a barrack had been set up."*

As I have stressed elsewhere,<sup>466</sup> this story was invented by Henryk Tauber on May 24, 1945, to attribute a 'criminal' purpose to the presence of a barrack

<sup>462</sup> "Aussage von Stanislaw Jankowski (Alter Feinsilber)," in: T. Świebicka et al., *op. cit.* (note 296); also *Hefte von Auschwitz*, special issue I, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1972, p. 48.

<sup>463</sup> PRO, File WO.208/4661. Report by H. Aumeier of July 25, 1945, pp. 5f.

<sup>464</sup> R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 118), p. 72.

<sup>465</sup> PRO, File WO.208/4661. Report by H. Aumeier of July 25, 1945, p. 9.

<sup>466</sup> "The Morgues of the Crematoria at Birkenau in the Light of Documents," in: *The Revisionist*, 2(3) (2004), pp. 271-294.



in front of crematorium II on Birkenau map no. 2216 of March 20, 1943 in his testimony before Judge Sehn.<sup>467</sup>

Speaking of the alleged first gassing in the mortuary of crematorium I, moreover, Aumeier writes that this installation was “*in camp I*,”<sup>468</sup> but the splitting up of the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex – ordered by Himmler and resulting in the Auschwitz camp becoming Auschwitz I or camp I (Auschwitz II/camp II = Birkenau, Auschwitz III/Lager III = all outer installations) – came into force on November 22, 1943,<sup>469</sup> and could therefore not be known to Aumeier, who had left Auschwitz three months earlier.

On July 25, 1945, when Aumeier wrote the above-mentioned report, the British were fully engaged in the preparation of the Belsen trial, which started less than two months later, on September 17. The “*Regulations for the trial of war criminals*” had been established as early as June 18.<sup>470</sup> Hans Aumeier was later extradited to Poland and sentenced to death at the trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison (December 22, 1947). On that occasion, the British government also transmitted the files on the arrest of the defendant to Poland. In doing so, the British were returning the favor they had received from the Poles, since it is quite clear that the above declarations of Aumeier can only be explained by his knowledge – and that of his British interrogators as well – of the propaganda ‘truth’ fabricated by the Soviet Commission of Investigation and merely perfected by Judge Sehn.

In any case, the British certainly received evidence for the Belsen trial from the Soviets, for example the Soviet film on the liberation of the camp, which was accepted in evidence as no. 125.<sup>471</sup>

### 6.5.3. Rudolf Höß

The former commandant of Auschwitz was arrested by the British on March 11, 1946. Three days later, he was interrogated for the first time and stated the following regarding the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’:<sup>472</sup>

*“Two old farmbuildings, which were situated rather out of the way near BIRKENAU, were made airtight and provided with strong wooden doors. The transports were unloaded at a siding in BIRKENAU. Prisoners fit to work were picked out and brought to the camps. The luggage was left and was later taken on to the stores. The others, who were meant to be gassed, were marched to the one km. distant plant. The sick and people unfit to walk were taken there in lorries.”*<sup>[473]</sup> *In front of the farmhouses everybody*

<sup>467</sup> Statement of H. Tauber of May 24, 1945. Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 136.

<sup>468</sup> PRO, File WO.208/4661. Report by H. Aumeier of July 25, 1945, p. 5.

<sup>469</sup> *Standortbefehl Nr. 53/43* of November 22, 1943. GARF, 7021-108-54, p. 48.

<sup>470</sup> R. Phillips (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 331), p. 647.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 231.

<sup>472</sup> NO-1210, pp. 4f. of the transcript.

<sup>473</sup> A sentence located here in the German version of this document was left out in the English version: “*For transports arriving at night, everybody was transported on trucks.*” Further omissions in the English version are indicated as romans in brackets.

had to undress behind walls made from branches. On the doors was a notice saying 'Disinfectionsraum' (dis-infection chamber). The Unterfuehrer on duty had to tell the prisoners [through interpreters] to wach[sic] their kit in order to find it again after having been deloused. This prevented disturbances [from the start]. Then they were undressed, they went into the room according to size, 2-300 at a time. The doors were locked, [screwed tight] and one or two tins of CYKLON B were thrown into the room through holes in the wall. It consisted of a rough substance of Prussic acid. It took, according to the weather 3 - 10 minutes. After an hour later the doors were opened and the bodies were taken out by a commando of prisoners, who were permanently employed there, and burned in pits. Before being cremated, gold teeth and rings were removed. Firewood was stacked between the corpses and when approximately 100 bodies were in the pit, the wood was lighted with rags soaked in parafin. When the fire had started properly more bodies were thrown on to it. The fat which collected in the bottom of the pits was put into the fire with buckets to hasten the process of burning [especially] when it was raining. The burning took 6 - 7 hours. The smell of the burned bodies was noticed in the camp even if the wind was blowing from the west.<sup>[474]</sup> After the pits had been cleared the remaining ashes were broken up. This was done on a cement plate where prisoners pulverised the remaining bones with wooden hammers. The remains were loaded on lorries and taken to an out of the way place on the Weichsel and thrown into the water."

This description was more or less in keeping with the knowledge of the propaganda 'truth' about Auschwitz that the British interrogators had at the time. Höß himself stated during his trial how the British extracted his first 'confession' from him:<sup>475</sup>

"When I was interrogated for the first time in the British Zone [of Germany], those examining me said to me, all the time, that five - six - seven million people must have died in the gas chambers; all the time they bombarded me with huge numbers such as these, and I was obliged to provide some data, in order to establish how many were put to death in the gas chambers, and the interrogators told me that there must have been at least three million. Under the suggestive influence of these large figures, I arrived at the total of three million."

The means by which those first 'confessions' were extracted from him are described explicitly by Höß during his imprisonment in Poland:<sup>476</sup>

"During the first interrogation they beat me to obtain evidence. I do not know what was in the transcript, or what I said, even though I signed it, because they gave me liquor and beat me with a whip. It was too much

<sup>474</sup> A fairly unconvincing assertion, because the alleged cremation trenches were to the northwest of the camp.

<sup>475</sup> State of Israel Ministry of Justice, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann. Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem 1993, vol. III, p. 1310.

<sup>476</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 179.

even for me to bear. [...] After a few days I was taken to Minden [...]. There they treated me even more roughly.”

Hence, like Hans Aumeier, Rudolf Höß said what the British interrogators wanted him to say on the basis of their propaganda ‘truth’ about Auschwitz, the difference being that we know for sure that the former Auschwitz commandant was tortured.<sup>477</sup> After his extradition to Poland, Höß quickly adjusted to the Polish ‘truth.’

In the paper “*The Final Solution of the Jewish Question in Concentration Camp Auschwitz*” he states:<sup>478</sup>

“We [Höß and Eichmann] drove around the Auschwitz area to locate a suitable place. We thought the farmhouse at the northwest corner of Birkenau near planned Section III would be suitable. The house had been abandoned, and it was hidden from view by the surrounding trees and bushes and not too far from the railroad. The bodies could be buried in long, deep pits in the nearby meadows. We didn’t think about burning them at this time. We calculated that in the space available in the farmhouse, approximately eight hundred people could be killed using a suitable gas after the building was made airtight. We later found this to be the actual capacity.” A few pages further on, Höß adds:<sup>479</sup>

“I am unable to recall when the destruction of the Jews began – probably in September 1941, or perhaps not until January 1942. At first we dealt with the Jews from Upper Silesia. These Jews were arrested by the Gestapo from Katowice and transported via the Auschwitz-Dziedziej railroad and unloaded there. As far as I can recall, these transports never numbered more than a thousand persons.

A detachment of SS from the camp took charge of them at the railroad ramp, and the officer in charge marched them to the bunker (I) in two groups. This is what we called the extermination installation.

Their luggage remained on the ramp and was later brought between the DAW (German Armaments Works)<sup>[480]</sup> and the railroad station.

The Jews had to undress at the bunker and were told that they would have to go into the delousing rooms. All of the rooms – there were five of them – were filled at the same time. The airtight doors were screwed tight, and the contents of the gas crystal canisters emptied into the rooms through special hatches.

After half an hour the doors were opened and the bodies were pulled out. Each room had two doors. They were then moved using small carts on special tracks to the ditches. The clothing was brought by trucks to the sorting place. All of the work was done by a special contingent of Jews (the

<sup>477</sup> For details, cf. Robert Faurisson, “How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höß,” *Journal of Historical Review* 7(4) (1986), pp. 389-403.

<sup>478</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 29.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 31.

<sup>480</sup> Comments in parentheses added by Paskuly; this translation is wrong. *Ausrüstungswerke* = equipment/outfitting factory, in contrast to *Rüstungswerke* = armament factory.

*Sonderkommando*). They had to help those who were about to die with the undressing, the filling up of the bunkers, the clearing of the bunkers, removal of the bodies, as well as digging the mass graves and, finally, covering the graves with earth. These Jews were housed separately from the other prisoners and, according to Eichmann's orders, they themselves were to be killed after each large extermination action."

This alleged gassing occurred in the alleged 'Bunker 1;' therefore, according to Höß, the 'Bunker' was already functioning in September 1941 or at the latest in January 1942! Not only that, but he says that it had five gas chambers, not just two, literally confusing it with 'Bunker 2.'

In her *Auschwitz Chronicle* Danuta Czech dates this alleged gassing – with specific reference to Höß' passage just quoted – to February 15, 1942 (arrival date of an alleged transport of Jews from Beuthen), but because 'Bunker 1' did not exist at the time, she has it take place in crematorium I!<sup>481</sup>

Höß goes on:<sup>482</sup>

*"During the spring of 1942 we were still dealing with small police actions. But during the summer the transports became more numerous and we were forced to build another extermination site. The farm area west of Crematoriums IV and V,<sup>[483]</sup> which were built later, was chosen and prepared. Five barracks were built, two near Bunker I and three near Bunker II. Bunker II was the larger one. It held about 1,200 people."*

During the trial session of March 11, 1947, Höß finally adapted himself to the Polish 'truth' and its terminology, speaking explicitly of 'Bunker 1' and 'Bunker 2':<sup>484</sup>

*"From that time on, gassing was moved out of the camp, to Bunker 2. That was a farm cottage, which had been arranged for the purpose. It was split up into individual rooms by means of wooden gastight doors. There were small openings, from which the gas was fed once the rooms were full of people. We also did it that way later, when, in the spring of 1942, transports of Jews arrived from eastern Upper Silesia, from the Government General, and from Germany. [...]"*

*Near the farm cottage, at Bunker 2, there were trenches that were originally mass graves. The corpses were dragged out of the gas chamber and burned in these trenches."*

The obvious difference between the British and the Polish versions of Höß' 'confessions' is thus further proof of the fact that they expressed the propaganda orientation of the respective interrogators.

<sup>481</sup> Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium...*, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 174f.

<sup>482</sup> Steven Paskuly (ed.), op. cit. (note 16), p. 32.

<sup>483</sup> The original German text mentions "III and IV," which was changed by Paskuly to match the common numbering of all crematoria.

<sup>484</sup> Höß trial, AGK, NTN, 105, pp. 114f.

#### 6.5.4. Pery Broad

SS *Rottenführer* Pery Broad worked in the Political Department of Auschwitz from June 18, 1942 on, reporting to Grabner. He was arrested by the British on May 6, 1945, and released in 1947. On July 13, 1945, he wrote a report which was never registered by any of the commissions investigating German war crimes and thus never received any kind of registration number; thus it disappeared for nearly twenty years, suddenly to resurface at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial.

Jean-Claude Pressac, referring to Broad, states that “*the form and tone of his declaration sound false*” and that “*its present literary form is visibly coloured by a rather too flagrant Polish patriotism*” and that “*the original manuscript of his declaration is not known*;<sup>485</sup>” therefore, as a historical source, it is not worth much.

In his first declarations,<sup>486</sup> Broad never mentions the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’ As far as I know, he made his first allusion to those alleged installations at the end of 1947.<sup>487</sup>

*“I learned through SS people that the majority of the persons destined to be gassed was taken directly to Birkenau, where there were two farmhouses converted into gas bunkers. The capacity of those two temporary gas bunkers was about 800–1000 persons.”*

The report of July 13, 1945, the only copy of which was introduced almost twenty years later at the Frankfurt trial, on April 20, 1964, and acknowledged by Broad himself<sup>488</sup> to have been manipulated, was published by the Auschwitz Museum in 1968.<sup>489</sup> He mentions ‘Bunkers’ at Birkenau, but Broad had stated that he had been an “*eye witness*” only to a homicidal gassing in the old crematorium. His narrative of alleged gassings in the ‘Bunkers,’ in fact, is based only on rumors, which certainly did not derive from his superior, Grabner, who was completely unaware of them. Actually, we are dealing here with the propaganda rumors that we have examined above. Pery Broad (and the British, for whom he wrote his report) had only a rather fragmentary knowledge of the propaganda stories about the ‘Bunkers,’ and he brings up only some poorly digested elements of them. First and foremost the term ‘Bunker,’ but without the appropriate numbers 1 and 2,<sup>490</sup> and the white color, a vague allusion to the allegedly ‘white cottage’ of ‘Bunker 2,’ ascribed, however, to both houses.<sup>491</sup>

*“At a certain distance from the Birkenau camp, which was growing by leaps and bounds, there were two farmhouses, nice and clean, separated from each other by a small wood, in the middle of a lovely landscape. They*

<sup>485</sup> *Auschwitz: ..., op. cit.* (note 4), p. 128. Emphasis in original.

<sup>486</sup> Declaration of September 14, 1945, NI-11397. Interrogation of March 2, 1946, NI-11954.

<sup>487</sup> Declaration under oath by Pery Broad of October 20, 1947; NI-11984.

<sup>488</sup> H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), vol. I, pp. 537 and 539.

<sup>489</sup> Staatliches Museum Auschwitz (ed.), “*Erinnerungen von Pery Broad*,” in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 9, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1966, pp. 7–48.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 33.

were white-washed gleaming white, covered by cozy straw roofs and surrounded by local fruit-trees.”

The narrative is not without bloopers, such as:<sup>492</sup>

*“The SS services in charge probably did not realize that the inhabitants of the little village of Wohlau, not far away on the other side of the Vistula river, were often witnesses to those scenes of nightly horror. In the bright glow coming from the pits with their burning corpses they were able to distinguish the procession of naked shapes marching from the undressing barracks to the gas chambers. They heard the screams of the people bestially whipped but not wanting to enter these halls of death, heard the shots, with which all those were put to rest who could not be pushed in for lack of space.”*

Wohlau was the German name of Wola, a village another 3 km to the southwest of the house, which is called ‘Bunker 2’ in the official historiography and was the closer of the two: how could its inhabitants see what allegedly happened so far away? The village closest to the alleged ‘Bunkers’ was Jedlina, which was right across from Birkenau on the other side of the river, at a distance of some 1.5 km from the ‘Bunkers.’ Although based only on rumors, Broad’s narrative makes him appear ubiquitous, and that proves the fictional character of his story.

### 6.5.5. Friedrich Entress

Dr. Friedrich Entress served as a physician at Auschwitz from December 11, 1942, through October 20, 1943. By his position and the period of his stay at Auschwitz he should have been well acquainted with the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’ He has this to say about them, in a “sworn statement” he gave in the Landsberg prison on April 14, 1947:<sup>493</sup>

*“The first gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau began in the summer of 1942. They concerned gassings of Jews from Poland and Russia. [...] Two old farmhouses were used as the first gas chambers; they had been modified specifically for the gassings. The construction work was done by the SS construction office. The windows were walled up, the inner walls removed and a special door put in, which sealed the room air-tight.*

*The capacity was laid out for about 300 people. The detainees had to undress in a barrack nearby and were led into the gas chamber from there. Once the door was closed, the gas (Zyklon B) was thrown into openings, which could be closed, by three SS men. These SS men wore gas masks and had been specially trained in the use of the gas. A camp physician had to be present at each gassing, because army rules about the handling of poison gases specified this for the protection of the SS personnel.*

<sup>492</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36.

<sup>493</sup> NO-2368, pp. 4f.

*After 5 minutes, the initial screams and moans died down. Another 25 minutes later the doors were opened, and a command of detainees, wearing gas masks, then removed the corpses. Under the direction of an Unterscharführer specifically determined by Dr. Lolling, the dental gold was taken out, the detainees were loaded onto little carts and taken to the pits, which had earlier been dug by a detail of detainees. When the corpses had been buried, the gas chambers were cleaned and were then ready for the next transport."*

By 1947 the essential elements of the propaganda story of the 'Bunkers' had already spread far and wide, but Dr. Entress did not yet know the 'official' name of those two old farmhouses: 'Bunker.' Furthermore, he places the start of the alleged gassings in the summer of 1942 instead of the spring. In contradiction with the 'official' version of Szlama Dragon, furthermore, the inner walls in both farm houses had, according to F. Entress, been knocked down and there was a single gastight door, hence in both houses there was one 'gas chamber' of equal capacity – 300 persons – a figure likewise at variance with those adopted by S. Dragon.

The witness's assertion that the transformation into alleged gas chambers was carried out by the SS construction office is completely wrong, as we have seen above.

#### 6.5.6. Hans Erich Mußfeldt

SS-Oberscharführer Erich Mußfeldt<sup>494</sup> was assigned to Auschwitz from August 15, 1940, through November 15, 1941, at which time he was transferred to the concentration camp Lublin-Majdanek. In May 1944 he was again assigned to Auschwitz, where he was in charge of crematoria II and III until mid-August. Then he was sent to the front.

Mußfeldt was one of the accused in the trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison. The Supreme National Tribunal of Poland sentenced him to death on December 22, 1947.

During the preparation of the trial, he was interrogated by Judge Jan Sehn on several occasions; in his interrogation on September 8, 1947, he declared the following:<sup>495</sup>

*"As I have already explained, on February 19, 1943, I was sent from Majdanek to Auschwitz to study [the technique] of the burning of corpses in open-air pits. On that occasion I was accompanied to Auschwitz by the medic /SDG/ SS-Oberscharführer Entress,<sup>[496]</sup> who was to inform himself about delousing and the killing of persons by means of gas in the Ausch-*

<sup>494</sup> The misspelling "Muhsfeldt" occurs in the trial papers and has been frequently adopted in subsequent writings. It probably resulted as a faulty transcription of the sz of the old German handwriting Sütterli.

<sup>495</sup> Interrogation of Erich Mußfeldt on September 8, 1947. AGK, NTN, 144, pp. 91f.

<sup>496</sup> Anton Enders (or Endress), SS-Oberscharführer, disinfectant on the medical staff (SDG) at Majdanek.

witz gas chambers. The commander of the Majdanek camp, Florstedt, had given us a letter for the Auschwitz camp command. For that mission, we reported to the then commander of Auschwitz Rudolf Höß. The latter directed us to the first Schutzhaftlagerführer, SS-Hauptsturmführer Aumeier. Aumeier showed me the drawing of a pit for the burning of corpses, explained it, and added that the corpses there burned perfectly. He then sent me to the Political Section. The head of this section, Grabner, delegated one of his subordinates, Bogner [Boger], who then took us by truck to the place where the corpses of those who had been gassed were burned in pits in the open air. This was at Birkenau, at a place called Bunker 5. The Kommandoführer who directed those activities (I do not remember his name) explained to us how the people were gassed and their corpses burned. At that time, the corpses in the pit were nearly burned and the gas chamber was empty. It was a brick structure, a farm building of sorts transformed into a gas chamber, split up into 4 smaller rooms on the inside.

From the front, an entrance door led into each room; in the back of each room there was a door, through which the corpses were thrown on the carts of a narrow-gauge railway. Each room had openings for the introduction of Zyklon. In all the rooms of Bunker 5, 1000 – 1500 persons could be gassed at the same time. During the visit by myself and Entress, no gassings took place, because there were no transports.”

The most curious aspect of this deposition is the designation “Bunker 5”. As I have indicated above, this designation was invented by Rudolf Höß, who wrote that Bunker 2 was “later” – that is in 1944 – called “Bunker V.”<sup>373</sup> This is the genesis of the story (initially concocted by D. Paisikovic) of the redesignation of the alleged gassing installation as “Bunker 5” when it was reactivated in 1944 (if we interpret R. Höß’ adverb “später” (later) in this way).

Mußfeldt was of course aware of the charges against him and hence of the main testimonies assembled by Jan Sehn in the preceding years. However, Mußfeldt misunderstood this point when he asserted that ‘Bunker 2’ was called “Bunker 5” as early as February of 1943. Such a change, for 1943, is even more mysterious than for 1944.

The description of “Bunker 5” is clearly copied from Szlama Dragon; Mußfeldt only reduced the capacity of the four ‘gas chambers.’ He does not even mention the alleged ‘Bunker 1’ and its incineration pits, and speaks, regarding “Bunker 5,” of a single pit, in which the incineration had nearly come to its end. The next day, the two sergeants returned to Lublin;<sup>497</sup> hence Mußfeldt did not in fact see the cremation pits in operation, and Enders did not witness any activity in the gas chambers – but then, what on earth were they doing at Auschwitz?

The story of the cremation pits had an unforeseen development. Mußfeldt stated that Aumeier had shown him a drawing of a cremation pit and ex-

<sup>497</sup> Interrogation of Erich Mußfeldt on September 8, 1947. AGK, NTN, 144, p. 92.



plained its operation to him, adding that the corpses there burned “perfectly.” However, when Mußfeldt, back at Lublin, wanted to put into practice what he had learned at Auschwitz, it turned out that in such a pit “cremation was not effective enough”; he therefore built, on his own initiative, enormous grids made of truck chassis resting on rocks: 100 corpses doused with methanol were put on top, with wood underneath. In this fashion, he burned about 9,000 corpses until October 1943,<sup>498</sup> thus some 100 corpses in two and a half days on average.

But then how could the Birkenau cremation pits swallow up thousands of corpses every day?

### 6.5.7. Hans Stark

SS *Unterscharführer* Hans Stark arrived at Auschwitz around Christmas of 1940. Initially *Blockführer*, he was later, in June 1941, assigned to the Political Department of the camp. In the summer of 1942 he was made SS *Oberscharführer*, and in November of the same year was transferred away from Auschwitz.

Stark was interrogated on April 23, 1959, by the criminal department of the police of Cologne (on behalf of the Landeskriminalamt of Baden-Württemberg) during the preparation of the Frankfurt trial. On the subject of the ‘Bunkers’ he made the following statement:<sup>499</sup>

*“Furthermore, I was charged with the reception of incoming transports at Birkenau from about summer of 1942 onwards, i.e., to receive the lists of new arrivals from the accompanying guard unit and to check the numbers [of deportees]. The selection took place immediately on arrival, i.e., the able-bodied deportees were separated from the others. The unfit persons, mainly the elderly, the sick, children and babies were taken to the gassing rooms which by then existed. They consisted of 2 wooden houses that had been prepared accordingly. [...]*

*The gassing rooms were situated not overly far from the unloading area and the persons destined to be gassed were led there by us. I myself was present a few times during the transfer of persons destined to be gassed.*

*If I remember rightly, those first gas chambers – the wooden houses I have indicated – were built between Christmas 1941 and March 1942, while I was away on a training assignment, for they were ready when I returned to Auschwitz and the first gassings were taking place. [...]*

*I am unable to give details regarding the capacity of those first two gas chambers at Birkenau, I thus do not know how many persons could be gassed each time in each g.[as] chamber. I do not think, though, that they could have accommodated more than the gas chambers near the small*

<sup>498</sup> Interrogation of Erich Mußfeldt on August 14, 1947, AGK, NTN, 144, p. 67.

<sup>499</sup> Transcript of the interrogation (Vernehmungsniederschrift) of Hans Stark, Köln, April 23, 1959. ZStL, ref. AR-Z 37/58 SB6, pp. 949-951.

*crematorium. For gassings, at which I was present, it never happened that for a [given] transport several gassings were performed in succession in the chambers, so that in my opinion a maximum of 500 persons could have been gassed for any one transport. In Birkenau, too, the gas was poured into the gassing rooms by medics through existing openings."*

From this account it is obvious that H. Stark had only a very superficial knowledge of the pertinent propaganda story. He not only does not know the alleged official designation of 'Bunker,' but, clumsily confusing the alleged wooden undressing barracks with the brick houses, he invents "*wooden houses*" for the gassings. Where they were, how they were made, how many 'gas chambers' they contained, where the "*existing openings*" for the Zyklon B were located, how the 'gassings' took place, how the corpses were taken out and what their fate was – all the things that a real witness would have been able to describe – are prudently glossed over by Stark. As opposed to this, his statement regarding the initial employment of the two "*wooden houses*," between the end of 1941 and March of 1942, is partly at variance with the official historiography, because it could apply to 'Bunker 1,' but certainly not to 'Bunker 2.'

In addition, his ignorance of the alleged extermination capacity of the installations and the number of those gassed is not really believable for a witness assigned to verifying the numbers of arriving deportees.

Hans Stark's confession can be easily understood: various witnesses, Erwin Bartel for instance, were accusing him, and so his defensive strategy made led him to accept the general lines of the accusation, while denying his personal involvement or attributing it to higher orders. At the end of the 1950s, the Holocaust dogma was already well in place, and no defendant would have dared to cast doubt on it, lest he be considered a hopeless Nazi and sentenced more severely.<sup>500</sup>

### 6.5.8. Richard Böck

SS *Unterscharführer* Richard Böck served as a driver at Auschwitz from 1941 until the evacuation of the camp. On November 2, 1960, during the preparatory phase of the Auschwitz trial, he was interrogated and gave a detailed and colorful account of the 'bunkers', which is worth setting out in full.<sup>501</sup>

*"One day, it was in the winter of 1942/43, H[öb]linger asked me if I would like to go along to see a gassing action. He would pass me off as his assistant in the ambulance, because otherwise it was strictly prohibited to be present there. So we went to the motor pool, took the ambulance, and*

<sup>500</sup> On Hans Stark see also Germar Rudolf, "*From the Records of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, Part 7*," *The Revisionist* 2(4) (2004), in preparation.

<sup>501</sup> Interrogation of Richard Böck of Nov. 2, 1960. Preparation of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, ref. 4 Js 444/59, vol. 29, pp. 6881-6883. The original pages of the report were published by G. Rudolf in the article "*Aus den Akten des Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozesses, Teil 4*," *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, 7(2) (2003), p. 228.

went directly to Birkenau. We did not touch the Birkenau camp on that route. I cannot even say that I saw any part of the camp at that time.

The train stood in the open country somewhere between Auschwitz and Birkenau, and the detainees were just being unloaded. It was about 21:00 hours [9 p.m.]. Broad steps had been placed at the back of the trucks for the people to climb up. All vehicles were chock-full and could not have accepted any more. On the trucks, the people were standing. I did not see that a selection was done by an SS doctor or any other SS member. These [people] were all loaded [on the trucks] and taken to a former farmstead about 1.5 km away from the unloading area. I can no longer indicate the place precisely, because it was dark. Anyway, I did not see the Birkenau crematoria and I think that they were not yet in operation at the time. In any case, H. and I went to that place with the Sanka, following the trucks. When we arrived, the people had already been unloaded and had to undress in several barracks near that old farmstead. When they came out from the barracks, naked, they were told that they should go into the building that had a sign 'Desinfektion.' This building was the former farmstead that had been transformed at that time into a gassing room. As far as I can remember, it [the inside] was well laid out in concrete all around and had gates on both sides that were made of wood, I believe. H. had previously told me that the incoming transports were being gassed in this room. Besides, those gassing actions were something every one of us knew about.

I remember that this transport consisted of Dutch Jews – men, women and children – who were all well dressed and looked like wealthy people.

I have to correct something here. The modified farmstead had only one gate, consisting of two leaves. The 'Desinfektion' sign was not attached to the building either but stood a few meters away from it, like a signpost. They had set up this sign to make the people believe they would be disinfected here.

Once the total transport had entered that building – some 1000 persons, I think – the gate was closed. Then an SS man, a Rottenführer I think, came to our Sanka and took out a gas can. With this can he went to a ladder which stood on the right side of the building, seen from the door. I noticed that he was wearing a gas-mask when he went up. When he had reached the end of the ladder he opened a circular trap made of steel plate and poured the contents of the can against the wall when he hit it while pouring. At the same time, I could see brown dust coming out of the opening. Whether that was gas, I cannot say. When he had closed the little trap, indescribable screams came from that room. I simply cannot describe how these people screamed. That went on for 8–10 minutes and then everything was quiet. A little later, the gate was opened by detainees and one could still see a bluish mist floating above a pile of corpses. The corpses were so strongly interlaced that it was impossible to say to whom the individual limbs and body parts belonged. This allows one to understand how indescribably horrible the agony of these persons must have been.

*I was surprised, though, to see that the detainees who had to move the corpses out entered the room without gas masks even though this blue mist, which I thought to be gas, floated above the corpses. The corpses were loaded onto farm carts [rack-carts] and pushed away by detainees. Where the corpses went, I could not see. It did not see a crematorium either. [...]*

*I remember well that the Sanka was marked with a 'Red Cross' sign on the sides. That vehicle, though, was never used as an ambulance, but only for this purpose, for camouflage."*

Richard Böck, too, had a very sketchy knowledge of the propaganda story of the 'Bunkers' and therefore constructed it around those few elements he knew. What he did not know was not only the 'official' terminology, but also the alleged existence of another 'Bunker,' which he should have been aware of because, in his own words, the alleged homicidal gassings "*were something every one of us knew about.*" Therefore he was unable to say whether his 'eyewitness account' referred to 'Bunker 1' or 'Bunker 2' – which is important if we want to judge his credibility – and his description tends even to exclude 'Bunker 2.' In fact he stated that he had not seen a crematorium, but the road leading to the 'Bunker' passed near crematoria II and III, and he would have seen them. Therefore, his account ought to refer to 'Bunker 1.'

The period during which all this takes place – the winter of 1942–43 – is the same to which Szlama Dragon's testimony refers. We must remember that according to Dragon's account, 'Bunker 1' had two gas chambers, each one with two separate doors and two openings for the introduction of Zyklon B – square, 40 by 40 cm, and closed by a wooden trap – two on the same wall as the entrance door to one chamber, on both sides of it, while the other chamber had one to the right of its entrance door and one in the wall around the corner to the left.

Moreover, one reached the doors by means of stairs on the outside of the building, each one having 7 or 8 steps. But the "*farmstead*" described by Böck had a single gas chamber, a single door and a "*circular trap made of steel plate,*" never mentioned by other witnesses and clearly inspired by the covers of the ventilation vents of the disinfection chambers already studied.<sup>502</sup>

The "*factory*" was, moreover, "*well laid out in concrete all around*" but without the two outside stairs. Böck vaguely remembered that the official propaganda version required the presence of two undressing barracks near the 'Bunker' and, being unsure of the number, he spoke of "*several barracks.*" Other traces of propaganda in Böck's testimony are the sign "*Desinfektion*" set up in front of the "*farmstead*" like a road sign – which instead (if we follow Szlama Dragon's Soviet deposition) should have been attached to the entrance door of the 'Bunker' – and the term "*Sanka*" to designate the vehicle with the red cross, which Dragon called "*Sanker*" in the Polish deposition. On the other hand, he knows nothing of the narrow-gauge railroad with the corre-

<sup>502</sup> Cf. chapter 4.4.

sponding little carts for the transport of the corpses, for which he could only come up with handcarts, and he did not see the “cremation pits” either, which – according to P. Broad – the inhabitants of the village of Wola could clearly see from more than 3 km away!

But the tale of this ‘eyewitness’ reaches its peak with the description of the alleged gassing: Like so many other careless witnesses, R. Böck thought that the German term for hydrogen cyanide, “*Blausäure*” (literally, blue acid), derived from its blue color, and therefore invented the ridiculous story of the “*bluish mist*” he claims to have seen inside the alleged gas chamber.<sup>503</sup> Not only that, but to add the absurd to the ridiculous, he claimed that the detainees removing the corpses (he does not yet know of the official term “*Sonderkommando*”) entered the gas chamber without gas masks after a gassing operation.

Böck was heard as a witness at the 73rd session of the Frankfurt trial (August 3, 1964), during which he modified his imaginative testimony, dropping the absurdities which I have indicated above, but adding other literary elements at variance with the official propaganda version: he mentions “*four or five large barracks*” set up as undressing rooms for the victims instead of the official two, and relates that an SS man assigned to the gassing had climbed up on the roof (“*ein SS Mann ist aufs Dach gestiegen*”) to pour Zyklon B into the corresponding “trap,” which instead should have been in one of the walls. With inexcusable negligence for a trial witness, Böck did not even familiarize himself with the official version of the ‘Bunkers,’ satisfied instead to have gleaned a few tidbits of information on this topic here and there, as for instance the officially more acceptable term “*Bauernhaus*” (farmhouse) instead of the unusual “*Bauernhof*” (farmstead) and the mention of a “*Graben*” (ditch, trench), which, however, was not for cremation:<sup>504</sup>

“*The corpses were loaded onto a handcart and taken to a ditch.*”

### 6.5.9. Karl Höblinger

As we have seen above, Richard Böck is said to have been present at the alleged gassing upon the invitation of his colleague Höblinger, who had asked him if he would like to be present at an extermination of Jews, even though this was “*streng verboten*” (strictly prohibited).<sup>505</sup> The alleged source of this strange invitation also testified at the Auschwitz trial, at the 61st session, on July 3, 1964.

Karl Höblinger was attached to the motor pool of the Auschwitz camp administration between 1941 and 1943.<sup>506</sup> He had the rank of an SS *Rottenführer*. He is said to have been present at the same gassing as the one de-

<sup>503</sup> In the same way, D. Olère depicted the hydrogen cyanide vapors as a *blue mist* in a painting representing a homicidal gassing. S. Klarsfeld (ed.), *op. cit.* (note 298), p. 54.

<sup>504</sup> H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), vol. I, p. 74. For a more detailed analysis of Böck as a witness and his statements see Germar Rudolf, “From the Records of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, part 4”, *The Revisionist*, 1(4) (2003), pp. 468-472.

<sup>505</sup> Interrogation of Richard Böck, *op. cit.* (note 501), p. 6881.

<sup>506</sup> There was also a “*Fahrbereitschaft*” of Central Construction Office.

scribed by R. Böck, but his account in this respect is rather superficial and hurried:<sup>507</sup>

*“Höblinger: I was in the motor pool and drove the Sanka for the detainee transports.*

*Presiding judge: Did you drive at night as well?*

*H. : Yes, when transports of Jews arrived at the Birkenau ramp. Then I had to take the medics and the doctors to the ramp. Then we also went on to the gas chambers. The medics climbed up on a ladder there, they wore gas masks up there and emptied out the cans. I could see the detainees undressing, it was always quite peaceful and without suspicion. Everything went very quickly.*

*P.: How long did the gassing take?*

*H. : About one minute. When the gas arrived, one heard a scream of terror. After a minute, everything was quiet. The medical orderly brought the gas in cans.*

*P.: How were the victims taken to the gas chamber?*

*H. : The disabled Jews were taken to the gas chamber by truck. Five or six cars were used, they went a couple of times.*

*P.: Were the Bunkers lit up by means of automobile headlights?*

*H. : Yes.*

*Prosecutor Kügler: Was the defendant Klehr the head of medical orderlies?*

*H. : I don't know. We just used to call them the gassing guys.*

*Representative of co-plaintiffs Raabe: How long did a selection take, on average?*

*H. : It varied. An hour or an hour and a half, say.”*

The witness had the same fragmentary knowledge of the propaganda story as his colleague Böck, but a less fecund imagination, and so he did not manage to make up a reasonable tale. The two or three literary elements he did know remain isolated in his account, he did not succeed in incorporating them into a literary whole. Therefore his account is extremely nebulous, obviously with the tacit approval of his interrogators.

#### 6.5.10. Johann Paul Kremer

Doctor Johann Paul Kremer is commonly associated with the ‘Bunkers’ because of the notes in his diary and because of the declarations he made during the preparation of the Polish trial of the Auschwitz camp garrison. I have already dealt with those aspects in a different study, to which I refer the reader.<sup>508</sup>

<sup>507</sup> H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>508</sup> *Special Treatment...*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 75-87.

Here, I shall examine his testimony at the Frankfurt trial. He appeared before the court as a witness at the 51<sup>st</sup> session on July 4, 1964. Doctor Kremer, too, was very evasive, except for a few details, which he invented clumsily:<sup>509</sup>

*“President: Where did the gassings take place at that time?”*

*Kremer: Old farmhouses had been modified into bunkers and provided with a sliding door that could be tightly closed. On top there was a trap. The people were led in undressed. They went in quite harmlessly, only a few resisted, they were taken to one side and shot. The gas was thrown in by an SS man appointed for that purpose. To do this, he climbed up on a ladder.*

*P.: Earlier you said that one could hear screams.*

*K. : Yes, they feared for their lives. They kicked against the door. I was sitting in the car.”*

Doctor Kremer, too, knew only fragments of the official propaganda version – the terms farmhouse and ‘Bunker,’ the trap for the introduction of the Zyklon B, the ladder to reach it – but he did not offer any concrete detail except for the rather odd “*sliding door*.”

### 6.5.11. Horst Fischer

Horst Fischer was an SS doctor who was transferred to Auschwitz on November 1, 1942, with the rank of SS *Obersturmführer*. He initially served as SS troop physician and later as SS camp physician at the main camp. From November 1, 1943, until September 1944 he was camp physician at the Auschwitz III – Monowitz camp. After the war, he practiced his profession in East Berlin, where he was arrested and tried by the East German authorities. On March 25, 1966, he was sentenced to death and executed.<sup>510</sup> On October 19, 1965, Dr. Fischer was interrogated and spoke of a “*gas chamber disguised as a sauna*.” Here are the significant parts of his deposition:<sup>511</sup>

*“For the first time, together with the SS garrison physician Dr. Wirths, I was present at an annihilation of detainees in late November, early December 1942 next to the sauna at Birkenau. Later, at intervals of about two weeks, depending on how the transports arrived at the ‘old ramp’ of the Auschwitz main camp, I was present at annihilation processes there in my capacity as SS physician on duty, until about May 1943. Based on those fortnightly periods and the six months, I should say that I was present about 12 times at this farmhouse, this gas chamber disguised as a ‘sauna’ at Birkenau.”*

<sup>509</sup> H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), vol. I, p. 72.

<sup>510</sup> Aleksander Lasik, “*Die Personalbesetzung des Gesundheitsdienstes der SS im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau in den Jahren 1940-1945*,” in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 20, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1997, p. 306.

<sup>511</sup> Interrogation protocol of defendant Dr. Fischer, Horst. Berlin, October 19, 1965, in: District Court (Landesgericht) Vienna, 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> trial day in the matter against Gerd Honsik, ref. 20e Vr 14184/86 Hv 5720/90, p. 429.

Fischer's task was "to supervise the SS disinfectors during the feeding of 'Zyklon B' into the gas chamber," i.e., to apply first aid in case of an accidental poisoning. He had to stay on the site until the end of the "extermination process," which took 45 to 90 minutes. The defendant mentioned a single "undressing barrack," which stood some 150 meters away from the "sauna." Regarding the activity at that installation, he relates:<sup>512</sup>

*"During the period between late 1942 and the end of May 1943, the number of detainees arriving by train was up to 1500 persons on average, of whom, in my estimate, between 300 and 600 were selected for the gas chamber as 'unfit for work.' That number varied with the size of the transport."*

The "sauna" had a single "trap," through which the Zyklon B was introduced. In this respect, he asserts:<sup>513</sup>

*"For one gassing process in the Birkenau 'sauna' only one can of 'Zyklon B' crystals was used, weighing about 2 kg. I have never observed that larger or smaller quantities were fed into this gas chamber."*

The gas chamber, moreover, had a single very peculiar door:<sup>514</sup>

*"Then, the double-walled door was closed immediately."*

Fischer later came back to that double-walled door, asserting:<sup>515</sup>

*"In the rear door – west side of the house – a round window had been installed for observation."*

And this is what happened after the alleged gassing:<sup>516</sup>

*"The gas chamber was to be opened only after 20 minutes, to my knowledge. [...]"*

*As far as I remember, the gas chamber was opened after about 20 minutes, if a further extermination action had been scheduled. [...] The order for opening the door was given, to my knowledge, by SS Oberscharführer Moll, head of the detainee corpse unit. Both doors of the gas chamber were opened and stayed open for 10 to 15 minutes for the poison gas to escape from the gas chamber. There was no exhaust system in the 'sauna.' Now detainees pulled out the corpses, using poles, some 2 m long and having a curved iron hook at the end; those poles had been kept in the equipment store of the 'sauna'."*

Even though it dates from 1965, when the propaganda framework of the 'Bunkers' was already well in place, this declaration is an obvious invention of the accused – on a theme that his German interrogators had imposed on him – based on the confused notions which he had absorbed over the twenty years since the end of the Second World War. For that very reason, he largely had to apply his imagination.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 430.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 442.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 434.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 442.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 442f.



First of all, not being aware of the alleged official designations ‘Bunker 1,’ ‘Bunker 2,’ ‘little white house’ and ‘little red house,’ he invented the term “sauna,” which does not occur at all in any other testimony. Secondly, not only does he fail to say where that “sauna” was located, but it is not even possible to deduce from his account whether he was speaking of ‘Bunker 1’ or ‘Bunker 2,’ because Fischer’s description clashes violently with the official ones. It is worth mentioning that Fischer’s testimony refers to the same period as Dragon’s testimony.

Whereas for Dragon ‘Bunker 1’ housed two gas chambers, each with a separate door and two openings for the introduction of the Zyklon B, and ‘Bunker 2’ four gas chambers, each with two separate doors, and altogether five openings, Hans Fischer’s “sauna” had a single gas chamber with a single observation window and a double-walled door. The “sauna” had, moreover, a single opening. Having only a somewhat hazy knowledge of the official version, the accused extended the period of gassings in the “sauna” into May 1943, instead of letting it end in March when crematoria IV and II went into operation.

As for the Zyklon B, he repeats the designation “crystals” in vogue among the more daring witnesses and invents a can size of 2 kg, which never existed. For a room with a single opening and one door, 10–15 minutes of ventilation is ludicrous; within so short a time, the concentration of hydrogen cyanide in the gas chamber would have gone up rather than down, because the period during which a can of Zyklon B emitted gas was about two hours.<sup>517</sup>

The reference to Moll as head of the “*detainee corpse unit*” (the accused knew absolutely nothing of the alleged official term “*Sonderkommando*”) is completely out of place, because SS *Hauptsturmführer* Otto Moll was head of the Birkenau crematoria from July to September 1944, and in 1942 was still only *Blockführer* of the *Strafkompanie* (penal unit) at Birkenau.<sup>518</sup> The system of extraction of the victims – with hooks attached to lances two meters long – is also a fanciful invention of the accused.

We have hardly to mention that no part of Fischer’s rubbish was later admitted into the ‘official’ framework of the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’

## 6.6. Conclusions

The testimonies examined in this section can be divided into two major groups which, overall, show rather divergent characteristics. In the years immediately following the Second World War, the propaganda story was still being developed. The testimonies from that period conform to the knowledge of

<sup>517</sup> J. Graf, C. Mattogno, *Concentration Camp Majdanek. A Historical and Technical Study*, Theses & Dissertations Press, Chicago, IL, 2003, pp. 127; W. Lambrecht, “Zyklon-B – eine Ergänzung,” in: *Vierteljahresshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, 1(1) (1997), pp. 1-5. Table on p. 3.

<sup>518</sup> A. Lasik, “Täterbiographien,” in: *Sterbebücher von Auschwitz*, K.G. Saur, Munich, New Providence, London, Paris 1995, vol. 1, pp. 290f.

the interrogators who imposed them on those questioned, each new confession adding to the official picture by contributing new ‘converging evidence’; the defendants, on the other hand, quite aware of the unavoidable fate that awaited them at the end of the trials under preparation, accepted them for merely tactical reasons or under direct torture, as in the case of Höß, adding new literary details here and there.

In the 1960s, however, as we shall see in the next chapter, the propaganda had become ‘history,’ and the interrogators therefore no longer needed to influence the witnesses, who then put together the few fragments of that ‘history’ known to them, and wove around them more or less gracefully a literary fabric that became the text followed by the witnesses at the Auschwitz trial and the trials that followed.



Part Three:  
Propaganda Becomes Historical “Reality”



## 7. Making History Out of Propaganda

### 7.1. The 'Bunkers' in Soviet Investigations (February – March 1945)

The first attempt at making history out of the propaganda story of the gassing 'Bunkers' at Birkenau was undertaken by the Soviet commission of investigation in the period immediately following the liberation of the Auschwitz camps.

Between February 14 and March 8, 1945, the Polish experts Dawidowski and Doliński, together with their Soviet counterparts Lavrushchin and Shoor, wrote an account ("*Akt*") of 17 pages on the extermination technique at Auschwitz. One section, entitled "*Incineration of corpses on pyres*" ("*Сжигание трупов на кострах*"), deals specifically with the Birkenau 'Bunkers.' In its entirety, it reads as follows:<sup>519</sup>

*"a. Gas chamber n. 1 with the pyres*

*Shortly after the gas chamber in the first crematorium was put into service in the autumn of 1941, another two gas chambers were installed in the woods at a certain distance from the Birkenau camp. The first gas chamber, of a size of 8 by 10 meters and a floor area of 80 square meters, had two entrances and two exits. On the outside of the entrance doors a sign in German said 'to the disinfection' and on the inside of the exit doors 'to the bath.' Next to the doors, on the lateral wall, there were openings for the introduction of the Zyklon. Furthermore, there were two standard wooden barracks that served as undressing rooms.*

*This chamber, once the people were squeezed together in the way the Germans did it, could accommodate 800–1000 persons at one time. Assuming that, as resulted from the investigation, for the undressing, the poisoning, and the removal of the corpses from the chamber, the Germans needed 5–7 hours, it was possible to carry out three such operations within the course of 24 hours. Therefore, at maximum tempo, the Germans were able to poison no fewer than 2500 per day by means of the gas chamber n. 1. The corpses were transported, on five carts of a narrow-gauge railroad, to four trenches, 25–30 meters long, 4–6 meters wide, and 2 meters deep, in which they were put down in layers with wood and burned. This gas chamber and the pyres next to it operated for about one year and a half and were destroyed by the Germans in March-April 1943.*

<sup>519</sup> Protocol. February 14 to March 8, 1945. City of Oświęcim. GARF, 7021-108, pp. 7-9.

*b. Gas chamber n. 2 with the pyres*

*The second gas chamber measured 9 by 11 meters and had a total floor area of 100 square meters. It was installed along the lines of gas chamber n. 1. At maximum tempo, the Germans poisoned 3000 persons per day in this gas chamber, based on the same data as those of gas chamber n. 1. The corpses were transported to the pyres on four carts of a narrow-gauge railway, at times 4–6 were used. The activity of gas chamber n. 2 and its pyres was interrupted in April 1943, then started again in May 1944, and continued until October 1944. Therefore, this gas chamber and its pyres functioned for a total of one year and ten months.*

*c. Pyres near crematorium 5*

*From May to October 1944, the ovens of crematorium 5 stayed closed and the corpses of the persons poisoned were burned on three pyres located on the grounds of the crematorium.”*

This description is obviously based upon Szlama Dragon’s deposition of February 26, 1945.

## 7.2. Location of the ‘Bunkers’

The most important problem that the Soviets had to solve in their attempt to establish the ‘Bunkers’ as historical fact was the location of the two “*cottages*”.

As we have seen in chapters 5 and 6, all the wartime testimonies and Szlama Dragon’s two depositions – the Soviet one of February 26 and the Polish one of May 10–11, 1945 – are extremely vague on this point.

The Soviets entrusted the task of determining the location of ‘Bunkers’ to a Polish engineer – Eugeniusz Nosal – the same man who later drew the three sketches of the ‘Bunkers’ attached to Dragon’s Polish deposition. On March 3, 1945, Nosal drew two maps of the western part of the Birkenau camp.

The first is a “*Map of the position of the chambers and the pyres for the incineration of corpses.*”<sup>520</sup> On this map, “*gas chamber 2*”<sup>521</sup> (identified by the letter K) appears in the location later to become official, *i.e.*, at 200 meters to the west of the western fence of the Birkenau camp, at a level between the central sauna and crematorium IV. “*Gas chamber 1*” (similarly indicated by the letter K) is likewise located outside the camp, some 280 meters from the northern enclosure of BAIII, perpendicular to the two settling basins.

What was the Soviets’ evidence for their location of the two ‘Bunkers’? One might think they used Szlama Dragon’s deposition, given five days earlier. This, however, is highly improbable. In his deposition on the ‘Bunkers,’

<sup>520</sup> “План района расположения крематориев, газовых камер и костров для сжигания трупов.” Cf. document 17. “План района” literally means “plan of the zone.”

<sup>521</sup> As we have already seen, the term ‘Bunker’ had not yet been introduced at that time.

Dragon provided many details, but he did not indicate, even in a general way, the locations of the two “cottages.” It would, after all, have been very simple for him to say that ‘Bunker 2’ stood some 250 meters west of the central sauna (or some 200 meters from the enclosure that ran along it),<sup>522</sup> and that ‘Bunker 1’ was located (according to the map in question) to the north of BAIII, less than 300 meters from the enclosure. It would have been even easier for Szlama Dragon to accompany the Soviet interrogators to the site where the two “cottages” stood. They would then simply have had to place them on the map. However, on this map the distance between the two alleged ‘Bunkers,’ as the crow flies, is about 1,100 meters – the real distance between the two points is actually about 900 meters<sup>523</sup> – which matches neither the 3 km of Szlama Dragon’s Soviet deposition nor the 500 meters of his Polish deposition. Dragon obviously knew nothing about the location of the ‘Bunkers.’

To locate those ‘Bunkers,’ the Soviets instead used a German map dated June 1943,<sup>524</sup> which engineer Nosal simply copied, but not very accurately. This results from a simple comparison of the two maps and, above all, from the presence, on both, of a settling installation made up of two trenches running east-west and of two series of 5 and 4 circular basins parallel to them at the north-west angle of the camp. This construction project, which first appears on the map of the Birkenau camp of October 28, 1942,<sup>525</sup> was later abandoned; the installation eventually built, and still in existence, consisted of four parallel trenches running north-south some twenty meters to the west of the enclosure of BAIII of the camp, as shown by map no. 2215 of March 1943<sup>526</sup> and by the American aerial reconnaissance photographs of May 31, 1944.<sup>527</sup>

Map no. 2501 of June 1943, copied by engineer Nosal, shows only two houses near the camp enclosure, namely those that the Soviets identified as the two ‘gas chambers.’<sup>528</sup>

This demonstrates that the basis for the location of the two ‘Bunkers’ was not an on-site inspection in the company of the alleged eyewitnesses (Szlama Dragon, first of all), but resulted from mere desk work.

And, in fact, on another German map of unknown number and date, but which certainly dates from 1944,<sup>529</sup> the Soviets searched, with colored pencils, for four zones, two of which concerned crematoria II–III and IV–V.

<sup>522</sup> One should not forget that Szlama Dragon pretends to have also worked at ‘Bunker 2’ in 1944, when the central sauna already existed and was clearly visible from the ‘Bunker.’

<sup>523</sup> The map drawn by the engineer Nosal, as we shall see below, contains a few inexact points.

<sup>524</sup> “*Interessengebiet Lageplan. Plan Nr. 2501*” of June 1943. GARF, 7021-108-25, p. 10. Cf. document 18

<sup>525</sup> “*Lageplan des Kriegsgefangenenlagers Auschwitz O/S. Entwässerungsplan. Plan Nr. 1782*” of October 28, 1942, drawn by detainee no. 46856, the Polish technician Peter Hopanczuk. VHA, Fond OT 31(2)/8.

<sup>526</sup> Cf. document 2.

<sup>527</sup> Cf. photographs 9 and 9a.

<sup>528</sup> Engineer Nosal placed the house identified as the “*gas chamber 2*” at about 280 meters from the camp enclosure, whereas it was about 100 meters from it.

<sup>529</sup> “*Lagebereich Kommandantur 1 und 2.*” GARF, 7021-108-36, p. 29. Cf. document 19.



The other two are described as follows on a sheet glued to the margin of the map:<sup>530</sup>

*"In the blue circle: position of the separate gas chambers and the pyres for the cremation of the corpses next to them."*

The first circle comprises an area to the west of the central sauna which, while being contiguous with the one shown on the map drawn by engineer Nosal as the zone of 'gas chamber' no. 2 and its cremation trenches, is different from it. The second circle includes an area inside the camp, between the settling installation and the western enclosure.

Hence, on two different maps, the Soviets placed 'Bunker 1' as well as 'Bunker 2' in different positions.

This great uncertainty, less than a month after the liberation of the camp, when the traces left by the SS were still intact and could have been easily identified by anyone who had really worked in the 'Bunkers,' proves that in fact no one – starting with the alleged eyewitnesses, above all Szlama Dragon – knew anything about the location of the alleged extermination installations.

The second map drawn by engineer Nosal on March 3, 1945, is entitled "*Zone of the location of gas chamber no. 2 and of the pyres for the cremation of corpses at Birkenau.*"<sup>531</sup> It is a map of the area of 'Bunker 2' drawn to the scale of 1:1000. The legend at the bottom reads:

*"Place where the Germans burned the corpses of those poisoned in the gas chamber on pyres. 5,900 square meters."*

On the left, above the road, there is a caption that reads "*road where the persons arrived from the railroad ramp of the camp for poisoning.*" Below it are two barracks with the following explanation: "*Barracks where they [the persons] undressed before entering the gas chamber.*"

The 'gas chamber,' i.e., 'Bunker 2,' is split up into 4 rooms in accordance with the deposition of Szlama Dragon. The relative explanation says, in fact, "*Gas chamber, split up into 4 parts.*" However, the orientation of the house is wrong, because it had its long side in a northwest direction, at an angle of about 70°, whereas on Nosal's drawing the long side of the house runs northeast, at an angle of about 110°. As the ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' still exist, this major error by an engineer is rather strange. The 30-square meter basin ("*бассейн*") that appears in the center of the map existed on the ground in March 1945 but is not shown on any German map. However, it, too, is drawn incorrectly because its long side was on the northwest, not the northeast. This basin is, moreover, the only trench shown on the map. It is clear that if six graves, each one 30–35 meters long, 7–8 meters wide, and 2 meters deep, with a total surface area of at least 1,260 square meters, had been part of an area of scarcely 5,900 square meters they could not have disappeared without a trace, even if they had been filled in and leveled. Therefore, Nosal's drawing cate-

<sup>530</sup> "В синих кружках – места расположения отдельных газовых камер и костров при них для сожжения трупов."

<sup>531</sup> "Район расположения газовой камеры N2 и костров для сожжения трупов в Биркенау," GARF, 7021-108-25, p. 12. Cf. document 20.

gorically refutes Dragon's claim of the existence of six cremation pits near 'Bunker 2.' In chapter 9 I shall return to this question.

### 7.3. The 'Bunkers' in Polish (May 1945 – November 1947) and German (1949 – 1965) Investigations

On September 26, 1946, the engineer Roman Dawidowski completed his expert report of 57 pages, which had been ordered by Judge Jan Sehn "*for the purpose of ascertaining,*" on the basis of inspections of the camp and German documents, "*what installations for mass exterminations of persons and for the obliteration of the traces of the crime may have existed in the area of the camp.*"<sup>532</sup>

The report, as far as the crematoria at Auschwitz-Birkenau are concerned, is well documented (16 photographs and 8 drawings) and mentions several documents – later studied by Jean-Claude Pressac – which contain, in his words, "*criminal traces*" supporting the alleged existence of homicidal gas chambers in such installations.

However, Dawidowski dedicates barely 13 lines to the gassing 'Bunkers' at Birkenau. Because of the increase in incoming transports from March 1942 onwards, he writes, the gas chamber of crematorium I proved insufficient and therefore the cottages of the farmers Wiechuja and Harmata, who had been moved elsewhere, were turned into gas chambers:<sup>533</sup>

*"These chambers were designated Bunker 1 and Bunker 2, cf. photographs no. 1, no. VIII, and IX. Two undressing barracks were set up near the cottages. On the outside of the entrance door to the chambers was attached a sign 'to the bath' and on the inside of the exit door one saying 'to the disinfection' to make [people] believe that the exit door led into another room. Actually, behind this door there was an open space where the corpses were loaded on carts, by which they were transported to the trenches to be burned.*

*The deposition of the witness Dragon contains a detailed description of the two Bunkers /attachment no. 17."*

Hence, Dawidowski drew all his knowledge about the Birkenau 'Bunkers' from Dragon's deposition. He had not found even the slightest documentary hint of the existence of these alleged gassing installations. The "*Photograph no. I*" to which he refers is a map of the Birkenau camp in 1941, in which the later western zone of the camp does not appear – the crematoria, the personal property storage, and the sewage treatment plant bordering on BAIII. On this map,<sup>534</sup> Dawidowski marked the positions of the 'Bunkers,' with "*VIII*" corresponding to 'Bunker 1' and "*IX*" for 'Bunker 2.' The positions of the two cot-

<sup>532</sup> Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 1.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27.

<sup>534</sup> Cf. document 21.

tages correspond roughly to those on Nosal's map drawn on March 3, 1945, so Dawidowski simply accepted the Soviet conjectures. Neither he nor Judge Jan Sehn felt the need to inspect the site of the alleged crime in the company of Dragon.

In 1946, Judge Sehn summarized his work on Auschwitz in a long article entitled "*The Oświęcim concentration and extermination camp.*" In chapter 15, "*The gas chambers,*" he writes:<sup>535</sup>

*"In the fall of 1941, on a clearing in the wood of Brzezinka, a primitive gas chamber called Bunker 2 [sic] was set up in the cottage of a farmer who had been moved, and a couple of kilometers from it, likewise in the cottage of [someone] moved – another chamber called Bunker 1."*

That same year, this article was revised for publication in English under the auspices of the "*Central Commission for the Investigation of the German Crimes in Poland.*" In that feature, the passage relative to the 'Bunkers' was modified thus:<sup>536</sup>

*"After gassing had begun in 1941, the small crematorium could not hold all the corpses of the victims, so they were burnt in 8 open pits, dug for that purpose near the gas chambers and called 'Bunkers' 1 and 2."*

Also in 1946, Filip Friedman, director of the "*Central Jewish Historical Commission in Poland,*" published a book on Auschwitz in which he described the beginnings of the alleged extermination of Jews at Auschwitz in the following way:<sup>537</sup>

*"The same year [1941] permanent gas installations were put into two peasant huts at Brzezinka (Birkenau). The bodies of the gassed people were buried near the huts. By the spring of 1942 the bodies began to rot and smell, and steps were taken to build a crematorium in which to burn the corpses."*

Where the indictment against Höß (February 11, 1947) addresses the 'Bunkers,' it rests on Dawidowski's assertions: The SS transformed the cottages of the farmers Wiechuja and Harmata into gas chambers, calling them 'Bunker 1' and 'Bunker 2':<sup>538</sup>

*"After the construction of the other crematoria with their gas chambers – it is added – the two Bunkers were taken out of service; Bunker 1 was demolished, the building of Bunker 2 was preserved and put back into service in May 1944."*

Regarding this the written verdict of the Höß trial (April 2, 1947) contains the following passage:<sup>539</sup>

<sup>535</sup> Jan Sehn, "*Obóz koncentracyjny i zagłady Oświęcim,*" in: *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce, 1946, p. 121.

<sup>536</sup> "*Concentration and extermination camp at Oświęcim (Auschwitz-Birkenau),*" in: *Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw 1946, vol. I, p. 88.

<sup>537</sup> F. Friedman, *This Was Oswiecim. The History of a Murder Camp*, The United Jewish Relief Appeal, London 1946, pp. 18f.

<sup>538</sup> AGK, NTN, 104, p. 79.

<sup>539</sup> AGK, NTN, 146z, pp. 31f.

*"From the spring of 1942, before the construction of the crematoria with their gas chambers, the gassing of persons in the area of the Brzezinka camp was transferred to the cottages of the Brzezinka farmers Wiechujka and Harmata, which had been appropriately rebuilt for this purpose and which were designated Bunker 1 and 2. The corpses of the persons who were gassed there were burned in the above-mentioned trenches. After the construction of the Brzezinka crematoria the two Bunkers were taken out of service; Bunker 2, which had been preserved, was put back into operation in May 1944 at the period of the greatest intensity of the gassings."*

The indictment in the trial of the camp garrison (November 1947) devotes little more than one line to the topic of the 'Bunkers': after the first experimental gassing in the fall of 1941, the gassings took place in crematorium 1 *"and then also in the so-called Bunkers 1 and 2 of Brzezinka [which had been] cottages of [inhabitants] transferred."*<sup>540</sup>

Assigning to the farmer Harmata one of the two cottages that had allegedly been turned into 'Bunkers' was wrong, because the Harmata family lived in a completely different area.

Instead, there has never been the vaguest indication of the fact that the other house belonged to a farmer by the name of Wiechujka. Dawidowski even gets the names mixed up, by making the Harmata family the former owners of 'Bunker 2,' whereas one of the heirs later laid claim to 'Bunker 1.'<sup>541</sup> That error was repeated in the indictment and the verdict of the Höß trial.

It is clear that the names of the two farmers were arbitrarily taken from among those who had been expropriated by the SS, merely to provide a fictitious proof for the location of the 'Bunkers.' This is confirmed by the fact that Harmata and Wiechujka (or a relative) appeared neither at the Höß trial nor at the trial of the camp garrison.<sup>542</sup> It is clear that testimony from members of the Harmata and Wiechujka families would have been essential in establishing once and for all the location of the 'Bunkers' and would have allowed an inspection of the sites.

In March 1949, the so-called Degesch trial was held in Germany, with Dr. Gerhard Peters, who had been the director of that firm, the major defendant. The verdict, dated March 28, 1949, shows that the propaganda story of the 'Bunkers' was still in the process of development and continued to enrich itself with new and wondrous details:<sup>543</sup>

*"Witness Dr. M. observed two gassings in the gas chambers of the farmhouses. According to his statement, the victims initially believed they were going into a disinfection installation. Only when more and more peo-*

<sup>540</sup> GARF, 7021-108-39, p. 73.

<sup>541</sup> Cf. following section.

<sup>542</sup> Their family names do not appear on the list of the 206 witnesses at the Höß trial (AGK, NTN, 174, pp. 3-10), nor among the 401 witnesses of the trial of the camp garrison (AGK, NTN, 175, pp. 65-107).

<sup>543</sup> Christiaan F. Rüter et al., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945-1966*, Amsterdam, 1968-1981, vol. XIII, p. 134.

ple were being crowded into those rooms are they said to have become scared. After the chambers had been completely filled with people, it is said that there was a wait of another 10 minutes in order to reach a certain temperature. The traps are said to have been opened and the contents of Zyklon-cans poured in by the medic. It is said that 'an enormous number' of people had been crowded in, some 300–400 persons into each room. Ten minutes later everything was said to have been quiet.

There have apparently been erroneous opinions among the detainees at the time concerning the way the gas was introduced into the gassing rooms. Witness Dr. Au. stated the gas was fed into the room by means of a syringe attached to the can. Witness W. claims that the gas was admitted to the room by means of a blower installation. From hearsay, Dr. Str. states that the gas was blown into the room. Witness Rö. had heard that the gas was fed into the rooms through fake showers."

During the Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt (January 1964 – August 1965), in spite of an enormous deployment of witnesses and means, the findings on the subject of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' were even less conclusive. On the official map of the camp, 'Bunker 2' does not appear at all, whereas 'Bunker 1,' called "'*Rotes Haus*' = *Bunker (Gaskammer)*" is located at about 340 meters from the western enclosure of BAIII. Furthermore, and this is even more serious – as Jean-Claude Pressac has pointed out<sup>544</sup> – the four basins of the sewage treatment plant, which were in that part of the camp, are labeled as incineration trenches on the above-mentioned map. The legend, in fact, says: "*Place of cremation and mass graves.*"<sup>545</sup>

The verdict, in its vague generalities, demonstrates the inconclusiveness of the court's findings:<sup>546</sup>

"Before the transformation of the farmhouse had been completed, the killings by means of gas took place in the small crematorium. From summer 1942 onward the farmhouse that had meanwhile been turned into a gas chamber served as a place of annihilation. As its capacity did not suffice in the face of ever more numerous transports, another farmhouse in the vicinity of the first was converted into a gas chamber and used as an additional place of annihilation. The two chambers were called Bunker I and II. The corpses of those killed were initially interred in large pits and later cremated in long graves."

<sup>544</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 165–170.

<sup>545</sup> B. Naumann, *Auschwitz. Bericht über die Strafsache gegen Mulka u.a. vor dem Schwurgericht Frankfurt*, Athäneum Verlag, Frankfurt/Main-Bonn, 1965, p. 540; H. Langbein, *op. cit.* (note 325), pp. 930f.

<sup>546</sup> C.F. Rüter, *op. cit.* (note 543), vol. XXII, p. 421.

## 7.4. Józefa Wińska's Declaration on the Location of 'Bunker 1'

On August 5, 1980, Józefa Wińska, born on February 25, 1924, and residing at Brzezinka, handed to the Museum of Auschwitz the following account, registered by Franciszek Piper, at that time curator of the Museum:<sup>547</sup>

*"Before the war there were the following buildings on the land presently occupied by my house, and in its immediate vicinity:*

*A wooden house with a straw roof, in which my grandparents lived and later my parents and I with my sister Bronisława Wińska, two barns, one made of brick, the other of wood, and finally a single-story brick house, unplastered, covered with tiles, built in 1932–35 by Gryzek, son-in-law of my uncle, Józef Harmata, who lived there as well. In the mortgage papers, though, this house was registered in the name of my uncle Józef Harmata.*

*My uncle Józef Harmata died in 1943, my father Piotr Harmata in 1962.*

*The house of Józef Harmata and his son-in-law Gryzek, husband of Aniela Harmata, which was transformed into a gas chamber by the Germans, as I learned after the war, was 12 meters long and 9 meters wide. Along its whole width, there was a corridor. On the right were two living rooms, on the left, one room and a stable with an exit to the outside. Toward the front, each room had two windows. Around the house, there were tall fruit trees.*

*These buildings stood at about 100 meters from the country road which went to the village. In the immediate vicinity there was Grzybek's house, a residence, partly brick, partly wood, a stable and a barn. In 1941, the Germans sent us away, like the other inhabitants of the village. When I came back to that land after the war, in 1949, I observed that all the objects mentioned no longer existed. Several basins had been built across the old road. From the place where my uncle's house [had] stood, the roadbed of a narrow-gauge railroad went to the nearby wood.*

*The present road near my house runs parallel to the old road, across which the basins mentioned above had been built. The house built after the war, in which I live, stands where my father's wooden house used to be, but the old house was a few meters farther away, in the back of the village towards the wood. The place where Grzybek's building was is now covered with slag, and on the other side of the road is the monument to the Soviet prisoners. With this, the account ends."*

Attached to the account is a sketch of Józef Harmata's house, the alleged 'Bunker 1',<sup>548</sup> a topographical sketch showing its location,<sup>549</sup> and four photographs taken in 1985 by F. Piper.

<sup>547</sup> APMO, *Oświadczenia*, vol. 113, pp. 77f.

<sup>548</sup> Cf. document 22.

<sup>549</sup> Cf. document 23.

Summarizing, before the Second World War (in the area north of the future settling basins) there were two houses and two wooden barns, i.e., the buildings numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 on the topographical sketch, which illustrates the testimony. These buildings did indeed exist. They appear on the German site map no. 1733 of October 5, 1942,<sup>550</sup> but there is nothing to prove that one of them (the one closest to the future enclosure of the camp) was ever transformed into a homicidal gas chamber. According to her testimony, Ms. Wińska herself had only learned about this alleged fact “*after the war.*”

Obviously, Ms. Wińska had no proof that the house of her uncle Józef Harmata and his son-in-law Gryzek had been turned into ‘Bunker 1’ by the SS at Auschwitz. It seems evident that the words were put in her mouth by the Auschwitz Museum which had, in 1978,<sup>551</sup> on an official map of the Birkenau camp, arbitrarily positioned ‘Bunker 1’ at the very place she indicated in 1980 and now needed a fictitious ‘proof’ *a posteriori* to back up its claim. The choice of a member of the Harmata family is explained by the fact that – as we have seen in the preceding section – the verdict in the Höß trial had decreed that the Polish houses allegedly transformed into ‘Bunker 1’ and ‘Bunker 2’ belonged to farmers at Brzezinka (Birkenau) named Wiechuja and Harmata. It is clear that she came forward only because she had learned that the indictment and the verdict of the Höß trial had mentioned her uncle (Józef) Harmata as the proprietor of one of the houses allegedly transformed into ‘Bunkers.’

## 7.5. Wińska vs. Dragon: New Contradictions

After the declaration of Józefa Wińska, the Auschwitz Museum, based on this ‘proof,’ sanctioned the relocation of ‘Bunker 1’ from outside the camp – where engineer Dawidowski had placed it – to the inside, to the position that has now become official.

This, however, entails a serious historical problem: the sketch of J. Harmata’s house and that drawn by the engineer Nosal in accordance with the Polish deposition of Szlama Dragon are, in fact, totally at variance with each other. As I have already explained, the orientation of Nosal’s drawing is west-east. The two sketches attached to J. Wińska’s declaration are orientated in the same way. On the Wińska drawing, however, the long side of the lies along the west-east axis, while on the Dragon sketch it is placed north-south instead. This sketch, moreover, shows two flights of stairs, S1 and S2, consisting of 8 and 7 steps respectively: Therefore the floor of the house stood at about 1.5 meters above ground level, whereas that of J. Harmata’s house was level with the ground and had no stairs. It was divided into four rooms of

<sup>550</sup> Cf. document 7.

<sup>551</sup> Cf. the map of the camp published outside of the text (between pp. 144 and 145) of the book edited by Józef Buszko, *Auschwitz (Oświęcim) Camp hitlérien d’extermination*, Editions Interpress, Warsaw 1978.

equal size, the two rooms on the west side being separated from the two on the east side by a corridor running north-south. To turn this house into 'Bunker 1' as described by Dragon and drawn by Nosal, it would have been necessary, first of all, to demolish the four side walls along the corridor, the two walls which separated the rooms on either side of the house, and to rebuild them a few meters away in order to obtain two rooms of different size!

This 'Bunker 1,' moreover, shows two details that run counter to a rational extermination operation: First of all, its two rooms were provided with a single door and two little windows each. Hence the ventilation that could be achieved by opening the door and the two windows was insignificant. This is even more valid for the room on the north side, the door and windows of which were located on the same wall.

Anyone who wanted to achieve efficient ventilation – even the most inept technician – would have placed the two doors in opposite walls.

In addition, the presence of only one door would obviously have hindered the clearing of corpses from the rooms.

The second detail is the existence of the two flights of stairs noted above, which certainly did nothing to facilitate the removal of corpses from the 'gas chambers.'

## 7.6. The Timetable of the Birkenau 'Bunkers'

Elevating the propaganda legend to history brought with it another problem to be solved: that of the dates.

As we have seen above, the Polish-Soviet experts asserted that 'Bunker 1' had been in operation "*for about a year and a half*" and had been demolished in March-April 1943. It follows that it began operations in September-October 1941. 'Bunker 2' operated for "*a year and ten months*," including six months in 1944, hence went into service in October of 1941.

In his article of 1946, Jan Sehn accepted these dates and asserted that the two 'Bunkers' had started operations in autumn 1941. Dawidowski gave March 1942 or 'after March 1942' for the beginnings of their operation. The verdict in the Höß trial mentions the spring of 1942 as the launch date.

In the first edition (1960) of the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, Danuta Czech tried to integrate the divergent dates, asserting that 'Bunker 1' had gone into service in January 1942 and 'Bunker 2' on June 30 of the same year.<sup>552</sup> In the 1989 edition of the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, Czech moved the inauguration of 'Bunker 1' to March 20, 1942, leaving that of 'Bunker 2' unchanged. Finally, Jean-Claude Pressac moved the starting date of 'Bunker 1' once again, to the end of May 1942.<sup>553</sup>

<sup>552</sup> D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," in: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, no. 3, Staatliches Museum Auschwitz, 1960, p. 49 and 68.

<sup>553</sup> Cf. chapter 1.6. above.



All the dates proposed are absolutely arbitrary, and are not corroborated by even the slightest circumstantial evidence.

## 8. The Development of the Official Historiography of the ‘Bunkers’

### 8.1. Early Historiographical Attempts

In the early 1950s official Holocaust historiography was still in its infancy. As we saw in the preceding chapter, the Polish texts translated into English and published right after the war were too terse to be used for an historical ‘reconstruction,’ because for Western historians the source was essentially the ‘confession’ of Rudolf Höß.

In 1951, Leon Poliakov published his *Bréviaire de la Haine*, in which he deals as follows with the ‘Bunkers’:<sup>554</sup>

“According to the historian Philip Friedman, this first large-scale experiment<sup>[555]</sup> was made on September 15, 1941, near the hamlet of Birkenau (Brzezinka) which thereafter served as the exterminations site. Later in the year, according to Hoess, ‘the two farm buildings on one side of the road, near Birkenau, were made airtight and equipped with solid wooden doors.’ These were the first permanent installations. Their capacity was small, and they did not have a crematory; the bodies were burned in the open. Nevertheless, these installations were used to the end, and, unlike the better ones built later, were not destroyed in October 1944.”

Poliakov misinterprets what Friedman wrote (the latter knew well that Block 11 was not at Birkenau) and adds unfounded elements of his own.

In 1953, Gerald Reitlinger published his book *The Final Solution*. In spite of the enormous documentation compiled by the author, he devotes little more than a couple of incidental lines to the question of the ‘Bunkers’:<sup>556</sup>

“Work also began at two adjacent farm buildings, which became the gas chambers, but it was not till January, 1943, that the first Buna-*werk* factory was completed.”

The following year, Lord Russell of Liverpool simply recapitulated Höß’ assertions of March 14, 1946, in his book *The Scourge of the Swastika*.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>554</sup> L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la haine. Le III<sup>e</sup> Reich et les Juifs*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris 1951, pp. 228f. I am using the subsequent published English translation, which agrees with the original text: *Harvest of Hate. The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N.Y., 1954, p. 200.

<sup>555</sup> The alleged ‘first gassing’ in the basement of Block 11 of the Auschwitz camp.

<sup>556</sup> G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution. The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939-1945*, Valentine, Mitchell, London 1953, p. 109

<sup>557</sup> Lord Russell of Liverpool, *The Scourge of the Swastika. A Short History of Nazi War Crimes*, Cassell & Company LTD, London 1954, pp. 167f.

The first ‘historical’ framework was delineated by Ota Kraus and Erich Kulka, both ex-detainees of Auschwitz, who had already published a book on Auschwitz in 1946.<sup>558</sup> The re-edition of 1957<sup>559</sup> appeared in a German translation the following year.<sup>560</sup> The authors had a second-hand knowledge of S. Dragon’s Polish deposition, which they enriched with their own inventions:<sup>561</sup>

*“Two small farmhouses of the village of Brzezinky (Birkenau) that the Nazis had evacuated were modified and set up as gas chambers in a primitive way; those houses were situated about half a kilometer to the west of the disinfection station. The houses were 6 by 12 meters in size and were split into four chambers, which could be closed by means of heavy doors; such a door was also located in the opposite wall [of each chamber]. In the upper part of another wall there was a small window with [iron] bars”*

The authors then mention the signs on the two ‘farmhouses’ and an enclosure around them, and continue:

*“In front of the house there were two windowless barracks, 9 by 40 meters in size; those were the undressing rooms.”*

Then follows the description of the transport of the alleged victims, who were gassed in the following way:

*“As soon as the chamber was full – and they squeezed up to 150 persons into that space of 18 square meters – they slammed the door, screwed the bolts tight, and poured the poison in through the little window in the wall. Then they closed the window hermetically, and for a few minutes one could hear only screams and moans. After something like half an hour they opened the back door of the chamber.”*

Kraus and Kulka thus considered the two ‘Bunkers’ to be perfectly identical and placed both of them to the west of the central sauna, giving them dimensions of 6 by 12 meters and retaining the division into four equal rooms of 18 square meters each – all this at odds with the official ‘historical’ version. The dimensions of the undressing barracks were practically those of a horse stable barrack, of which they had an original drawing and which measured 9.56 by 40.76 meters. This was the only item later appropriated by the official historiography. The presence of a single little window – with bars, to boot – was a rather infelicitous invention, however, because it is difficult to see how a can of Zyklon B could have been fed through such a grid.

The work of Kraus and Kulka only echoed the Soviet propaganda; they even defended the Soviet claim that four million died at Auschwitz,<sup>562</sup> a figure devoid of any scientific value.

In 1961, Judge Jan Sehn published a terse summary of Szlama Dragon’s Polish deposition without, however, mentioning his source:<sup>563</sup>

<sup>558</sup> O. Kraus, E. Schön [Kulka], *Továrna na smrt*, Prague 1946.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibidem*, *Továrna na smrt. Dokument o Osvětimi*, Naše Vojsko-SPB, Prague 1957.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibidem*, *Die Todesfabrik*, Kongress Verlag, Berlin 1958.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 111–113.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 172f.

<sup>563</sup> J. Sehn, *Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau) Concentration Camp*, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, Warsaw 1961, pp. 125f.

"From 1942 on, massive transports of Jews began arriving at Auschwitz; the gas chamber of crematorium I proved inadequate for their liquidation. Consequently, two more gas chambers were installed for this purpose in two houses of farmers who had been moved. These gas chambers were called Bunker 1 and Bunker 2. In their vicinity, two undressing huts were set up. Bunker 1 had two gas chambers, into which some 2,000 persons could be squeezed at one time.

The victims undressed in the huts in the woods and went naked from there to the gas chamber. There were four gas chambers in the small house designated as Bunker 2. In both Bunkers the gas chambers had separate entrances and exits. On the entrance door there was a sign saying 'to the baths,' on the inside of the exit door it said 'to the disinfection.' There was an open space outside that door, in which the bodies removed from the gas chambers were piled up. In both Bunkers, the openings for the gas were set in the side walls."

A year earlier, however, Danuta Czech had published the section of her *Auschwitz Chronicle* dealing with 1942, which contained two succinct entries on the subject of the Birkenau 'Bunkers.' The first, referring generally to January 1942, reads:<sup>564</sup>

"[They] started to kill Jews from Upper Silesia by means of gas. This happened in the so-called Bunker 1, a farmhouse modified for the purpose, which was situated in the northwest corner of what became BAB III of Birkenau. The corpses of those killed were shovelled under in mass graves in a meadow in the woods."

The second entry appears under the date of June 30, 1942:<sup>565</sup>

"Because of the great number of Jewish transports destined to be murdered, Bunker 2 was put into operation by modifying for this purpose another country house situated on the meadow in the woods to the west of the future crematorium III."

The information presented was very brief, but in compensation Czech had, in a widely distributed publication that carried much weight among the specialists of the day, provided the watchword for the official historiography: the two farmhouses allegedly converted to homicidal gas chambers were to be called 'Bunkers.'

In 1981, Georges Wellers presented a brief collection of testimonies (Broad, Höß, Lettich) on the 'Bunkers,' but without even a minimal attempt at a historical 'reconstruction.'<sup>566</sup>

Two years later, Wellers outlined the first official 'historical' framework with claims to scholarship. He wrote the chapter "Auschwitz" for a major collective work, in which he devoted a section of seven pages to "The Birkenau

<sup>564</sup> D. Czech, *op. cit.* (note 552), p. 49.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>566</sup> G. Wellers, *Les chambres à gaz ont existé. Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, pp. 104-108.

'Bunkers'.'<sup>567</sup> His most valuable contribution was to have dusted off Dragon's deposition of May 10–11, 1945, which then became the reference point of the new 'historiographical' framework of the 'Bunkers.'

As far as I know, the first and the only complete published version of Szlama Dragon's deposition is as an attachment to Franciszek Piper's study *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz*.<sup>568</sup>

## 8.2. Jean-Claude Pressac's Contribution

With his 1989 study on Auschwitz, Jean-Claude Pressac has provided us with an essential contribution to the historicization of the propaganda legend by devoting two specific chapters to 'Bunker 1' and 'Bunker 2.'<sup>569</sup> Pressac has the merit of having made use of Szlama Dragon's Polish deposition, of having published little-known testimonies (such as those of Milton Buki and Maurice Benroubi), and the drawing by David Olère that we have analyzed earlier, as well as the two maps drawn by the engineer Nosal on March 3, 1945. He has, moreover, inspected, photographed, and furnished a drawing of the ruins of 'Bunker 2.'

All this, however, is quite insufficient to confer any historiographical value on his essay, because it is superficial and lacks critical spirit. His entire demonstration of the reality of the 'Bunkers' is based, in fact, on mere testimonies – which are contradictory, to boot. A sound historiographical approach would have entailed an internal criticism of the individual testimonies to establish their degree of credibility, and a comparative analysis of all testimonies to determine the level of their agreement on the essential facts. Instead, Pressac limits himself instead to dry comments on the testimonies and leaves things at that.

In the treatment of 'Bunker 1' he calls upon the testimonies of Rudolf Höß, Pery Broad, Szlama Dragon, Maurice Benroubi, Milton Buki, and Moshe Garbarz. He concludes:<sup>570</sup>

*"Without any material traces, the location [...], internal organization [...], and the arrangement of the different annexes of Bunker 1 will never be clearly elucidated."*

Furthermore:

*"Its purpose, the extermination of human beings by gassing, cannot be called into question, if only because of the constant repetition of an identical process in the accounts of the former prisoners [...]."*

This claim is wrong and unfounded inasmuch as it relies on a specific concordance which does not exist at all, while the general concordance, as we

<sup>567</sup> Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl *et al.* (eds.), *Nazi Mass Murder*, Yale, New Haven 1993, p. 147-152.

<sup>568</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 270), pp. 203-225.

<sup>569</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: ...*, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 161-170, 171-182.

<sup>570</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 165.

have seen above, is nothing but the theme derived from the propaganda story, devoid of any specifics.

To be specific, the testimonies used by Pressac in fact don't even in agree on such essential points as the number of buildings making up the complex of 'Bunker 1' (Dragon: 1 house, 1 barn, 2 barracks; Benroubi 2; concrete structures; Buki: 1 house and 1 barrack; Garbarz: 3 or 4 houses and 1 barn; Höß: 1 house and 2 barracks), the capacity of the "gas chambers" (nearly 2000 persons for Dragon; 800 for Höß; 20 for Garbarz), the manner in which the Zyklon B was introduced (Dragon: through a window; Garbarz: through a trapdoor; Buki: through a little chimney) or the dimensions of the trenches (30 by 7 by 3 m for Dragon; 40 by 6 m for Buki; 20–30 by 50–60 m for Garbarz and 20 by 3 by 2.5 m for Benroubi). As Pressac himself notes, the latter two witnesses "*worked almost side by side as from 4th September 1942, without ever getting to know one another.*"<sup>571</sup> This is the level to which "*the constant repetition of an identical process*" is reduced.

Pressac's chapter on 'Bunker 2'<sup>572</sup> is based on the testimonies of Szlama Dragon, Pery Broad, Rudolf Höß, Miklos Nyiszli, Filip Müller, and Olère. Here too, Pressac abandons a critical and comparative analysis of the testimonies to launch into unfounded commentaries, as in the cases of Olère and Nyiszli. In his book *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz*, Pressac, true to his ambitious project of "*an historical reconstruction, which will at last free itself from oral or written testimonies that are always fallible,*"<sup>573</sup> put aside all testimonies and attempted a documentary approach to the topic of the 'Bunkers,' with inevitably frustrating results. As we have already seen, the most important argument of his 'historical reconstruction' – the claim that the barracks "*for the special treatment of the detainees,*" BW 58, mentioned in Bischoff's "*Explanatory report concerning the construction project concentration camp Auschwitz O/S*" of July 15, 1942, were the alleged undressing barracks of 'Bunker' 1 and 2 of Birkenau<sup>574</sup> – has no historical foundation. On the other hand, Pressac's claim that Bischoff, urged by Höß, took the idea of a parallel design of the 'gas chambers' of 'Bunker 2'<sup>575</sup> from the article "*Entlausung mit Zyklon-Blausäure in Kreislauf-Begasungskammern*" is pure fantasy.

Finally, Pressac's interpretation of the third and final document he uses to demonstrate the historical reality of the 'Bunkers' – the fact that on the map entitled "*Overview of landscape survey of the area of interest of CC Auschwitz*" dated June 2, 1943, an area labeled "*off limits*" indicates "*the zone where Bunkers 1 and 2 and their burying trenches were located*"<sup>576</sup> – is utterly nonsensical, because at the time this map was drawn, according to the Polish historiography also accepted by Pressac, the two 'Bunkers' had ceased their ac-

<sup>571</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 164.

<sup>572</sup> Deriving his inspiration from F. Müller, Pressac coined the designation "*Bunker 2/V.*"

<sup>573</sup> J.-C. Pressac, *op. cit.* (note 139), p. 12.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 51f.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibidem*, document 21 and its legend outside of the text.

tivities (as early as March-April 1943) and the graves had been filled in and leveled. Therefore, by June 2, 1943, there was no reason for closing off the zone of the alleged 'Bunkers.' Not to speak of the fact that the area designated "off limits" cut across the western limit of the camp at a point 720 meters from the northwest corner, i.e., at the level of crematorium IV at an angle of about 25°, and therefore 'Bunker 2' and its alleged graves remained *outside* the limits of the area "off limits"!

### 8.3. Franciszek Piper's Contribution

The process whereby the propaganda story of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' became 'history' terminates with the six pages of text which Franciszek Piper devoted to these questions in his essay "*Bunkers – provisional gas chambers*."<sup>577</sup> This paper, although essentially based on the Polish deposition of Szlama Dragon, should have been the definitive scientific version of the argument. There is also an English summary of this essay, including archival references that do not appear in the Polish text.<sup>578</sup>

In his description of 'Bunker 1,' Franciszek Piper mentions a survey map which is said to give not only the exact dimensions (15 by 6.3 meters) but also the precise location of the building. This document corresponds to negative no. 21416/7 of the Auschwitz Museum archives.<sup>579</sup>

The dimensions given do not agree with those stated by Józefa Wińska in her declaration of August 5, 1980, recorded by Franciszek Piper himself as being 12 by 9 meters. The map<sup>580</sup> shows three houses, two facing each other labeled 18 and 19, none of which corresponds to the dimensions indicated by Piper.<sup>581</sup> Moreover, Piper does not say which of the three houses was 'Bunker 1.'

Even if there may exist a certain similarity to the area of the alleged 'Bunker 1' when we consider document 7, there is, however, a difference in two important points: the absence of the road leading to the village of Birkenau, which should appear to the left of the three houses, and the presence of a third house below houses 18 and 19, which is not documented on any known map of Birkenau. Nor is this house shown on the topographical map 1:25,000, sheet no. 4828/4 "*Oświęcim*," which instead shows houses 18 and 19 as well

<sup>577</sup> F. Piper "*Bunkry...*", *op. cit.* (note 374). The work has been translated into German: Waclaw Długoborski, Franciszek Piper (eds.), *Auschwitz 1940-1945. Studien zur Geschichte des Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagers Auschwitz*, Verlag des Staatlichen Museums Auschwitz-Birkenau, Oświęcim 1999. The corresponding section ("*Die Bunker: provisorische Gaskammern*"), is on pp. 158-169 of vol. III.

<sup>578</sup> F. Piper, "*Bunkers – Provisional Gas Chambers*," in: Y. Gutman, M. Berenbaum (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 134), pp. 161-164.

<sup>579</sup> F. Piper, *op. cit.* (note 141), p. 178, note 27, and p. 161.

<sup>580</sup> Cf. document 24.

<sup>581</sup> According to Piper, the floor plan of 'Bunker 1' was a rectangle with its long side (15÷6.3=) 2.3 times as long as its short side; on the map, the three houses, from north to south, have ratios of 1.4, 1.3 and 1.1 respectively.

as the house designated as 'Bunker 2' by the official historiography, together with the house in front of it.

Comparing this map with the map of February 4, 1942, we see that the survey map mentioned by Piper covers a zone of about 400 by 200 meters that lies some 500 meters to the north of the Birkenau camp.<sup>582</sup> This zone appears also on map no. 2215 of March 1943.<sup>583</sup> Here, the second house from north to south bears the number 581 given by Central Construction Office, the third one is 583. There was another house in front of it, numbered 582, which does not appear on Piper's map because that map was cut off to the south between the two houses.

House 18 of the survey map shows, at its upper right hand corner, an annex, which is also found in the second house (corresponding to house 581) on the map dated February 4, 1942, and this is further confirmation of the fact that the survey map in question refers to this area.

Therefore, even the location of the three houses is totally at variance with Józefa Wiśńska's declarations, because the official position of 'Bunker 1,' according to the Auschwitz Museum, is as it appears on the map of Birkenau published in Danuta Czech's *Auschwitz Chronicle*.<sup>584</sup> Piper's reference to the above-mentioned survey map is nothing but a blatant attempt to cloak his siting of the houses in a semblance of apparent scientific evidence.

Piper devotes just six lines to the activity of 'Bunker 2' in 1944, which should be the best-documented period. He does not even mention the number of the cremation trenches or of the undressing barracks, limiting himself to stating that during the deportation of the Hungarian Jews, 'Bunker 2' was re-activated,<sup>585</sup> a few pits ("kilka dołów") were dug and "new undressing barracks"<sup>586</sup> were built.

From the historiographical point of view, Piper's treatment of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' is even less consistent than Pressac's, but he enjoys the authority conferred upon him by his prestigious position at the heart of the Auschwitz Museum, which adds an official seal to his writings.

## 8.4. R.J. van Pelt's Contribution

Robert Jan van Pelt has proposed an original interpretation of the origin of 'Bunkers' that merits consideration. He writes:<sup>587</sup>

*"Kammler visited the camp on Thursday, 27 February 1942. In a letter written to Topf a week later, Bischoff related that Kammler had decided*

<sup>582</sup> Cf. document 25.

<sup>583</sup> Cf. document 2.

<sup>584</sup> Cf. document 1.

<sup>585</sup> As I have already mentioned, Piper was unaware of the designation "Bunker V" invented by R. Höß and picked up by D. Paisikovic and F. Müller, and of "Bunker 2/V" as coined by Pressac.

<sup>586</sup> "nowe baraki-rozbieralnie", F. Piper, "Bunkry...", *op. cit.* (note 374), pp. 121f.; cf. Piper "Bunkers – Provisional Gas Chambers," *op. cit.* (note 134), p. 164.

<sup>587</sup> R. J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 134), p. 145.



during that trip that the back-up incinerations were to be canceled 'and that the five triple-muffle furnaces ordered by the letter of October 22, 1941, correspondence register number 215/41/Ho must be constructed in the prisoner of war camp.' In other words, the crematorium that had been intended for the main camp was now to be built in Birkenau."

Van Pelt then observes that Jean-Claude Pressac attached no significance to this decision, whereas Danuta Czech in her *Auschwitz Chronicle* mentions neither Kammler's visit nor his decision, and adds:

"I, however, believe that the decision to move the crematorium may be interpreted as the counterpart of an otherwise unrecorded decision to transform a red house belonging to the Polish peasant Wiechujka,<sup>[588]</sup> located at the northwest edge of the terrain reserved for the prisoner-of-war camp, into the extermination installation known as Bunker I – the place where the history of the Holocaust merged with the history of Auschwitz-Birkenau."

Because the use of crematorium I as a killing station – van Pelt goes on – had interrupted the life of the camp, Kammler, during his visit to Auschwitz on February 27, 1942,<sup>589</sup>

"must have suggested that the killings be moved to Birkenau. Allowing for two or three weeks to select and transform a house into simple extermination facilities, one could expect the first killings to take place in Birkenau in the third week of March. Indeed, the historians at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum have determined March 20 as the date that Bunker I was put into operation."

In support of his hypothesis, van Pelt reproduces the design of a part of a "modified version," allegedly dating from the beginning of March 1942, of the map of the Birkenau camp of "January 6, 1942"<sup>590</sup> in which the new crematorium (the future crematorium II) is actually located in the northwest corner of the camp. In reality, the map in question, entitled "Site map of POW camp Auschwitz – Upper Silesia," no. 885, was drawn by the SS WVHA on January 5, 1942,<sup>591</sup> hence much earlier than the presumed installation of 'Bunker I.' If it had actually been a later, "modified version" of the map of January 5 with its two "incineration halls," it would show a later date; instead, its date of completion is precisely January 5, 1942. There is no doubt about this, because it was checked by SS *Untersturmführer* Dejaco on January 5 and approved by Bischoff on January 6. Therefore, the decision to move the location of the new crematorium from the concentration camp at Auschwitz to the prisoner of war camp at Birkenau was made in early January 1942 – two and a half months before Bunker 1 allegedly became operational – and there is nothing suspicious about it. The new crematorium was already on the books in the "Explanatory report of the preliminary project for the new construction of the

<sup>588</sup> Van Pelt confuses the name with Harmata.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 145f.

<sup>590</sup> R. J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 134), p. 147. D. Dwork, R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 302f.

<sup>591</sup> RGVA, 502-2-95, p. 7.

*Waffen-SS POW camp at Auschwitz, Upper Silesia*" of October 30, 1941.<sup>592</sup> In a letter Bischoff wrote to the armament command at Weimar on November 12, 1941 (see p. 48), he clearly explains that the firm Topf & Söhne had received the order to build an incineration plant as quickly as possible,<sup>593</sup>

*"because a POW camp has been attached to the Auschwitz concentration camp, which will accommodate 120,000 Russians in the immediate future."*

The new crematorium was to be built in the main camp at Auschwitz, whereas the POW camp was to receive two cremation installations, each one equipped with a triple-muffle cremation furnace of a simplified design. These installations appear on the map of the POW camp dated January 5, 1942, on which one is located in the northwest corner of BAIII, the other in the southwest corner of BAII.<sup>594</sup> On February 27, 1942, Kammler approved the decision – already made in early January – to move the new crematorium to its natural place, at Birkenau.

As far as chronology is concerned, the connection made by van Pelt between the date of Kammler's approval and the date 'Bunker 1' went into operation is absolutely illusory because, as explained above in section 6, *"the historians of the Auschwitz Museum"* set the date of March 20 in a completely arbitrary manner, just as they had done previously with the general date of January 1942.

Van Pelt's assertion is thus without documentary, much less historical, foundation.

In his book written in collaboration with Debórah Dwork, van Pelt proposed another original hypothesis with respect to the beginning of the presumed extermination activity of 'Bunker 1.' The two authors note the agreement concluded in February 1942 between Germany and Slovakia, by which the latter would endeavor to supply the Germans with 20,000 able-bodied Slovak Jews, 10,000 of whom were to go to Auschwitz and 10,000 to Majdanek. At the time<sup>595</sup>

*"Auschwitz already had become the destination for one particular group of Jews residing on Reich territory: those considered unfit for work in the so-called Schmelt program."*

During these negotiations, in mid-February, 400 Jews belonging to this category were sent to Auschwitz, allegedly to be gassed in the crematorium of the main camp. Since the operation was successful, the authors claim that Eichmann decided to apply the same treatment to those Slovak Jews who were unfit for work and,

<sup>592</sup> "Erläuterungsbericht zur Vorentwurf für den Neubau des Kriegsgefangenenlagers der Waffen-SS, Auschwitz O/S," RGVA, 502-1-233, p. 20.

<sup>593</sup> RGVA, 502-1-314, p. 8.

<sup>594</sup> "Lagerskizze des Vorhabens Kriegsgefangenenlager der Waffen-SS in Auschwitz. Einfriedigung," RGVA, 502-1-235, p. 13.

<sup>595</sup> D. Dwork, R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 299-302; quotations on pp. 301f.

*“as the Slovak Jews were to be brought to Birkenau and not to Auschwitz, and as killing them in crematorium I would interrupt the life of the main camp, they considered building an extermination installation close to the new satellite [Birkenau] camp.”*

In a later book, van Pelt returns to this question, but no longer speaks of the Jews unfit for work in the Schmelt program. He writes:<sup>596</sup>

*“When the Slovak government suggested that Himmler also take Jews unfit for labor in exchange for a cash payment, Himmler dispatched SS Construction Chief Hans Kammler to Auschwitz. Kammler toured the site and ordered that a peasant cottage there be converted into a gas chamber. Two months later, on July 4, 1942, the first Jews from Slovakia were sorted out. Those who could work were admitted to the camp. Those who could not were killed in the peasant cottage, now known as Bunker I. Killing at Auschwitz of selected categories of Jews had now changed from an ‘incidental’ practice, as had happened with some transports of Jews from Upper Silesia in late 1941, into what one could call ‘continuing’ practice, but it had not yet become policy. Bunker I was still a particular solution to a situation created by the combination of Slovak unwillingness to provide for old and very young Jews and German greed. The main purpose of Auschwitz, at this time, remained construction (of a plant, a city, and a region), not destruction (of Jews).”* (emphasis in original)

This interpretation is completely unfounded, if only for reasons of chronology. The first transport of Slovak Jews arrived at Auschwitz on March 26, 1942. Up until June 20, 11 transports of Slovak Jews arrived with a total of 10,218 persons, who were all duly registered. The first ‘selection’ did not take place until July 4, the day the first transport of Slovak Jews containing unfit persons came in. But ‘Bunker 1’ is said to have gone into operation on March 20, long before not only the first ‘selection,’ but also the decision to deport Slovak Jews unfit for work, because the request for 500 RM for every such deported Jew dates from April 29.<sup>597</sup>

Van Pelt’s claims about Kammler’s visit to Auschwitz on February 27, 1942 – namely that he was sent there by Himmler to plan an extermination installation for Slovak Jews unfit for work – is simply conjecture, without the least bit of documentary evidence. As we have already seen,<sup>598</sup> the aim of Kammler’s visit was merely to review the construction program of the Auschwitz camp for the third year of the war economy; the corresponding documents – Pohl’s letter of March 2, 1942, and Bischoff’s letter of March 17 – do not contain even the slightest trace of a desire to turn a peasant cottage into a gas chamber, although, for van Pelt, that was the main purpose of Kammler’s visit. In reality, this visit was a follow-up to the meeting between

<sup>596</sup> R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 118), p. 72.

<sup>597</sup> Cf. Chapter 1 of the second part of my study *Special Treatment...*, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 29-35, in which I deal in detail with the question of the beginning of the deportation of the Slovak Jews to Auschwitz.

<sup>598</sup> Cf. chapter 2.2.

Höb and Kammler on June 13–14, 1941, which dealt precisely with the construction measures of the third year of the war economy.<sup>599</sup>

Hence, van Pelt's interpretation is not only unconfirmed by a single document, but is contradicted by the existing documentation; it is therefore arbitrary and unfounded.

## 8.5. Marcello Pezzetti's 'Discovery' of 'Bunker 1'<sup>600</sup>

On November 20, 2001, the *Corriere della Sera* published an article entitled "Shoah. Hell started in a little red house."<sup>601</sup>

In this article, Marcello Pezzetti, researcher at the *Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea* (CDEC) of Milan, proclaimed that he had discovered the place where, for a time, the alleged 'Bunker 1' of Birkenau stood. The site had been occupied until the end of 2001 by a private home inhabited by a Polish family, which was then demolished. The 'discovery' is said to have been made in the summer of 1993 when Shlomo (Szlama) Dragon, his brother Abraham, and Eliezer Eisenschmidt had accompanied Pezzetti to the house shown on a photograph accompanying the newspaper article.

Pezzetti had already announced the epoch-making 'discovery' of the alleged 'Bunker 1' at Birkenau in 1998,<sup>602</sup> but at the time his discovery passed almost unnoticed, and not by accident: the position he specifies for the alleged 'Bunker 1' is in total contradiction with the only source available to the official historiography: the account of Ms. Józefa Wińska, examined above in chapter 7.4.

On September 20, 1985, Franciszek Piper took four photographs of a house he claimed was that of Mr. Czarnik (the house built a few meters away from where the alleged 'Bunker 1' is said to have stood), and filed them with Ms. Wińska's account. One of these photographs, registered in the archives of the Auschwitz Museum as "no. Neg. 21225/3," shows a frontal view of the house in question, which is identical to the house in the photograph published in the article mentioned above.

However, this house, which I photographed in August 2000, was located on the other side of the road which now runs along the outside of the western enclosure of the Birkenau camp, whereas Józef Harmata's house (the alleged 'Bunker 1'), as is clear from Ms. Wińska's topographical sketch, was situated farther east, within the camp boundaries, and, to be precise a few dozen meters to the north of the four settling basins (sewage treatment plant). The house indicated by Pezzetti is to the west of another easily identifiable refer-

<sup>599</sup> Letter from Kammler to Höb dated June 18, 1941. RGVA, 502-1-11, pp. 37-39. Cf. chapter 2.2.

<sup>600</sup> This is a summary of my article "The 'Discovery' of 'Bunker 1' at Birkenau: Swindles, Old and New," in: *The Revisionist*, 1(2) (2003), pp. 176-183.

<sup>601</sup> Gian Guido Vecchi, "Shoah. L'inferno cominciò in una casa rossa," in: *Corriere della Sera*, November 20, 2001, p. 35.

<sup>602</sup> Valeria Gandus, "Operazione memoria," in: *Panorama*, February 26, 1998, pp. 94-97.

ence point: the monument to the Soviet prisoners of war. This monument stands some 200 meters west of the settling plant and thus also of the site of Józef Harmata's house (the alleged 'Bunker 1'), not far from the western enclosure of the camp and of the road running along it and accessible via an old gate.

From there, moving to the right (north), Pezzetti's house is located about 100 meters away.

This house, which according to Pezzetti stood on the ruins of 'Bunker 1,' is more than 300 meters away, in a straight line, from the site of Józef Harmata's house, i.e., from the site of the alleged 'Bunker 1.'

Therefore Pezzetti's discovery has no historical basis.

## 9. Material Proof, Aerial Photos, and Archeological Findings

### 9.1. The Aerial Photographs of 1944

From May 1944 on, the Allied air forces began to take photographs of the Birkenau camp in which the zone around the alleged ‘Bunker 2’ is visible. The clearest shots are those taken during the mission of May 31, 1944, in particular two frames registered as 3055 and 3056.<sup>603</sup>

Photograph 9a in the Appendix is an enlargement of photograph 3056, centering on the area of the alleged ‘Bunker 2.’

The T-shaped structure that appears at bottom left is the central sauna. Its longest side measured 73 meters.<sup>604</sup> The camp fence running parallel to it points approximately north.<sup>605</sup> The two barracks to the east of the central sauna were “*Effektenbaracken Typ 501/34 Z.8*,” commonly known as air force barracks, and measured 12.64 by 41.39 meters. A rectangular structure is visible in a small clearing<sup>606</sup> some 210 meters west of the northwest angle of the central sauna; its long side has an angle of about 250° from north (more or less east-west), the shorter one an angle of about 340° (more or less north-south). The sides of the house measure about 9 and 13 meters, respectively. The length of the house is practically equal to the width of the side of the central sauna parallel to the camp fence, which was 12.76 meters, and to the widths of the two barracks south of this structure, each, as we have seen, 12.64 meters. Therefore, the house cannot be longer than 13 meters.

It was located in a clearing shaped like a pentagon, with a base some 65 meters long and sides, moving clockwise, measuring 65, 90, 85 and 50 meters. The total surface area of this area is about 7,700 square meters. The distance from the center of the clearing’s base to its northwest angle is about 120 meters, and, from the northern apex to the southwest corner, about 100 meters. This is the alleged area of the cremation pits for the corpses, as can be seen from the “*Sketch of the location of Bunker 2*” drawn by the engineer Nosal according to Szlama Dragon’s information.

To the south of the house, on the right hand side of the access road, can be seen three rectangles, the smallest one measuring about 12 by 32 meters, the

<sup>603</sup> NA, Mission: 60 PRS/462 60 SQ. Can: D 1508. Exposures 3055f.

<sup>604</sup> Measurements taken on site.

<sup>605</sup> The wire fence has an orientation of about 357 degrees.

<sup>606</sup> Cf. photograph 9c.

other two about 12 by 42 meters. This is ground being leveled for the installation of barracks.

The house appears for the last time on a photograph taken on November 29, 1944;<sup>607</sup> on a photo from December 21, 1944,<sup>608</sup> it no longer exists. Therefore, it was destroyed between November 30 and December 21, 1944.

## 9.2. The Architectural Design of ‘Bunker 2’ in Relation to its Alleged Homicidal Activity

The ruins of the house allegedly transformed into ‘Bunker 2’ still exist, but only in the form of the ruins – perhaps one foot high – of the outer walls and the inner partitions of the house.<sup>609</sup>

Document 26 shows the ground plan of these ruins drawn by the Auschwitz Museum on July 29, 1985. The measurements that appear in this drawing agree with those I took on site in June 1990 and October 1991.

The ruins of the house, as they now stand, show a number of elements that are at variance with the propaganda story of ‘Bunker 2.’ The first element is the fact that the house is divided into seven rooms.<sup>610</sup> This clashes above all with Szlama Dragon’s deposition, according to which the house was divided into four rooms. Neither he nor any other witness has stated that the house was later redivided into seven rooms from the alleged four. But even the division of the house into four rooms is nonsensical on technical grounds because – if we follow the official historiography – the two ‘Bunkers’ were created not just to carry out the occasional murder of small groups of persons, but for extermination on a grand scale. As we have seen above, according to the Soviet commission of inquiry 3,000 persons a day were murdered in ‘Bunker 2,’ as many as 10,000 if we follow Dragon.

Why, then, divide the victims up into four rooms? To repeat the same gasing four times?

The ruins of the house, not counting the partitions between rooms 2/3, 4/5 and 6/7, show the remnants of four rooms (A, B, C and D), which had the following internal dimensions:

Room A:  $4.74 \times 7.10 = 33.6 \text{ m}^2$

Room B:  $2.40 \times 7.10 = 17.0 \text{ m}^2$

Room C:  $3.89 \times 7.10 = 27.6 \text{ m}^2$

Room D:  $3.46 \times 7.56 = 26.1 \text{ m}^2$

<sup>607</sup> NA, Mission: 15 SG/887 5PG. Can: D 1610. Exposure 4058. Cf. photographs 10 and 10a.

<sup>608</sup> NA, Mission: 15 SG/994 15PG. Can: D 1533. Exposure: 3021. Mission: 15 SG/994 15PG. Can: D 1533. Exposure: 3022. NA, Mission: 15 SG/995 5PG. Can: D 1535. Exposure: 4018.

<sup>609</sup> Cf. photographs 5, 6, 7, 8

<sup>610</sup> Cf. photograph 8

Total floor area: 104.3 m<sup>2</sup><sup>611</sup>

If, instead, all partitions had been demolished one would have obtained a room of 115.6 m<sup>2</sup>; therefore the division of the house into four rooms would not only have resulted in no economy of mass extermination, it would have rendered it more difficult, due to the loss of 11.3 m<sup>2</sup> of floor area and because of the necessity of introducing the Zyklon B four different times, to say nothing of the waste in materiel (eight gastight doors instead of two) and the difficulty of ventilation.

Indeed, the quartering of the house would not only have been technically nonsensical, it would also contradict Szlama Dragon's deposition. The latter affirms that the four "gas chambers" could accommodate 1,200, 700, 400, and 200–250 persons, respectively, for a total of 2,525 persons, if we assume an average of 225 persons for the smallest room. One can thus calculate that Dragon's first gas chamber had a floor area of  $[(1200 \div 2525) \times 104.3 = ]$  49.6 square meters, the second one 28.9, the third one 16.5 and the fourth one 9.3 square meters. However, this does not tally with the floor area of the four rooms of the ruin, as is evident from the following comparison (the capacity is based on Dragon's unreasonable figure of 24 persons per m<sup>2</sup>):

Room	Floor area of ruins [m <sup>2</sup> ]	Capacity [persons]	Floor area acc. to Dragon [m <sup>2</sup> ]	Capacity [persons]
A	33.6	813	49.6	1,200
B	17.0	410	28.9	700
C	27.6	670	16.5	400
D	26.1	632	9.3	225

The subsequent division into seven 'gas chambers' is obviously even more ridiculous, not only technically, but also in regard to the Holocaust. 'Bunker 2' is, in fact, said to have been reactivated in May of 1944 in connection with the deportation of the Hungarian Jews because the 'gas chambers' of the Birkenau crematoria were saturated. In the summer of 1944, as Franciszek Piper assures us, 20,000 persons were being gassed at Birkenau every day.<sup>612</sup>

So, in order to be able to handle numbers so enormous that they would not fit into the enormous 'gas chambers' of the crematoria, the Central Construction Office couldn't come up with anything better than the creation of seven puny gas chambers with floor areas of 33.6, 7.9, 8.4, 13.9, 12.6, 11.3, and 13.4 m<sup>2</sup> – not to mention the fact that the usable floor space would have been reduced by a further 3 m<sup>2</sup>, or that these tiny rooms could not have been properly ventilated.

The second element that is incompatible with the propaganda story of 'Bunker 2' is the total absence of traces of the door which, according to Szlama Dragon, was in the northwest corner of the house. There, the ruins of

<sup>611</sup> For room B I assumed the same width as that of room 3; room 2 was 2.30 meters wide. Room D had a length of 7.56 meters instead of 7.10, because its outer walls were thinner (0.39 instead of 0.62 meters for the rest of the house).

<sup>612</sup> F. Piper, *op. cit.* (note 141), p. 174.



the house consist of a wall some 50 cm above the ground, which shows no trace of a threshold! The threshold could not have been any higher because, according to the witness, the house stood directly on the ground and there were no access stairs.

Something else that surprises about the ruins of this house is the enormous thickness of the partitions, which are of solid brick. The wall which separates rooms A from rooms B1 and B2 is 42 cm thick, the one between B1 and C1 59 cm; the prolongation of this wall (between rooms B2 and C2) is 48 cm wide, the partition that separates rooms C1 and C2 from rooms D1 and D2 62 cm, but the back walls of those two rooms are only 39 cm wide. Furthermore, the outer walls A, B2 and C2<sup>613</sup> measure 62 cm in thickness, but the outer walls of the rooms D1 and D2 hardly 39 cm. What kind of architect designed such an odd building? And for what purpose was it built?

The problems do not end here. According to the Soviet commission of investigation, as we saw in the preceding chapter, “*gas chamber no. 2*” measured 9 by 11 meters. According to Ms. Wińska the house itself measured some 12 by 9 meters. On the photograph of May 31, 1944, examined above, the house is about 13 meters long, but the present ruin measures 17.07 meters in length. The measurement of 13 meters corresponds to the overall length of the ruins of ‘Bunker 2’ minus the rooms D1 and D2, i.e.,  $17.07 - (3.46 + 0.39) = 13.22$  meters. One thus has to assume that the outer, thinner walls of rooms D1 and D2, as well as their partition, were added later. This also explains why these outer walls are much thinner than those of the rest of the ruin.

When was the addition made, and by whom? The aerial photographs of May 31, 1944, do not allow a sufficiently precise statement regarding the length of the house. On the other hand, for the Central Construction Office to add two tiny rooms of 11.3 and 13.4 square meters to speed up the extermination of the Hungarian Jews makes no technical sense at all. The most probable conclusion, then, is that the ruins of the two additional rooms were added by Polish or Soviet forgers after the end of the war simply to give the impression of a larger house.

### 9.3. The “Undressing Barracks” of ‘Bunker 2’

As we have seen, ‘Bunker 2’ is said to have been put back into operation in May of 1944 in connection with the alleged extermination of the Hungarian Jews. According to Filip Müller, preparations were undertaken as early as the beginning of May,<sup>614</sup> but on May 31, 1944, the two alleged undressing barracks did not yet exist.<sup>615</sup> Two clearly observable barracks near the alleged ‘Bunker 2’ appear only on the aerial photograph taken on November 29,

<sup>613</sup> The wall of rooms B1 and C1 is missing.

<sup>614</sup> F. Müller, *op. cit.* (note 384), pp. 125-142.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. photograph 9a.

1944,<sup>616</sup> on which one can also see the house claimed to have been ‘Bunker 2.’ Obviously, nothing proves that those actually were undressing barracks for ‘Bunker 2,’ all the more so since, according to Danuta Czech, the order to “*stop the gassings*” allegedly arrived at Auschwitz on November 2, 1944.<sup>617</sup> Thus the presence of the two barracks is established for a period during which they could not have fulfilled the auxiliary function ascribed to them in connection with the claimed homicidal activity of ‘Bunker 2,’ but nothing demonstrates that they existed earlier and performed that function. In the absence of any documents it would be risky to say what purpose the barracks did serve, and whether they had anything to do with the house nearby.

## 9.4. The “Cremation Pits” in the Area of ‘Bunker 2’

On the photograph of November 29, 1944, some 30 meters in front of the house, one can see a dark rectangle measuring about 10 by 8 meters, which is evidently the “basin” or “pool” (“бассейн”) on the map drawn by engineer Nosal on March 3, 1945. It also appears on the aerial photograph of February 19, 1945.<sup>618</sup> It was therefore not a cremation pit but a water basin, which was still there in 1954.<sup>619</sup>

According to Danuta Czech, the alleged cremation pits were filled in and their surface landscaped<sup>620</sup> by a specific unit starting in December 1944 onwards. But the “basin” mentioned was not filled in, obviously because it was not a cremation pit. As we have seen above, Filip Müller is the only witness who gave an exact number for cremation pits around ‘Bunker 2’ in 1944: four. At the present time, however, there are only two depressions visible there, the traces of just two pits.

The first one is 34 meters from the southern corner of the ruin of the house, at an angle of about 268°.<sup>621</sup> It is a depression of about 8 by 7 meters, the short side having an angle of about 40°. These data allow us to identify the “basin” found by the Soviets in 1945. The other depression<sup>622</sup> is situated at about 69 meters from the southern corner of the ruins of the house, at an angle of about 281°. The depression is about 25 meters long and 5 meters wide, and the long side has an angle of 28°.

At the corresponding locations on the aerial photograph of May 31, 1944, discussed above there is nothing, which can be connected with two excavations of those dimensions. On later aerial photographs, in particular those of December 21, 1944,<sup>623</sup> and of February 19, 1945,<sup>624</sup> the basin is clearly visible,

<sup>616</sup> NA, Mission: 15 SG/887 5 PG. Can: D 1610. Exposure: 4058. Cf. photograph 10.

<sup>617</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 921.

<sup>618</sup> Cf. photographs 11 and 11a.

<sup>619</sup> Cf. photograph 12.

<sup>620</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 940f and 952f.

<sup>621</sup> Cf. photograph 13.

<sup>622</sup> Cf. photograph 14.

<sup>623</sup> NA, Mission: 15SG/994 15 PG. Can: D 1533. Exposure: 3021.

but there is no trace of a trench 25 by 5 meters. Therefore, the depression still present in the ground must be attributed to a postwar excavation.

## 9.5. The “Cremation Pits” of the ‘Bunkers’: Origins of the Propaganda Story

The aforementioned two aerial photographs 3055 and 3056 of May 31, 1944, show the traces of four long trenches running north-south at some 160 meters north of crematorium V.<sup>625</sup> They can be seen more clearly on photograph 14, which is an enlargement of the aerial photograph 3055.

Starting from the west, the first two trenches were about 100 meters long, the other two 130 meters. Each trench was about 10 meters wide. The trench farthest away from ‘Bunker 1’ was 220 meters from it, as the crow flies.

Are these the cremation pits Szlama Dragon spoke of? As we have seen, he states in the Soviet deposition that at a distance of 500 meters from “*gas chamber no. 1*” there were four trenches 30 to 35 meters long, 7 to 8 meters wide and 3 meters deep; in the Polish deposition, the dimensions of these trenches are 30 by 7 by 2 meters. The only point that is in agreement with the material evidence is the number of trenches – four. Their dimensions as well as their distance from “*gas chamber no. 1*” are, on the other hand, at variance with such evidence: the 30–35 meters stated by the witness do not agree with the actual 100–130 meters and can by no means be attributed to an error of estimation. Furthermore, the most distant trench, even if we chose the longest way (the road going west, which already existed in 1942, and then the path that branches off towards the trenches at the first curve) was located at a distance of 280 meters from “*gas chamber no. 1*.”

In the preceding chapters I have amply demonstrated that the history of the Birkenau ‘Bunkers’ is merely a propaganda legend. Let us assume for a moment, however, that it was true. In that case, the four trenches mentioned above would be the burial trenches, later to become cremation trenches of ‘Bunker 1’ – but where are the six trenches of ‘Bunker 2’?

The aerial photographs 3055 and 3056 (and the subsequent photographs) show nothing in the pentagonal area described above, which would correspond to the four trenches appearing north of crematorium V outside the camp. How is it possible that these four trenches are clearly visible, whereas there is no trace of the six trenches of ‘Bunker 2’? Even the dimensions of these trenches must have been of the same order of magnitude as those of ‘Bunker 1’ because ‘Bunker 2’ had a capacity – and therefore an extermination rate – 20 percent higher. Therefore, in the area of ‘Bunker 2’ there should appear six trenches measuring at least 100 by 10 meters each. We have seen

<sup>624</sup> NA, GX 12337/145.

<sup>625</sup> Cf. photograph 15.

that the distance from the northern to the southwestern angle of the pentagon was 100 meters, which was therefore too small for those six trenches.

Therefore, the six trenches did not and could not have existed. It is thus logical to assume that the four trenches appearing on the photograph have nothing to do with 'Bunker 1.' Then what is their origin?

It is known that in early July 1942 a terrible typhus epidemic erupted at Auschwitz. Not least in consequence of the poor sanitary and hygienic conditions in the Birkenau camp, mortality grew alarmingly. In the months of July, August, and September over 20,000 detainees died. The crematorium of the main camp, with its three double-muffle ovens, was absolutely insufficient to cope with the task. To make matters worse, it was out of service for a month due to the rebuilding of the chimney, which had been damaged beyond repair.<sup>626</sup> The camp authorities had therefore ordered enormous mass graves dug outside of the Birkenau camp. There are no documents on this, but from the amount of coke delivered to the crematorium<sup>627</sup> one can deduce with a sufficient degree of precision the number of corpses that were burned there.<sup>628</sup>

The analysis of these deliveries shows that inhumations began as early as March 1942, during which 2,400 detainees died, but coke deliveries amounted to only 39 tons – enough to cremate 1,400 corpses at best. Between March and September 1942 a total of 239.5 tons of coke were supplied to the crematorium, sufficient for about 8,500 corpses. During the same period, however, the number of deceased detainees was about 32,000, therefore at least 24,000 corpses had to be buried in the mass graves.<sup>629</sup> From the end of September onwards, the corpses were exhumed and burned on field hearths made of brick.

On September 16, SS *Obersturmführer* Höß, the camp commander; SS *Untersturmführer* Hößler, responsible for the detainee labor force; and SS *Untersturmführer* Dejaco, employed by Central Construction Office, went to Litzmannstadt (now: Łódź) to see a "special plant". In his report, Dejaco states that after having visited the ghetto the three officers went to see the "special plant," which they inspected together with SS *Standartenführer* Blobel. He then says that the construction material ordered from *Ostdeutsche Baustoffwerke Posen* by special order of Blobel was to be supplied immediately to CC Auschwitz; by arrangement with SS *Obersturmführer* Weber of the WVHA C V/3 office they were to be shipped to Auschwitz. Dejaco also

<sup>626</sup> Report of SS *Oberscharführer* Pollok of July 6, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-312, p. 29 and 31; handwritten note "Schornstein-Krematorium. BW 11" of December 7, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-318, pp. 4f.

<sup>627</sup> "Koks i węgiel dla krematoriów w tonach" (Coke and coal for the crematoria in tons), APMO, D-AuI-4. N. inv. 12012.

<sup>628</sup> In the ovens of crematorium I the cremation of a medium-lean corpse required about 28 kg of coke when the oven had reached a steady state; cf. C. Mattogno, "The Crematoria...", *op. cit.* (note 184), pp. 391f.

<sup>629</sup> The number of dead is calculated on the basis of a statistical evaluation of the *Sterbebücher* of Auschwitz.

mentions a “ball mill for materials” already available from the firm Schriever & Co. of Hanover, which was also to be sent to KL Auschwitz.<sup>630</sup>

The travel order issued by WVHA gives further details:<sup>631</sup>

*“Travel permission is hereby given for a passenger car from Au. to Litzmannstadt and back for visit to the testing station of field ovens Action Reinhard on 16.9.42.”*

It is thus clear that the group from Auschwitz visited brickwork field ovens. The “ball mill for materials” was certainly used to break up the cremation residues. A similar device was discovered and photographed by the Soviets in the camp of Janowski at Lemberg (now: Lviv).<sup>632</sup>

The exhumation and cremation of the corpses thus began a few weeks later. Danuta Czech gives the date of September 21,<sup>633</sup> but her source (the notes of R. Höß) does not give a date; she thus simply based herself on the visit to Litzmannstadt just mentioned.<sup>634</sup>

In 1942 (but in the summer of 1944 as well) the ground water level in the Birkenau area varied between 0.30 and 1.20 meters,<sup>635</sup> therefore the depth of the four mass graves mentioned could not have been more than one meter: this explains their enormous extension.

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<sup>630</sup> “Reisebericht über die Dienstfahrt nach Litzmannstadt,” September 17, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-336, p.69.

<sup>631</sup> AGK, NTN, 94, p. 112.

<sup>632</sup> GARF, 7021-128-157, p. 1.

<sup>633</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>634</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 301.

<sup>635</sup> Cf. in this respect Michael Gärtner, Werner Rademacher, “Ground Water in the Area of the POW Camp Birkenau” *The Revisionist* 1(1) (2003), pp. 3-12; Carlo Mattogno, “‘Cremation Pits’ and Ground Water Levels at Birkenau”, *ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

## 10. Conclusion

As has been shown in chapter 4, the black propaganda of the ‘gas chambers’ in the ‘Bunkers,’ which began to be disseminated in 1942 in various and contrasting forms by the resistance groups at Auschwitz, was based on the disinfestation plants BW 5a and 5b. If the presence of these installations is a necessary element, it is not sufficient to account for the birth of the propaganda story. The connecting element that would focus the energies of the propagandists was still missing: the mass graves and the open-air cremations. The incineration of corpses exhumed from mass graves, which went on day after day for months on end, struck the imagination of the detainees at Auschwitz, and it was this “*eternal fire*” which inspired the propaganda makers: if thousands of corpses were burned outside the camp, there must have been mass extermination, and if there was mass extermination, there were also ‘gas chambers,’ equipped, of course, with the “*showers*” and installations similar to those in the gas chambers of BW 5a and 5B.

That is the origin of the propaganda story of the Birkenau ‘Bunkers.’

The inevitable conclusion of this study is that the story of the gassing ‘Bunkers’ at Birkenau is a propaganda legend, lacking all foundation in reality. Two fundamental historiographical consequences derive from this conclusion.

### Historiographical Consequences

The first concerns the fate of detainees unfit for work who were neither registered nor interned in the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex. According to Danuta Czech’s *Kalendarium*, 207,000 persons were gassed in the two ‘Bunkers’ between March 20, 1942 (the alleged starting date of ‘Bunker 1’) and March 14, 1943 (date of the alleged first homicidal gassing in crematorium II). This figure has been affirmed by Robert Jan van Pelt, who speaks of the murder “*of more than 200,000 Jews*.”<sup>636</sup> Since the gassing ‘Bunkers’ never existed, however, these 207,000 Jews were never murdered. With this, the claim of the official historiography that the Jews unfit for work were systematically murdered turns out to be false: if it is false for the ‘Bunkers,’ why should it be true for the alleged gas chambers in the crematoria?

The second consequence concerns the new methodological foundation of the official historiography.

Robert Jan van Pelt is the best-known propagator of the historiographical method of “*convergence of evidence*,” which he has also applied extensively to the witnesses: if two independent testimonies furnish descriptions of an event that are similar in their essential points, they constitute ‘convergent evi-

<sup>636</sup> R.J. van Pelt, *op. cit.* (note 118), p. 455.

dence' and demonstrate the objective reality of the event. Obviously, the – unprovable – assumption of this method is that the testimonies are in fact independent.

On the subject of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' van Pelt writes that in 1946, the expert Roman Dawidowski "*had not found any documents or blueprints describing the two buildings*" and adds that "*in fact, none were ever found. It seems that the two cottages were transformed [into gas chambers] without much fuss.*"<sup>637</sup>

The last few words are nonsense. I have shown in this study that in the Auschwitz-Birkenau complex the idea of work "*without much fuss*" was absurd: any and all work done followed a rigid pattern of bureaucratic practices, starting with the opening up of a building site, which was given a specific number and a particular designation, including all the documentation that such bureaucratic acts entailed.

In contrast, the alleged 'Bunkers' had no designation and corresponded to no building site, and no document of the Central Construction Office contains even the least reference to them. This means that the two existing Polish houses were never taken over by Central Construction Office and were, therefore, never transformed into 'gas chambers.'

As we have seen, the story of the Birkenau 'Bunkers' is a simple propaganda legend, contrived in 1942 by the Auschwitz resistance on the basis of actual events and real structures which, however, had nothing to do with the alleged mass extermination.

In the following years, the legend fed on new and varied literary elements. This process continued even after Szlama Dragon had attempted to consolidate it into a unified version, so that several dozen apparently 'independent' variations branched out from the original theme, agreeing only on one element: the existence of alleged homicidal gas chambers in one or more farmhouses outside of the Birkenau camp. However, the "*convergence of evidence*" of these testimonies relied on a single imaginary and purely propagandistic element; therefore, despite appearances, they cannot be regarded as independent either.

Thus, together with the 'Bunkers,' the methodological keystone of the official historiography collapses as well.

On August 7, 1942, 987 Jews were deported from the Dutch transit camp at Westerbork; they arrived at Auschwitz the following day. After the selection, 315 men (ID numbers 57405 through 57719) and 149 women (15812 through 15960) were admitted to the camp. In her *Auschwitz Chronicle*, Danuta Czech writes:<sup>638</sup>

*"There are several Catholic Jews as well as friars and nuns of various orders in this transport. Among them we have Dr. phil. Edith Theresia Hedwig Stein, called Sister Theresia Benedicta vom Kreuz, from the Car-*

<sup>637</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>638</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium...*, *op. cit.* (note 13), p. 269.

*melite convent at Echt, born October 21, 1891, in Breslau. Like her brothers and sisters, she is deported to Auschwitz wearing the robes of her order. After the selection, she is led with the others to the gas chambers."*

In support of the alleged gassing there is not the slightest proof, the most elementary evidence, the least trace, the most succinct testimony.

For her alleged gassing, Edith Stein was beatified by the Catholic Church at Cologne on May 1, 1987, and sanctified on October 11, 1998.

The Auschwitz Museum was quick to take up the Vatican's initiative, cleverly trying to historicize this pious legend by installing in the ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' a plaque with the Polish inscription: "*Miejsce męczeństwa Bl.*<sup>[639]</sup> *Edith Stein + 9.08.1942,*" i.e., "*Place of martyrdom of Edith Stein.*"<sup>640</sup>

By so doing, the Auschwitz Museum has committed a double historical error: First of all, because there is no proof that Edith Stein was ever gassed, nor second, a fortiori, that she was actually gassed in 'Bunker 2.' The Museum was faced with Hobson's choice: since 'Bunker 1' has never been located, the plaque could only be set up near the ruins of what is falsely claimed to have been 'Bunker 2,' and therefore Edith Stein had to have been gassed in 'Bunker 2.'

Thus the story of the Birkenau 'Bunkers,' which had started out as a propaganda tale, was finally transfigured into the legend of a saint.

<sup>639</sup> The Polish adjective "*byłej*," abbreviated "*Bl.*" literally "*ex*" or "*former*," refers in this case to the name of the nun in her civilian life.

<sup>640</sup> Cf. photographs 16 and 17.









Der Bürgermeister  
der Stadt Ruppertsberg

22  
Ackerstraße  
Lange Straße

Aufstellung

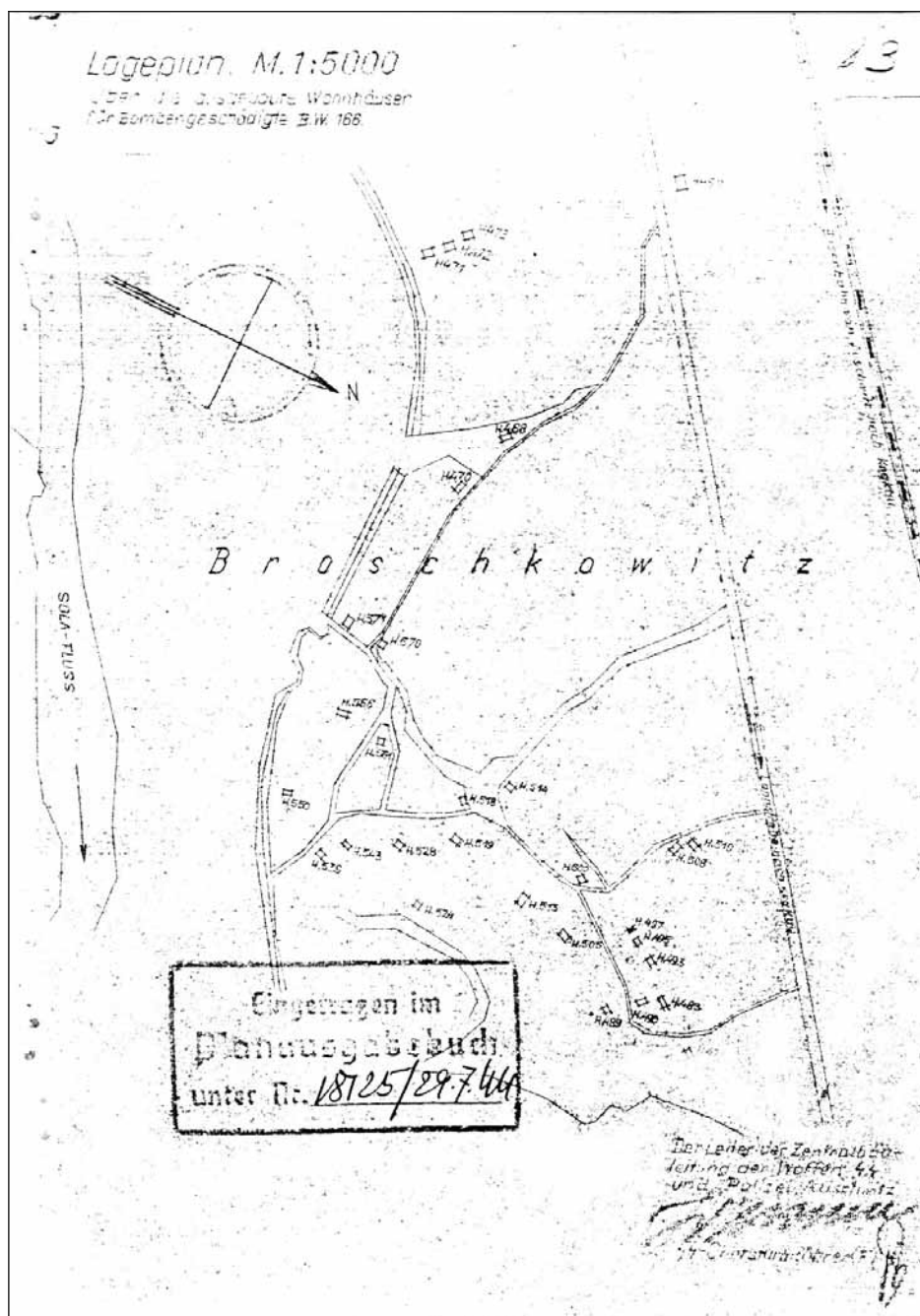
Umnummerierung von Hausnummern auf dem  
westlichen Sola-Ufer  
(Planungsgebiet für Neustadt -West)

Neue Straßenbezeichnung	alte	neue
	Hausnummern	
Ackerstraße	<u>Südseite:</u> B. 185 B. 184 B. 180 bzw. 353 B. 181 B. 179  <u>Nordseite:</u>	Hs. Nr. 1 Hs. Nr. 3 Hs. Nr. 5 Hs. Nr. 5 a Hs. Nr. 7
Ackerstraße	B. 186 H. 895 B. 187	Hs. Nr. 2 Hs. Nr. 4 im Abbruch
Lange Straße	<u>Nordseite:</u> Baracken zwischen Hause der Waffen-SS und B. 157  <del>B. 167</del> bzw. B. 157 <del>B. 168</del> bzw. B. 158 H. 889  <u>Südseite:</u>	Hs. Nr. 1, 3 und 5   Hs. Nr. 7 Hs. Nr. 7 a Hs. Nr. 9
Lange Straße	Baracke zwischen B. 154 und B. 74  B. 24 B. 25 H. 881 H. 882	Hs. Nr. 2  Hs. Nr. 4 Hs. Nr. 6 Hs. Nr. 8 Hs. Nr. 10

Auschwitz, den 10. September 1944.

Ka

3. Register. Renumbering of house numbers on the western bank of the Sola river. Planning area for western new town.<sup>3</sup>

4. Plan of modified residences for bombed-out persons.<sup>4</sup>



- 8 -

26	<p>BW 24 Kommandantenwohnhaus:            Instandsetzung des vorhandenen Gebäudes,            Einbau von sanitären Anlagen und der Zen-            tralheizungsanlage, Erstellen des Außen-            putzes</p>	<p><i>g. b. n.</i> RM 21.740,--</p>
	<p>Errichtung des Steildaches und Ausbau            des Dachgeschosses:            Grundfläche: <math>12,30 \times 11,80 = 145,14 \text{ m}^2</math>            Geschöshöhe: 2,75 m            Umbauter Raum: <math>145,14 \times 2,75 = \text{rd. } 400,00 \text{ m}^3</math>            Kosten für <math>1 \text{ m}^3</math>: RM 12,50  <math>400,00 \times 12,50 = \text{rd}</math></p>	<p>RM 5.000,--</p>
	<p>Anlage eines Zier- und Gemüsegartens            einschl. Aufstellen einer Wäschetrocken-            halle aus vorhandenem Abbruchmaterial</p>	<p><i>g. b. n.</i> RM 1.000,--</p>
	<p>Um- und Ausbau eines vorh. Neben-            gebäudes als Wohnlaube und anschließen-            dem Gewächshaus</p>	<p><i>g. b. n.</i> RM 3.000,--</p>
	<p>Einfriedigung etwa 140,00 a 9,--</p>	<p>RM 1.260,--            RM 32.000,--</p>
	<p><u>Kommandantenwohnhaus: Gesamtkosten z. b. N.</u></p>	<p>RM 32.000,--</p>
27	<p>BW 36 C Ausbau eines bestehenden Rohbaues            Grundfläche:            Wohnhaus: <math>12,50 \times 12,85 - (4,00 \times 1,50 + 2,70 \times 1,00) = 152,00 \text{ m}^2</math>            Wirtschaftsein-            gang: <math>7,00 \times 2,70 = 18,90 \text{ "}</math>            Terrasse: <math>6,00 \times 4,50 = 27,00 \text{ "}</math>            Umbauter Raum:            Wohnhaus: <math>152,00 \times 11,25 = 1710,00 \text{ m}^3</math>            Wirtschaftseingang: <math>18,90 \times 5,40 = 102,00 \text{ "}</math>            Terrasse: <math>27,00 \times 1,00 = 27,00 \text{ "}</math>  <math>1839,00 \text{ m}^3</math>            Kosten für <math>1 \text{ m}^3</math>: RM 13,50  <math>1839,00 \times 13,50 = \text{rd. RM } 25.000,--</math>            Hof- und Gartenanlage  <math>\text{" } 4.000,--</math>            RM 29.000,--</p>	

6. Cost estimate for building project Auschwitz O/S concentration camp, July 15, 1942.<sup>6</sup>

Baubeschreibung.									
Vorhaben: Konzentrationlager Auschwitz II-B.									
Bauherr: Der Reichsführer- und Chef d. d. Pol. im RHDJ. - Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt Amtsgruppe C, Berlin-Lichterfelde-West, Unter den Eichen 125 - 135.									
Kauf- teil fr. im Ba- geplan	Kenn- num- mer	Bezeichnung des Bau- teiles	Bauzu- stand am 1.4.42	Abmes- sun- gen	Gesamt- bau- kosten	bis 31.3. 1942 verbaute Summe RM	von 1.4.42 bis 31.12.42 zu verbaue- de Summe RM	Überhang in das 4. Krwj.	Bemerkungen
36 C	VIII	Ausbau des besteh- enden Rohbaues IV 36 C.	hoch nicht begonnen	1.839,00 m <sup>3</sup>	20.000,00	—	20.000,00	—	
		ab 40 % für Herstellung		8.000,00	—	—	8.000,00	—	
				12.000,00	—	—	12.000,00	—	
		Aufgestellt am 15. Juli 1942. 10/11.							1/4/42 24 18.7.42 (12)

6a. Specification for BW 36 C: "Modification of existing building shel," July 15, 1942.<sup>7</sup>



Kostenüberschlag

zum Umbau eines bestehenden Rohbaues BW 36 C

Bemittlung nach cbm umbauten Raums.Grundfläche:

Wohnhaus:	12,50x12,85-(4,00x1,50+	
	+2,70x1,00) =	152,00 m <sup>2</sup>
Terrasse:	6,00 x 4,50 =	27,00 "
Eingang:	7,00 x 2,70 =	18,90 "

Umbauter Raum:

Wohnhaus:	152,00 x 11,25 =	1710,00 m <sup>3</sup>
Terrasse:	27,00 x 1,00 =	27,00 "
Eingang:	18,90 x 5,40 =	102,00 "
		<hr/>
		1839,00 m <sup>3</sup>

Kosten für 1 m<sup>3</sup>: RM 10,30


1839,00 x 10,30 = RM 20.000,00  
=====

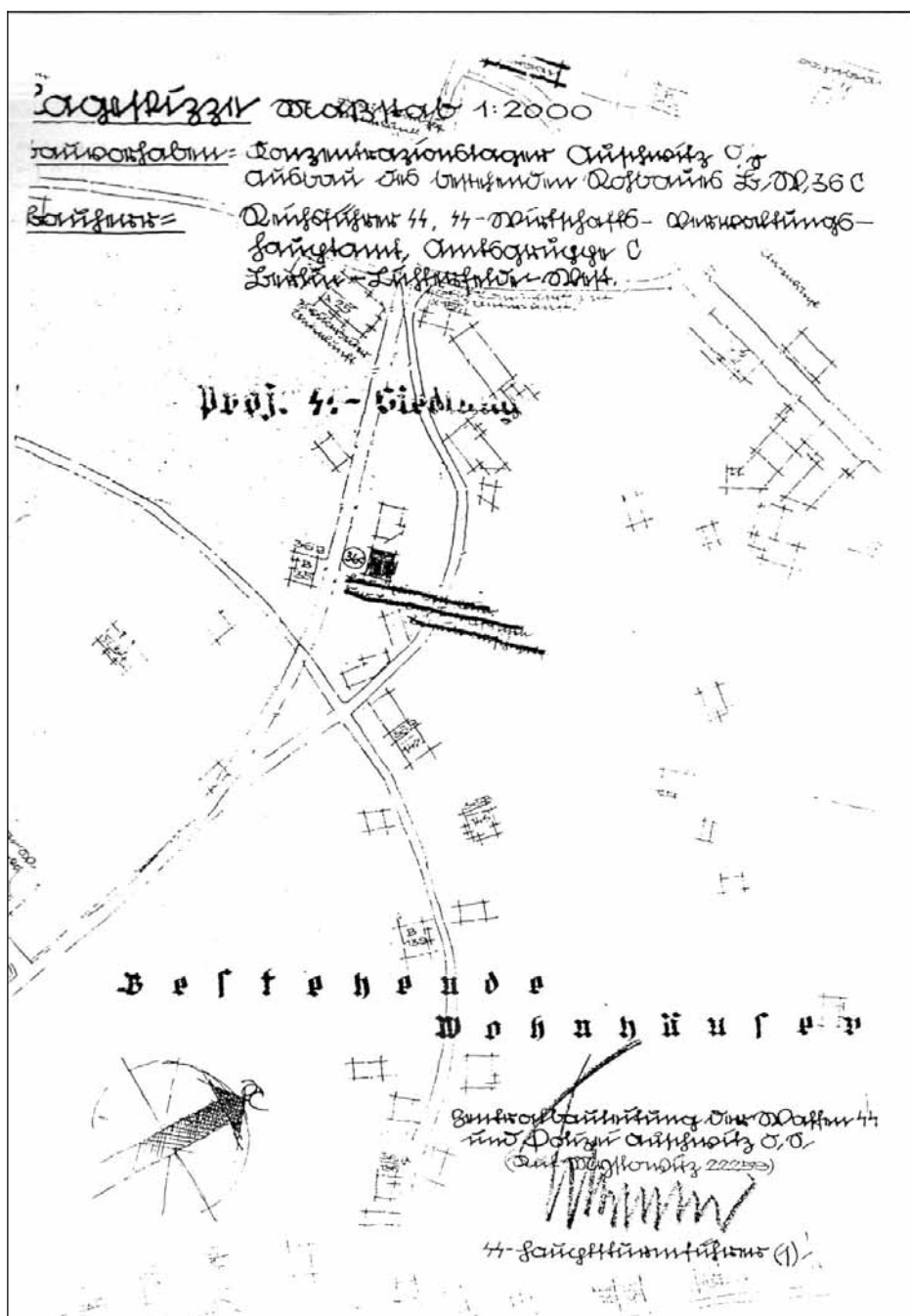
Aufgestellt!

Auschwitz, den 15. Juli 1942

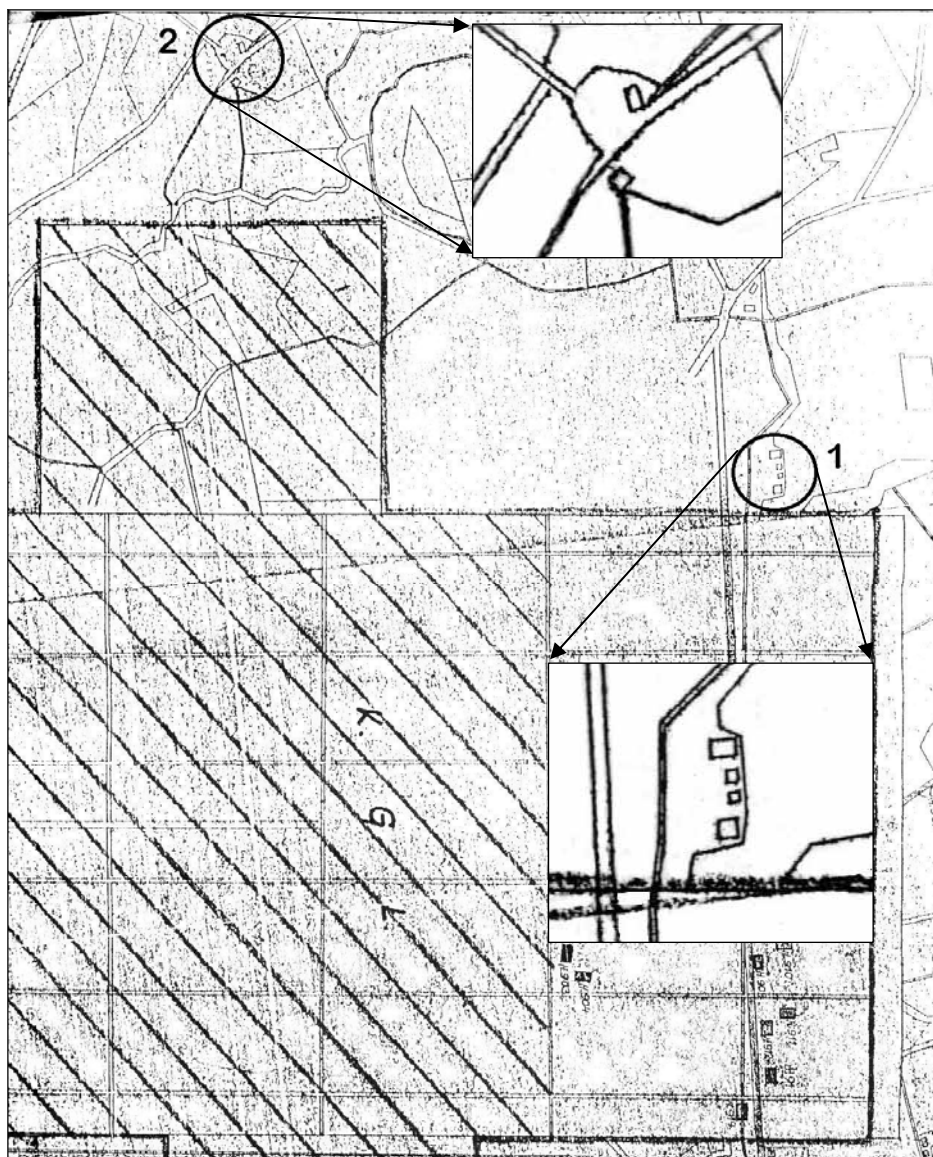
Po/Ma.

~~Zentralbeleitung~~  
~~der Waffen- und Polizei~~  
~~Auschwitz~~  
(Ruf: Jurewicz 22 259.)

  
Hauptsturmführer (S)



6c. Location sketch of BW 36C, July 15, 1942.<sup>7</sup>



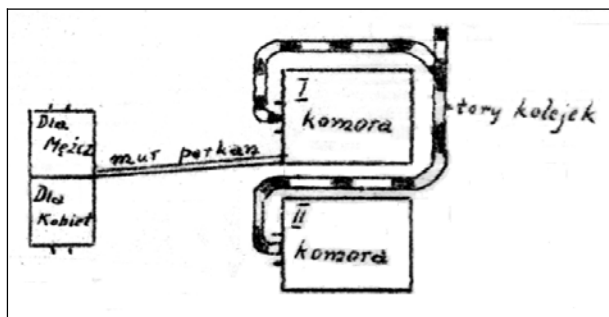
7. Site map of area of interest, KL Auschwitz no. 1733 of October 5, 1942.<sup>8</sup>  
 Section enlargements: buildings close to the area of the alleged locations of  
 'Bunker 1' (1) and 'Bunker 2' (2).



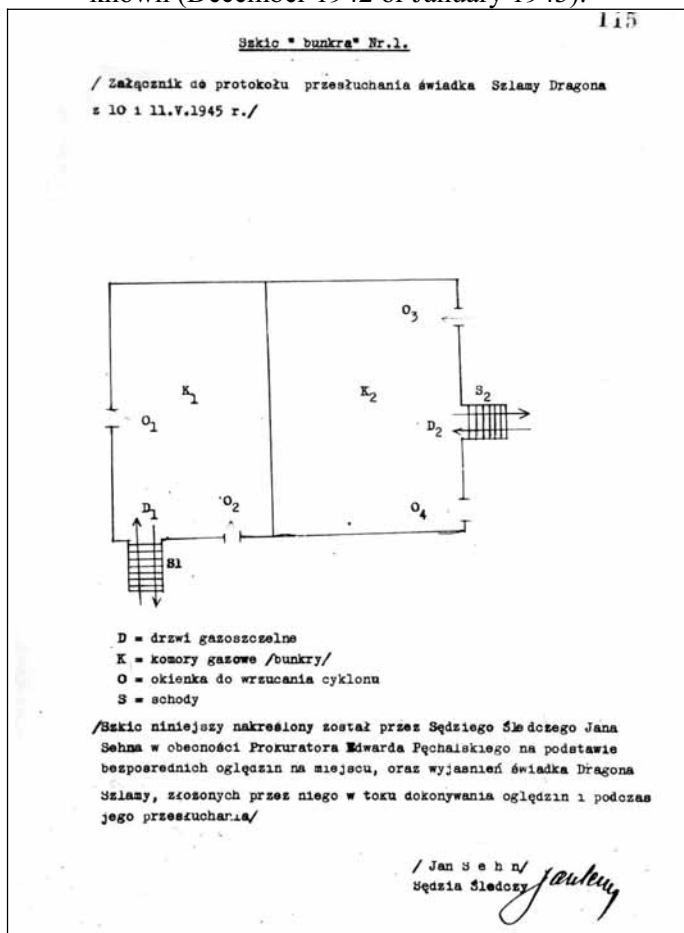
8. Development map for the erection and extension of the concentration and POW camp, Plan no. 2215 dated March 1943.<sup>9</sup>



9. Development map for the erection and extension of the concentration and POW camp, Plan No. 2215 dated March 1943.<sup>10</sup>



10. Drawing of two “gassing houses,” author unknown (December 1942 or January 1943).<sup>11</sup>



11. Sketch of “Bunker no. 1.” Annex to minutes of interrogation of witness Shlomo Dragon on May 10 and 11, 1945, drawn by engineer Eugeniusz Nosal upon information from the witness.<sup>12</sup>

Szkic "bunkra" Nr 2

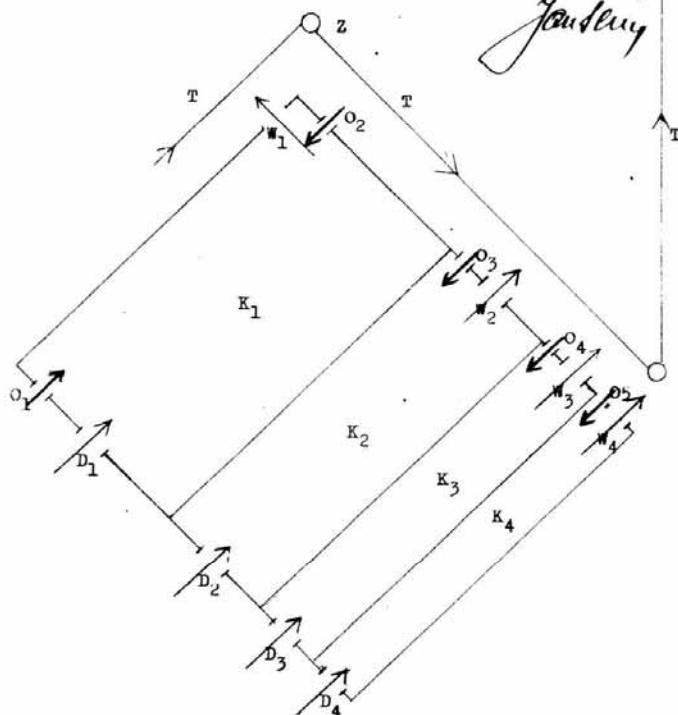
/ załącznik do protokołu przesłuchania świadka Szlomy Dragona z 10 i 11.5. 1945 r./

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/szkic niniejszy nakreślony został przez Sędziego Śledczego Jana Sehna w obecności Prokuratora Edwarda Pęczalskiego na podstawie bezpośrednich oględzin na miejscu, oraz wyjaśnień świadka Dragona Szlomy, złożonych przez niego w toku dokonywania oględzin i podczas jego przesłuchania./

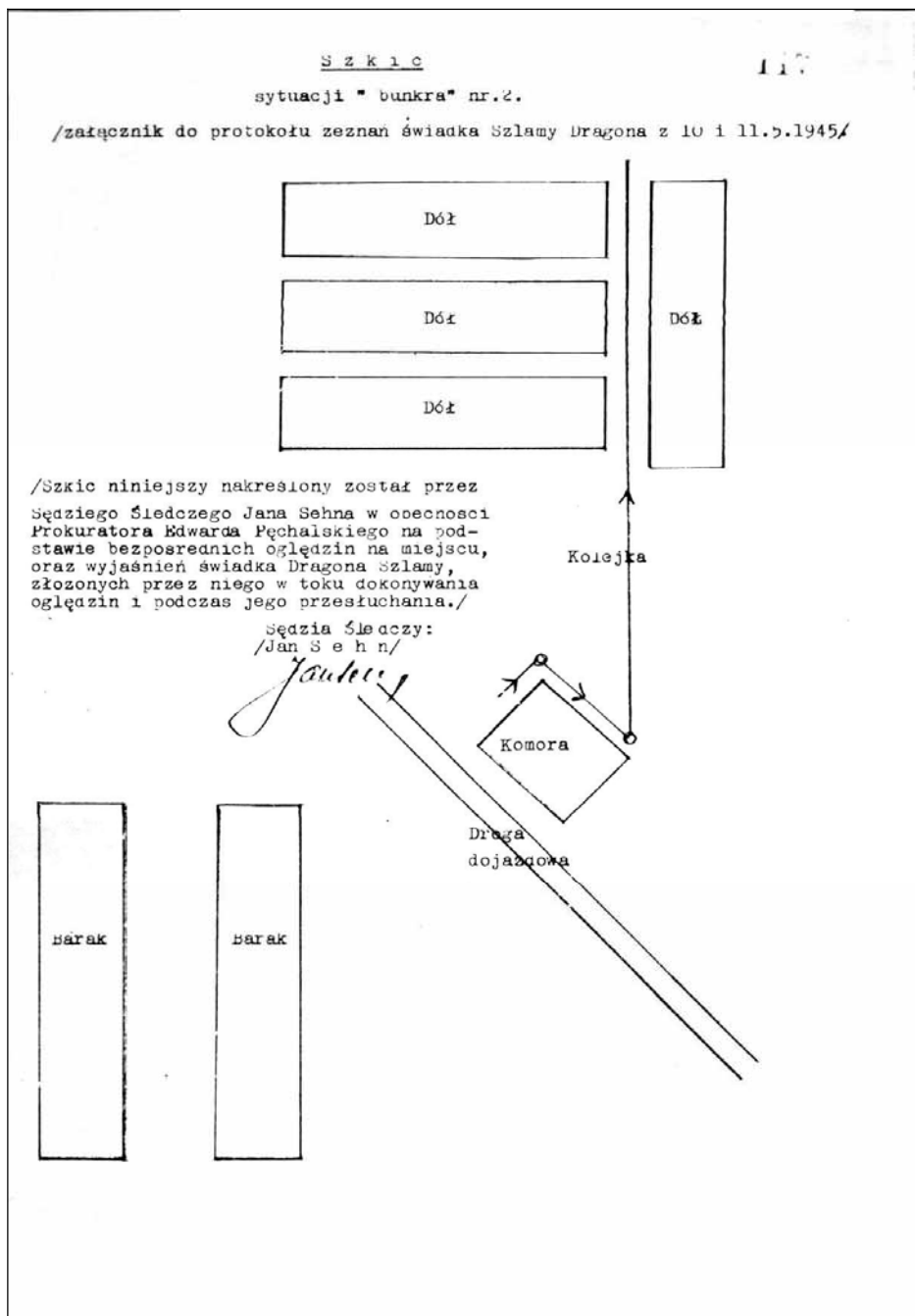
Sędzia Śledczy:

/Jan S e h n/

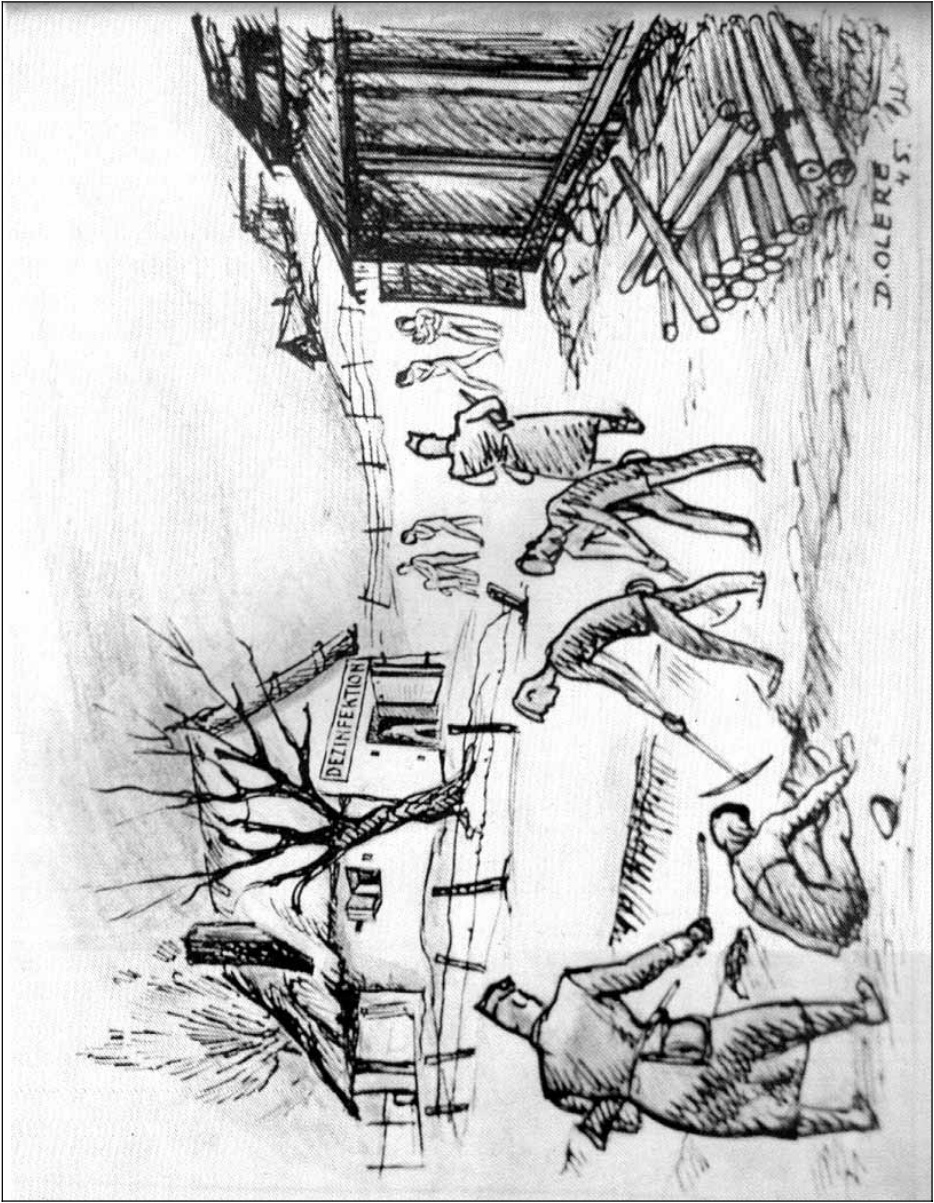
*Jan Sehna*

- D = drzwi wejściowe do komór gazowych  
 K = komory gazowe  
 O = okienka do wrzucania cyklonu  
 W = drzwi wyjściowe z komór gazowych  
 T = tor kolejki do dożarów dla spalania związków  
 Z = zwrotnice obrotowe

12. Sketch of "Bunker no. 2." Annex to minutes of interrogation of witness Shlomo Dragon on May 10 and 11, 1945, drawn by engineer Eugeniusz Nosal upon information from the witness.<sup>13</sup>

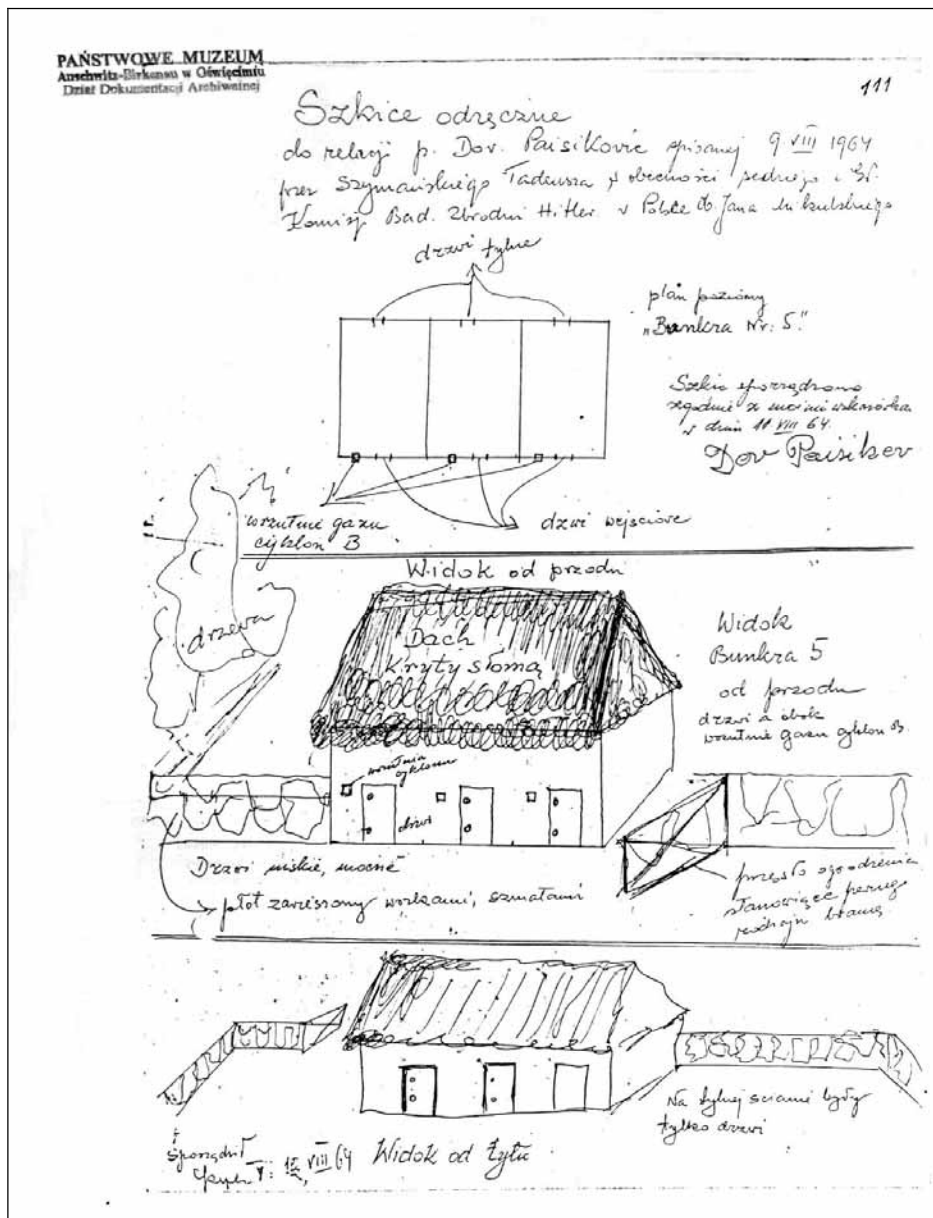


13. Sketch of "Bunker no. 2." Annex to minutes of interrogation of witness Shlomo Dragon on 10 and 11 May 1945, drawn by engineer Jan Nosal upon information from the witness.<sup>14</sup>

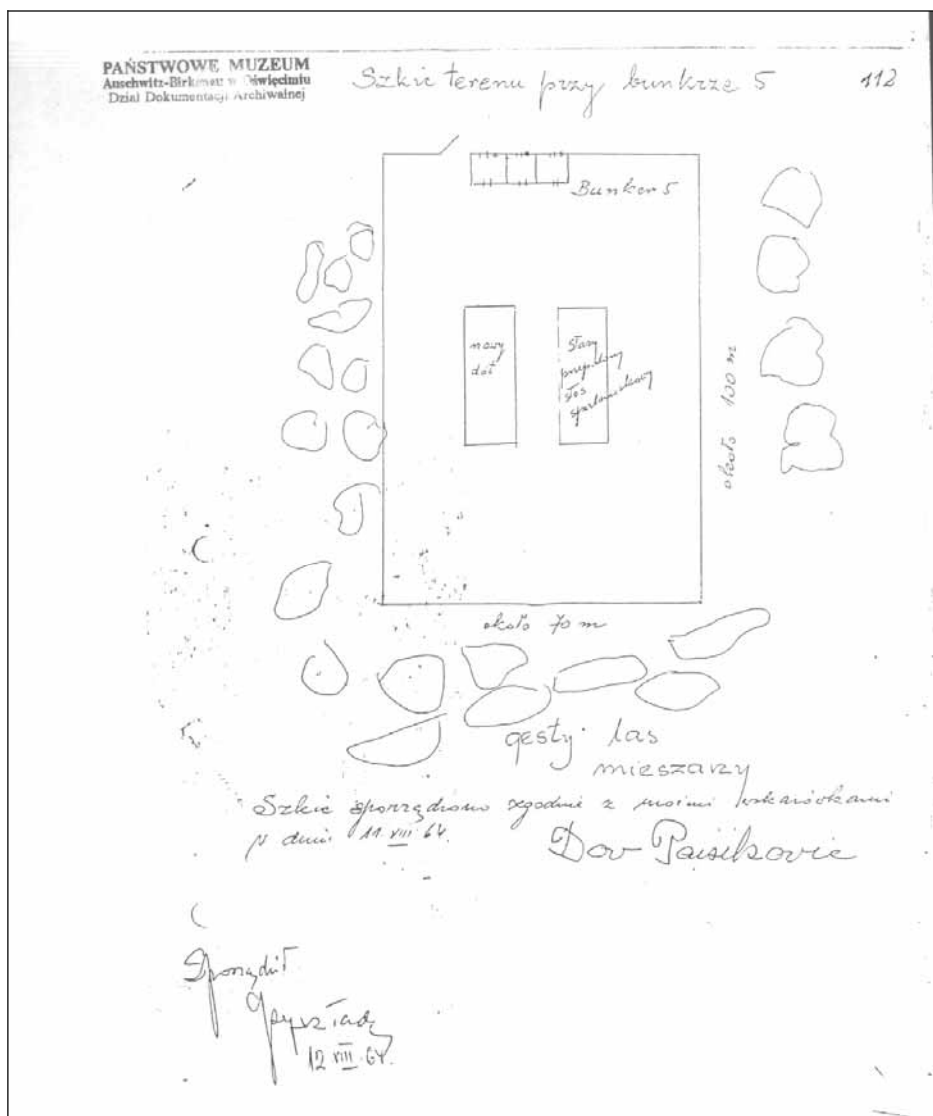


14. 'Bunker 2.' Drawn by David Olère in 1945.<sup>15</sup>





15. Sketches of “Bunker 5.” Drawings by Tadeusz Szymański on information from Dov Paisikovic.<sup>16</sup>

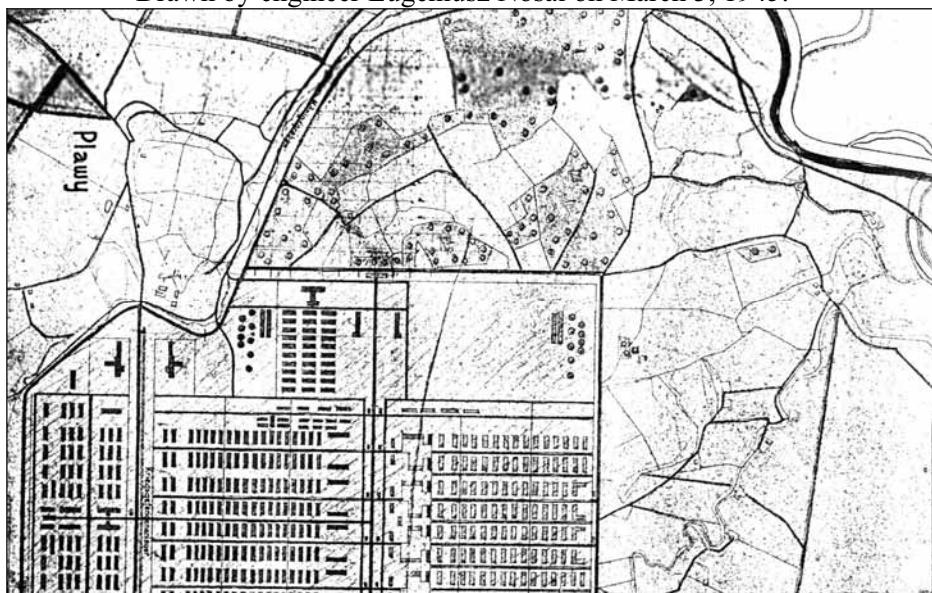


16. Sketch of area of "Bunker 5." Drawing by Tadeusz Szymański on information from Dov Paisikovic.<sup>16</sup>



17. “Map of location of chambers and pyres for cremation of corpses.”

Drawn by engineer Eugeniusz Nosal on March 3, 1945.<sup>17</sup>



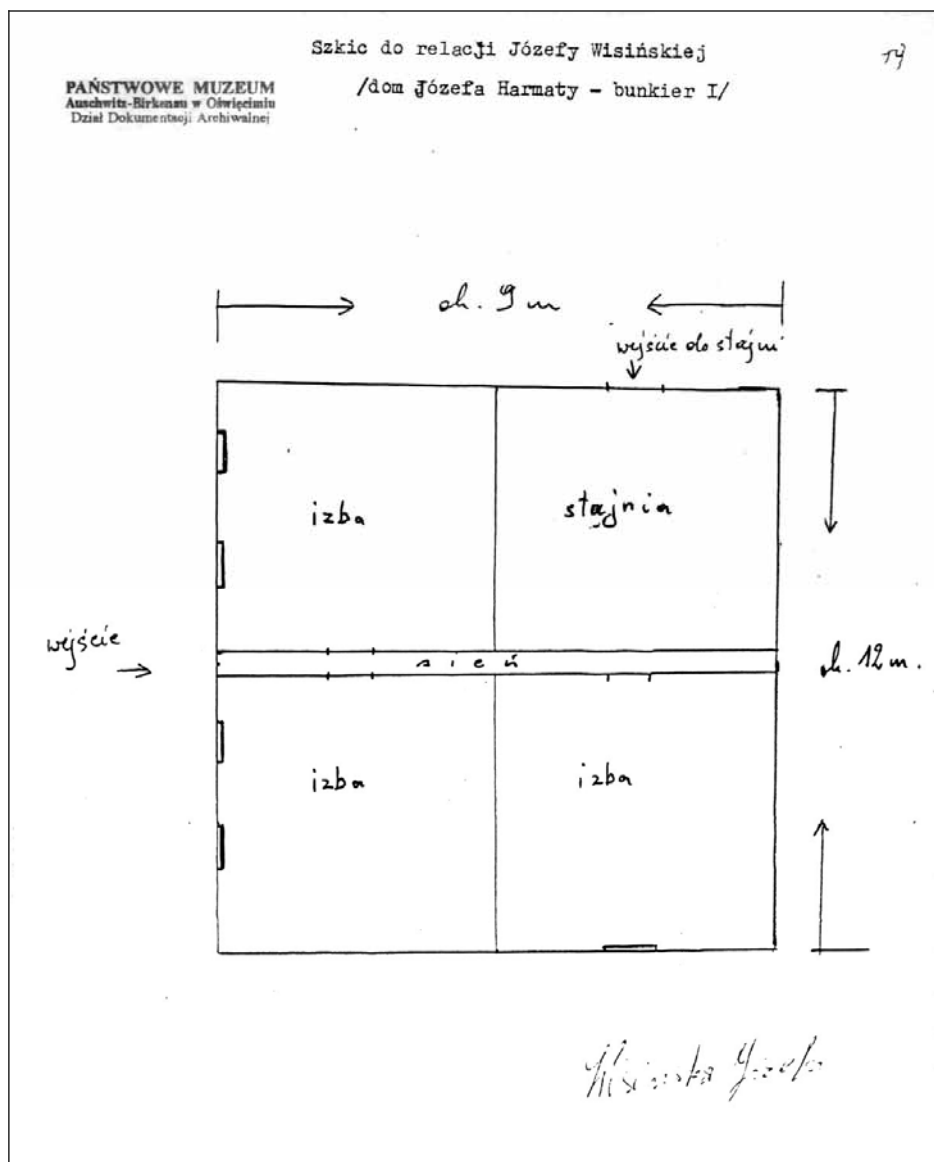
18. Map of area of interest, Plan no. 2501 of June 1943.<sup>18</sup>



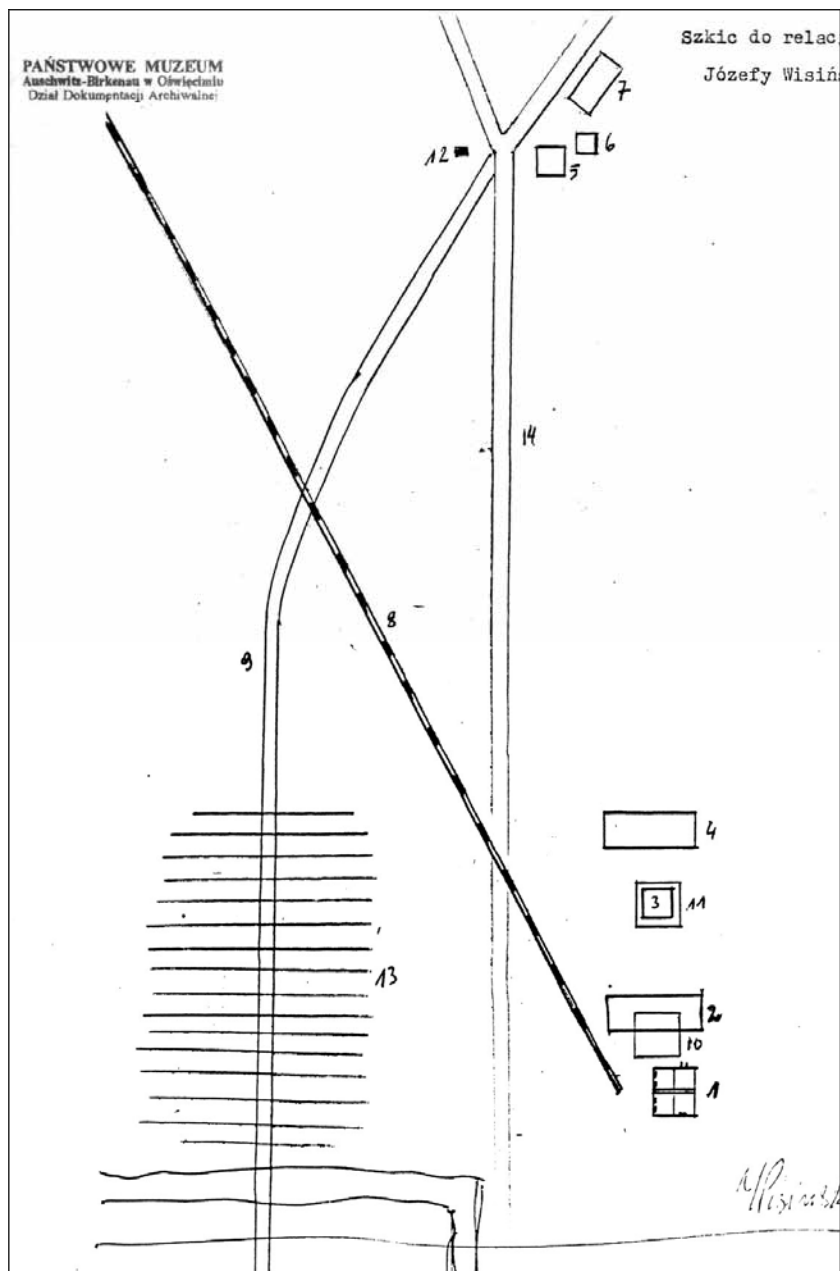
19. Camp area Kommandantur 1 and 2. Section enlargement of Plan no. 2503 of June 18, 1943.<sup>19</sup> ①: 'Bunker 1' acc. to Soviet version; ②: 'Bunker' 2 acc. to Soviet version; ③: 'Bunker 2' acc. to current version; ④: 'Bunker 1' acc. to current version.





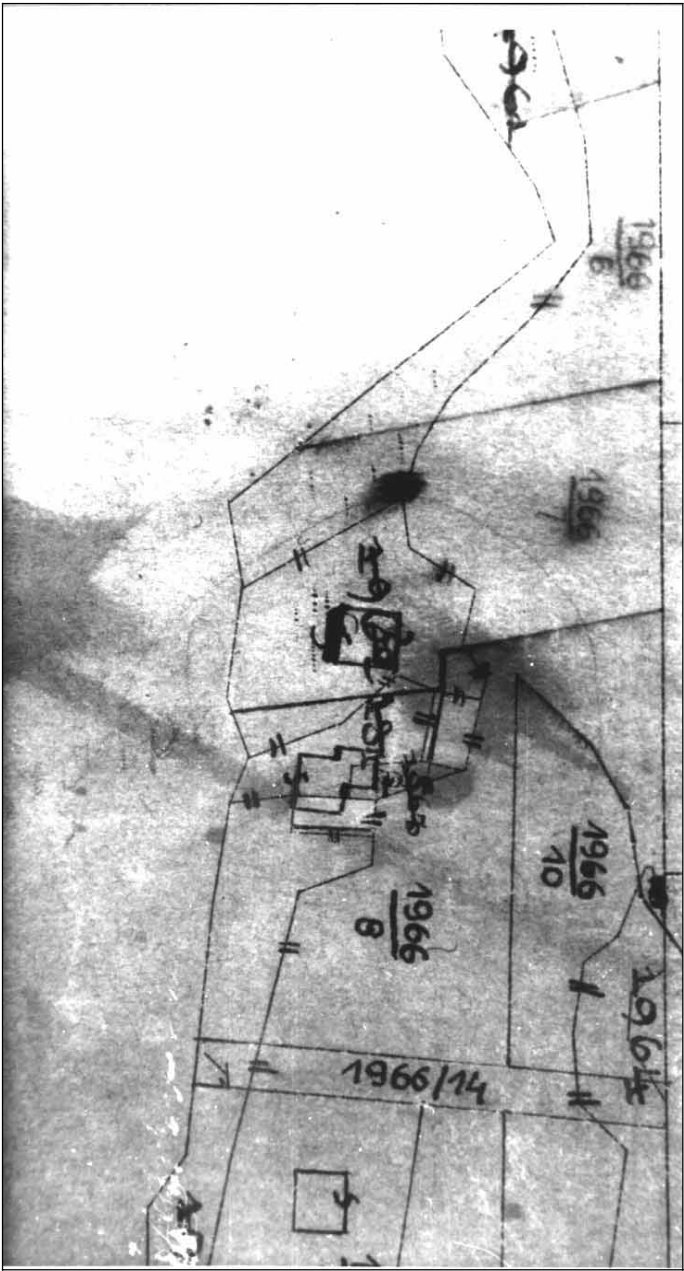


22. Sketch of house of Józef Harmata (the alleged 'Bunker 1'), annex to declaration of Józefa Wiśnińska of August 5, 1980.<sup>22</sup>



23. Location sketch of house of Józef Harmata (the alleged 'Bunker 1'), annex to declaration of Józefa Wiśnińska of August 5, 1980.<sup>23</sup>





24. Land-register map of alleged ‘Bunker 1.’<sup>24</sup>



25. Map of Birkenau area, February 4, 1942.<sup>25</sup>



## Document Sources

- <sup>1</sup> D. Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945*. Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1989, op. cit., p. 27.
- <sup>2</sup> Plan Nr. 2215 of March 1943. Source. RGVA, 502-2-94, p. 2.
- <sup>3</sup> RGVA, 502-2-95, pp. 22–25.
- <sup>4</sup> Recorded in drawing register under no. 18125/7.44. RGVA, 502-2-50, p. 83.
- <sup>5</sup> D. Dwork, R. J. van Pelt, *Auschwitz 1270 to the present*. W.W. Norton & Company. New York- London, 1996, p. 305.
- <sup>6</sup> RGVA, 502-1-220, p. 27.
- <sup>7</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, page number illegible.
- <sup>8</sup> RGVA, 502-2-93, p. 14.
- <sup>9</sup> RGVA, 502-1-93, p. 1.
- <sup>10</sup> RGVA, 502-2-94, p. 2.
- <sup>11</sup> AGK, NTN, 155, pp. 299.
- <sup>12</sup> Höß trial, vol. 11, p. 115.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117.
- <sup>15</sup> S. Klarsfeld (ed.), *D. Olère. A painter in the Sonderkommando at Auschwitz*, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989, p. 34.
- <sup>16</sup> APMO, Zespół Oświadczenia, vol. 44, p. 111.
- <sup>17</sup> GARF, 7021-108-25, p. 11.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.
- <sup>19</sup> GARF, 7021-108-36, p. 29a.
- <sup>20</sup> GARF, 7021-108-25, p. 12.
- <sup>21</sup> AGK, NTN, 93, p. 2.
- <sup>22</sup> APMO, Oświadczenia, vol. 113, p. 79.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 80.
- <sup>24</sup> APMO, negative n. 21416/7.
- <sup>25</sup> APMO, negativ n. 21135/5.
- <sup>26</sup> APMO, Zespół Central Construction Office, BW 2/5/53 AuII.

## 11.2. Photographs



1. Birkenau, BW 5b, round openings for placement of ventilators in the outside wall of the gas disinfestation chamber. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



2. Birkenau, BW 5b. One of the two round openings for placement of ventilators in the outside wall of the gas disinfestation chamber. Above the sheet metal tube one can see, attached to it by means of a hinge, a metal plate to which the lid of the tube was welded. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



3. Auschwitz, Block 3. Round opening covered by a metal lid, which housed the ventilator for the gas disinfestation chamber located on the second floor of the Block. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



4. The ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' seen from the east. In the background a portion of the central sauna building is visible. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



5. The ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' seen from the west. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.

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6. The ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' seen from the northwest. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



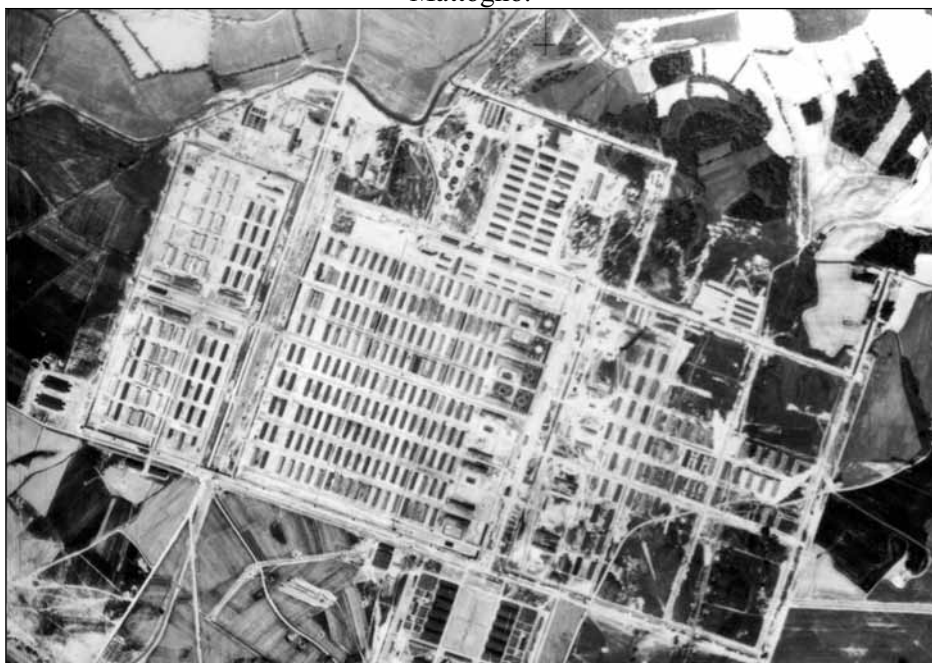
7. The ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' seen from the southwest. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.

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8. The ruins of the alleged 'Bunker 2' seen from the east. July 1992, © Carlo Mattogno.



9. Aerial view of the Birkenau camp, May 31, 1944. Source: National Archives, Washington D.C., mission 60 PRS/462 60 SQ, Exposure 3056.



9a. Enlargement of photograph of May 31, 1944.



9b. Enlargement of photograph of May 31, 1944, pentagonal area of 'Bunker 2.'



10. Aerial view of Birkenau camp, November 29, 1944.  
Source: National Archives, Washington D.C., mission  
15 SG/887, Exposure 4058.



10a. Enlargement of aerial view of November 29, 1944, area of 'Bunker 2.'

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11. Aerial view of Birkenau camp, February 19, 1945. Source: National Archives, Washington D.C., GX 12337/145.



11a: Detail enlargement



12. Rectangular basin filled with water in the area of 'Bunker 2,' 1954. Source: KL Auschwitz. Fotografije dokumentalne. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnictwa, Warsaw 1980, p. 167.



13. Area of 'Bunker 2.' Depression of about 8 by 7 meters located some 34 meters to the east of the ruins of 'Bunker 2.'



14. Area of 'Bunker 2.' Depression of about 25 by 5 meters located at some 69 meters to the east of ruins of 'Bunker 2.'



15. Aerial view of the Birkenau camp, May 31, 1944, area of mass graves. Crematorium V is on the left, the settling ponds are at the bottom. Source: cf. photograph 9.

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16. Ruins of 'Bunker 2.' Commemorative plaque for Edith Stein.



17. Ruins of 'Bunker 2.' Commemorative plaque for Edith Stein.



### 11.3. Abbreviations

- AGK** *Archiwum Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* (Archive of the Central Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes against the Polish People – National Monument), Warsaw
- APMO** *Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum Oświęcim-Brzezinka* (Archive of the National Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau), Oświęcim
- GARF** *Gosudarstvenni Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii* (State Archive of the Russian Federation), Moscow
- NA** National Archives, Washington D.C.
- PRO** *Public Record Office*, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, Great Britain
- RGVA** *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennii Vojennii Archiv* (Russian State War Archive), Moscow
- ROD** *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (National Institute for War Documentation), Amsterdam
- VffG** *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*
- VHA** *Vojenský Historický Archiv* (Archive of War History), Prague
- ZStL** *Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen* (German Central Office of State Justice Departments), Ludwigsburg



## 11.4. Tables

TABLE 1: LIST OF CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS (AND *BAUWERKE*) SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL TO THE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR FOR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IN MILITARY DISTRICT VIII, MARCH 17, 1942<sup>641</sup>

- 
- A.) [... approved]
- 1.) *Adding stories to 6 old detainee accommodations*
  - 2.) *5 new detainee accommodations*
  - 3.) *Laundry and admissions building (entrance) with delousing unit and bath for detainees*
  - 4.) *Kommandantur and housing for Kommandantur*
  - 5.) *Water supply (1<sup>st</sup> section)*
  - 6.) *Electrical installations, external (1<sup>st</sup> section)*
  - 7.) *Utility buildings*
  - 8.) *Sewage (Main effluent collector, rain water sewer, and sewage treatment plant with bio-gas recovery)*
- B.) [...] (included in list for G.B.-Bau)
- 1.) *10 detainee accommodations and 5 detainee workshops*
  - 2.) *Entrance building*
  - 3.) *Crematorium*
  - 4.) *Temporary bridge across Sola river*
  - 5.) *12 troop barracks and 8 washing and toilet barracks for guard unit*
  - 6.) *4 troop barracks for Kommandantur*
  - 7.) *4 officer housing barracks*
  - 8.) *SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"*
  - 9.) *1 barrack for construction office, 1 housing and utility barrack with garage for Bauleitung*
  - 10.) *Barrack for detainee mess hall*
  - 11.) *Barrack for detainee workshop*
  - 12.) *1 utility barrack, 1 washing barrack, 1 toilet barrack for civilian workers' camp*
  - 13.) *1 utility barrack for guard unit*
  - 14.) *Enlargement of motor pool hall and workshop*
  - 15.) *Building materials store and local workshops*
  - 16.) *Water supply and sewage*
  - 17.) *Pump house*
  - 18.) *Security installations (camp wall and 5 watchtowers)*
  - 19.) *Transformer substation*
  - 20.) *Roads*
  - 21.) *Repair of existing houses*
  - 22.) *4 storage halls for potatoes*
  - 23.) *4 field barns and 12 shelters for grazing animals*
  - 24.) *Duck breeding, coops*
- C.) *POW camp of Waffen-SS under OX and OY.*<sup>[642]</sup>
- a.) *Work up to 6 February 1942 (quarantine camp)*
- 

<sup>641</sup> RGVA, 502-1-319, pp. 202-206.

<sup>642</sup> These symbols were the designations of the priority lists established by G.B.-Bau.

- 1.) 30 prisoner housing barracks (brick)
- 2.) 2 utility barracks
- 3.) 2 delousing barracks
- 4.) 10 washing and toilet barracks
- 5.) 1 barrack for corpses
- 6.) Entrance building
- 7.) Warehouse
- 8.) 11 watchtowers (wood)
- b.) Work after 6 February 1942
  - 1.) 252 prisoner housing barracks
  - 2.) 18 utility barracks
  - 3.) 18 barracks for provisions
  - 4.) 36 washing and toilet barracks
  - 5.) 4 barracks, infirmary
  - 6.) 10 barracks for corpses
  - 7.) Kommandantur building
  - 8.) Guard building
  - 9.) Barracks for guard unit
  - 10.) 27 watchtowers (wood)
  - 11.) Crematorium
  - 12.) Bakery for HWL<sup>[643]</sup>
  - 13.) Water supply plant
  - 14.) Sewers and sewage treatment plant
  - 15.) Access road includ. parking area
  - 16.) Road surfacing in POW camp including roll call areas
  - 17.) RR siding from Auschwitz station
  - 18.) Wire mesh fences for camp sections
  - 19.) Wire mesh fences for camp sections
  - 20.) Power plant
  - 21.) Alarm and telephone system
- D. Special permit for:
- I. Agricultural buildings
  - a.) permanent
    - 1.) 2 cattle-sheds for a total of 400 head of cattle
    - 2.) Finishing of temporary stock-yard, installation of refrigeration rooms
    - 3.) Dairy, temp.
    - 4.) 2 farms
    - 5.) Finishing of shell at Raisko for laboratory
  - b.) temporary
    - 1.) 1 greenhouse at Raisko
    - 2.) 35 horse stable barracks
    - 3.) 3 field barns and 4 farm barns
    - 4.) SS dormitory "Praga" and temporary riding hall
    - 5.) Finishing of house for head of Auschwitz agricultural units
- II. Other
  - 1.) 4 housing barracks for civilian workers' camp
  - 2.) 1 toilet and 1 washing barrack for civilian workers' camp
  - 3.) 1 mess hall barrack
  - 4.) Installation of two saunas
- E. Special permit for Bauwerke of Waffen-SS HWL

<sup>643</sup> Bauvorhaben Hauptwirtschaftslager der Waffen-SS.

- 1.) 2 office and storage barracks  
 2.) Potato bunker

TABLE 2: LIST OF *BAUWERKE* OF CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CC AUSCHWITZ,  
 MARCH 31, 1942<sup>644</sup>

Buildings added later by hand are in italics

BW	Designation
1	Construction Office costs
2	Purchase of land, opening up of lots
3	K.L. women
4	Detainee infirmary building
5	Detainee cell building
6	Main guard hall
7A	Detainee housing building
7B	Block leader barrack
8	Watchtowers
9	Sewers
11	Crematorium
11a	<i>New chimney for crematorium KL</i>
12	Building for detainee goods storage
13	Kommandantur building
14	Infirmary and mess hall building
17A	Troop building 1
17B	Troop building 2
17C	4 troop housing barracks
17D	13 troop housing barracks
18	Automobile garage
19	Detainee workshops
20A	Detainee housing building 1
20B	Detainee housing building 2
20C	Detainee housing building 3
20D	Detainee housing building 4
20E	Detainee housing building 5
20F	Detainee housing building 6
20G	Detainee housing building 7
20H	Detainee housing building 8
20J	Detainee housing building 9
20K	Detainee housing building 10
20L	Detainee housing building 11
20M	Detainee housing building 12
20N	Detainee housing building 13
20O	Detainee housing building 14
20P	Detainee housing building 15
20Q	Detainee housing building 16
20R	Detainee housing building 17
21	Roads
23A	<i>Garage for workshops</i>
23B	Emergency power unit

<sup>644</sup> “Aufteilung der Bauwerke (BW) für die Bauten, Aussen- und Nebenanlagen des Bauvorhabens Konzentrationslager Auschwitz O/S,” March 31, 1942. RGVA, 502-I-267, pp. 3-13.

BW	Designation
24	Commandant housing
26A	Field barn
26B	3 field barns
27	Housing for married NCOs
27A	<i>Houses no. 27</i>
28	Admission barrack with delousing
29	Water supply installation
29A	<i>Erection of new water tower</i>
29B	<i>Water lines and water treatment</i>
30A	Automobile workshop
30B	Filling station
31	Utility building for Kommandantur
32A	Housing barrack for civilian workers
32B	Housing barrack for civilian workers
32C	6 barracks for civilian workers <i>and 4 toilet barracks</i>
32D	1 mess hall barrack for civilian workers
32E	1 utility barrack for civilian workers
32F	2 washing barracks for civilian workers
32G	2 toilet barracks for civilian workers
32H	Civilian workers' camp for Italians
33A	Stables
33B	Slaughterhouse and dairy
33Ba	<i>Horse stable barrack for animals to be slaughtered</i>
33C	Temp. greenhouse Raisko
34	Swimming pool
35	School with kindergarten
36A	Officers' club
36B	Housing for married officers
36C	Completion house for head of Auschwitz agricultural units
36D	4 officers' housing barracks
37A	Bauleitung barrack (old)
37B	Bauleitung barrack (new)
37C	Bauleitung housing and utility barrack
37D	Garage (collapsible) for Bauleitung
37E	<i>Bauleitung barrack 3</i>
38	Garage (collapsible) for Kommandantur
38A	<i>Central garage yard</i>
39	SS housing, temp.
40	SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus" incl. ancillary units
40A	<i>Installation of general quarters</i>
41	Enclosure for detainee camp
42	Detainee kitchen barrack <i>Temp. laundry</i>
43	Detainee mess hall barrack
44	Sports ground
45	Shooting range
46	Freight holding
49	Electrical installations, external
50	Construction yard (existing)
51	<i>Horse stables</i>
54	Gardening
55	2 housing and work barracks

BW	Designation
56	3 housing barracks for work details
57	2 R.A.D. lodging houses (RAD = Reichsarbeitsdienst, compulsory work service)
58	5 horse stable barracks 4 in Birkenau (Sonderbehandlung) [special treatment] 1 in Budy
59	12 barracks for detainee goods
60	Temp. security workshop barracks (detainee electricians) 2 <i>barracks for detainee electricians</i>
61A	Emergency workshops (barracks)
61B	Carpentry workshop
61C	7 sheds for building materials
63	4 farm barns
64	Greenhouse Raisko
65A	Duck breeding coop
65B	21 chicken breeding coops
65C	8 chicken breeding coops for 100 birds ea.
65D	16 chicken breeding coops for 50 birds ea.
65E	18 cattle-breeding sheds
66	4 potato storage sheds
67	Riding hall and stables at "Praga" incl. SS dormitory
68A	<i>Hygien. Laboratory</i>
68B	Raisko laboratory. Finishing of a building shell at Raisko
69	<i>Colt yard</i>
70	12 Shelters for grazing animals
71	ca. 35 horse stable barracks
71A	<i>Foaling shed</i>
71B	Babitz utility yard
72	2 cattle sheds
73A	Farm
73B	Farm
74	15 horse stable barracks
75	5 washing barracks
76	Grass drying plant
77	Housing for dog detail
78	Steaming plant for pig feeding unit
79	Soil improvement within area of interest (agric.)
80	Pigsties in Budy
81	Stables for veterinary examinations
82	Admission lock for civilian workers
83	House 184 for sanitary purposes <i>for the military</i>
84	Cisterns in grounds of KL
85	<i>House no. 154 (Post Office II)</i>
86	<i>Interrogation barrack for Political Department (near crematorium)</i>
87	<i>Barrack II for Political Department (near crema.)</i>
88	<i>New housing units (2) at Raisko</i>
89	<i>Barrack for detainees III<sup>a</sup></i>
90	<i>2 barracks for agriculture (special production)</i>
92	<i>Luftwaffe barrack for Political Department near crematorium</i>
93	<i>Special barrack B for K.L.</i>
94	<i>2 barracks for OKH [Oberkommando des Heeres = Supreme Command, Army] 290/6 (schooling)</i>
95	<i>5 potato storage sheds</i>

<b>BW</b>	<b>Designation</b>
96	<i>1 cabbage silo</i>
100	Detainee housing building 18
101	Detainee housing building 19
102	Detainee housing building 20
103	Detainee housing building 21
104	Detainee housing building 22
105	Detainee housing building 23
106	Detainee housing building 24
107	Detainee housing building 25
108	Detainee housing building
109	Detainee housing building
110	Detainee housing building
111	Detainee housing building
112	Detainee housing building
113	Detainee housing building
114	Detainee housing building
115	Detainee housing building
116	Detainee housing building 26
117	Detainee housing building 27
118	Detainee housing building 28
119	Detainee housing building 29
120	Detainee housing building 30
121	Detainee housing building
122	Detainee housing building
123	Detainee housing building
124	Detainee housing building
125	Detainee housing building 31
126	Detainee housing building 32
127	Detainee housing building 33
128	Detainee housing building 34
129	Detainee housing building 35
130	Detainee housing building
131	Detainee housing building
132	Detainee housing building
133	Detainee housing building
134	Detainee housing building 36
135	Detainee housing building 37
136	Detainee housing building 38
137	Detainee housing building 39
138	Detainee housing building 40
139	Detainee housing building
140	Detainee housing building
141	Detainee housing building
142	Detainee housing building
143	Detainee housing building
144	Detainee housing building
145	Detainee housing building
146	Detainee housing building
147	Detainee housing building
148	Detainee housing building
149	Detainee housing building

<b>BW</b>	<b>Designation</b>
150	Detainee housing building
151	Detainee housing building
152	Detainee housing building
153	Detainee housing building
154	Detainee housing building
155	Detainee housing building
156	Detainee housing building
157A	Detainee security workshop building 1
157B	Detainee security workshop building 2
157C	Detainee security workshop building 3
157D	Detainee security workshop building 4
157E	Detainee security workshop building 5
158	Entrance building with tower
160	Laundry and admissions building with delousing unit and bath for detainees
160a	<i>Short-wave delousing unit</i>
161	Temp. central heating plant
162	<i>Utility building for detainees</i>
166	<i>Completion of 60 houses for bombed-out SS members within area of interest</i>
172	Utility barrack
173	Kommandantur and Kommandantur housing building
174	Kommandantur guard building
200	5 watchtowers, permanent
201	Main [sewage] collector
202	Alarm installation
203	Lightning protection
204	Telephone system
205	PA unit
206	Fire protection plant
207	<i>2 Sauna units</i>
207a	1 Sauna unit for agriculture at Raisko
208	Railroad siding
209	Temporary bridge across Sola river
209a	<i>Access road to Sola bridge</i>
210	Enclosures
211	Substation
212	Hauptinsgemein [unclear]

TABLE 3: EXPLANATORY REPORT ON THE BUILDING PROJECT  
CC AUSCHWITZ O/S, JULY 15, 1942<sup>645</sup>

I. Temporary makeshift items [sic] (buildings and outside installations)

a) Buildings

1. BW 4 Detainee infirmary building
2. BW 5 Detainee cell building
3. BW 12 Detainee goods storage building
4. BW 13 Kommandantur building
5. BW 17A Troop building 1
6. BW 17B Troop building 2
7. BW 14 SS infirmary and mess hall building

<sup>645</sup> RGVA, 502-1-220, pp. 1-19.

8. BW 36A Officers' club
9. BW 27 Housing for married NCOs
10. BW 36B Housing for married officers and officer housing
11. BW 11 Crematorium

b) Outside installations

12. BW 67 SS dormitory, riding-hall and animal sheds in the former Praga works at Birkenau
13. BW 39 SS housing, outside camp perimeter
14. BW 23A Substation
15. BW 21 Roads
16. BW 29 Water supply installation
17. BW 49 Power lines
18. BW 44 Sport fields
19. BW 45 Shooting range
20. BW 54 Gardens

II. Temporary work (buildings and outside installations)

a) Buildings

21. BW 7B Block leader barrack
22. BW 24 Commandant's house
23. BW 36C Completion of an existing building shell
24. BW 40 SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"
25. BW 33B Slaughter-house enlargement
26. BW 18 Extension of Kommandantur garage
27. BW 30B Filling station for Kommandantur
28. BW 28 Admission barrack with delousing and 4 goods storage barracks
29. BW 42 Extension of detainee kitchen
30. BW 17C 4 troop barracks for Kommandantur
31. BW 17D/1 Staff and troop barrack
32. BW 17D/2-13 12 troop barracks, 4 washing barracks, 4 toilet barracks for guard unit
33. BW 36D 4 officers' housing barracks
34. BW 43 Detainee mess hall barrack
35. BW 172 Utility barrack for guard unit
36. BW 59 12 barracks for storage of detainee goods, etc.
37. BW 60 2 barracks for housing of detainee electricians. et al.
38. BW 38 Vehicle and equipment hall
39. BW 3 Second women's camp

b) Outside installations

40. BW 8 8 watchtowers
41. BW 52 2 living and working barracks
42. BW 56 3 housing barracks for work detail
43. BW 57 2 RAD houses
44. BW 58 5 barracks for special treatment of detainees
45. BW 77 Housing for dog team details
46. BW 161 Central heating plant
47. BW 209 Temporary bridge across Sola [river]

III. Completed structures

a) Buildings

48. BW 7A Detainee housing building 41
49. BW 20A Detainee housing building 1
50. BW 20B Detainee housing building 2
51. BW 20C Detainee housing building 3



52. BW 20D Detainee housing building 4
53. BW 20E Detainee housing building 5
54. BW 20F Detainee housing building 6
55. BW 20G Detainee housing building 7
56. BW 20H Detainee housing building 8
57. BW 20J Detainee housing building 9
58. BW 20K Detainee housing building 10
59. BW 20L Detainee housing building 11
60. BW 20M Detainee housing building 12
61. BW 20N Detainee housing building 13
62. BW 20O Detainee housing building 14
63. BW 20P Detainee housing building 15
64. BW 20Q Detainee housing building 16
65. BW 20R Detainee housing building 17
66. BW 100 Detainee housing building 18
67. BW 101 Detainee housing building 19
68. BW 102 Detainee housing building 20
69. BW 103 Detainee housing building 21
70. BW 104 Detainee housing building 22
71. BW 105 Detainee housing building 23
72. BW 106 Detainee housing building 24
73. BW 107 Detainee housing building 25
74. BW 116 Detainee housing building 26
75. BW 117 Detainee housing building 27
76. BW 118 Detainee housing building 28
77. BW 119 Detainee housing building 29
78. BW 120 Detainee housing building 30
79. BW 125 Detainee housing building 31
80. BW 126 Detainee housing building 32
81. BW 127 Detainee housing building 33
82. BW 128 Detainee housing building 34
83. BW 129 Detainee housing building 35
84. BW 134 Detainee housing building 36
85. BW 135 Detainee housing building 37
86. BW 136 Detainee housing building 38
87. BW 137 Detainee housing building 39
88. BW 138 Detainee housing building 40
89. BW 157A Detainee security workshop building 1
90. BW 157B Detainee security workshop building 2
91. BW 157C Detainee security workshop building 3
92. BW 157D Detainee security workshop building 4
93. BW 157E Detainee security workshop building 5
94. BW 158 Detainee camp entrance building
95. BW 160 Laundry and admissions building with delousing unit and detainee bath
96. BW 173 Kommandantur building and Kommandantur housing building
97. BW 31 Utility building for Kommandantur
- b) Outside installations
  98. BW 9 Sewers
  99. BW 21 Roads
  100. BW 23B Building for emergency power plant
  101. BW 29 Water supply installation
  102. BW 41 Detainee camp enclosure

103. BW 49 Electrical connections
104. BW 200 5 watchtowers
105. BW 201 Main sewer with treatment plant
106. BW 202 Alarm installation
107. BW 203 Lightning protection
108. BW 204 Telephone system
109. BW 205 PA system
110. BW 206 Fire protection plant
111. BW 207 2 sauna units
112. BW 210 Enclosures
113. BW 211 Substation

TABLE 4: *BAUWERKE* AS LISTED IN THE CONSTRUCTION REPORT  
ON THE PROGRESS OF CONSTRUCTION WORK  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CC AUSCHWITZ, DATED APRIL 15, 1942<sup>646</sup>  
Covering the period up to April 1, 1942 and containing the description of 66 *Bauwerke*

#	No.	DESIGNATION OF BW	Progress
1	18	Automobile halls and extension	90%
2	30A	Automobile workshop	100%
3	30B	Filling station	100%
4	11	Crematorium	100%
5	19	Detainee workshops	80%
6	28	Admission barrack with delousing	60%
7	160	Laundry and admission building with delousing unit and bath for detainees	7%
8	23A	Garage extension and transformer	80%
9	50	Building yard	80%
10	17A	Troop building 1	100%
11	17B	Troop building 2	100%
12	39	SS housing outside of camp perimeter	100%
13	40	SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"	75%
14	7A	Block leader barrack	100%
15	17C	4 troop housing barracks	
		Barrack 1:	100%
		Barrack 2:	100%
		Barrack 3:	75%
		Barrack 4:	60%
16	17B	Troop barrack for guard unit	100%
17	36A	Officers' club	95%
18	36B	Officers' housing and housing for married officers	60%
19	36D	Officers' housing barrack 1:	15%
20	27	Housing for married NCOs	60%
21	24	Commandant's housing (attic)	30%
22	20A,B,D, E,F,G,R FF,G,R	7 detainee housing buildings	100%

<sup>646</sup> "Baubericht über den Stand der Bauarbeiten für das Bauvorhaben Konzentrationslager Auschwitz," RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 318-342.

#	No.	DESIGNATION OF BW	Progress
23	20C,H,I, K,L,M,N, O,P,Q	10 Detainee housing buildings	100%
24	100	Detainee housing building 18	100%
25	101	Detainee housing building 19	100%
26	102	Detainee housing building 20	100%
27	103	Detainee housing building 21	100%
28	104	Detainee housing building 22	75%
29	105	Detainee housing building 23	45%
30	106	Detainee housing building 24	35%
31	107	Detainee housing building 25	70%
32		Temporary goods storage barrack in women's branch camp	100%
33		Temp. barrack for laundry and delousing in women's branch camp	100%
34	13	Kommandantur building	100%
35	7B	Block leader barrack	100%
36	37A	Construction Office barrack	100%
37	14	SS infirmary and mess hall building	100%
38		4 detainee infirmary buildings	100%
39		5 detainee cell buildings	100%
40	12	Building for detainee goods storage	100%
41	42	Detainee kitchen	100%
42	6	Main guard hall	100%
43	172	Utility barrack for guard unit	95%
44	43	Detainee mess hall building	100%
45	32A	Housing barrack for civilian workers	100%
46	32B	Housing barrack for civilian workers	80%
47	32D	Utility barrack for civilian workers' camp	80%
48	44	Sports ground	60%
49	34	Swimming facility on Sola river	60%
50	21	Roads inside camp	45%
51	54	Gardening	50%
52	9	Sewers	55%
53	29	Water supply installation	35%
54	23A	Transformer substation	100%
55	49	Electrical installations, external	45%
56	41	Enclosure for detainee camp	30%
57	8	Watchtowers (wood)	60%
58	37	School with kindergarten	100%
59	33A	Stables and ancillaries	40%
60	33B	Slaughterhouse with dairy	100%
61	33C	Greenhouse for gardening at Raisko	60%
62	64	Large greenhouse at Raisko	10%
63	65A	Duck breeding coop at Harmense	60%
64	67	SS dormitory, stables and riding hall at "Praga"	100%
65	71	35 horse stable barracks	10%
66	201	Main sewer with treatment plant and bio-gas recovery unit	5%

TABLE 5: *BAUWERKE* LISTED IN CONSTRUCTION REPORT OF MARCH 1942<sup>647</sup>  
describing the construction activity of various sites

I. Building department

a) Detainee camp

- Detainee housing, new (Block 7)
- Detainee housing, new (Block 15)
- Detainee housing, new (Block 18)
- Detainee housing, new (Block 17)
- Detainee housing, new (Block 16)
- Temporary detainee kitchen
- Fences
- Laundry and admissions building and bath for detainees
- Detainee mess hall
- Temporary goods storage barrack in FKL [women's' concentration camp)
- Temporary laundry with delousing in FKL
- Detainee housing, new, for extension of detainee camp

b) Other structures

- Utility barrack for troops
- Temporary delousing barrack with admissions
- Troop housing barracks for Kommandantur
- Bauleitung garages, addition, in construction yard
- Staff building
- Garages for Kommandantur
- Housing for civilian workers
- Officer and NCO housing
- Modification "Deutsches Haus"
- Poultry breeding at Harmense
- Temporary stables at Bor-Budy
- Temporary gardening facility with greenhouse for agriculture at Raisko
- Large greenhouse at Raisko
- Construction Office barrack
- Officer housing barrack
- Construction yard

c) POW camp

*"A further 4 barracks for the quarantine camp were finished, bricklaying, carpentry and roof work is continuing on the remaining 17 barracks. One utility barrack is ready for service, the others are under cover, furthermore the 2 delousing barracks are ready as a shell or nearly so, the corpse barrack has meanwhile been erected and covered. The washing and entrance building with watchtower is ready as a shell, covered, and internals are proceeding at present. In the quarantine camp 6 collapsible barracks (horse stable type) for housing of POWs have moreover been erected, internals are proceeding. The fence with wire obstacle is nearly finished. For section II, 5 of the above barracks have been erected. Works on the future camp road have been taken up again. Earth works for the future sewage treatment plant at POW camp have been terminated and brick-works have been prepared."*

- Bakery for HWL [Main Industrial Camp]

II. Civil engineering

- Roads
- Water supply

<sup>647</sup> "Baubericht für Monat März 1942," written by Bischoff on April 3, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 380-386.

- Surveying (field work)
- Sewage
- Gardening

### III. Workshops

- Wood working, metal working, carpentry work
- Painting, glazing
- Workshops for concrete

TABLE 6: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF MARCH 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CC AUSCHWITZ<sup>648</sup>

#	No.	Designation of BW	Starting date <sup>649</sup>	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	18	Garage hall extension	5/1/42	45%	30/4/42
2	30B	Filling station	20/8/41	100%	31/1/42
3	11	Crematorium extension	16/1/41	100%	31/3/42
4	19	Workshop extension	1/7/40	80%	30/9/42
5	28	Admission barrack with delousing	15/2/42	60%	30/4/42
6	160	Laundry and admissions building with delousing and detainee bath	12/10/41	7%	30/11/42
7	23A	Garage extension near transformer at construction depot	10/12/41	80%	15/5/42
8	50	Construction depot	1/7/40	80%	30/9/42
9	40	SS housing “Deutsches Haus”	2/2/42	75%	15/7/42
10	17C	Troop barrack 1	10/11/41	100%	28/2/42
11		Troop barrack 2	10/11/41	100%	31/3/42
12		Troop barrack 3	10/11/41	75%	30/4/42
13		Troop barrack 4	10/11/41	60%	30/4/42
14	17D	Troop barrack (staff barrack)	5/1/42	100%	31/3/42
15	36A	Officers’ club	15/5/41	95%	30/4/42
16	36B	Officers’ housing and housing for married NCOs	10/7/41	60%	30/9/42
17	36D	Officers’ housing barrack 1	16/11/41	15%	30/6/42
18	27	Living quarters for married NCOs	1/7/40	60%	30/9/42
19	24	Modification commandant’s residence	5/1/42	30%	31/5/42
20	100	Detainee housing 18	1/5/41	100%	31/3/42
21	101	Detainee housing 19	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
22	102	Detainee housing 20	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
23	103	Detainee housing 21	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
24	104	Detainee housing 22	15/8/41	75%	30/6/42
25	105	Detainee housing 23	10/9/41	45%	30/6/42
26	106	Detainee housing 24	10/10/41	35%	31/7/42
27	107	Detainee housing 25	1/8/41	70%	30/6/42
28	[3]	Women’s camp (temp. goods storage and temp. delousing and laundry)	2/3/42	100%	30/3/42
29	37A	Barrack for construction office	10/7/41	100%	30/1/42
30	42	Addition to detainee kitchen	6/9/41	100%	30/1/42
31	172	Utility barrack for troops	15/9/41	95%	20/4/42
32	43	Mess hall barrack for detainees	5/1/42	100%	31/3/42
33	32B	Housing for civilian workers	26/10/41	80%	30/4/42

<sup>648</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, pp. 11-13.

<sup>649</sup> All Dates given as d/m/yy

#	No.	Designation of BW	Starting date <sup>649</sup>	Progress	Est. compl. date
34	32D	Utility barrack for civilian workers' camp	26/10/41	80%	30/4/42
35	44	Sports ground	29/10/41	60%	30/9/42
36	21	Roads	1/6/40	45%	31/5/43
37	54	Gardening	1/4/41	50%	31/5/43
38	9	Sewers	1/6/40	55%	31/5/43
39	29	Water supply	1/6/40	35%	31/5/43
40	49	Electrical installations, external	1/6/40	45%	31/5/43
41	41	Detainee camp enclosure	1/6/40	30%	31/5/43
42	8	Temp. watchtowers	1/6/40	60%	31/5/43
43	35	School and kindergarten	10/6/41	100%	31/1/42
44	33A	Stable and ancillaries	1/6/40	40%	30/9/42
45	33B	Stockyard	6/12/40	100%	31/3/42
46	33C	Raisko garden center	23/2/42	60%	31/5/42
47	[64]	Large greenhouse at Raisko	23/2/42	10%	31/8/42
48	[65A]	Duck breeding coop at Harmense	16/2/42	60%	30/8/42
49	[71]	Horse stable barracks	20/3/42	10%	30/8/42
50	201	Main sewer with treatment plant and bio-gas recovery	5/11/41	5%	31/5/43

TABLE 7: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT  
POW CAMP OF THE WAFFEN-SS IN AUSCHWITZ O/S,  
DATED MAY 8, 1942, CONCERNING APRIL 1942<sup>650</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	2	Drainage	16/3/42	15%	30/9/42
2	3a	Housing barrack (brick) 12 pcs.	7/10/41	100%	10/12/41
3	3a	Housing barrack (brick) 12 pcs.	24/11/41	100%	20/3/42
4	3a	Housing barrack (brick) 8 pcs.	24/11/41	80%	31/5/42
5	3a	Housing barrack (brick) 1 pcs.	4/12/41	60%	15/6/42
6	3b	Housing barracks (horse stable type) 9 pcs.	12/3/42	70%	31/5/43
7	3a	Housing barracks (horse stable type) 9 pcs.	23/3/42	75%	15/6/42
8	4a	Utility barrack	10/11/41	100%	31/3/42
9	4a	Utility barrack	10/11/41	90%	31/5/42
10	5a	Delousing barrack	4/12/41	75%	20/5/42
11	5b	Delousing barrack	6/3/42	55%	30/5/42
12	6a	Washing barrack 5 pcs.	4/3/42	45%	15/6/42
13	7a	Toilet barrack 5 pcs.	4/3/42	45%	15/6/42
14	8a	Corpse barracks	5/1/41	100%	30/4/42
15	9	Quarantine camp entrance building	5/12/41	80%	30/6/42
16	13	Watchtowers	10/3/42	20%	31/7/42
17	16	Access road, etc.	7/10/41	60%	30/6/42
18	17	Road consolidation within camp	5/4/42	3%	30/9/42
19	18	Sewers and treatment plant	21/10/41	25%	30/9/42
20	19	Water supply plant	5/1/42	25%	30/9/42
21	20/21	Power plant and HT feeder	16/11/41	100%	15/3/42
22	24	Enclosure (electrical wiring)	8/10/41	30%	31/7/42
23	25	Fence for camp separation	1/12/41	15%	30/9/42

<sup>650</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 15.

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
24	26	Transformer substation	6/12/41	100%	15/3/42
25	31	Bakery	21/11/41	35%	15/8/42

TABLE 8: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF MAY 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CC AUSCHWITZ<sup>651</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	24	Modification commandant's residence	5/1/42	90%	31/5/42
2	36A	Officers' club	15/5/41	100%	30/4/42
3	27	Living quarters for married NCOs	1/7/40	75%	30/9/42
4	36B	Living quarters and housing for married officers	10/7/41	75%	30/9/42
5	40	SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"	2/2/42	95%	10/6/42
6	11	Crematorium extension	16/1/41	100%	31/3/42
7	23A	Garage extension near transformer	10/12/41	100%	31/5/42
8	44	Sports ground (existing)	29/10/41	60%	30/9/42
9	54	Gardening	1/4/41	60%	31/5/43
10	8	Watchtowers, temp.	1/6/40	65%	31/5/43
11	18	Garage extension for Kommandantur	5/1/42	100%	31/5/42
12	30B	Filling station	20/8/41	100%	31/1/42
13	28	Admissions barrack with delousing	15/2/42	100%	15/5/42
14	42	Extension of detainee kitchen	6/9/41	100%	30/1/42
15	17C	Troop barrack 1	10/11/41	100%	28/2/42
16	17C	Troop barrack 2	10/11/41	100%	31/3/42
17	17C	Troop barrack 3	10/11/41	100%	30/4/42
18	17C	Troop barrack 4	10/11/41	100%	20/5/42
19	17D	Troop barrack 1 (staff)	5/1/42	100%	31/3/42
20	36D	Officers' housing barrack 1	16/11/41	15%	31/7/42
21	43	Mess hall barrack for detainees	5/1/42	100%	31/3/42
22	172	Utility barrack for troop	15/9/41	100%	18/4/42
23	3	Women's camp (temp. goods storage barrack, temp. laundry and delousing, sanitary installations, fence)	2/3/42	90%	15/6/42
24	20L	Detainee housing 11 (Addl. story)	20/5/42	5%	30/9/42
25	20M	Detainee housing 12 (Addl. story)	20/5/42	5%	30/9/42
26	20O	Detainee housing 14 (Addl. story)	18/5/42	3%	30/9/42
27	20Q	Detainee housing 16 (Addl. story)	18/5/42	10%	30/9/42
28	100	Detainee housing 18	1/5/41	100%	31/3/42
29	101	Detainee housing 19	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
30	102	Detainee housing 20	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
31	103	Detainee housing 21	1/4/41	100%	30/1/42
32	104	Detainee housing 22	15/8/41	100%	18/4/42
33	105	Detainee housing 23	10/9/41	80%	30/6/42
34	106	Detainee housing 24	10/10/41	60%	31/7/42
35	107	Detainee housing 25	1/8/41	100%	30/5/42
36	134	Detainee housing 36	7/5/42	3%	30/11/42
37	135	Detainee housing 37	7/5/42	3%	30/11/42
38	136	Detainee housing 38	15/4/42	10%	30/11/42
39	137	Detainee housing 39	15/4/42	10%	30/11/42

<sup>651</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 22.

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
40	138	Detainee housing 40	15/4/42	10%	30/11/42
41	7A	Detainee housing (now temp. troop housing)	12/5/42	10%	30/11/42
42	160	Laundry and admissions building with delousing and detainee bath	12/10/41	8%	31/12/42
43	201	Main sewer with treatment plant and bio-gas recovery	5/11/41	10%	31/5/43
44	9	Sewers	1/6/40	55%	31/5/43
45	21	Roads	1/6/40	55%	31/5/43
46	29	Water supply plant	1/6/40	30%	31/5/43
47	49	Electrical installations, external	1/6/40	45%	31/5/43
48	41	Enclosure	1/6/40	30%	31/5/43

TABLE 9: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF MAY 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT AGRICULTURE<sup>652</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	33A	Stables and ancillaries	1/6/40	45%	30/9/42
2	33B	Stockyard extension	1/4/42	25%	31/8/42
3	33C	Raisko garden center	23/2/42	95%	30/6/42
4	64	Large greenhouse for Raisko	23/2/42	20%	31/8/42
5	71	Horse stable barracks for agriculture	20/3/42	65%	31/8/42
6	65A	Duck breeding Harmense	16/2/42	90%	15/6/42
7	65D	Chicken breeding Harmense	4/5/42	40%	31/8/42

TABLE 10: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF MAY 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CONSTRUCTION YARD<sup>653</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	19	Detainee workshop barracks	1/7/40	90%	30/9/42
2	30	Construction yard storage shed	1/7/40	90%	30/9/42
3	32B	Civilian workers' housing in existing buildings	26/10/41	100%	30/4/42
4	37A	Construction office barrack 1	10/7/41	100%	30/1/42
5	37B	Construction office barrack 2 with housing	1/4/42	60%	15/7/42
6	32D	Mess hall barrack for civilian workers	26/10/41	100%	30/4/42
7	71	Horse stable barracks for building materials	4/5/42	60%	31/7/42

TABLE 11: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF MAY 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT POW<sup>654</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	2	Drainage	16/3/42	15%	30/9/42
2	3a	9 pcs. housing barracks (brick)	7/10/41	100%	10/12/41
3	3a	12 pcs. housing barracks (brick)	24/11/41	100%	20/3/42
4	3a	9 pcs. housing barracks (brick)	24/11/41	90%	20/6/42

<sup>652</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 21.

<sup>653</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 20.

<sup>654</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 19.



#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
5	3b	12 housing barracks (horse stable type)	12/3/42	90%	15/6/42
6	3c	Housing barracks (horse stable type), 54 erected so far	23/3/42	80%	15/7/42
7	4a	Utility barrack 1	10/11/41	100%	31/3/42
8	4a	Utility barrack 2	10/11/41	95%	15/6/42
9	5a	Delousing barrack 1	4/12/41	95%	15/6/42
10	5b	Delousing barrack 2	6/3/42	70%	15/7/42
11	6a	Washing barracks 5 pcs.	4/3/42	75%	20/6/42
12	7a	Toilet barracks 5 pcs.	4/3/42	75%	20/6/42
13	8a	Corpse barrack	5/1/42	100%	30/4/42
14	9	Entrance building, quarantine camp	5/12/41	90%	30/6/42
15	13	Watchtowers	10/3/42	25%	31/7/42
16	16	Access roads	7/10/41	65%	30/6/42
17	17	Road consolidation within camp	5/4/42	15%	30/9/42
18	18	Sewers and treatment plant	21/10/41	35%	30/9/42
19	19	Water supply plant	5/1/42	35%	30/9/42
20	20/21	High voltage facility and HT feeder	16/11/41	100%	15/3/42
21	24	Enclosure, electrical wiring	8/11/41	35%	31/7/42
22	25	Fence for camp separation	1/12/41	20%	30/9/42
23	26	Transformer substation	6/12/41	100%	15/3/42
	31	Bakery	21/11/41	40%	15/8/42

TABLE 12: CONSTRUCTION REPORT FOR MAY 1942<sup>655</sup>

This report describes the construction activity (Baustellenbetrieb) up to the end of May 1942 of the following sites.

#### I. Building department

##### a) Detainee camp

- BW 104 Detainee housing building (New building VI – Block 18)
- BW 105 Detainee housing building (New building VII – Block 17)
- BW 106 Detainee housing building (New building VIII – Block 16)
- BW 107 Detainee housing building (New building V – Block 15)
- BW 20L Detainee housing building (Addl. story in F.K.L. Block 1)
- BW 20M Detainee housing building (Addl. story-Block 14)
- BW 20O Detainee housing building (Addl. story-Block 12)
- BW 20Q Detainee housing building (Addl. story-Block 23)
- BW 3 Temp. laundry in F.K.L.
- Existing buildings in F.K.L.

##### b) Detainee camp extension

- BW 7A Detainee housing building (now temp. troop housing)
- BW 135 Detainee housing building
- BW 136 Detainee housing building
- BW 137 Detainee housing building
- BW 138 Detainee housing building
- BW 160 Laundry and admissions building with delousing and detainee bath

##### c) Other buildings

- BW 28 Temp. admissions barrack with delousing
- BW 17 C/4 Troop barrack 4

<sup>655</sup> “*Baubericht für Monat Mai 1942*” written by Bischoff on June 2, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 258-265.

- 
- BW 24 Commandant's residence
  - BW 18 Garage extension for Kommandantur
  - BW 36B Officers' residences and housing
  - BW 172 Utility barrack
  - BW 40 Modification SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"
  - BW 11 Crematorium

d) Agriculture

- BW 65 A-B Duck and poultry breeding coops at Harmense
- BW 71 Stable yard for agriculture and Construction Office
- BW 33 B Extension of slaughter-house
- BW 33C Garden center with greenhouse for agriculture
- BW 64 Large greenhouse at Raisko

e) Construction yard

- BW 37B-C Construction office and housing
- BW 50 Construction depot
- BW23 A Extension of garage for Construction Office

f) POW camp

*"In the quarantine camp (1<sup>st</sup> section) 12 brick housing barracks have so far been put in service, in the other 18 barracks the interior work is nearly finished. Furthermore, 12 collapsible barracks (horse stable type) have been erected. To date 6 of these can be used; one is being arranged as an infirmary. Boilers have been installed in utility barrack 2, some more installation work has yet to be finished. The pump unit for the water supply has been installed in the first delousing barrack. The second delousing barrack is nearly under cover. The 10 washing and toilet barracks have been mounted and covered, installations etc. are being put in at present. Some more finishing work has to be done on the guard and entrance building.*

*For the second section, 54 collapsible barracks (horse stable type) have been erected so far, including some insulation. Works on the enclosure for this section are continuing. Work continues on the water supply plant and the treatment plant, as well as the earth works for the main effluent ditch. Drainage work on the quarantine camp has started. The road from the POW camp to Birkenau has been partly taken up and re-packed, this also goes for the road from the quarantine camp to camp 2; a number of roads in the quarantine camp have been packed, graveled and rolled."*

- BW 31 (KGL) Bakery for H.W.L. [Main Industrial Camp]

g) Main supply camp

- BW 7 (H.W.L.) Storage barrack

II. Civil engineering

- BW 21 Roads
- BW 29 Water supply plant
- BW 9 Sewers
- BW 201 Rain water and main effluent ditch with treatment plant and bio-gas recovery
- Surveying
- Landscaping

III. Workshops

- Wood-working, metal-working, carpentry
  - Painting, glazing
  - Concrete work
-

TABLE 13: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF JUNE 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CC AUSCHWITZ<sup>656</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	3	Women's' branch camp: temp. laundry, temp. goods storage barrack, delousing, sanitary installations	2/3/42	100%	15/6/42
2	7A	Detainee housing, presently temp. troop housing	12/5/42	25%	30/11/42
3	8	Temp. watchtowers (wood)	1/6/40	65%	31/5/43
4	9	Sewers	1/6/40	55%	31/5/43
5	11	Crematorium (new chimney)	12/6/42	10%	10/8/42
6	20K	Detainee housing (add'l stories, no. 2)	18/6/42	15%	15/10/42
7	20L	dto. no. 11	20/5/42	30%	30/9/42
8	20M	dto. no. 12	20/5/42	15%	30/9/42
9	20O	dto. no. 14	18/5/42	15%	30/9/42
10	20Q	dto. no. 16	18/5/42	20%	30/9/42
11	21	Roads	1/6/40	60%	31/5/43
12	24	Commandant's residence	5/1/42	100%	31/5/42
13	27	Housing for married NCOs	1/7/40	75%	30/9/42
14	29	Water supply installation	1/6/40	30%	31/5/43
15	36B	Officers' housing and housing for married officers	10/7/41	80%	30/9/42
16	36D	Officers' housing barrack 1	16/11/41	15%	30/9/42
17	40	SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"	2/2/42	100%	10/6/42
18	41	Detainee camp enclosure	1/6/40	30%	31/5/43
19	49	Electrical installations, external	1/6/40	45%	31/5/43
20	54	Gardening	1/4/41	65%	31/5/43
21	28	Detainee goods storage	3/6/42	30%	30/9/42
22	105	Detainee housing no. 23	10/9/41	100%	30/6/42
23	106	Detainee housing no. 24	10/10/41	85%	31/7/42
24	134	Detainee housing no. 36	7/5/42	15%	30/11/42
25	135	Detainee housing no. 37	7/5/42	15%	30/11/42
26	136	Detainee housing no. 38	15/4/42	15%	30/11/42
27	137	Detainee housing no. 39	15/4/42	15%	30/11/42
28	138	Detainee housing no. 40	15/4/42	20%	30/11/42
29	160	Laundry and admissions building with delousing and bath for detainees	12/10/41	12%	31/12/42
30	201	Main sewer with treatment plant			

TABLE 14: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF JUNE 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT AGRICULTURE<sup>657</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	33A	Existing stables and ancillaries	1/6/40	45%	30/9/42
2	33B	Slaughterhouse extension	1/4/42	55%	31/8/42
3	33C	Gardening unit with greenhouse at Raisko	23/2/42	95%	31/7/42
4	36C	Residence for head of agricultural units	4/5/42	45%	15/8/42
5	64	Large greenhouse at Raisko	23/2/42	25%	30/11/42

<sup>656</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, pp. 27f.

<sup>657</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 26.

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
6	65A	Duck breeding at Harmense	16/2/42	100%	15/6/42
7	65B	Duck breeding coops	4/5/42	30%	30/9/42
8	65E	Breeding stables	4/5/42	30%	30/9/42
9	71	Horse stable barracks	20/3/42	65%	31/8/42

TABLE 15: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF JUNE 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT CONSTRUCTION DEPOT AUSCHWITZ<sup>658</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	19	Finishing of detainee workshop barracks	1/7/40	90%	30/9/42
2	37B	Bauleitung barrack	1/4/42	90%	15/8/42
3	37C	Construction Office housing barracks	1/4/42	85%	15/8/42
4	50	Building materials storage shed	1/7/40	90%	30/9/42
5	71	Horse stables and building materials storage	4/5/42	60%	30/9/42

TABLE 16: CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE PLAN OF JUNE 1942  
FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECT POW AUSCHWITZ<sup>659</sup>

#	BW	Designation of BW	Starting date	Progress	Est. compl. date
1	2	Drainage of grounds	16/3/42	20%	30/9/42
2	3a	30 housing barracks (brick)	7/10/41	100%	20/6/42
3	3b	Housing barracks (horse stable barracks)	12/3/42	60%	31/7/42
4	3cd	Housing barracks (horse stable barracks)	23/3/42	80%	31/8/42
5	4a	Utility barrack 1+2	10/11/41	100%	20/6/42
6	5a	Delousing barrack 1	4/12/41	100%	20/6/42
7	5b	Delousing barrack 2	6/3/42	100%	15/7/42
8	6a	5 washing barracks	4/3/42	100%	20/6/42
9	7a	5 toilet barracks	4/3/42	100%	20/6/42
10	8a	1 corpse barrack	5/1/42	100%	30/4/42
11	9	Quarantine camp entrance building	5/12/41	100%	30/6/42
12	13	Watchtowers (wood)	10/3/42	30%	30/9/42
13	16	Access road	7/10/41	65%	30/9/42
14	17	Road consolidation inside camp	5/4/42	20%	30/9/42
15	18	Sewers and treatment plant	21/10/41	40%	30/9/42
16	19	Water supply plant	5/1/42	40%	30/9/42
17	20/21	Power plant and HT feeder	16/11/41	100%	15/3/42
18	24	Enclosure, electric wire	8/11/41	45%	31/8/42
19	25	Wire mesh fences for camp sections	1/12/41	25%	30/9/42
20	26	Transformer substation	6/12/41	100%	15/3/42
21	31	Bakery	21/11/41	50%	15/10/42

<sup>658</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 25.

<sup>659</sup> RGVA, 502-1-22, p. 24.

TABLE 17: CONSTRUCTION REPORT OF JUNE 1942<sup>660</sup>

This report describes the construction activity (*Baustellenbetrieb*)  
up to June 1942 of the following sites

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I. Construction project SS housing and CC Auschwitz

a) Detainee camp

- BW 105 Housing building for detainees (Block 17)
- BW 106 Housing building for detainees (Block 16)
- BW 20L Adding stories to detainee housing of FKL
- BW 20K Adding stories to detainee housing of FKL
- BW 20G Adding stories to detainee housing of FKL
- BW 20H Adding stories to detainee housing of FKL
- BW 20Q Adding stories to detainee housing of FKL
- BW 7A Detainee housing building, presently temporary troop housing
- Existing buildings of FKL

b) Detainee camp extension

- BW 134 Detainee housing building
- BW 135 Detainee housing building
- BW 136 Detainee housing building
- BW 137 Detainee housing building
- BW 138 Detainee housing building
- BW 160 Laundry and admissions building with delousing unit and bath for detainees
- BW 11 Crematorium (existing)
- BW 28 Temp. admissions barrack with delousing

c) Other constructions

- BW 24 Commandant residence
- BW 36B Officers' residences and housing
- BW 40 SS dormitory "Deutsches Haus"
- BW 21 Roads
- BW 29 Water supply installation
- BW 9 Sewers
- BW 201 Rain water collector and main collector with treatment plant and bio-gas recovery

II. Construction project agriculture Auschwitz

- BW 36C Residence for head of agricultural units
- BW 33B Slaughterhouse extension
- BW 33C Gardening unit with greenhouse at Raisko
- BW 64 Large greenhouse at Raisko
- BW 65A-E Poultry and duck breeding coops at Harmense
- BW 71 Stable yard

III. Construction project POW

*"In the quarantine camp (1<sup>st</sup> section) 15 out of the 30 brick housing barracks are presently occupied, the remaining 15 are ready for occupancy, and some of the erected barracks (horse stable barracks) including infirmary barrack have been put into service. Furthermore, 2 utility barracks, 2 delousing barracks, 1 corpse storage barrack, 10 washing and toilet barracks and the washing and entrance building are ready or usable. For the quarantine camp the water supply and sewage system including treatment plant and recipient are finished. Drainage of this section is about half completed. In section II a total of 99 barracks (horse stable barracks) have so far been erected. Another 18 barracks of the same type, to be used as washing and toilet barracks, are now*

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<sup>660</sup> "Baubericht für Monat Juni 1942" written by Bischoff on July 2, 1942. RGVA, 502-1-24, pp. 219-225.

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*being put up. Work on enclosure and on roads is continuing. Foundation work for the guard troop barracks has started. Excavation for the crematorium has been started as well."*

- BW 31 KGL Bakery

IV. Construction Project Construction Yard Auschwitz

- BW 37B/C Bauleitung barrack and housing
- BW 50 Construction yard
- BW 23A Bauleitung garage building

V. Construction project main industrial camp of Waffen-SS

- BW 7 Depot barrack

VI. Other

- Gardening works
  - Workshops (wood working, metal working, carpentry work, painting and glazing)
  - Surveying
-



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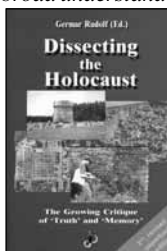
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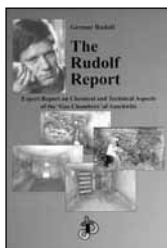


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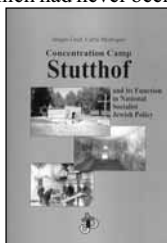
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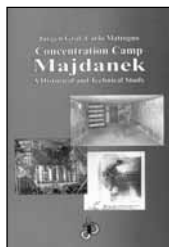
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Little scientific research had been directed toward the concentration camp Majdanek in central Poland, even though it is claimed that up to a million Jews were murdered there. The only information available is discredited Polish Communists propaganda.

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The authors' investigations lead to unambiguous conclusions about the camp which are radically different from the official theses. Again they have produced a standard and methodical investigative work which authentic historiography can not ignore.

**2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 320 pp pb., 6"×9", b/w & color ill., bibl., index, \$25.-**

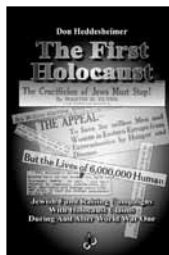


## Don Heddesheimer, *The First Holocaust. Jewish Fund Raising Campaigns With Holocaust Claims During And After World War One*

Six million Jews in Europe threatened with a holocaust: this allegation was spread by sources like *The New York Times* – but the year was 1919! Don Heddesheimer's compact but substantive *First Holocaust* documents post-WWI propaganda that claimed East European Jewry was on the brink of annihilation (regularly invoking the talismanic six million figure); it details how that propaganda was used to agitate for minority rights for Jews in Poland, and for Bolshevism in Russia. It demonstrates how Jewish fundraising operations in America raised vast sums in the name of feeding Polish and Russian Jews, then funneled much of the money to Zionist and Communist "constructive undertakings."

*The First Holocaust*, is a valuable study of American Jewish institutional operations at a fateful juncture in Jewish and European history, an incisive examination of a cunningly contrived campaign of atrocity and extermination propaganda, two decades before the alleged WWII Holocaust – and an indispensable addition to every revisionist's library.

**144 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index, \$9.95**

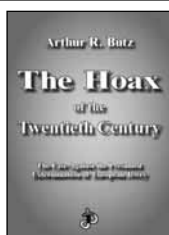


## Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century. The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry*

With this book, A. R. Butz, Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, was the first (and so far the only) writer to treat the entire Holocaust complex from the Revisionist perspective, in a precise scientific manner. This book exhibits the overwhelming force of historical and logical arguments which Revisionism had accumulated by the middle of the 70s. It was the first book published in the US which won for Revisionism the academic dignity to which it is entitled. It continues to be a major revisionist reference work, frequently cited by prominent personalities.

This new edition comes with several supplements adding new information gathered by the author over the last 25 years. Because of its prestige, no library can forbear offering *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and no historian of modern times can ignore it. A 'must read' for every Revisionist and every newcomer to the issue who wants to thoroughly learn about revisionist arguments.

**506 pp. pb., 6"×9" pb, b/w ill., bibl., index: \$25.-**

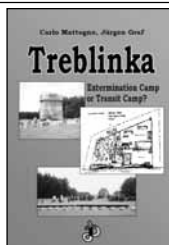


## C. Mattogno, J. Graf, *Treblinka. Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?*

Holocaust historians 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 alleged to have been stationary and/or mobile gas chambers, poison gases of both fast acting and slow acting varieties, unslaked lime, superheated steam, electricity, diesel exhaust fumes, etc. Holocaust historians alleged that bodies were piled as high as multistoried buildings and burned without a trace, using little or no fuel. 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: it was a transit camp.

Even longtime Revisionism buffs will find a lot that is new in this book, while Graf's animated style guarantees a pleasant reading experience. The original testimony of witnesses enlivens the reader, as does the skill with which the authors expose the absurdities of Holocaust historiography.

**370 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index, \$25.-**



### C. Mattogno, *Belżec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research, and History*

Witnesses report that at least 600,000, if not as many as three million Jews were murdered in the Belżec camp, located in eastern Poland, between 1941 and 1942. Various murder weapons are claimed to have been used: diesel gas chambers; unslaked lime in trains; high voltage; vacuum chambers. According to witnesses, the corpses were incinerated on huge pyres without leaving any traces.

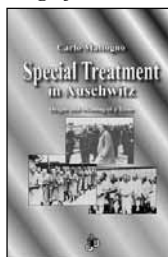
For those who know the stories about Treblinka, this all sounds too familiar. The author therefore restricted this study to the aspects, which are different and new compared to Treblinka, but otherwise refers the reader to his Treblinka book. The development of the official image portrait of Belżec is explained and subjected to a thorough critique. In contrast to Treblinka, forensic drillings and excavations were performed in the late 1990s in Belżec, the results of which are explained and critically reviewed. These findings, together with the absurd claims by 'witnesses,' refute the thesis of an extermination camp.



138 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index: \$15.-

### Carlo Mattogno, *Special Treatment in Auschwitz. Origin and Meaning of a Term*

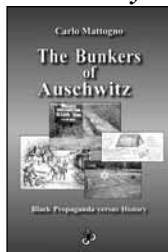
When appearing in German wartime documents in the context of the "Holocaust," terms like "special treatment," "special action," and others have usually been interpreted as code words that signify the killing of inmates. While certainly the term "special treatment" in many such documents meant execution, the term need not always have had that meaning in German records. In this book, C. Mattogno has provided the most thorough study of this textual problem to date. Publishing and interpreting numerous such documents about Auschwitz – many of them hitherto unknown – Mattogno is able to show that, while "special" had many different meanings in these documents, not a single one meant "execution." This important study demonstrates that the habitual practice of deciphering an alleged "code language" by assigning homicidal meaning to completely harmless documents is no longer tenable.



151 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index, \$15.-

### Carlo Mattogno, *The Bunkers of Auschwitz. Black Propaganda versus History*

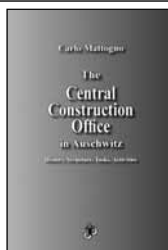
The so-called "Bunkers" at Auschwitz-Birkenau are claimed to have been the first homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz specifically erected for this purpose in early 1942. With help of the almost complete files of the Auschwitz construction office, the first part of this study shows that these "Bunkers" never existed. The second part shows how the rumors of these alleged gas chambers evolved as black propaganda created by resistance groups within the camp. The third part shows how this black propaganda was transformed into 'reality' by historians. The final chapter, dedicated to the material tests (aerial photography and archeological research) confirms the publicity character of the rumors about the "Bunkers."



264 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index: \$20.-

### Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The Central Construction Office*

Based upon mostly unpublished German wartime documents from Moscow archives, this study describes the history, organization, tasks, and procedures of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz. It provides a deep understanding of this office, which was responsible for the planning and construction of the Auschwitz camp complex. This study is indispensable for all those, who wish to avoid misinterpretations of Auschwitz documents, as they are frequently made by many Holocaust historians.



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### Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: Krematorium I and the Alleged Homicidal Gassings* (spring 2005)

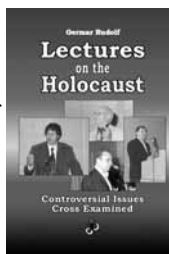
The morgue of Krematorium I in Auschwitz is claimed to have been the first homicidal gas chamber in that camp. This study thoroughly investigates all accessible statements by witnesses and analyzes hundreds of wartime documents in order to accurately write a history of that building. Mattogno proves that its morgue was never used as a homicidal gas chamber.

ca. 180 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index: \$18.-

Send orders to: Castle Hill Publishers, PO Box 257768, Chicago, IL 60625; +1-877-789-0229; [www.vho.org](http://www.vho.org)

## Geremar Rudolf, *Lectures on the Holocaust. Controversial Issues Cross Examined*

Since 1992, German scholar Geremar Rudolf is giving lectures to various mainstream audiences all over the world. His topic is very controversial: the Holocaust in the light of new forensic and historical findings. His listeners initially think they know exactly, what "the Holocaust" is all about, but their world view is completely turned upside down after the evidence is presented. Even though Rudolf presents nothing short of full-fledged Holocaust revisionism, his arguments fall on fertile soil, because they are presented in a very pedagogically sensitive and scholarly way. This book is literary version of Rudolf's lectures, enriched with the most recent finding of historiography to a topic regulated by penal law in many countries.

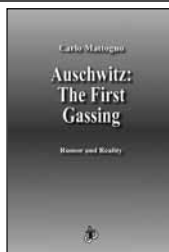


The book's style is unique as is its topic: It is a dialogue between the lecturers on the one hand who introduce the reader to the most important arguments and counter arguments of Holocaust Revisionism and the reactions of the audience on the other hand: supportive, skeptical, and also hostile comments, questions, and assertions. The *Lectures* read like a vivid and exciting real-life exchange between persons of various points of view. The usual moral, political, and pseudoscientific arguments against revisionism are all addressed and refuted. This book is a compendium of Frequently Asked Questions on the Holocaust and its critical re-examination. With more than 1,000 references to sources and a vast bibliography, this easy-to-understand book is the best introduction into this taboo topic both for readers unfamiliar with revisionism and for those wanting to know more.

ca. 500 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index: \$30.-

## Carlo Mattogno *Auschwitz: The First Gassing. Rumor and Reality* (summer 2005)

The first gassing of human beings in Auschwitz is claimed to have occurred on Sept. 3, 1941, in a basement room. The accounts reporting it are the archetypes for all later gassing accounts. This study exhibits all available sources about this alleged event and analyzes them critically. It shows that these sources contradict each other in every essential point – location, date, preparations, victims... – rendering it impossible to extract a consistent story. Original wartime documents inflict a final blow to the tale of the first homicidal gassing.



ca. 180 pp. pb., 6"×9", b/w ill., bibl., index: \$16.-

## R.H. Countess, Ch. Lindtner, G. Rudolf (eds.), *Exactitude. Festschrift for Robert Faurisson to his 75th Birthday*

On January 25, 1929, 75 years before this book was published, a man was born, who probably deserves the title of the most courageous intellectual of the last third of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century: Robert Faurisson. With hitherto unheard of bravery and steadfastness, he challenged the dark forces of historical and political fraud, deception, and deceit with his unrelenting exposure of their lies and hoaxes. His method of analytical exactitude in historiography and his striving for clear brevity in presenting the results of his research have become both famous and infamous at once. This *Festschrift* is dedicated to him by some of his closest friends in his struggle for exactitude in historiography and his ongoing fight not only for historical and political, but also for individual justice. It contains a collection of articles by several authors addressing various issues of scientific revisionism in general, Holocaust revisionism in particular, and biographic sketches of Robert Faurisson's scholarship over the decades.



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JOHN J. MEARSHEIMER AND STEPHEN M. WALT

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## PREFACE

*In all affairs it's a healthy thing now and then to hang a question mark on the*

In the fall of 2002, the *Atlantic Monthly* invited us to write a feature article on the Israel lobby and its effects on U.S. foreign policy. We accepted the commission with some reservations, because we knew this was a controversial subject and that any article that scrutinized the lobby, U.S. support for Israel, or Israeli policy itself was likely to provoke a harsh reaction. Nonetheless, we felt this was an issue that could no longer be ignored, especially in light of the September 11 terrorist attacks and the looming war with Iraq. If U.S. support for Israel was a significant source of anti-Americanism in the Middle East and a source of tension with key strategic allies, and if pro-Israel groups and individuals were a major influence on U.S. foreign policy in this vital region, then it was important to raise the issue openly and encourage public discussion of the lobby's actions and impact.

We worked on the article off and on over the next two years, in close collaboration with the *Atlantic's* editors, and we sent them a manuscript conforming to our prior agreements and incorporating virtually all of their suggestions in January 2005. A few weeks later, to our surprise, the editor informed us that the *Atlantic* had decided not to run the piece and that he was not interested in our attempting to revise it.

We considered submitting the article to several other journals but concluded that they would be unlikely to run the piece, either due to its content or its length. We also considered the possibility of turning the article into a book, but responses to our initial inquiries were not sufficiently enthusiastic to convince us to commit additional time and effort to it. So we put the manuscript aside and turned to other projects, although an abbreviated version of some of this material was included in Stephen M. Walt's *Taming American Power*, which was published by W. W. Norton in September 2005.

Then, in October 2005, a distinguished American academic contacted us and suggested that we consider publishing the article in the *London Review of Books*. Someone at the *Atlantic* had given him a copy of the rejected essay, and he told us he thought the editor of the *LRB*, Mary-Kay Wilmers, would be interested. We sent her the manuscript and she quickly expressed her desire to publish it. After another round of updating and revision, the article—now titled "The Israel Lobby"—was published in the March 23, 2006, issue. At the suggestion of one of the scholars who had read and commented on an earlier draft, we simultaneously posted a fully documented version of the article on the Faculty Working Papers website of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. We did this because the *LRB's* format does not allow for extensive references or footnotes, and we wanted readers to see that our argument rested on a wide array of credible sources.

The case advanced in the article was straightforward. After describing the remarkable level of material and diplomatic support that the United States provides to Israel, we argued that this support could not be fully explained on either strategic or moral grounds. Instead, it was due largely to the political power of the Israel lobby, a loose coalition of individuals and groups that seeks to influence American foreign policy in ways that will benefit Israel. In addition to encouraging the United States to back Israel more or less unconditionally, groups and individuals in the lobby played key roles in shaping American policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the ill-fated invasion of Iraq, and the ongoing confrontations with Syria and Iran. We suggested that these policies were not in the U.S. national interest and were in fact harmful to Israel's long-term interests as well.

The response to the essay was breathtaking. By July 2006, the Kennedy School's website had recorded more than 275,000 downloads of the working paper and we had received numerous requests to translate or reprint the *LRB* article. As expected, the essay initially generated a firestorm of criticism from prominent groups or individuals in the lobby, and we were denounced as anti-Semites by the Anti-Defamation League and by op-ed writers in the *Jerusalem Post*, *New York Sun*, *Wall Street Journal*,

and *Washington Post*. The *New Republic* devoted four separate articles to attacking our article, and a number of critics accused us—erroneously—of having made numerous historical or factual mistakes. A few critics even predicted that the article (and its authors) would soon fade into what they thought would be a richly deserved obscurity.

They were wrong. A wide variety of readers—both Jewish and gentile—came out in support of the article. They did not agree with every point we had made, but almost all of them agreed that such an examination was long overdue. Predictably, reactions outside the United States were generally favorable, and there were even some positive responses in Israel itself. Respectful appraisals appeared in the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *New York Review of Books*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Observer*, *National Interest*, and *Nation*, and the controversy eventually received prominent coverage in a wide array of news outlets, from *Ha'aretz* in Israel to National Public Radio in the United States.

The distinguished journal *Foreign Policy* organized a symposium on the article in its July/August 2006 issue, and the *Washington Post Sunday Magazine* published a thoughtful cover story in July exploring the issues we had raised. Later that summer, a reviewer in *Foreign Affairs* described the article as a "hard-headed analysis . . . that might set in motion a useful paradigm shift in United States' Middle East policy."

Over the course of 2006, it became increasingly clear that the conversation about Israel and U.S. Middle East policy was indeed changing, and that it had become somewhat easier to discuss the lobby's role in shaping U.S. policy. This was not entirely our doing, of course, as awareness of the lobby's activities and impact was also increased by Israel's disastrous war in Lebanon in the summer of 2006, the continued debacle in Iraq, the personal attacks on Jimmy Carter following the publication of his book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, the simmering war of words between the United States and Iran, and the conspicuous but failed efforts to silence or smear other prominent critics of the lobby. A growing number of people seemed to realize that this subject needed airing, and more were willing to speak out.

Equally important, thoughtful individuals were beginning to recognize that the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and other hard-line groups in the lobby—including some vocal Christian Zionists—were not representative of mainstream opinion in the American Jewish community or the United States more broadly. There was a growing debate about whether the policies advocated by these groups were in America's or in Israel's interest. As a result, some pro-Israel groups began to talk openly about the need to shift the balance of power in more moderate directions, and prominent publications such as the *Economist* and the *New York Times* published commentaries suggesting that it was time for a new relationship between Israel and the United States, for the benefit of both.

We were gratified by these developments, because we wrote the original article in order to foster a more clear-eyed and candid discussion of this subject. That conversation was now under way, although it still tended to be shrill, confrontational, and overly personal. But should we write a book? Perhaps we had already said enough, and it was time to move on to other topics. After some reflection, and despite some lingering misgivings, we concluded that writing a book would help advance the dialogue in several ways.

First, although the original article was long by the standards of most magazines, space limitations had forced us to omit a number of important issues and to deal with certain topics more briefly than we would have liked. This unavoidable brevity may have contributed to some misunderstandings of the original article, and writing a book would provide an opportunity to present a more nuanced and detailed statement of our views.

Accordingly, this book contains a more complete definition of the lobby, an extended discussion of the role of Christian Zionism, and a fuller account of the lobby's evolution over time. We also provide a more detailed account of Israel's past conduct and current behavior, especially toward the Palestinians. We do this not from any animus toward Israel or its supporters in the United States, or because we are eager to highlight Israeli misconduct. Rather, we address this topic because it is central to some of the moral arguments commonly used to justify an exceptional level of U.S. support for the Jewish state. We focus on Israel's behavior, in other words, because the United States focuses an extraordinary degree of support on Israel. We also address the controversial issue of dual loyalty, which was not discussed in

the original article.

Second, writing this book enables us to respond to the central criticisms that were lodged against our original article. We addressed some of them in two subsequent letters to the *London Review of Books* and in the *Foreign Policy* symposium mentioned above, and we have also written a point-by-point rebuttal of the various charges directed at the article (see "Setting the Record Straight: A Response to Critics of 'The Israel Lobby,'" available online at [www.israellobbybook.com](http://www.israellobbybook.com)). Although the vast majority of charges leveled against the original article were unfounded—as were the various personal attacks leveled at us—there were a number of thoughtful critiques that raised important issues of interpretation and emphasis. We have learned from these criticisms even when not fully persuaded by them, and we have tried to address them here.

Third, writing a book makes it possible to provide further empirical support for our core claims and to bring the analysis up to date. Not only has additional evidence come to light regarding important events such as the Iraq war, but some other events—most notably the second Lebanon war of July/ August 2006—had not taken place when the original article appeared. America's response to that war proved to be a further illustration of the lobby's power, as well as its harmful influence on U.S. and Israeli interests. The lobby's activities could also be seen in the evolution of U.S. policy toward Iran and Syria, and in the harsh attacks on former President Jimmy Carter, the historian Tony Judt, and several other prominent critics of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians.

Finally, this book presents an opportunity to discuss how the United States should advance its interests in the Middle East, and how Americans, and indeed the rest of the world, should think about the influence of the pro-Israel lobby. The stakes are high—for Americans and non-Americans alike—because the Middle East is a volatile and strategically vital region and America's policies toward that region will inevitably have extensive repercussions. As the war in Iraq demonstrates, the United States can do great damage to itself and to others if its policies are misguided. This fact makes it all the more important to identify what is driving U.S. policy and to figure out what that policy ought to be. Our original article did not offer much in the way of positive prescriptions, but the concluding chapter of this book outlines a different approach to U.S. Middle East policy and identifies how the lobby's power might be mitigated or made more constructive.

Although we see encouraging signs of more open discussion on these vital issues, the lobby still has a profound influence on U.S. Middle East policy. The problems that the United States and Israel face in this region have not lessened since the original article appeared; indeed, they may well have grown worse. Iraq is a fiasco, Israelis and Palestinians remain locked in conflict, Hamas and Fatah are battling for dominance within the Palestinian community, and Hezbollah's role in Lebanon is deeply troubling. Iran is still seeking to acquire full control of the nuclear fuel cycle, groups like al Qaeda remain active and dangerous, and the industrial world is still dependent on Persian Gulf oil. These are all vexing problems, and the United States will not be able to address any or all of them effectively if Americans cannot have a civilized conversation about our interests in the region and the role of all the factors that shape U.S. foreign policy, including the Israel lobby. To encourage that continued conversation, we have written this book.

We acknowledge various personal debts at the end of the book, but we would like to register one of them here. For more than twenty-five years, we have been fortunate to enjoy the friendship and support of one of America's most accomplished social scientists, Samuel P. Huntington. We cannot imagine a better role model. Sam has always tackled big and important questions, and he has answered these questions in ways that the rest of the world could not ignore. Although each of us has disagreed with him on numerous occasions over the years—and sometimes vehemently and publicly—he never held those disagreements against us and was never anything but gracious and supportive of our own work. He understands that scholarship is not a popularity contest, and that spirited but civil debate is essential both to scholarly progress and to a healthy democracy. We are grateful to Sam for his friendship and for the example he has set throughout his career, and we are pleased to dedicate this



book to him.

*John J. Mearsheimer University of Chicago*

*Stephen M. Walt Harvard University*

# THE ISRAEL LOBBY AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INTRODUCTION

America is about to enter a presidential election year. Although the outcome is of course impossible to predict at this stage, certain features of the campaign are easy to foresee. The candidates will inevitably differ on various domestic issues—health care, abortion, gay marriage, taxes, education, immigration—and spirited debates are certain to erupt on a host of foreign policy questions as well. What course of action should the United States pursue in Iraq? What is the best response to the crisis in Darfur, Iran's nuclear ambitions, Russia's hostility to NATO, and China's rising power? How should the United States address global warming, combat terrorism, and reverse the erosion of its international image? On these and many other issues, we can confidently expect lively disagreements among the various candidates.

Yet on one subject, we can be equally confident that the candidates will speak with one voice. In 2008, as in previous election years, serious candidates for the highest office in the land will go to considerable lengths to express their deep personal commitment to one foreign country—Israel—as well as their determination to maintain unyielding U.S. support for the Jewish state. Each candidate will emphasize that he or she fully appreciates the multitude of threats facing Israel and make it clear that, if elected, the United States will remain firmly committed to defending Israel's interests under any and all circumstances. None of the candidates is likely to criticize Israel in any significant way or suggest that the United States ought to pursue a more evenhanded policy in the region. Any who do will probably fall by the wayside.

This observation is hardly a bold prediction, because presidential aspirants were already proclaiming their support for Israel in early 2007. The process began in January, when four potential candidates spoke to Israel's annual Herzliya Conference on security issues. As Joshua Mitnick reported in *Jewish Week*, they were "seemingly competing to see who can be most strident in defense of the Jewish State." Appearing via satellite link, John Edwards, the Democratic party's 2004 vice presidential candidate, told his Israeli listeners that "your future is our future" and said that the bond between the United States and Israel "will never be broken." Former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney spoke of being "in a country I love with people I love" and, aware of Israel's deep concern about a possible nuclear Iran, proclaimed that "it is time for the world to speak three truths: (1) Iran must be stopped; (2) Iran can be stopped; (3) Iran will be stopped!" Senator John McCain (R-AZ) declared that "when it comes to the defense of Israel, we simply cannot compromise," while former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) told the audience that "Israel is facing the greatest danger for

Jurgen Graf : Holocaust or Hoax

<http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/hoh/index.html>

Gerhard Rudolf : Lectures on the Holocaust

<http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/loth/>  
<http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/livres7/lectures.pdf>

RUDOLF Gerhard Auschwitz : Plain Facts

<http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/livres5/apf.pdf>

Arthur R. Butz : The Hoax of the Twentieth Century

<http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/thottc/>

[sic] its survival since the 1967 victory."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly thereafter, in early February, Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY) spoke in New York before the local chapter of the powerful American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), where she said that in this "moment of great difficulty for Israel and great peril for Israel . . . what is vital is that we stand by our friend and our ally and we stand by our own values. Israel is a beacon of what's right in a neighborhood overshadowed by the wrongs of radicalism, extremism, despotism and terrorism."<sup>2</sup> One of her rivals for the Democratic nomination, Senator Barack Obama (D-IL), spoke a month later before an AIPAC audience in Chicago. Obama, who has expressed some sympathy for the Palestinians' plight in the past and made a brief reference to Palestinian "suffering" at a campaign appearance in March 2007, was unequivocal in his praise for Israel and made it manifestly clear that he would do nothing to change the U.S.-Israeli relationship.<sup>3</sup> Other presidential hopefuls, including Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS) and New Mexico governor Bill Richardson, have expressed pro-Israel sentiments with equal or greater ardor.<sup>4</sup>

What explains this behavior? Why is there so little disagreement among these presidential hopefuls regarding Israel, when there are profound disagreements among them on almost every other important issue facing the United States and when it is apparent that America's Middle East policy has gone badly awry? Why does Israel get a free pass from presidential candidates, when its own citizens are often deeply critical of its present policies and when these same presidential candidates are all too willing to criticize many of the things that other countries do? Why does Israel, and no other country in the world, receive such consistent deference from America's leading politicians?

Some might say that it is because Israel is a vital strategic asset for the United States. Indeed, it is said to be an indispensable partner in the "war on terror." Others will answer that there is a powerful moral case for providing Israel with unqualified support, because it is the only country in the region that "shares our values." But neither of these arguments stands up to fair-minded scrutiny. Washington's close relationship with Jerusalem makes it harder, not easier, to defeat the terrorists who are now targeting the United States, and it simultaneously undermines America's standing with important allies around the world. Now that the Cold War is over, Israel has become a strategic liability for the United States. Yet no aspiring politician is going to say so in public, or even raise the possibility.

There is also no compelling moral rationale for America's uncritical and uncompromising relationship with Israel. There is a strong moral case for Israel's existence and there are good reasons for the United States to be committed to helping Israel if its survival is in jeopardy. But given Israel's brutal treatment of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, moral considerations might suggest that the United States pursue a more evenhanded policy toward the two sides, and maybe even lean toward the Palestinians. Yet we are unlikely to hear that sentiment expressed by anyone who wants to be president, or anyone who would like to occupy a position in Congress.

The real reason why American politicians are so deferential is the political power of the Israel lobby. The lobby is a loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively works to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. As we will describe in detail, it is not a single, unified movement with a central leadership, and it is certainly not a cabal or conspiracy that "controls" U.S. foreign policy. It is simply a powerful interest group, made up of both Jews and gentiles, whose acknowledged purpose is to press Israel's case within the United States and influence American foreign policy in ways that its members believe will benefit the Jewish state. The various groups that make up the lobby do not agree on every issue, although they share the desire to promote a special relationship between the United States and Israel. Like the efforts of other ethnic lobbies and interest groups, the activities of the Israel lobby's various elements are legitimate forms of democratic political participation, and they are for the most part consistent with America's long tradition of interest group activity.

Because the Israel lobby has gradually become one of the most powerful interest groups in the United States, candidates for high office pay close attention to its wishes. The individuals and groups in the United States that make up the lobby care deeply about Israel, and they do not want American politicians to criticize it, even when criticism might be warranted and might

even be in Israel's own interest. Instead, these groups want U.S. leaders to treat Israel as if it were the fifty-first state. Democrats and Republicans alike fear the lobby's clout. They all know that any politician who challenges its policies stands little chance of becoming president.

### **THE LOBBY AND U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY**

The lobby's political power is important not because it affects what presidential candidates say during a campaign, but because it has a significant influence on American foreign policy, especially in the Middle East. America's actions in that volatile region have enormous consequences for people all around the world, especially the people who live there. Just consider how the Bush administration's misbegotten war in Iraq has affected the long-suffering people of that shattered country: tens of thousands dead, hundreds of thousands forced to flee their homes, and a vicious sectarian war taking place with no end in sight. The war has also been a strategic disaster for the United States and has alarmed and endangered U.S. allies both inside and outside the region. One could hardly imagine a more vivid or tragic demonstration of the impact the United States can have—for good or ill—when it unleashes the power at its disposal.

The United States has been involved in the Middle East since the early days of the Republic, with much of the activity centered on educational programs or missionary work. For some, a biblically inspired fascination with the Holy Land and the role of Judaism in its history led to support for the idea of restoring the Jewish people to a homeland there, a view that was embraced by certain religious leaders and, in a general way, by a few U.S. politicians. But it is a mistake to see this history of modest and for the most part private engagement as the taproot of America's role in the region since World War II, and especially its extraordinary relationship with Israel today.<sup>5</sup> Between the routing of the Barbary pirates two hundred years ago and World War II, the United States played no significant security role anywhere in the region and U.S. leaders did not aspire to one.<sup>6</sup> Woodrow Wilson did endorse the 1917 Balfour Declaration (which expressed Britain's support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine), but Wilson did virtually nothing to advance this goal. Indeed, the most significant U.S. involvement during this period—a fact-finding mission dispatched to the region in 1919 by the Paris Peace Conference under the leadership of Americans Henry Churchill King and Charles Crane—concluded that the local population opposed continued Zionist inroads and recommended against the establishment of an independent Jewish homeland. Yet as the historian Margaret Macmillan notes, "Nobody paid the slightest attention." The possibility of a U.S. mandate over portions of the Middle East was briefly considered but never pursued, and Britain and France ended up dividing the relevant portions of the Ottoman Empire between themselves.<sup>7</sup>

The United States has played an important and steadily increasing role in Middle East security issues since World War II, driven initially by oil, then by anticommunism and, over time, by its growing relationship with Israel. America's first significant involvement in the security politics of the region was a nascent partnership with Saudi Arabia in the mid-1940s (intended by both parties as a check on British ambitions in the region), and its first formal alliance commitments were Turkey's inclusion in NATO in 1952 and the anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact in 1954.<sup>8</sup> After backing Israel's founding in 1948, U.S. leaders tried to strike a balanced position between Israel and the Arabs and carefully avoided making any formal commitment to the Jewish state for fear of jeopardizing more important strategic interests. This situation changed gradually over the ensuing decades, in response to events like the Six-Day War, Soviet arms sales to various Arab states, and the growing influence of pro-Israel groups in the United States. Given this dramatic transformation in America's role in the region, it makes little sense to try to explain current U.S. policy—and especially the lavish support that is now given to Israel—by referring to the religious beliefs of a bygone era or the radically different forms of past American engagement. There was nothing inevitable or predetermined about the current special relationship between the United States and Israel.

Since the Six-Day War of 1967, a salient feature—and arguably the central focus—of America's Middle East policy has been its relationship with Israel. For the past four decades, in fact, the United States has provided Israel with a level of material and diplomatic support that dwarfs what it provides to other countries. That aid is largely unconditional: no matter what Israel does, the level of support remains for the most part unchanged. In particular, the United States consistently favors Israel over the Palestinians and rarely puts pressure on the Jewish state to stop building settlements and roads in the West Bank. Although Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush openly favored the creation of a viable Palestinian state, neither was willing to use American leverage to make that outcome a reality.

The United States has also undertaken policies in the broader Middle East that reflected Israel's preferences. Since the early 1990s, for example, American policy toward Iran has been heavily influenced by the wishes of successive Israeli governments. Tehran has made several attempts in recent years to improve relations with Washington and settle outstanding differences, but Israel and its American supporters have been able to stymie any detente between Iran and the United States, and to keep the two countries far apart. Another example is the Bush administration's behavior during Israel's war against Lebanon in the summer of 2006. Almost every country in the world harshly criticized Israel's bombing campaign—a campaign that killed more than one thousand Lebanese, most of them civilians—but the United States did not. Instead, it helped Israel prosecute the war, with prominent members of both political parties openly defending Israel's behavior. This unequivocal support for Israel undermined the pro-American government in Beirut, strengthened Hezbollah, and drove Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah closer together, results that were hardly good for either Washington or Jerusalem.

Many policies pursued on Israel's behalf now jeopardize U.S. national security. The combination of unstinting U.S. support for Israel and Israel's prolonged occupation of Palestinian territory has fueled anti-Americanism throughout the Arab and Islamic world, thereby increasing the threat from international terrorism and making it harder for Washington to deal with other problems, such as shutting down Iran's nuclear program. Because the United States is now so unpopular within the broader region, Arab leaders who might otherwise share U.S. goals are reluctant to help us openly, a predicament that cripples U.S. efforts to deal with a host of regional challenges.

This situation, which has no equal in American history, is due primarily to the activities of the Israel lobby. While other special interest groups—including ethnic lobbies representing Cuban Americans, Irish Americans, Armenian Americans, and Indian Americans—have managed to skew U.S. foreign policy in directions that they favored, no ethnic lobby has diverted that policy as far from what the American national interest would otherwise suggest. The Israel lobby has successfully convinced many Americans that American and Israeli interests are essentially identical. In fact, they are not.

Although this book focuses primarily on the lobby's influence on U.S. foreign policy and its negative effect on American interests, the lobby's impact has been unintentionally harmful to Israel as well. Take Israel's settlements, which even a writer as sympathetic to Israel as Leon Wieseltier recently called a "moral and strategic blunder of historic proportions."<sup>9</sup> Israel's situation would be better today if the United States had long ago used its financial and diplomatic leverage to convince Israel to stop building settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and instead helped Israel create a viable Palestinian state on those lands. Washington did not do so, however, largely because it would have been politically costly for any president to attempt it. As noted above, Israel would have been much better off if the United States had told it that its military strategy for fighting the 2006 Lebanon war was doomed to fail, rather than reflexively endorsing and facilitating it. By making it difficult to impossible for the U.S. government to criticize Israel's conduct and press it to change some of its counterproductive policies, the lobby may even be jeopardizing the long-term prospects of the Jewish state.

## **THE LOBBY'S MODUS OPERANDI**

It is difficult to talk about the lobby's influence on American foreign policy, at least in the mainstream media in the United States, without being accused of anti-Semitism or labeled a self-hating Jew. It is just as difficult to criticize Israeli policies or question U.S. support for Israel in polite company. America's generous and unconditional support for Israel is rarely questioned, because groups in the lobby use their power to make sure that public discourse echoes its strategic and moral arguments for the special relationship.

The response to former President Jimmy Carter's *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* perfectly illustrates this phenomenon. Carter's book is a personal plea for renewed American engagement in the peace process, based largely on his considerable experience with these issues over the past three decades. Reasonable people may challenge his evidence or disagree with his conclusions, but his ultimate goal is peace between these two peoples, and Carter unambiguously defends Israel's right to live in peace and security. Yet because he suggests that Israel's policies in the Occupied Territories resemble South Africa's apartheid regime and said publicly that pro-Israel groups make it hard for U.S. leaders to pressure Israel to make peace, a number of these same groups launched a vicious smear campaign against him. Not only was Carter publicly accused of being an anti-Semite and a "Jew-hater," some critics even charged him with being sympathetic to Nazis.<sup>10</sup> Since the lobby seeks to keep the present relationship intact, and because in fact its strategic and moral arguments are so weak, it has little choice but to try to stifle or marginalize serious discussion.

Yet despite the lobby's efforts, a considerable number of Americans—almost 40 percent—recognize that U.S. support for Israel is one of the main causes of anti-Americanism around the world. Among elites, the number is substantially higher.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, a surprising number of Americans understand that the lobby has a significant, not always positive influence on U.S. foreign policy. In a national poll taken in October 2006, 39 percent of the respondents said that they believe that the "work of the Israeli lobby on Congress and the Bush administration has been a key factor for going to war in Iraq and now confronting Iran."<sup>12</sup> In a 2006 survey of international relations scholars in the United States, 66 percent of the respondents said that they agreed with the statement "the Israel lobby has too much influence over U.S. foreign policy."<sup>13</sup> While the American people are generally sympathetic to Israel, many of them are critical of particular Israeli policies and would be willing to withhold American aid if Israel's actions are seen to be contrary to U.S. interests.

Of course, the American public would be even more aware of the lobby's influence and more tough-minded with regard to Israel and its special relationship with the United States if there were a more open discussion of these matters. Still, one might wonder why, given the public's views about the lobby and Israel, politicians and policy makers are so unwilling to criticize Israel and to make aid to Israel conditional on whether its actions benefit the United States. The American people are certainly not demanding that their politicians support Israel down the line. In essence, there is a distinct gulf between how the broader public thinks about Israel and its relationship with the United States and how governing elites in Washington conduct American policy.

The main reason for this gap is the lobby's formidable reputation inside the Beltway. Not only does it exert significant influence over the policy process in Democratic and Republican administrations alike, but it is even more powerful on Capitol Hill.<sup>14</sup> The journalist Michael Massing reports that a congressional staffer sympathetic to Israel told him, "We can count on well over half the House—250 to 300 members—to do reflexively whatever AIPAC wants." Similarly, Steven Rosen, the former AIPAC official who has been indicted for allegedly passing classified government documents to Israel, illustrated AIPAC's power for the *New Yorker's* Jeffrey Goldberg by putting a napkin in front of him and saying, "In twenty-four hours, we could have the signatures of seventy senators on this napkin."<sup>15</sup> These are not idle boasts. As will become clear, when issues relating to Israel come to the fore, Congress almost always votes to endorse the lobby's positions, and usually in overwhelming numbers.

## **WHY IS IT SO HARD TO TALK ABOUT THE ISRAEL LOBBY?**

Because the United States is a pluralist democracy where freedom of speech and association are guaranteed, it was inevitable that interest groups would come to dominate the political process. For a nation of immigrants, it was equally inevitable that some of these interest groups would form along ethnic lines and that they would try to influence U.S. foreign policy in various ways.<sup>16</sup> Cuban Americans have lobbied to maintain the embargo on Castro's regime, Armenian Americans have pushed Washington to acknowledge the 1915 genocide and, more recently, to limit U.S. relations with Azerbaijan, and Indian Americans have rallied to support the recent security treaty and nuclear cooperation agreements. Such activities have been a central feature of American political life since the founding of the country, and pointing them out is rarely controversial.<sup>17</sup>

Yet it is clearly more difficult for Americans to talk openly about the Israel lobby. Part of the reason is the lobby itself, which is both eager to advertise its clout and quick to challenge anyone who suggests that its influence is too great or might be detrimental to U.S. interests. There are, however, other reasons why it is harder to have a candid discussion about the impact of the Israel lobby.

To begin with, questioning the practices and ramifications of the Israel lobby may appear to some to be tantamount to questioning the legitimacy of Israel itself. Because some states still refuse to recognize Israel and some critics of Israel and the lobby do question its legitimacy, many of its supporters may see even well-intentioned criticism as an implicit challenge to Israel's existence. Given the strong feelings that many people have for Israel, and especially its important role as a safe haven for Jewish refugees from the Holocaust and as a central focus of contemporary Jewish identity, there is bound to be a hostile and defensive reaction when people think its legitimacy or its existence is under attack.

But in fact, an examination of Israel's policies and the efforts of its American supporters does not imply an anti-Israel bias, just as an examination of the political activities of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) does not imply bias against older citizens. We are not challenging Israel's right to exist or questioning the legitimacy of the Jewish state. There are those who maintain that Israel should never have been created, or who want to see Israel transformed from a Jewish state into a binational democracy. We do not. On the contrary, we believe the history of the Jewish people and the norm of national self-determination provide ample justification for a Jewish state. We think the United States should stand willing to come to Israel's assistance if its survival were in jeopardy. And though our primary focus is on the Israel lobby's negative impact on U.S. foreign policy, we are also convinced that its influence has become harmful to Israel as well. In our view, both effects are regrettable.

In addition, the claim that an interest group whose ranks are mostly Jewish has a powerful, not to mention negative, influence on U.S. foreign policy is sure to make some Americans deeply uncomfortable—and possibly fearful and angry—because it sounds like a charge lifted from the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that well-known anti-Semitic forgery that purported to reveal an all-powerful Jewish cabal exercising secret control over the world.

Any discussion of Jewish political power takes place in the shadow of two thousand years of history, especially the centuries of very real anti-Semitism in Europe. Christians massacred thousands of Jews during the Crusades, expelled them en masse from Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and other places between 1290 and 1497, and confined them to ghettos in other parts of Europe. Jews were violently oppressed during the Spanish Inquisition, murderous pogroms took place in Eastern Europe and Russia on numerous occasions, and other forms of anti-Semitic bigotry were widespread until recently. This shameful record culminated in the Nazi Holocaust, which killed nearly six million Jews. Jews were also oppressed in parts of the Arab world, though much less severely.<sup>18</sup>

Given this long history of persecution, American Jews are understandably sensitive to any argument that sounds like someone is blaming them for policies gone awry. This sensitivity is compounded by the memory of bizarre conspiracy theories of the sort laid out in the *Protocols*. Dire warnings of secretive "Jewish influence" remain a staple of neo-Nazis and other extremists, such as the hate-mongering former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, which reinforces Jewish concerns even more.

A key element of such anti-Semitic accusations is the claim that Jews exercise illegitimate influence by "controlling" banks, the media, and other key institutions. Thus, if someone says that press coverage

in the United States tends to favor Israel over its opponents, this may sound to some like the old canard that "Jews control the media." Similarly, if someone points out that American Jews have a rich tradition of giving money to both philanthropic and political causes, it sounds like they are suggesting that "Jewish money" is buying political influence in an underhanded or conspiratorial way. Of course, anyone who gives money to a political campaign does so in order to advance some political cause, and virtually all interest groups hope to mold public opinion and are interested in getting favorable media coverage. Evaluating the role of any interest group's campaign contributions, lobbying efforts, and other political activities ought to be a fairly uncontroversial exercise, but given past anti-Semitism, one can understand why it is easier to talk about these matters when discussing the impact of the pharmaceutical lobby, labor unions, arms manufacturers, Indian-American groups, etc., rather than the Israel lobby.

Making this discussion of pro-Israel groups and individuals in the United States even more difficult is the age-old charge of "dual loyalty." According to this old canard, Jews in the diaspora were perpetual aliens who could never assimilate and be good patriots, because they were more loyal to each other than to the country in which they lived. The fear today is that Jews who support Israel will be seen as disloyal Americans. As Hyman Bookbinder, the former Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, once commented, "Jews react viscerally to the suggestion that there is something unpatriotic" about their support for Israel.<sup>19</sup>

Let us be clear: we categorically reject all of these anti-Semitic claims.

In our view, it is perfectly legitimate for any American to have a significant attachment to a foreign country. Indeed, Americans are permitted to hold dual citizenship and to serve in foreign armies, unless, of course, the other country is at war with the United States. As noted above, there are numerous examples of ethnic groups in America working hard to persuade the U.S. government, as well as their fellow citizens, to support the foreign country for which they feel a powerful bond. Foreign governments are usually aware of the activities of sympathetic ethnically based interest groups, and they have naturally sought to use them to influence the U.S. government and advance their own foreign policy goals. Jewish Americans are no different from their fellow citizens in this regard.<sup>20</sup>

The Israel lobby is not a cabal or conspiracy or anything of the sort. It is engaged in good old-fashioned interest group politics, which is as American as apple pie. Pro-Israel groups in the United States are engaged in the same enterprise as other interest groups like the National Rifle Association (NRA) and the AARP, or professional associations like the American Petroleum Institute, all of which also work hard to influence congressional legislation and presidential priorities, and which, for the most part, operate in the open.

With a few exceptions, to be discussed in subsequent chapters, the lobby's actions are thoroughly American and legitimate.

We do not believe the lobby is all-powerful, or that it controls important institutions in the United States. As we will discuss in several subsequent chapters, there are a number of cases where the lobby did not get its way. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of evidence that the lobby wields impressive influence. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, one of the most important pro-Israel groups, used to brag about its own power on its website, not only by listing its impressive achievements but also by displaying quotations from prominent politicians that attested to its ability to influence events in ways that benefit Israel. For example, its website used to include a statement from former House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt telling an AIPAC gathering, "Without your constant support. . . and all your fighting on a daily basis to strengthen [the U.S.-Israeli relationship], it would not be."<sup>21</sup> Even the outspoken Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, who is often quick to brand Israel's critics as anti-Semites, wrote in a memoir that "my generation of Jews . . . became part of what is perhaps the most effective lobbying and fund-raising effort in the history of democracy. We did a truly great job, as far as we allowed ourselves, and were allowed, to go."<sup>22</sup>

J. J. Goldberg, the editor of the Jewish weekly newspaper the *Forward* and the author of *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment*, nicely captures the difficulty of talking about the lobby: "It seems as though we're forced to choose between Jews holding vast and pernicious control or Jewish



influence being non-existent." In fact, he notes, "somewhere in the middle is a reality that none wants to discuss, which is that there is an entity called the Jewish community made up of a group of organizations and public figures that's part of the political rough-and-tumble. There's nothing wrong with playing the game like everybody else."<sup>23</sup> We agree completely. But we think it is fair and indeed necessary to examine the consequences that this "rough-and-tumble" interest group politics can have on America and the world.

## **HOW WE MAKE OUR CASE**

To make our case, we have to accomplish three tasks. Specifically, we have to convince readers that the United States provides Israel with extraordinary material aid and diplomatic support, the lobby is the principal reason for that support, and this uncritical and unconditional relationship is not in the American national interest. To do so, we proceed as follows.

Chapter 1 ("The Great Benefactor") addresses the first issue directly, by describing the economic and military aid that the United States gives to Israel, as well as the diplomatic backing that Washington has provided in peace and in war. Subsequent chapters also discuss the different elements of U.S. Middle East policy that have been designed in whole or in part to benefit Israel vis-a-vis its various rivals.

Chapters 2 and 3 assess the main arguments that are usually invoked to justify or explain the exceptional amount of support that Israel receives from the United States. This critical assessment is necessary for methodological reasons: in order to properly assess the impact of the Israel lobby, we have to examine other possible explanations that might account for the "special relationship" that now exists between the two countries.

In Chapter 2 ("Israel: Strategic Asset or Liability?"), we examine the familiar argument that Israel deserves lavish support because it is a valuable strategic asset. We show that although Israel may have been an asset during the Cold War, it is now increasingly a strategic liability. Backing Israel so strongly helps fuel America's terrorism problem and makes it harder for the United States to address the other problems it faces in the Middle East. Unconditional support for Israel also complicates U.S. relations with a number of other countries around the world, thereby imposing additional costs on the United States. Yet even though the costs of backing Israel have risen while the benefits have declined, American support continues to increase. This situation suggests that something other than strategic imperatives is at work.

Chapter 3 ("A Dwindling Moral Case") examines the different moral rationales that Israelis and their American supporters often use to explain U.S. support for the Jewish state. In particular, we consider the claim that the United States backs Israel because of shared "democratic values," because Israel is a weak and vulnerable David facing a powerful Arab Goliath, because its past and present conduct is more ethical than its adversaries' behavior, or because it has always sought peace while its neighbors always chose war. This assessment is necessary not because we have any animus toward Israel or because we think its conduct is worse than that of other states, but because these essentially moral claims are so frequently used to explain why the United States should give Israel exceptional levels of aid. We conclude that while there is a strong moral case for Israel's existence, the moral case for giving it such generous and largely unconditional support is not compelling. Once again, this juxtaposition of a dwindling moral case and ever-increasing U.S. backing suggests that something else must be at work.

Having established that neither strategic interests nor moral rationales can fully explain U.S. support for Israel, we turn our attention to that "something else." Chapter 4 ("What Is the 'Israel Lobby'?") identifies the lobby's different components and describes how this loose coalition has evolved. We stress that it is not a single unified movement, that its different elements sometimes disagree on certain issues, and that it includes both Jews and non-Jews, including the so-called Christian Zionists. We also show how some of the most important organizations in the lobby have drifted right-ward over time and are increasingly unrepresentative of the larger populations on whose behalf they often claim to speak.

This chapter also considers whether Arab-American groups, the so-called oil lobby, or wealthy Arab oil producers are either a significant counterweight to the Israel lobby or even the real driving forces behind U.S. Middle East policy. Many people seem to believe, for example, that the invasion of Iraq was mostly about oil and that corporate oil interests were the primary movers behind the U.S. decision to attack that country. This is not the case: although access to oil is obviously an important U.S. interest, there are good reasons why Arab Americans, oil companies, and the Saudi royal family wield far less influence on U.S. foreign policy than the Israel lobby does.

In Chapter 5 ("Guiding the Policy Process") and Chapter 6 ("Dominating Public Discourse"), we describe the different strategies that groups in the lobby use in order to advance Israel's interests in the United States. In addition to direct lobbying on Capitol Hill, the lobby rewards or punishes politicians largely through an ability to guide the flow of campaign contributions. Organizations in the lobby also put pressure on the executive branch through a number of mechanisms, including working through government officials who are sympathetic to their views. Equally important, the lobby has gone to considerable lengths to shape public discourse about Israel by putting pressure on the media and academia and by establishing a tangible presence in influential foreign policy think tanks. Efforts to shape public perceptions often include charging critics of Israel with anti-Semitism, a tactic designed to discredit and marginalize anyone who challenges the current relationship.

These tasks accomplished, Part II traces the lobby's role in shaping recent U.S. Middle East policy. Our argument, it should be emphasized, is not that the lobby is the only factor that influences U.S. decision making in these issues. It is not omnipotent, so it does not get its way on every issue. But it is very effective in shaping U.S. policy toward Israel and the surrounding region in ways that are intended to benefit Israel—and believed also to benefit the United States. Unfortunately, the policies it has successfully encouraged have actually done considerable harm to U.S. interests and have been harmful to Israel as well.

Following a brief introduction to set the stage, Chapter 7 ("The Lobby Versus the Palestinians") shows how the United States has consistently backed Israel's efforts to quell or limit the Palestinians' national aspirations. Even when American presidents put pressure on Israel to make concessions or try to distance the United States from Israel's policies—as President George W. Bush has attempted to do on several occasions since September 11—the lobby intervenes and brings them back into line. The result has been a worsening image for the United States, continued suffering on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian divide, and a growing radicalization among the Palestinians. None of these trends is in America's or Israel's interest.

In Chapter 8 ("Iraq and Dreams of Transforming the Middle East"), we show how the lobby—and especially the neoconservatives within it—was the principal driving force behind the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq in 2003. We emphasize that the lobby did not cause the war by itself. The September 11 attacks had a profound impact on the Bush administration's foreign policy and the decision to topple Saddam Hussein. But absent the lobby's influence, there almost certainly would not have been a war. The lobby was a necessary but not sufficient condition for a war that is a strategic disaster for the United States and a boon for Iran, Israel's most serious regional adversary.

Chapter 9 ("Taking Aim at Syria") describes the evolution of America's difficult relationship with the Assad regime in Syria. We document how the lobby has pushed Washington to adopt confrontational policies toward Syria (including occasional threats of regime change) when doing so was what the Israeli government wanted. The United States and Syria would not be allies if key groups in the lobby were less influential, but the United States would have taken a much less confrontational approach and might even be cooperating with Syria in a number of limited but useful ways. Indeed, absent the lobby, there might already be a peace treaty between Israel and Syria, and Damascus might not be backing Hezbollah in Lebanon, which would be good for both Washington and Jerusalem.

In Chapter 10 ("Iran in the Crosshairs"), we trace the lobby's role in U.S. policy toward Iran. Washington and Tehran have had difficult relations since the 1979 revolution that overthrew the shah, and Israel has come to see Iran as its most serious adversary, in light of its nuclear ambitions and its

support for groups like Hezbollah. Accordingly, Israel and the lobby have repeatedly pushed the United States to go after Iran and have acted to derail several earlier opportunities for detente. The result, unfortunately, is that Iran's nuclear ambitions have increased and more extreme elements (such as current President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad) have come to power, making a difficult situation worse.

Lebanon is the subject of Chapter 11 ("The Lobby and the Second Lebanon War"), and the pattern is much the same. We argue that Israel's response to Hezbollah's unjustified provocation in the summer of 2006 was both strategically foolish and morally wrong, yet the lobby's influence made it hard for U.S. officials to do anything except strongly back Israel. This case offers yet another classic illustration of the lobby's regrettable influence on American and Israeli interests: by making it hard for U.S. policy makers to step back and give their Israeli counterparts honest and critical advice, the lobby facilitated a policy that further tarnished America's image, weakened the democratically elected regime in Beirut, and strengthened Hezbollah.

The final chapter ("What Is to Be Done?") explores how this unfortunate situation might be improved. We begin by identifying America's core Middle East interests and then sketch the essential principles of a strategy—which we term offshore balancing—that could defend these interests more effectively. We do not call for abandoning the U.S. commitment to Israel—indeed, we explicitly endorse coming to Israel's aid if its survival were ever in jeopardy. But we argue that it is time to treat Israel like a normal country and to make U.S. aid conditional on an end to the occupation and on Israel's willingness to conform its policies to American interests. Accomplishing this shift requires addressing the political power of the lobby and its current policy agenda, and we offer several suggestions for how the power of the lobby might be modified to make its influence more beneficial for the United States and Israel alike.

## THOSE WE LEARNED FROM

No author is an island, and we owe a considerable debt to other scholars and writers who examined these subjects before we did. To begin with, there is the extensive academic literature on interest groups that helped us understand how small but focused movements can exert influence far greater than their absolute numbers within the population might suggest.<sup>24</sup> There is also a robust literature on the impact of ethnic groups on U.S. foreign policy, which confirms that the Israel lobby is not unique in its basic activities, only in its unusual level of influence.<sup>25</sup>

A second body of literature addresses the lobby itself. A number of journalists, scholars, and former politicians have written about the lobby. Written from both critical and sympathetic perspectives, these works contain a considerable amount of useful information on the ways that the lobby has worked to influence U.S. foreign policy. We hope our account will extend the trail that these earlier writers blazed.<sup>26</sup>

We have also learned a great deal from other studies, too numerous to list in toto, that deal with particular aspects of U.S. Middle East policy, U.S.-Israeli relations, or specific policy issues. Although some of these works—such as Steven Spiegel's *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* and Warren Bass's *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance*—tend to downplay the lobby's influence, serious works of scholarship such as these nonetheless contain considerable evidence of the lobby's impact and especially its growing clout.<sup>27</sup>

There is a final body of literature that has played an important role in helping us to think about Israel, the lobby, and America's relationship with the Jewish state. We refer to the so-called new history that has come out of Israel over the past twenty years. Using extensive archival research, Israeli scholars like Shlomo Ben-Ami, Simha Flapan, Baruch Kimmerling, Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé, Tom Segev, Avi Shlaim, and Zeev Sternhell have effectively overturned the conventional wisdom on Israel's founding and on its subsequent policies toward both the surrounding states and the Palestinians.<sup>28</sup> Scholars from

other countries have also contributed to setting the historical record straight.<sup>29</sup> Together these individuals have undermined the original, highly romanticized version of the founding, in which the Jews are usually portrayed as the white hats and the Arabs as the black hats. Moreover, these works make clear that after Israel gained its independence, it behaved much more aggressively toward the Palestinians and other Arabs than is commonly recognized.

There are various disputes among these historians, of course, and we do not agree with every point they make. Nevertheless, the story they collectively tell is not just a matter of academic interest. In fact, it has profound implications for how one thinks about the moral rationale for supporting Israel over the Palestinians. It also helps one understand why so many people in the Arab and Islamic world are deeply angry at the United States for supporting Israel so generously and unconditionally.

#### **A NOTE ON SOURCES**

A brief word about sources is in order before we proceed. Much of this study—especially Part II—deals with recent history, or with events whose ultimate outcome remains uncertain. Because official documents regarding contemporary events are normally unavailable to scholars, we have been forced to rely on other sources: newspapers, magazines, scholarly articles, books, reports from human rights organizations, radio and television transcripts, and personal interviews that we conducted. In a few instances, we had to work with an admittedly spotty record of events. Although we think it is unlikely, some parts of our story may look different once official records become available.

In order to ensure that our various arguments are correct, we backed up virtually every significant point with multiple sources, which accounts for the extensive notes provided at the end of this book. We also relied heavily on Israeli sources like *Ha'aretz* and the *Jerusalem Post*, as well as the writings of Israeli scholars. Another indispensable source of information was American Jewish publications like the *Forward* and *Jewish Week*. Not only are these Israeli and Jewish-American sources filled with important information that is not found in the mainstream media in the United States, these newspapers were by and large not likely to be sympathetic to many of our arguments about the lobby. Our reliance on them should help make our conclusions even more reliable.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Our analysis begins by describing the material and diplomatic support that the United States provides to Israel. The fact that America gives considerable support to the Jewish state is hardly headline news, but readers may be surprised to learn just how extensive and varied this largesse actually is. Documenting that support is the subject of the next chapter.

#### **PART I**

# **THE UNITED STATES, ISRAEL, AND THE LOBBY THE GREAT BENEFACTOR**

"We are more than thankful to you." Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was uncharacteristically effusive when he appeared before a joint session of Congress on July 26, 1994. Extending his remarks to the "wonderful people of America," Rabin emphasized that "no words can express our gratitude . . . for your generous support, understanding, and cooperation, which are beyond compare in modern history." Two years later, following Rabin's tragic assassination, one of his successors, Benjamin Netanyahu, stood in the same spot and offered similar words of appreciation: "The United States has given Israel—how can I tell it to this body? The United States has given Israel, apart from political and military support, munificent and magnificent assistance in the economic sphere. With America's help, Israel has grown to be a powerful, modern state." He told his audience, "I know that I speak for every Israeli and every Jew throughout the world when I say to you today, 'Thank you, people of America.'"<sup>1</sup>

These statements—and others like them—are not merely the gracious rhetoric that one typically hears from visiting foreign dignitaries. Rabin's and Netanyahu's words are an accurate description of the remarkable backing that the United States has long provided to the Jewish state. American taxpayers' money has subsidized Israel's economic development and rescued it during periods of financial crisis. American military assistance has strengthened Israel in wartime and helped preserve its military dominance in the Middle East. Washington has given Israel extensive diplomatic support in war and peace, and has helped insulate it from some of the adverse consequences of its own actions. U.S. aid has also been a key ingredient in the protracted Arab-Israeli peace process, with agreements such as the Camp

David Accords or the peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan resting on explicit promises of increased American assistance. More than any other country, the United States has been Israel's great benefactor.

## **ECONOMIC AID**

The most obvious indicator of Israel's favored position is the total amount of foreign aid it has received from America's taxpayers. As of 2005, direct U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel amounted to nearly \$ 154 billion (in 2005 dollars), the bulk of it comprising direct grants rather than loans.<sup>2</sup> As discussed below, the actual total is significantly higher, because direct U.S. aid is given under unusually favorable terms and the United States provides Israel with other forms of material assistance that are not included in the foreign assistance budget.

Because this level of support is rarely questioned today, it is easy to forget that the "special relationship" that now exists did not emerge until several decades after Israel's founding. Prior to World War II, American leaders occasionally offered rhetorical support for the Zionist goal of a Jewish homeland, but no president exerted much effort to advance that objective. President Harry S. Truman did play a key role in supporting the establishment of a Jewish homeland when he decided to back the UN partition plan in 1947 and to recognize Israel immediately after its declaration of independence in May 1948. But both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations also realized that embracing Israel too closely would jeopardize relations with the Arab world and provide the Soviet Union with enticing opportunities to gain influence in the Middle East. Accordingly, the United States sought to steer a middle course between Israel and its Arab neighbors during the 1950s; economic aid to Israel was modest and the United States provided hardly any direct military assistance.<sup>3</sup> Israeli requests to purchase American weaponry were politely rejected, as were requests for a U.S. security guarantee.<sup>4</sup>

There were also several sharp diplomatic disagreements between Washington and Jerusalem during this period. When Israel ignored UN demands that it halt work on a canal to divert water from the Jordan River in September 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles promptly announced that the United States was suspending foreign assistance. The threat worked: Israel agreed to stop the project on

October 27 and U.S. aid was restored.<sup>5</sup> Similar threats to halt American aid played a key role in convincing Israel to withdraw from the territory it had seized from Egypt in the 1956 Suez War. Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion saw the war as an opportunity for territorial expansion, and he began the prewar discussions with Britain and France (the primary instigators of the attack on Egypt) by suggesting that Jordan be divided between Israel and Iraq and that Israel be given portions of Lebanon and control over the Straits of Tiran.<sup>6</sup> Britain and France were preoccupied with Egypt and uninterested in this grand scheme. But Ben-Gurion made several statements following the conquest by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) of the Sinai Peninsula (including a speech in the Knesset on November 7) suggesting that the 1949 armistice agreements were void and that Israel intended to keep the lands it had just seized. When Eisenhower threatened to block all public and private aid to Israel, Ben-Gurion quickly backtracked, agreeing "in principle" to withdraw in exchange for adequate assurances of Israel's security. Israel then worked to rally support in the United States, a campaign that reduced Eisenhower's congressional support and led him to make a nationally televised speech justifying his actions. Israel finally withdrew from all the territories it had conquered in the spring of 1957, in exchange for assurances regarding border security in Gaza and freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran.<sup>7</sup>

U.S.-Israeli relations had warmed by the late 1950s, but it was the Kennedy administration that made the first tangible U.S. commitment to Israel's military security.<sup>8</sup> In December 1962, in fact, Kennedy told Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir that the United States "has a special relationship with Israel in the Middle East really comparable only to that which it has with Britain over a wide range of world affairs," adding that "I think it is quite clear that in case of an invasion the United States would come to the support of Israel. We have that capacity and it is growing."<sup>9</sup> Kennedy soon thereafter authorized the first major sale of U.S. weaponry—Hawk anti-aircraft missiles—to Israel in 1963. This shift reflected a number of strategic considerations—such as the desire to balance Soviet arms sales to Egypt, dampen Israel's nuclear ambitions, and encourage Israel's leaders to respond favorably to U.S. peace initiatives—but skillful Israeli diplomacy, the influence of several pro-Israel advisers, and Kennedy's understandable desire to maintain support from Jewish voters and donors played a role in his decision as well.<sup>10</sup> The Hawk sale opened the door to several additional weapons deals, most notably the sale of more than two hundred M48A battle tanks in 1964. In an attempt to disguise American involvement and thereby limit repercussions in the Arab world, the tanks were shipped to Israel by West Germany, which in turn received replacements from the United States.<sup>11</sup>

In terms of the absolute amount of U.S. aid, however, the real sea change took place following the Six-Day War in June 1967. After averaging roughly \$63 million annually from 1949 to 1965 (more than 95 percent of which was economic assistance and food aid), average aid increased to \$102 million per year from 1966 to 1970. Support soared to \$634.5 million in 1971 (roughly 85 percent was military assistance) and more than quintupled after the Yom Kippur War in 1973. Israel became the largest annual recipient of U.S. foreign assistance in 1976, a position it has retained ever since. Support for Israel shifted from loans to direct grants during this period, with the bulk of U.S. aid consisting of military assistance rather than economic or technical support. According to Clyde Mark of the Congressional Research Service (CRS), the official research arm of the U.S. Congress, "Israel preferred that the aid be in the form of loans, rather than grants, to avoid having a U.S. military contingent in Israel to oversee a grant program. Since 1974, some or all of U.S. military aid to Israel has been in the form of loans for which repayment is waived. Technically, the assistance is called loans, but as a practical matter, the military aid is grant."<sup>12</sup>

Israel now receives on average about \$3 billion in direct foreign assistance each year, an amount that is roughly one-sixth of America's direct foreign assistance budget and equal to about 2 percent of Israel's GDR. In recent years, about 75 percent of U.S. assistance has been military aid, with the remainder broken down into various forms of economic aid.<sup>13</sup> In per capita terms, this level of direct foreign assistance amounts to a direct subsidy of more than \$500 per year for each Israeli. By comparison, the number two recipient of American foreign aid, Egypt, receives only \$20 per person, and impoverished countries such as Pakistan and Haiti receive roughly \$5 per person and \$27 per person, respectively.<sup>14</sup> Jerusalem and Washington agreed to gradually phase out economic assistance

beginning in 1997, and Congress has reduced economic aid to Israel by \$ 120 million per year since FY1999. This step has been partly compensated for by a parallel U.S. commitment to increase its military aid by \$60 million per year, and by congressional willingness to vote supplemental aid packages, such as the \$1.2 billion provided to support implementation of the 1998 Wye Agreement (in which Israel agreed to withdraw forces from parts of the West Bank) and an additional \$1 billion in foreign military financing (FMF) aid in 2003 to help Israel prepare for the war with Iraq.<sup>15</sup>

Three billion dollars per year is generous, but it is hardly the whole story. As noted above, the canonical \$3 billion figure omits a substantial number of other benefits and thus significantly understates the actual level of U.S. support. Indeed, in 1991, Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN) told re

porters that Israel was one of three countries whose aid "substantially exceeds the popularly quoted figures" and said the annual figure was in fact more than \$4.3 billion.<sup>16</sup>

The discrepancy arises in part because Israel gets its aid under more favorable terms than most other recipients of U.S. assistance.<sup>17</sup> Most recipients of American foreign aid get their money in quarterly installments, but since 1982, the annual foreign aid bill has included a special clause specifying that Israel is to receive its entire annual appropriation in the first thirty days of the fiscal year.<sup>18</sup> This is akin to receiving your entire annual salary on January 1 and thus being able to earn interest on the unspent portion until you used it.

Because the U.S. government normally runs budget deficits, transferring the aid all at once requires it to borrow the necessary amount of money up front, and the CRS estimates that it costs U.S. taxpayers "between \$50 and \$60 million per year to borrow funds for the early, lump-sum payment."<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the U.S. government ends up paying Israel additional interest when Israel reinvests the unspent portion in U.S. treasury bills. According to the U.S. embassy in Israel, early transfer of FMF funds has enabled Israel to earn some \$660 million in extra interest as of 2004.<sup>20</sup> Israel has also received "excess defense articles" (surplus U.S. military equipment provided to friendly nations either free of charge or heavily discounted) beyond the normal limits imposed by the 1976 Arms Export Control Act. This limit was originally set at \$250 million (excluding ships), but the appropriations bill of November 5, 1990, authorized a "one-time only" transfer to Israel of \$700 million worth of surplus U.S. equipment in 1991.<sup>21</sup>

Likewise, the FMF program normally requires recipients of U.S. military assistance to spend all of the money here in the United States, to help keep American defense workers employed. Congress grants Israel a special exemption in the annual appropriations bill, however, authorizing it to use about one out of every four U.S. military aid dollars to subsidize its own defense industry. "No other recipient of U.S. military assistance has been granted this benefit," notes a recent CRS report, and "the proceeds to Israeli defense firms from purchases with U.S. funds have allowed the Israeli defense industry to achieve necessary economies of scale and become highly sophisticated." By 2004, in fact, Israel, a comparatively small country, had become the world's eighth largest arms supplier.<sup>22</sup>

Along with Egypt and Turkey, Israel is also permitted to apply its entire FMF funding to meet its current year obligations, rather than having to set aside portions to cover expected costs in subsequent years. According to the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), this "cash flow" method of financing "permits a country to order more defense goods and services than it normally could because less money must be reserved when a contract is signed."<sup>23</sup> Israel can make its payments as long as the United States continues to provide similar amounts of aid, a situation that makes it harder for the United States to reduce its support in the future. And in a further manipulation of the methods of financing, recipients of U.S. aid are normally expected to draw down FMF loans and grants at an equal rate, but Israel is allowed to draw down the grant (or waived) portions of its FMF allocation before it uses any loaned portions. By delaying the date on which the loan is activated, this procedure reduces the amount of interest that Israel owes Uncle Sam.<sup>24</sup>

Remarkably, Israel is the only recipient of U.S. economic aid that does not have to account for how it is spent. Aid to other countries is allocated for specific development projects (HIV/AIDS prevention, counternarcotics programs, children's health, democracy promotion, improving education, etc.), but

Israel receives a direct lump-sum cash transfer.<sup>25</sup> This exemption makes it virtually impossible for the United States to prevent its subsidies from being used for purposes that it opposes, such as building settlements on the West Bank. According to the CRS's Clyde Mark, "Because U.S. economic aid is given to Israel as direct government-to-government budgetary authority without any specific project accounting, and money is fungible, there is no way to tell how Israel uses U.S. aid."<sup>26</sup>

Another form of U.S. support is loan guarantees that permit Israel to borrow money from commercial banks at lower rates, thereby saving millions of dollars in interest payments. Israel requested and received approximately \$ 10 billion in loan guarantees from the United States in the early 1990s in order to finance the costs of settling Soviet Jews immigrating to Israel. The U.S. government does not provide funds directly in a loan guarantee—it merely undertakes to reimburse private lenders in the event of a default— and advocates of these measures often claim that there is no real expenditure and thus no real cost to the U.S. taxpayer. Loan guarantees do have budgetary consequences, however, because Congress must appropriate funds to cover an estimate of what could be lost over the life of the loan based on its net present value. Estimates for the cost of the 1992 loan guarantee range from \$100 million to \$800 million.<sup>27</sup>

Washington authorized a second round of loan guarantees in 2003, totaling nearly \$9 billion, to help Israel prepare for the war with Iraq, deal with a protracted economic crisis, and cover the costs imposed by the Second

Palestinian Intifada. Because Israel is legally barred from using U.S. economic aid in the Occupied Territories, the actual amount allocated was eventually reduced by an amount equivalent to Israel's estimated expenditures on settlement construction. This reduction is not as severe as it may sound, however, as it involved no decrease in direct U.S. aid and merely forced Israel to pay a slightly higher interest rate on a small portion of the borrowed funds.

In addition to government subsidized aid and loan guarantees, Israel receives an estimated \$2 billion annually in private donations from American citizens, roughly half in direct payments and half via the purchase of State of Israel Bonds.<sup>28</sup> These bonds receive favorable treatment in U.S. law; although the interest paid on them is not tax-exempt, Congress specifically exempted them from the provisions of the 1984 Deficit Reduction Act, which imposed additional tax penalties on other bonds with yields below the federal rate.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, private donations to charities in most foreign countries are not tax deductible, but many private donations to Israel are, due to a special clause in the U.S.-Israel income tax treaty.<sup>30</sup>

This flow of money to Israel has been a crucial boon to the general economy, but private contributions from U.S. citizens have also played an important strategic role, going back to the preindependence era.<sup>31</sup> In his memoirs, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres revealed that private contributions from wealthy diaspora Jews (including several Americans) had helped finance Israel's clandestine nuclear program in the 1950s and 1960s. According to the Israeli journalist Michael Karpin, a key coordinator of this fund-raising effort was Abraham Feinberg, a well-connected U.S. businessman, philanthropist, and political adviser, and contributors to the campaign reportedly included Canadian beverage magnate Samuel Bronfman and several members of the Rothschild family. Feinberg never divulged the names of the American donors, however, and his own role has never been officially confirmed.<sup>32</sup> Today, groups like the Friends of Israel Defense Forces raise funds in the United States to "support social, educational, cultural and recreational programs and facilities for the young men and women soldiers of Israel who defend the Jewish homeland." One recent dinner in New York reportedly raised some \$18 million in contributions, which are tax deductible under U.S. law.<sup>33</sup>

Other private donations from U.S. citizens have also helped subsidize Israel's prolonged campaign to colonize the Occupied Territories. These contributions to settlements in the West Bank (including those made via U.S. charities or other "Friends of . . ." organizations) are not supposed to be tax exempt in the United States, but such restrictions are inherently difficult to enforce and were loosely monitored in the past.<sup>34</sup> For example, in order to safeguard the tax-exempt status of U.S. donations to the Jewish Agency for Israel (a quasi-governmental organization that helps settle new arrivals in Israel), the task of aiding settlements in the Occupied Territories was taken out of the agency's Settlement



Department and assigned to a new "Settlement Division" within the World Zionist Organization (WZO). But as Ger-shom Gorenberg points out, "The Division was a shell that contracted all services from the Jewish Agency . . . The change kept the U.S. Jewish philanthropies clear of the occupied territories. On the ground, the same people continued the same efforts."<sup>35</sup> This problem was underscored when an official Israeli government study directed by Talia Sasson, former chief criminal prosecutor, revealed that the Settlement Division of the WZO (which receives support from prominent Jewish organizations all over the world) was actively involved in the creation of unauthorized settlements in the Occupied Territories.<sup>36</sup> More broadly, because Israeli charities operate beyond the reach of U.S. tax authorities, donations from Jewish and Christian evangelical organizations are hard to monitor once they are transferred to Israel. In practice, therefore, the U.S. government cannot easily determine the extent to which tax-exempt private donations are being diverted for unauthorized purposes.<sup>37</sup>

All this largesse is especially striking when one realizes that Israel is not a poor or devastated country like Afghanistan, Niger, Burma, or Sierra Leone. On the contrary, Israel is now a modern industrial power. Its per capita income in 2006 was twenty-ninth in the world, according to the International Monetary Fund, and is nearly double that of Hungary and the Czech Republic, substantially higher than Portugal's, South Korea's, or Taiwan's, and far outstrips every country in Latin America and Africa.<sup>38</sup> It ranks twenty-third in the United Nations' 2006 *Human Development Report* and thirty-eighth in the Economist Intelligence Unit's 2005 "quality of life" rankings.<sup>39</sup> Yet this comparatively prosperous state is America's biggest aid recipient, each year receiving sums that dwarf U.S. support for impoverished states such as Bangladesh, Bolivia, and Liberia. This anomaly is even acknowledged by some of Israel's more fervent supporters in the United States. In 1997, for example, Mitchell Bard, the former editor of AIPAC's *Near East Report*, and Daniel Pipes, the hawkish founder of the pro-Israel Middle East Forum, wrote that "Israel has become an affluent country with a personal income rivaling Great Britain's, so the American willingness to provide aid to Israel is no longer based purely on need."<sup>40</sup>

The United States has taken on other economic burdens for Israel's benefit, often as part of efforts to persuade Israel to accept or implement peace agreements with its neighbors. As part of the 1975 disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel, for example, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that committed the United States to guarantee Israel's oil needs in the event of a crisis and to finance and stock "a supplementary strategic reserve" for Israel, at an estimated cost of several hundred million dollars.<sup>41</sup> The oil guarantee was reaffirmed during the final peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel in March 1979 and has been quietly renewed ever since.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the aid that the United States provides to several of Israel's neighbors is at least partly intended to benefit Israel as well. Egypt and Jordan are the number two and three recipients of U.S. foreign aid, but most of this money should be seen as a reward for good behavior—specifically, their willingness to sign peace treaties with Israel. Egypt received \$71.7 million in U.S. aid in 1974, but it got \$1,127 billion in 1975 and \$1,320 billion in 1976 (in constant 2005 dollars) following completion of the Sinai II disengagement agreement. U.S. aid to Egypt reached \$2.3 billion in 1978 and soared to a whopping \$5.9 billion in 1979, the year the Egypt-Israeli peace treaty was signed. Cairo still gets about \$2 billion annually.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Jordan received \$76 million in direct aid in 1994 and only \$57 million in 1995, but Congress rewarded King Hussein's decision to sign a peace treaty in 1994 by forgiving Jordan's \$700 million debt to the United States and removing other restrictions on U.S. aid. Since 1997, U.S. aid to Jordan has averaged roughly \$566 million annually.<sup>44</sup> U.S. willingness to reward Egypt and Jordan in this way is yet another manifestation of Washington's generosity toward the Jewish state.

## **MILITARY ASSISTANCE**

These various forms of economic assistance have been and remain important to Israel, but the bulk of

U.S. support is now committed to preserving Israel's military supremacy in the Middle East.<sup>45</sup> Not only does Israel receive access to top-drawer U.S. weaponry (F-15 and F-16 aircraft, Blackhawk helicopters, cluster munitions, "smart bombs," etc.), it has also become linked to the U.S. defense and intelligence establishments through a diverse array of formal agreements and informal links. According to the Congressional Research

Service, "U.S. military aid has helped transform Israel's armed forces into one of the most technologically sophisticated militaries in the world."<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Israel "enjoys unusually wide latitude in spending the [military assistance] funds."<sup>47</sup> The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) handles almost all the purchasing and monitors U.S. aid for all other military aid recipients, but Israel deals directly with military contractors for virtually all of its purchases and then gets reimbursed from its aid account.<sup>48</sup> Israel is also the only country where contracts for less than \$500,000 are exempt from prior U.S. review.<sup>49</sup>

The potential risks inherent in these comparatively lax oversight arrangements were revealed in the early 1990s, when the head of Israeli Air Force procurement, Brigadier General Rami Dotan, was found to have embezzled and illegally diverted millions of dollars of U.S. aid. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Dotan (who eventually pleaded guilty in Israel and received a lengthy jail sentence) reportedly "parceled out work orders to stay under the \$500,000 threshold." Nonetheless, the head of DSCA's predecessor, the Defense Security Assistance Agency, Lieutenant General Teddy Allen, subsequently told a congressional subcommittee that the Department of Defense inspector general's recommendation that the aid program for Israel be "revamped" had been rejected because it might cause "turbulence in our relations" with Israel.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the economic and military aid already described, the United States has provided Israel with nearly \$3 billion to develop weapons like the Lavi aircraft, the Merkava tank, and the Arrow missile.<sup>51</sup> These projects were funded through the U.S. Department of Defense and often portrayed as joint research and development efforts, but the United States did not need these weapons and never intended to purchase them for its own use. The Lavi project was eventually canceled on cost-effectiveness grounds (with much of the cancellation cost being borne by the United States), but the other weapons went into Israel's arsenal at Uncle Sam's expense.<sup>52</sup> The FY2004 U.S. defense budget included a \$136 million request for the Arrow, for example, with \$66 million allocated for additional improvements to the system and \$70 million authorized for the production of additional units. Thus, the money that Washington pays to help Israel's defense industry develop or produce these "joint weapons projects" is in reality another form of subsidy.<sup>53</sup> The United States sometimes benefits from the technology that Israeli firms develop, but America would benefit even more if these funds were used to support high-tech industries in the United States.

Military ties between the United States and Israel were upgraded in the 1980s, as part of the Reagan administration's effort to build an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Middle East. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Israeli Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon signed a memorandum of understanding in 1981 establishing a "framework for continued consultation and cooperation to enhance their national security."<sup>54</sup> This agreement led to the creation of a Joint Security Assistance Planning Group (JSAP) and Joint Political Military Group, which meet regularly to review Israel's aid requests and to coordinate military plans, joint exercises, and logistical arrangements. Although Israeli leaders had hoped for a formal treaty of alliance and were disappointed by the limited nature of the framework agreement, it was a more formal expression of a U.S. commitment than earlier presidential statements, such as Kennedy's private remarks to Golda Meir in 1962.

Despite tensions over a wide array of issues—U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia, the 1981 bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor, Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights in December 1981, its invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and its abrupt rejection of the "Reagan Plan" for peace in September 1982—security cooperation between Israel and the United States increased steadily in the Reagan years. Joint military exercises began in 1984, and in 1986 Israel became one of three foreign countries invited to participate in

the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (aka "Star Wars"). Finally, in 1988, a new memorandum of agreement reaffirmed the "close partnership between Israel and the United States" and designated Israel a "Major Non-NATO Ally," along with Australia, Egypt, Japan, and South Korea. States enjoying this status are eligible to purchase a wider array of U.S. weapons at lower prices, get priority delivery on war surplus materiel, and participate in joint research and development projects and U.S. counterterrorism initiatives. Commercial firms from these states also get preferential treatment when bidding for U.S. defense contracts.<sup>55</sup>

Security links between the two countries have expanded ever since. The United States began prepositioning military supplies in Israel in 1989, and Congress voted in 2006 to increase the stockpile from roughly \$ 100 million to \$400 million by 2008.<sup>56</sup> This policy has been justified as a way to enhance the Pentagon's ability to respond quickly to a regional crisis, but prepositioning U.S. supplies in Israel is actually an inefficient way to prepare for this contingency and the Pentagon has never been enthusiastic about this policy. According to Shai Feldman, former head of Tel Aviv University's Jaffe Institute of Strategic Studies, "Present arrangements permit the storage only of materiel that could also be used in an emergency by Israeli forces. In the view of Pentagon planners, this implies that the United States cannot be absolutely certain that arms and ammunition stored in Israel would be available in a crisis situation. Moreover, this 'dual use' arrangement means that instead of storing weapons and ordnance for pre-designated U.S. units, weapons would have to be distributed from general stocks under crisis conditions and then integrated into different combat units, creating a logistical nightmare."<sup>57</sup> The real purpose of the stockpile program is to enhance Israel's materiel reserves, and it is hardly surprising that *Ynetnews*, a Web news service affiliated with the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth*, reported in December 2006 that "a great portion of the American equipment stored in Israel . . . was used for combat in the summer [2006] war in Lebanon."<sup>58</sup>

Building on the other working groups created during the 1980s, the United States and Israel established a Joint Anti-Terrorism Working Group in 1996 and set up an electronic "hotline" between the Pentagon and Israel's Ministry of Defense. Further cementing the links between the two states, Israel was given access to the U.S. satellite-based missile warning system in 1997. Then, in 2001, the two states established an annual "interagency strategic dialogue" to discuss "long-term issues." The latter forum was temporarily suspended during a dispute over Israeli sales of American military technology to China, but it reconvened in November 2005.<sup>59</sup>

As one would expect, U.S.-Israeli security cooperation also extends to the realm of intelligence. Cooperation between U.S. and Israeli intelligence services dates back to the late 1950s, and by 1985 the two countries had reportedly signed some two dozen intelligence-sharing arrangements. Israel gave the United States access to captured Soviet weaponry and to reports from emigres from the Soviet bloc, while the United States provided Israel with satellite imagery during the 1973 October War and prior to the 1976 Entebbe hostage rescue, and reportedly helped finance several Israeli intelligence operations in Africa.<sup>60</sup> In the early 1980s, the United States even gave Israel access to certain forms of intelligence that it denied its closest NATO allies. In particular, Israel reportedly received almost unlimited access to intelligence from the sophisticated KH-11 reconnaissance satellite ("not only the information, but the photos themselves," according to the head of Israeli military intelligence), while British access to the same source was much more limited.<sup>61</sup> Access to this data was restricted following Israel's raid on Iraq's Osirak reactor in 1981, but the first President Bush is believed to have authorized the transfer of real-time satellite information about Iraq's Scud attacks during the 1991 Gulf War.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast to Washington's long-standing opposition to the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the United States has tacitly supported Israel's effort to maintain regional military superiority by turning a blind eye toward its various clandestine WMD programs, including its possession of upward of two hundred nuclear weapons.<sup>63</sup> The U.S. government has pressed dozens of states to sign the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), but American leaders did little to pressure Israel to halt its nuclear program and sign the agreement. The Kennedy administration clearly wanted to restrain Israel's nuclear ambitions in the early 1960s, and it eventually persuaded Israel to permit U.S.

scientists to tour Israel's nuclear research facility at Dimona to ascertain whether Israel was trying to produce a nuclear bomb. The Israeli government repeatedly denied that it had a weapons program, dragged its feet in scheduling visits, and imposed onerous restrictions on the inspectors' access when visits did occur. Thus, the first U.S. visit, on May 18, 1961, involved just two American scientists and lasted only four days, only one of them spent at the Dimona site. According to Warren Bass, "Israel's strategy was to permit a visit . . . but ensure that the inspectors did not find anything." Pressed to allow a follow-up visit a year later, the Israelis unexpectedly invited U.S. Atomic Energy Commission officials inspecting a different Israeli facility to make an impromptu tour of Dimona. As Bass notes, this visit "hardly merits the name 'inspection,'" but the Kennedy administration "did not seem eager to pick a fight."<sup>64</sup>

Kennedy stepped up the pressure the following year, however, sending both Ben-Gurion and his successor, Levi Eshkol, several stern letters demanding biannual inspections "in accord with international standards" and warning that "this Government's commitment to and support of Israel could be seriously jeopardized" if the United States were unable to resolve its concerns about Israel's nuclear ambitions.<sup>65</sup> Kennedy's threats convinced Israel's leaders to permit additional visits, but the concession did not lead to compliance. As Eshkol reportedly told his colleagues after receiving Kennedy's July 1963 demarche: "What am I frightened of? His man will come, and he will actually be told that he can visit [the Dimona site] and go anywhere he wishes, but when he wants a door opened at some place or another then [Emanuel] Prat [head of construction at Dimona] will tell him 'Not that.'"<sup>66</sup> On other visits, inspectors were not permitted to bring in outside instruments or take samples.

As the more recent cases of Iraq and North Korea remind us, such obfuscatory tactics are part of the standard playbook for all clandestine proliferators. U.S. officials remained suspicious about Jerusalem's nuclear plans, but Israel's deception worked because neither Kennedy nor his successor, Lyndon Johnson, was willing to withhold U.S. support if Israel were not more forthcoming. As a result, notes Avner Cohen in his detailed history of Israel's nuclear program, "the Israelis were able to determine the rules of the [U.S.] visits and the Johnson administration chose not to confront Israel on the issue, fearing that Israel would end the arrangement . . . Kennedy threatened both Ben Gurion and [Levi] Eshkol that noncompliance . . . could jeopardize American commitment to Israel's security and well being,' but Johnson was unwilling to risk an American-Israeli crisis over the issue."<sup>67</sup> "Instead of inspections every six months," writes Bass, "in practice Johnson settled for a quick visit once a year or so."<sup>68</sup> And when CIA Director Richard Helms came to the White House in 1968 to inform Johnson that U.S. intelligence had concluded that Israel had in fact acquired a nuclear capability, Johnson told him to make sure that nobody else was shown the evidence, including Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. According to the journalist Seymour Hersh, "Johnson's purpose in chasing Helms—and his intelligence—away was clear: he did not want to know what the CIA was trying to tell him, for once he accepted that information, he would have to act on it. By 1968, the President had no intention of doing anything to stop the Israeli bomb."<sup>69</sup>

In addition to its nuclear arsenal, Israel maintains active chemical and biological weapons programs and has yet to ratify either the Chemical or Biological Weapons Convention.<sup>70</sup> The irony is hard to miss: the United States has pressured many other states to join the NPT, imposed sanctions on countries that have defied U.S. wishes and acquired nuclear weapons anyway, gone to war in 2003 to prevent Iraq from pursuing WMD, and contemplated attacking Iran and North Korea for the same reason. Yet Washington has long subsidized an ally whose clandestine WMD activities are well-known and whose nuclear arsenal has given several of its neighbors a powerful incentive to seek WMD themselves.

With the partial exception of Soviet support for Cuba, it is hard to think of another instance where one country has provided another with a similar level of material aid over such an extended period.<sup>71</sup> America's willingness to provide some support to Israel is not surprising, of course, because U.S. leaders have long favored Israel's existence and understood that it faced a hostile threat environment. As discussed below and in Chapter 2, U.S. leaders also saw aid to Israel as a way to advance broader foreign policy goals. Nonetheless, the sheer magnitude of U.S. aid is remarkable. As we show in Chapter 3, Israel was stronger than its neighbors before significant American military aid commenced,

and it is now a prosperous country. U.S. aid has undoubtedly been useful for Israel, but it may not have been essential to its survival.

The most singular feature of U.S. support for Israel is its increasingly unconditional nature. President Eisenhower could credibly threaten to withhold aid after the Suez War (though even he faced significant congressional opposition when he did), but those days are long past. Since the mid-1960s, Israel has continued receiving generous support even when it took actions American leaders thought were unwise and contrary to U.S. interests. Israel gets its aid despite its refusal to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and its various WMD programs. It gets its aid when it builds settlements in the Occupied Territories (losing only a small amount through reductions in loan guarantees), even though the U.S. government opposes this policy. It also gets its aid when it annexes territory it has conquered (as it did on the Golan Heights and in Jerusalem), sells U.S. military technology to potential enemies like China, conducts espionage operations on U.S. soil, or uses U.S. weapons in ways that violate U.S. law (such as the use of cluster munitions in civilian areas in Lebanon). It gets additional aid when it makes concessions for peace, but it rarely loses American support when it takes actions that make peace more elusive. And it gets its aid even when Israeli leaders renege on pledges made to U.S. presidents. Menachem Begin promised Ronald Reagan that he would not lobby against the proposed sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia in 1981, for example, but Begin then went up to Capitol Hill and told a Senate panel that he opposed the deal.<sup>72</sup>

One might think that U.S. generosity would give Washington considerable leverage over Israel's conduct, but this has not been the case. When dealing with Israel, in fact, U.S. leaders can usually elicit cooperation only by offering additional carrots (increased assistance) rather than employing sticks (threats to withhold aid). For example, the Israeli Cabinet agreed to publicly endorse UN Resolution 242—which, originally passed in November 1967, called for Israel's withdrawal from territories seized in the Six-Day War—only after President Richard Nixon gave private assurances that Israel would receive additional U.S. aircraft.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, its acceptance of the cease-fire agreement that ended the so-called War of Attrition with Egypt (a protracted series of air, artillery, and infantry clashes that began along the Suez Canal in March 1969 and continued until July 1970) was bought by a U.S. pledge to accelerate aircraft deliveries to Israel, to provide advanced electronic countermeasures against Egypt's Soviet-supplied anti-aircraft missiles, and, more generally, to "maintain the balance of power."<sup>74</sup> According to Shimon Peres (who served as Minister without Portfolio during this period), "As to the question of U.S. pressure on us to accept their programme, I would say they handled us more with a carrot than with a stick; in any event they never threatened us with sanctions."<sup>75</sup>

This pattern continued through the 1970s, with Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter pledging ever-larger sums of aid in the course of the disengagement talks with Egypt and during the negotiations that led to the 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Specifically, U.S. aid to Israel increased from \$1.9 billion in 1975 to \$6.29 billion in 1976 (following completion of the Sinai II agreement) and from \$4.4 billion in 1978 to \$10.9 billion in 1979 (following the final peace treaty with Egypt).<sup>76</sup> As discussed below, the United States also made a number of other commitments to Israel in order to persuade it to sign. In much the same way, the Clinton administration gave Israel increased assistance as part of the peace treaty with Jordan in 1994, and Clinton's efforts to advance the Oslo peace process led him to pledge an additional \$1.2 billion in military aid to Israel to win Israel's acceptance of the 1998 Wye Agreement. Prime Minister Netanyahu suspended the Wye Agreement shortly after it was signed, however, following a violent confrontation between a Palestinian crowd and two Israeli citizens.<sup>77</sup> According to U.S. negotiator Dennis Ross, "It was hard to escape the conclusion that Bibi [Netanyahu] . . . was seizing on this incident to avoid further implementation. This was unfortunate, because the Palestinians were working diligently to carry out most of their commitments under Wye, particularly in the area of making arrests and fighting terror."<sup>78</sup> Yet as the Israeli scholar Abraham Ben-Zvi observes, "The Clinton administration's frustration with Netanyahu's style was rarely translated into policy that harmed the American-Israeli special relationship."<sup>79</sup>

Indeed, attempts to use America's potential leverage face significant obstacles and are rarely

attempted, even when U.S. officials are deeply upset by Israeli actions. When President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger grew impatient with Israeli intransigence during the disengagement negotiations with Egypt in 1975, a threat to curtail aid and conduct a far-reaching reassessment of U.S. policy was derailed when seventy-six senators signed a letter sponsored by AIPAC demanding that Ford remain "responsive" to Israel's economic and military needs. With their ability to reduce U.S. aid effectively blocked, Ford and Kissinger had little choice but to resume "step-by-step" diplomacy and try to gain Israeli concessions by offering additional inducements.<sup>80</sup>

President Jimmy Carter was similarly upset by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's failure to implement the full terms of the 1978 Camp David Accords (the breakthrough agreement that created the framework for the subsequent peace treaty between Egypt and Israel), but he never tried to link U.S. assistance to Israeli compliance.<sup>81</sup> Clinton administration officials were equally frustrated when Prime Ministers Netanyahu and Barak did not live up to all of Israel's commitments in the Oslo agreements, and Clinton was reportedly "furious" when Barak reneged on a commitment to transfer three Jerusalem villages to Palestinian control, declaring that Barak was making him a "false prophet" in the eyes of another foreign leader, Yasser Arafat. Clinton also erupted when Barak tried to shift ground during the 2000 Camp David Summit, telling him, "I can't go see Arafat with a retrenchment! You can sell it; there is no way I can. This is not real. This is not serious."<sup>82</sup> Yet Clinton did not react to these maneuvers by threatening to withhold support.

To be sure, America has occasionally withheld aid temporarily in order to express displeasure over particular Israeli actions, but such gestures are usually symbolic and short-lived, and have little lasting effect on Israeli conduct. In 1977, for example, Israel used U.S. armored personnel carriers to intervene in southern Lebanon (a step that violated both the Arms Export Control Act requirement that U.S. arms be used only for "legitimate self defense" and Prime Minister Menachem Begin's pledge to take no action in Lebanon without first consulting Washington) and then denied having done so. After sophisticated intelligence information exposed Israel's deception, the Carter administration threatened to terminate future military shipments and Begin ordered that the equipment be withdrawn.<sup>83</sup>

A similar example is the Reagan administration's decision to suspend the 1981 memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation following Israel's de facto annexation of the Golan Heights, but Reagan later implemented the key provisions of the agreement even though Israel never reversed the annexation. The United States also halted shipments of cluster munitions after Israel violated prior agreements regarding their use during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, but began supplying them again in 1988.<sup>84</sup> U.S. pressure also helped persuade Israel not to conduct a full-fledged assault on the PLO forces that had taken refuge in Beirut after Israel's 1982 invasion, but Israel's leaders were themselves reluctant to take this step and thus did not need much convincing.<sup>85</sup>

In 1991, the first Bush administration pressured the Shamir government to stop building settlements and to attend a planned peace conference by withholding the \$10 billion loan guarantee, but the suspension lasted only a few months and the guarantees were approved once Yitzhak Rabin replaced Shamir as prime minister.<sup>86</sup> Israel agreed to halt construction of new settlements but continued to expand the existing blocs, and the number of settlers in the Occupied Territories increased by 8,000 (14.7 percent) in 1991, by 6,900 (10.3 percent) in 1993, by 6,900 (9.7 percent) in 1994, and by 7,300 (9.1 percent) in 1996, rates significantly higher than Israel's overall population growth during these years.<sup>87</sup>

A similar episode occurred in 2003, when the second Bush administration tried to signal its opposition to Israel's "security wall" in the West Bank by making a token reduction in U.S. loan guarantees to Israel. Withholding the entire guarantee or reducing direct foreign aid might have had an effect, but Bush merely withheld a portion of the loan guarantee equivalent to the estimated costs of those portions of the wall that were encroaching on Palestinian lands. Israel simply had to pay a higher interest rate on a small portion of its loan, a penalty amounting to a few million dollars. When compared to the billions of dollars of U.S. aid that Israel already gets (and expects to get in the future), this was barely a slap on the wrist. It had no discernible effect on Israel's behavior.

## DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION AND WARTIME SUPPORT

In addition to these tangible forms of economic and military aid, the United States provides Israel with consistent diplomatic support. Between 1972 and 2006, Washington vetoed forty-two UN Security Council resolutions that were critical of Israel. That number is greater than the combined total of all the vetoes cast by all the other Security Council members for the same period and amounts to slightly more than half of all American vetoes during these years.<sup>88</sup> There were also numerous resolutions focusing on Israel that never reached a vote in the Security Council due to the threat of an American veto. In 2002, U.S. Ambassador to the UN John Negroponte reportedly told a closed meeting of the Security Council that the United States would henceforth veto any resolutions condemning Israel that did not simultaneously condemn terrorism in general and specifically mention Islamic Jihad, Hamas, and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade by name.<sup>89</sup> The United States has voted to censure Israel on a few occasions, but only after particularly egregious Israeli actions, when the resolution in question offered only mild criticisms, or when Washington wanted to communicate a degree of displeasure with Israeli intransigence.<sup>90</sup>

Outside the Security Council, the United States routinely backs Israel whenever the UN General Assembly passes one of the many resolutions condemning Israeli behavior or calling for action on behalf of the Palestinians. Although these resolutions are nonbinding and largely symbolic, Washington's stance often puts it at odds with most of its allies and in the company of a tiny handful of other states. To take a typical example, UN General Assembly Resolution 59/124, on "Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People," passed by a vote of 149-7 (with 22 abstaining and 13 nonvoting) on December 10, 2004. Among the many nations supporting the resolution were Japan, Germany, France, China, and Great Britain. The six countries that joined with the United States to oppose the resolution were Israel, Australia, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, and Palau.<sup>91</sup>

Similarly, when Arab countries have tried to raise the issue of Israel's undeclared nuclear arsenal within the International Atomic Energy Agency, Washington has stepped in to prevent the organization from placing the matter on its agenda. As Israeli foreign ministry spokesman Jonathan Peled told the Jewish newspaper *Forward* in 2003, "The Arabs do this every year, but in order to have a comprehensive debate amid a consensus on a resolution against Israel, you need the okay of the board of governors [of the IAEA] and you don't have it" due to Washington's influence on the board.<sup>92</sup>

America's willingness to take Israel's side in diplomacy and war has increased significantly over time. During the 1950s, as previously noted, the Eisenhower administration forced Israel to withdraw from the territory it had seized during the Suez War, and they successfully halted unilateral Israeli attempts to divert key water resources. Since the early 1960s, however, the United States has become more committed to protecting Israel's interests during major confrontations and in the subsequent negotiations. Washington has not given Jerusalem everything it wanted, but U.S. support has been consistent and considerable.

When an escalating series of clashes between Israel and Syria in 1966-67 led Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser to order troops back into the Sinai in May, alarming Israel's leaders and raising the danger of a wider war, the Johnson administration was nonetheless convinced that Israel was militarily superior to its Arab adversaries and exaggerating the danger of an Arab attack.<sup>93</sup> General Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, informed Johnson, "Our best estimate was that if there were a war, that the Israelis would win it in five to seven days," and Johnson himself told Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban that if Egypt attacked, "you will whip hell out of them."<sup>94</sup> Key Israeli leaders privately agreed with this assessment but continued to send Washington alarming reports as part of a deliberate campaign to elicit sympathy and support.<sup>95</sup>

Based on its own appraisals, the United States tried to prevent the outbreak of war by convincing the Israeli government to refrain from using force and to pursue a diplomatic solution.<sup>96</sup> President Johnson called Egypt's decision to close the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping on May 26 "illegal" and

was sympathetic to Israel's concerns, but he did not want to commit U.S. forces in light of American involvement in Vietnam and refused to make a blanket pledge to come to Israel's aid. His efforts to restrain Israel gradually softened, however, and by the first week of June, Johnson and several of his advisers were hinting to Israeli officials that the United States would not object if Israel acted, cautioning that they should not expect U.S. help if things went badly. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told a journalist that "I don't think it is our business to restrain anyone," and Michael Brecher reports that by June 3, "the perceived [Israeli] impression was that, if Israel took the initiative . . . the United States would not take an unfriendly view." In effect, Johnson gave the Israelis what one expert later called a "yellow light" for an attack.<sup>97</sup> The reasons for Johnson's shift remain obscure, although pressure from several pro-Israel friends and advisers, a letter-writing campaign organized by the Israeli embassy, and the growing sense that Israel was going to strike anyway may all have played a role.<sup>98</sup>

The United States did not put significant pressure on Israel to halt the fighting until it had emerged victorious and did not criticize Israel's action after the war. Indeed, when the Soviet Union threatened to intervene following Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights (which threatened Syria, the Soviets' ally), the president ordered the U.S. Sixth Fleet to move closer to Israel in order to deter Soviet interference. In sharp contrast with the 1956 Suez War, the Johnson administration made it clear there would be no American pressure for an Israeli withdrawal except in the context of a broader peace agreement.<sup>99</sup> Nor did the United States insist on a full and complete accounting of the tragic attack on the reconnaissance ship *USS Liberty* by Israeli naval and air forces on June 8, an event whose origins remain contested.<sup>100</sup> The United States may not have given Israel the diplomatic and military protection it originally sought at the onset of the crisis, but there was no doubt where America's sympathies lay.

The United States tilted even more strongly toward Israel during the 1969-70 War of Attrition. Aid to Israel increased during the fighting, consistent with Nixon and Kissinger's belief that steadfast support for Israel would reveal the limited value of Soviet aid and eventually convince Moscow's Arab clients to realign with the United States. Although the Nixon administration did not give Israel all the weapons it asked for, which occasionally led to sharp exchanges between the two governments, the United States did provide increased arms supplies while doing relatively little to encourage Israeli concessions in the various peace talks that occurred during this period. When the escalating violence raised new fears of a possible superpower confrontation, however, Washington took the lead in arranging a cease-fire and persuaded Israel to accept it by promising significant aid increases.<sup>101</sup> A memorandum of understanding in 1972 committed the United States to provide planes and tanks on a long-term basis, and Nixon and Kissinger pledged to consult Israel before offering any new peace proposals. By doing so, one of the world's two superpowers had in effect given a small country a quasi veto over subsequent diplomatic initiatives. By the early 1970s, writes William Quandt, "United States Middle East policy consisted of little more than open support for Israel," and Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban later termed this period the "golden age" in U.S. arms supplies.<sup>102</sup>

U.S. support was even more dramatic during the October War in 1973. Nixon and Kissinger were initially confident that Israel would win a quick victory and believed that America's postwar leverage would be maximized if its support for Israel was not too overt and Israel did not win too decisively. As Kissinger recounts in his memoirs, "If Israel won overwhelmingly—as we first expected—we had to avoid becoming the focal point of all Arab resentments. We had to keep the Soviet Union from emerging as the Arabs' savior . . . If the unexpected happened and Israel was in difficulty, we would have to do what was necessary to save it."<sup>103</sup> Given these expectations and strategic objectives, the United States responded slowly to Israel's initial requests for help. When Israel encountered unexpected difficulties and began running short of critical military supplies, however, Nixon and Kissinger ordered a full-scale airlift of vital military equipment, paid for with a \$2.2 billion grant of supplemental military aid.<sup>104</sup> Although the tide of battle had already turned before significant U.S. aid arrived, the assistance boosted Israel's morale and helped seal its victory.<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately for the United States, the resupply effort also triggered an Arab oil embargo and production decrease that quickly sent world oil prices soaring and imposed significant economic costs on the United States and its allies.



Within certain limits, U.S. diplomacy during the war favored Israel: the United States helped convince King Hussein of Jordan to remain on the sidelines, and Kissinger handled the cease-fire negotiations (most notably his talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow on October 21) with an eye toward preserving Israel's freedom of action until the final stages of the war. Nixon had instructed Kissinger to tell Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev that the United States "wanted to use the war to impose a comprehensive peace in the Middle East," but in Moscow Kissinger successfully pressed for a simple cease-fire that would leave Israel with the upper hand and facilitate subsequent efforts to exclude the Soviet Union from the peace process. According to the historian Kenneth Stein, "The American-compiled minutes of the three meetings that Kissinger attended with Brezhnev unequivocally show that he accurately and repeatedly represented Israeli interests to Moscow, almost totally contrary to Nixon's preferences." Israel's leaders resented what they saw as Soviet-American collusion to author a cease-fire, but as Stein notes, "Kissinger, while not representing Israel to the Kremlin, certainly presented Israel's concerns."<sup>106</sup>

When the Security Council passed a cease-fire resolution on October 22, calling for an end to all fighting within twelve hours, Kissinger permitted Israel to violate it in order to consolidate its military position. He had previously told Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz that Israel would be "well-advised" to use the time afforded by his trip to Moscow to complete its military operations, and according to the National Security Archive, a Washington-based research group that specializes in declassified U.S. sources, "Kissinger secretly gave Israeli authorities a green light to breach [the] ceasefire agreement" in order to "buy time for Israeli military advances despite the impending ceasefire deadline."<sup>107</sup> When the cease-fire broke down completely and the IDF surrounded Egypt's Third Army, prompting a blunt Soviet threat to intervene with its own troops, Nixon and Kissinger ordered a worldwide military alert, issued a sharp warning to Moscow to stay out, and told the Israelis it was now time to stop the fighting.

Although there was considerable hard bargaining during the subsequent "step-by-step" diplomacy leading to the 1975 Sinai II disengagement agreement, the United States still worked to protect Israel's interests. In addition to giving Israel increased military aid, the United States pledged to "concert action" with Israel when preparing for a subsequent peace conference and gave Israel a de facto veto over PLO participation in any future peace talks. Indeed, Kissinger promised that the United States would not "recognize or negotiate" with the PLO so long as it did not recognize Israel's right to exist or accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338 (the cease-fire resolutions that ended the 1967 and 1973 wars, respectively, and called for Israel's withdrawal from occupied territories along with acknowledgment of its sovereignty and independence), a pledge that Congress codified into law in 1984.<sup>108</sup> According to the Israeli historian Avi Shlaim, "[Israeli Prime Minister] Rabin made it clear to Kissinger that the cabinet would not ratify the Sinai II [disengagement] agreement unless it was accompanied by an American-Israeli agreement." Shlaim terms the resulting arrangements "an alliance with America in all but name."<sup>109</sup>

The United States came to Israel's aid once again following its ill-conceived invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Amid escalating violence between Israel and PLO forces in southern Lebanon, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon sought American approval for a military response intended to drive the PLO from Lebanon, eliminate Syrian influence, and bring the leader of the Lebanese Christians, Bashir Gemayel, to power. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig appeared to give conditional approval for the scheme in his talks with Israeli officials—saying at one point that a hypothetical Israeli response should be swift, "like a lobotomy"—though he probably did not know the full extent of Israel's ambitions and cautioned that Israel should act only if there were, as Haig put it, an "internationally recognized provocation."<sup>110</sup> Israel eventually invaded in June 1982 (even though Haig's criterion had not been met), but its ambitious plan to reorder Lebanese internal politics soon went awry. Although the IDF quickly routed the PLO and Syrian forces, the PLO remnants took refuge in Beirut and the IDF could not remove them without suffering extensive casualties and causing massive harm to Lebanese civilians. U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib eventually negotiated a deal to end the siege and permit the PLO to withdraw, and several thousand U.S. marines were subsequently dispatched to Lebanon as part of a multinational peacekeeping force.

Gemayel's assassination in September thwarted Israel's hope of creating a pro-Israel government in Lebanon, and the IDF then allowed Christian militias to enter the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, where they proceeded to slaughter a large number of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, with estimated death tolls ranging from roughly seven hundred to more than two thousand.<sup>111</sup> Repeated efforts to end Lebanon's internal struggles and foreign occupation failed, and U.S. personnel were gradually drawn into the intensifying Lebanese maelstrom. A suicide bomber struck the American embassy in April 1983, killing sixty-three people, and a truck bomb attack on the marine barracks in October left 241 marines dead and paved the way for a complete U.S. withdrawal the following year.

Even though U.S. officials—including President Reagan himself—were upset by Israel's conduct during the war, they did not try to punish Israel for its actions. Reagan did send Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin a sharply worded letter on June 9, calling on him to accept a proposed ceasefire with Syria, but the IDF's objectives vis-a-vis Syria had been accomplished by that time and it involved no great sacrifice for Israel to agree.<sup>112</sup>

"Despite verbal protestations and other gestures and occasional genuine irritation," notes the historian and diplomat Itamar Rabinovich, the United States "lent Israel the political support that enabled it to proceed with the war for an unusually long time."<sup>113</sup>

Indeed, instead of sanctioning Israel for invading a neighboring country, Congress voted to give Israel an additional \$250 million in military assistance in December 1982, over the strong objections of both President Reagan and his new secretary of state, George P. Shultz. As Shultz later recalled:

In early December [1982] ... I got word that a supplement was moving through the lame-duck session of Congress to provide a \$250 million increase in the amount of U.S. military assistance granted to Israel: this in the face of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, its use of cluster bombs, and its complicity in the Sabra and Shatila massacres! We fought the supplement and fought it hard. President Reagan and I weighed in personally, making numerous calls to senators and congressmen. On December 9, I added a formal letter of opposition saying that the supplement appeared "to endorse and reward Israel's policies." Foreign Minister Shamir called President Reagan's opposition "an unfriendly act" and said that "it endangers the peace process." The supplement sailed right by us and was approved by Congress as though President Reagan and I had not even been there. I was astonished and disheartened. This brought home to me vividly Israel's leverage in our Congress. I saw that I must work carefully with the Israelis if I was to have any handle on congressional action that might affect Israel and if I was to maintain congressional support for my efforts to make progress in the Middle East.<sup>114</sup>

Yet Shultz and Reagan soon followed Congress's lead: the 1981 MOU on strategic cooperation (suspended after Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights) was reinstated in November 1983, because key U.S. officials believed that close cooperation with Israel was the only way to influence Israel's behavior.<sup>115</sup>

America's tendency to side with Israel extends to peace negotiations as well. The United States played a key role in the abortive peace efforts that followed the Six-Day War, as well as the talks that ended the War of Attrition in 1970. The United States agreed to consult with Israel before launching further peace initiatives in 1972, and Kissinger was never able to bring much pressure to bear on Israel during his conduct of the "step-by-step" diplomacy that followed the October War. Kissinger complained at one point during the negotiations, "I ask Rabin to make concessions, and he says he can't because Israel is weak. So I give him more arms, and then he says he doesn't need to make concessions because Israel is strong."<sup>116</sup> As discussed above, the disengagement agreements between Egypt and Israel were produced primarily through pledges of additional U.S. aid and by an American commitment to station civilian monitors in the Sinai.

The same pattern can be seen in the Clinton administration's handling of the negotiations that produced the 1993 Oslo Accords and the unsuccessful attempt to reach a final status agreement in 1999-2000. There was occasional friction between Clinton administration officials and their Israeli

counterparts, but the United States coordinated its positions closely with Israel and generally backed Israel's approach to the peace process, even when U.S. representatives had serious reservations about Israel's strategy.<sup>117</sup> According to one Israeli negotiator, Ron Pundak, a key representative in the negotiations leading to Oslo and one of the architects of the subsequent framework agreement for the final status talks at Camp David in 2000, "The traditional approach of the [U.S.] State Department. . . was to adopt the position of the Israeli Prime Minister. This was demonstrated most extremely during the Netanyahu government, when the American government seemed sometimes to be working jbr the Israeli Prime Minister, as it tried to convince (and pressure) the Palestinian side to accept Israeli offers. This American tendency was also evident during Barak's tenure."<sup>118</sup>

U.S. participants in the peace process have offered similar judgments. According to Robert Malley, special assistant for Arab-Israeli affairs under President Clinton and another key Camp David participant, "The [Israeli] ideas put forward at Camp David were never stated in writing . . . They generally were presented as U.S. concepts, not Israeli ones." This practice underscores the degree to which the United States was providing Israel with diplomatic help even when supposedly acting as a neutral mediator. U.S. negotiators were also constrained by the "no-surprise rule," which Malley describes as "the American commitment, if not to clear, at least to share in advance, each of its ideas with Israel. Because Barak's strategy precluded early exposure of his bottom lines to anyone (the President included), he would invoke the 'no-surprise rule' to argue against US substantive proposals he felt went too far. The US ended up (often unwittingly) presenting Israeli negotiating positions and couching them as rock-bottom red lines beyond which Israel could not go."<sup>119</sup> As Aaron David Miller, an adviser to six different secretaries of state on Middle East and Arab-Israeli affairs and another key player in the Clinton ad

ministration's peace effort, put it during a 2005 postmortem on the failed negotiations: "Far too often, we functioned ... as Israel's lawyer."<sup>120</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Since Israel's founding in 1948, many important elements of America's Middle East policy have come to center around its commitment to the Jewish state. As we shall discuss in detail in Part II, this tendency has become even more pronounced with the passage of time. To note one final sign of Israel's privileged position among U.S. allies: since 1976, six Israeli leaders have addressed joint sessions of Congress, a higher total than for any other country.<sup>121</sup> A trivial indicator, perhaps, but it is still striking given that these six leaders represented a country whose 2007 population was less than that of New York City.

Yitzhak Rabin was right: America's generosity toward Israel *is* "beyond compare in modern history." It has grown from modest beginnings to a "special relationship" that has no equal. As Mitchell Bard and Daniel Pipes put it, "From a comparative perspective, the United States and Israel may well have the most extraordinary tie in international politics."<sup>122</sup>

This support has accomplished one positive end: it has helped Israel prosper. For many people, that fact alone might justify all of the support that the United States has provided over the years. Given this record, it is no surprise that a June 2003 Pew poll found that in twenty out of twenty-one countries surveyed—including close U.S. allies like Britain, France, Canada, and Australia—either a majority or plurality of the population believes that U.S. Middle East policy "favors Israel too much." What is more surprising, perhaps, is that a plurality of Israelis (47 percent) agreed.<sup>123</sup>

Although the United States has derived a number of benefits from its support for Israel and from Israel's undeniable achievements, it has given far more than it has gained. This generosity would be understandable if Israel were a vital strategic asset for the United States—that is, if Israel's existence and continued growth made the United States substantially safer. It would also be easy to explain if there were a compelling moral rationale for maintaining such high levels of material aid and diplomatic backing. But this is not the case. In the next two chapters, we show that neither strategic interests nor moral imperatives can explain why the United States continues to give Israel such generous and

unconstrained support.

## ISRAEL: STRATEGIC ASSET OR LIABILITY?

America's willingness to give Israel extensive economic, military, and diplomatic support would be easy to understand if it advanced America's overall strategic interests. Generous aid to Israel might be justified, for example, if it were a cost-effective way for the United States to deal with countries that Washington had previously identified as hostile. Steadfast U.S. support might also make sense if the United States received substantial benefits in return, and if the value of these benefits exceeded the economic and political costs of U.S. support. If Israel possessed vital natural resources (such as oil or natural gas), or if it occupied a critical geographic location, then the United States might want to provide support in order to maintain good relations and keep it out of unfriendly hands. In short, aid to Israel would be easy to explain if it helped make Americans more secure or more prosperous. Israel's strategic value to the United States would be further enhanced if backing it won America additional friends around the world and did not undermine U.S. relations with other strategically important countries.

Not surprisingly, those who favor generous U.S. support for Israel routinely make these sorts of arguments. In the 1980s, for example, scholars such as Steven Spiegel and A.F.K. Organski argued that Israel had become a major strategic asset in the Cold War and claimed that generous U.S. aid was a bargain given the benefits it produced for the United States.<sup>1</sup> As Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, put it in 1984, "We bend over backward to help people understand that help for Israel is also in America's strategic interests."<sup>2</sup> Today, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the most influential pro-Israel lobbying organization, declares that the United States and Israel have a "deep strategic partnership aimed at confronting the common threats to both nations" and says that United States-Israel cooperation in defense and homeland security "has proven to be of paramount and ever-increasing importance."<sup>3</sup> The neoconservative Project for the New American Century (PNAC) calls Israel "America's staunchest ally against international terrorism," and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) says, "U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation is a vital component in the global security equation for the United States."<sup>4</sup> According to Martin Kramer, a research fellow at Israel's Shalem Center and at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), the United States backs Israel not because of "Holocaust guilt or shared democratic values," but because aid to Israel "underpins the pax Americana in the Eastern Mediterranean" and provides a "low-cost way of keeping order in part of the Middle East."<sup>5</sup> The Israeli strategist Efraim Inbar agrees, declaring that "the case for the continued US support of Israel as an important strategic ally due to its strategic location and political stability, as well as its technological and military assets, is very strong."<sup>6</sup>

The *strategic rationale* for extensive U.S. support of the Jewish state portrays this policy not as an act of charity or as a moral obligation, and certainly not as a consequence of domestic lobbying.<sup>7</sup> Instead, steadfast support for Israel is said to be a reflection of America's overarching strategic interests: the United States backs Israel because doing so supposedly makes all Americans safer.

In this chapter, we show that this view is at best outdated and at worst simply wrong. Backing Israel may have yielded strategic benefits in the past, but the benefits have declined sharply in recent years while the economic and diplomatic costs have increased. Instead of being a strategic asset, in fact, Israel has become a strategic liability for the United States. Backing Israel so strongly is making Americans more vulnerable—not less—and making it harder for the United States to achieve important and urgent foreign policy goals. Although there are compelling reasons for the United States to support Israel's existence and to remain committed to its survival, the current level of U.S. support and its

largely unconditional nature cannot be justified on strategic grounds.

We begin by evaluating Israel's role during the Cold War, because the claim that Israel was a strategic asset is most convincing during this period. We then consider the argument that was invoked after the Soviet Union disappeared—specifically, the claim that support for Israel is justified by a common threat from international terrorism and a set of hostile "rogue states"—and we show that this claim does not provide a credible strategic rationale for unconditional U.S. support either.

## **HELPING CONTAIN THE SOVIET BEAR**

When Israel was founded in 1948, U.S. policy makers did not consider it a strategic asset. The new state was regarded as weak and potentially vulnerable, and American policy makers recognized that embracing Israel too closely would undermine the U.S. position elsewhere in the Middle East. President Truman's decision to support the UN partition plan and to recognize Israel was based not on strategic imperatives but on his genuine sympathy for Jewish suffering, a certain religious conviction that permitting Jews to return to their ancient homeland was desirable, and an awareness that recognition was strongly backed by many American Jews and would therefore yield domestic political benefits.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, several of Truman's key advisers—including Secretary of State George Marshall and policy-planning head George Kennan—opposed the decision because they believed it would jeopardize U.S. relations with the Arab world and facilitate Soviet penetration of the region. As Kennan noted in an internal memorandum in 1948, "Supporting the extreme objectives of political Zionism" would be "to the detriment of overall U.S. security objectives" in the Middle East. Specifically, he argued it would increase opportunities for the Soviet Union, endanger oil concessions, and jeopardize U.S. basing rights in the region.<sup>9</sup>

This view had eroded by the early 1960s, and the Kennedy administration concluded that Israel deserved more support in light of growing Soviet aid to Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.<sup>10</sup> Israeli leaders repeatedly emphasized their potential value as an ally, and their stunning victory in the Six-Day War in 1967 strengthened these claims by offering a vivid demonstration of Israel's military prowess. As discussed in the previous chapter, Nixon and Kissinger saw increased support for Israel as an effective way to counter Soviet influence throughout the region.<sup>11</sup> The image of Israel as a "strategic asset" took root in the 1970s and became an article of faith by the mid-1980s.

The case for Israel's strategic value from 1967 to 1989 is straightforward. By serving as America's proxy in the Middle East, Israel helped the United States contain Soviet expansion in that important region and occasionally helped the United States handle other regional crises.<sup>12</sup> By inflicting humiliating military defeats on Soviet clients like Egypt and Syria in the 1967 Six-Day War and 1973 October War, Israel also damaged Moscow's reputation as an ally while enhancing U.S. prestige. This was a key element of Nixon and Kissinger's Cold War strategy: backing Israel to the hilt would make it impossible for Egypt or Syria to regain the territory lost in 1967 and thus demonstrate the limited value of Soviet support. This strategy bore fruit in the 1970s, when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat severed ties with Moscow and realigned with the United States, a breakthrough that paved the way to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979. Israel's repeated victories also forced the Soviets to expend precious resources rearming their clients after each defeat, a task that the overstretched Soviet economy could ill afford.

By providing the United States with intelligence about Soviet capabilities, Soviet client states, and the Middle East more generally, Israel also facilitated the broader American campaign against the Soviet Union. In 1956, for example, an Israeli spy obtained a copy of Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin, which Israel promptly passed on to the United States. In the 1960s, Israel gave U.S. defense experts access to a Soviet MiG-21 aircraft obtained from an Iraqi defector and provided similar access to Soviet equipment captured in the 1967 and 1973 wars.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the United States benefited from access to Israeli training facilities, advanced technology developed by

Israeli defense companies, and consultations with Israeli experts on counterterrorism and other security problems.

This justification for supporting Israel is factually correct, and Israel may well have been a net strategic asset during this period. Yet the case is not as open and shut as Israel's advocates maintain and was questioned by some U.S. experts at the time.<sup>14</sup> Why? Because in addition to the direct economic burden, the growing partnership with Israel imposed significant costs on the United States, and because Israel's capacity to help its vastly more powerful partner was inherently limited.

First, although Israel's military did help check Soviet client states like Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, America's commitment to Israel played a significant role in pushing those states into Moscow's arms in the first place. Egypt and Syria had been engaged in a bitter conflict with Israel since the late 1940s, and they were unable to get help from Washington despite several requests. American support for Israel was nowhere near as generous as it is today, but the United States was still committed to Israel's survival and was not going to do anything to undermine its security—in particular, the United States was unwilling to provide either Egypt or Syria with weapons that might be used against the Jewish state. As a result, when an Israeli attack on an Egyptian army base in Gaza in February 1955 killed thirty-seven Egyptian soldiers and wounded another thirty-one, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser was forced to turn to the Soviet Union for arms instead. Nasser repeatedly referred to the Gaza raid as a "turning point," precipitating the first major Arab arms deal with Moscow, which made the Soviet Union a major player in Middle East affairs virtually overnight. The raid also led Nasser to shut down a secret negotiating channel with the Israeli government and to shift from modest efforts to limit Arab infiltration to active support for it.<sup>15</sup> Given their continuing conflict with Israel and America's reluctance to provide them with arms, Israel's main Arab adversaries had little choice but to seek help from the Soviets, despite their own misgivings about moving closer to Moscow.<sup>16</sup>

Second, although U.S. support for Israel put more pressure on the Soviet Union, it also fueled the Arab-Israeli conflict and inhibited progress toward a settlement, a result that continues to haunt both Israel and the United States. The Nixon/Kissinger strategy eventually succeeded in pulling Egypt out of the Soviet orbit, but the tendency to view Middle East issues primarily through the prism of the Cold War (and thus to back Israel no matter what) also led the United States to overlook several promising opportunities for peace, most notably Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's repeated signals that he was prepared to cut a deal in 1971-72.<sup>17</sup> Speaking to a private group in 1975, Kissinger recalled that Secretary of State William Rogers's efforts to reach an interim agreement in 1971 had broken down "over whether or not 1,000 Egyptian soldiers would be permitted across the Canal. That agreement would have prevented the 1973 War. I must say now that I am sorry that I did not support the Rogers effort more than I did."<sup>18</sup>

Third, the expansion and deepening of U.S.-Israeli relations in the 1960s and 1970s also contributed to the rise of anti-Americanism across the Arab and Islamic world. "At the time of World War I," notes the Rice University historian Ussama Makdisi, "the image of the United States in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire was generally positive; those Arabs who knew of the country saw it as a great power that was not imperialist as Britain, France, and Russia were."<sup>19</sup> Even after Israel was founded, Arab resentment was limited by U.S. efforts to play an evenhanded role in the Middle East and by the fact that France, not the United States, was Israel's main arms supplier until 1967. What conflicts there were with "progressive" Arab states such as Nasser's Egypt partly reflected disagreements about Israel but also stemmed from U.S. support for conservative Middle Eastern monarchies (the shah of Iran, King Hussein of Jordan, the House of Saud), who were all deeply hostile to Nasser as well. Unfortunately for the United States, its support for these regimes (which Washington saw as "moderate" and its opponents deemed "reactionary") and for Israel fueled a growing tendency for many Arabs to see it as the heir to Britain's former imperial role.<sup>20</sup>

Arab animosity increased as U.S. support for Israel grew and was compounded by Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Sinai, Gaza, and the Golan Heights in 1967 and by its subsequent repression of the Palestinian Arabs living in what came to be known as the Occupied Territories.

During the Cold War, this situation made some Middle Eastern regimes more interested in close ties with the Soviet Union and further reduced U.S. influence. It also contributed to the rise of Arab and Islamic extremism, as some prescient analysts had predicted two decades ago. Writing in 1985-86, for example, Harry Shaw, former head of the Office of Management and Budget's Military Assistance Branch, warned that "Israel's settlement policy on the West Bank is at cross-purposes with U.S. interests and contrary to U.S. policy. The lack of progress toward a peace settlement—for which Israel and its Arab neighbors share responsibility—undercuts Arabs who are willing to live in peace and strengthens the influence of Islamic fundamentalists and other Arabs who have no interest in the kind of stable Middle East that would be compatible with U.S. interests and Israel's security."<sup>21</sup> America's relations with the Arab and Islamic world would hardly have been perfect were Israel not a U.S. ally, but a more evenhanded approach would have smoothed one important source of friction. This basic fact was not lost on the Israeli military leader and politician Moshe Dayan, whose memoirs contain a revealing account of a talk he had with Kissinger at the time of the 1973 October War. "Though I happened to remark that the United States was the only country that was ready to stand by us," wrote Dayan, "my silent reflection was that the United States would really rather support the Arabs."<sup>22</sup>

Support for Israel imposed additional costs on the United States, such as the Arab oil embargo and production decrease during the October War. The decision to use the "oil weapon" was a direct response to Nixon's decision to provide Israel with \$2.2 billion of emergency military assistance during the war, and it ultimately did significant damage to the U.S. economy. The embargo and production decrease cost the United States some \$48.5 billion in 1974 alone (equal to roughly \$140 billion in 2000 dollars), due to higher petroleum costs and an estimated 2 percent reduction in GDP. The oil crisis also led to serious strains in America's relations with key allies in Europe and Asia.<sup>23</sup> Helping Israel defeat two Soviet clients may have been a positive development in terms of America's broader Cold War concerns, but the United States paid a high price for the victory.

Israel's other Cold War contributions were useful, but their strategic value should not be overstated. Israel did indeed provide the United States with helpful intelligence, for instance, but there is no evidence that Jerusalem gave Washington information that decisively altered the course of the superpower competition or enabled America to inflict a decisive blow against its Communist adversary. The primary benefit seems to have been access to captured Soviet weapons and to data regarding their battlefield performance, as well as debriefings from Soviet Jews who had immigrated to Israel. The United States used this information to help develop weapons and tactics that would have been valuable had the superpowers ever come to blows, and this information has undoubtedly helped the United States when it has fought former Soviet clients such as Iraq. But Iraq was a third-rate military power and the United States scarcely needed much help to defeat Saddam in 1991 or to oust him in 2003. Access to Israeli training facilities and consultations with Israeli experts were also useful and appreciated, but these arrangements were never essential to the development of American military power or to its ultimate triumph over the Soviet Union.

In fact, Israeli "assistance" was sometimes of dubious value. One former CIA official reports being "appalled at the lack of quality of the [Israeli] political intelligence on the Arab world . . . Their tactical military intelligence was first-rate. But they didn't know their enemy. I saw this political intelligence and it was lousy, laughably bad . . . It was gossip stuff mostly."<sup>24</sup> Israel also provided the United States with faulty or misleading intelligence on several occasions, probably in order to encourage the United States to take actions that Israel wanted. Prior to the Six-Day War, for example, Israeli intelligence assessments painted a grim and frightening picture of Egyptian capabilities and intentions, which American intelligence officials believed was both incorrect and politically motivated. As National Security Adviser W. W. Rostow told President Johnson, "We do not believe that the Israeli appreciation presented . . . was a serious estimate of the sort they would submit to their own high officials. We think it is probably a gambit intended to influence the US to do one or more of the following: (a) provide military supplies, (b) make more public commitments to Israel, (c) approve Israeli military initiatives, and (d) put more pressure on Nasser."<sup>25</sup> As we discuss in greater detail in Chapter 8, Israel also supplied the United States with alarmist reports about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs

prior to the 2003 invasion, thereby contributing to U.S. miscalculations about the actual danger that Saddam Hussein presented.<sup>26</sup>

Nor has Israel been a reliable proxy safeguarding other U.S. interests in the region. When Martin Kramer claims that "American support for Israel . . . underpins the pax Americana in the Eastern Mediterranean" and has been a "low cost way of keeping order in part of the Middle East," he both exaggerates the benefits of this relationship and understates the costs.<sup>27</sup> Stability in the eastern Mediterranean is desirable, but the region is not a vital U.S. strategic interest, in sharp contrast to the oil-rich Persian Gulf. And if Israel's strategic value derives from its role enforcing the "pax Americana" in this region, then it has not been doing a particularly good job. Its invasion of Lebanon in 1982 made the region less stable and led directly to the formation of Hezbollah, the militant group that many believe is responsible for the devastating attacks on the U.S. embassy and marine barracks that cost more than 250 American lives. The suicide bombers are to blame for these deaths, but the loss of life was part of the price the United States had to pay in order to clean up the situation that Israel had created. Israel's prolonged campaign to colonize the West Bank and Gaza (indirectly subsidized by U.S. aid and undertaken in part with U.S.-made weapons) has also produced two major uprisings in which thousands of Palestinians and Israelis have been killed. Thus, Kramer seriously overstates Israel's value as a low-cost "regional stabilizer."

Israel's limited strategic value is further underscored by its inability to contribute to an undeniable U.S. interest: access to Persian Gulf oil. Despite Israel's vaunted military prowess, the United States could not count on its help during the Cold War to deter a direct Soviet assault on Western oil supplies or to protect them in the event of a regional war. As Harry Shaw noted in the mid-1980s, "Some Israeli officials explicitly reject Israeli engagement of Soviet ground forces beyond their country's immediate defense . . . These Israelis acknowledge as far-fetched the notion that Israeli divisions would advance beyond Israel's borders to meet a Soviet thrust toward the Persian Gulf."<sup>28</sup> According to a former Pentagon official, "Israel's strategic value to the United States was always grotesquely exaggerated. When we were drafting contingency plans for the Middle East in the 1980s, we found that the Israelis were of little value to us in 95 percent of the cases."<sup>29</sup>

As a result, when the shah of Iran fell in 1979, raising concerns about a possible Soviet invasion, the United States had to create its own Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) to counter that threat and arrange for basing rights and preposition war materiel in various Arab countries. The Pentagon could not count on Israel to deter the Soviet Union by itself and could not use Israel as a forward base—Israeli offers notwithstanding—because doing so would have caused political problems in the Arab world and made it even harder to keep the Soviets out of the region. As Shaw remarked in 1986, "The notion of using Israel as a platform for projecting U.S. forces into Arab states . . . is not widely supported outside Israel. Arab analysts argue that an Arab regime that accepted American help funneled through Israel would be discredited with its own people and therefore would be more likely to fall. . . U.S. officials also are skeptical of the feasibility of using Israeli bases. The Israeli offers may be designed primarily to entice the United States into closer relations and to enhance the rationale for more U.S. aid without requirements for specific Israeli commitments."<sup>30</sup> Israel's limited capacity to help in the Gulf was revealed in the late 1980s, when the Iran-Iraq War jeopardized the safety of oil shipments in the Persian Gulf. The United States and several of its European allies reinforced their naval forces in the region, began escorting oil tankers, and eventually attacked some Iranian patrol boats, but Israel had no part to play in these operations.<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately, although a limited case can be made for Israel's strategic value during the Cold War, it does not fully explain why the United States provided it with so much economic, military, and diplomatic support. It is easy to understand why the United States devoted billions to defending its NATO allies—Europe was a key center of industrial power that had to be kept out of Soviet hands—and equally easy to grasp the strategic motivation behind U.S. support for oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia, despite sharply contrasting political values. In Israel's case, however, this sort of obvious strategic imperative was never as clear. Henry Kissinger may have used U.S. aid to Israel as a way to drive a wedge between Moscow and Cairo, but he admitted privately that "Israeli strength does not



prevent the spread of communism in the Arab world ... So it is difficult to claim that a strong Israel serves American interests because it prevents the spread of communism in the Arab world. It does not. It provides for the survival of Israel."<sup>32</sup> Ronald Reagan may have called Israel a "strategic asset" when he was campaigning for president in 1980, but he did not mention Israel's strategic value in his memoirs and referred instead to various moral considerations to explain his support for the Jewish state.<sup>33</sup>

Thoughtful Israeli analysts have long recognized this basic reality. As the Israeli strategic expert Shai Feldman, former head of Tel Aviv University's Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, noted in his own study of U.S.-Israeli security cooperation, "The strategic dimension of America's motivation for supporting Israel never comprised the core of these relations. Rather, this dimension received growing emphasis in the 1980s as Israel's American supporters sought to base U.S.-Israel relations on grounds that would be more appealing to Republican administrations. Yet, the significance of U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation and the extent to which Israel is perceived as a strategic asset to the United States never approached that of the other elements in the U.S.-Israel relationship." Those "other elements," according to Feldman, were post-Holocaust sympathy, shared political values, Israel's underdog image, common cultural linkages, and "the role of the Jewish community in American politics."<sup>34</sup>

### FROM THE COLD WAR TO 9/11

Even if Israel was a valuable ally during the Cold War, that justification ended when the Soviet Union collapsed. According to the Middle East historian Bernard Lewis (himself a prominent supporter of Israel), "Whatever value Israel might have had as a strategic asset during the Cold War, that value obviously ended when the Cold War itself came to a close." The political scientist Bernard Reich of George Washington University, the author of several books on U.S.-Israeli relations, drew a similar conclusion in 1995, noting that "Israel is of limited military or economic importance to the United States ... It is not a strategically vital state." The Brandeis University defense expert Robert Art made the same point in 2003, noting that "Israel has little strategic value to the United States and is in many ways a strategic liability."<sup>35</sup> As the Cold War receded into history, Israel's declining strategic value became hard to miss.

In fact, the Gulf War in 1991 provided evidence that Israel was becoming a strategic burden. The United States and its allies eventually assembled more than four hundred thousand troops to liberate Kuwait, but they could not use Israeli bases or allow the IDF to participate without jeopardizing the fragile coalition against Iraq. And when Saddam fired Scud missiles into Israel in the hope of provoking an Israeli response that would fracture the coalition, Washington had to divert resources (such as Patriot missile batteries) to defend Israel and to keep it on the sidelines. Israel was not to blame for this situation, of course, but it illustrates the extent to which it was becoming a liability rather than an asset. As William Waldegrave, minister of state in the British Foreign Office, told the House of Commons, the United States might now be learning that a strategic alliance with Israel "was not particularly useful if it cannot be used in a crisis such as this." This point was not lost on Bernard Lewis, either, who wrote, "The change [in Israel's strategic value] was clearly manifested in the Gulf War . . . when what the United States most desired from Israel was to keep out of the conflict—to be silent, inactive, and, as far as possible, invisible . . . Israel was not an asset, but an irrelevance—some even said a nuisance."<sup>36</sup>

One might think that the shared threat from international terrorism provided a powerful rationale for United States-Israel cooperation in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, but this is not the case. The Oslo peace process was under way during most of the 1990s, and Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israel were declining, from 67 killed and 167 injured in 1994 to only 1 dead and only 12 injured in 2000. (Israeli casualties rose again after Oslo collapsed, with 110 Israelis killed and 918 injured in 2001 and 320 killed and 1,498 injured in 2002.)<sup>37</sup> U.S. policy makers were becoming more concerned about Islamic terrorism—including al Qaeda—especially after the failed attempt to blow up the World Trade Center in 1993, the attacks on the Khobar Towers housing complex in Saudi Arabia in 1996, the bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen in

1999. A number of new initiatives to deal with the problem were under way, but terrorism was still not widely perceived as a mortal threat and the U.S. "global war on terror" did not begin in earnest until after September 11, 2001.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly, although both Israel and the United States were worried about "rogue states" such as Iraq, Iran, Libya, and Syria during this period, these states were too weak to pose a serious threat to the United States itself. Consider that the *combined* population of these four states in 2000 was less than 40 percent of America's; their combined GDP was barely more than 5 percent of U.S. GDP, and their combined military spending equaled a scant 3 percent of the U.S. defense budget.<sup>39</sup> Iraq was subject to a punishing UN embargo, weapons inspectors were busy dismantling its WMD programs, and Iran's own WMD efforts were not far advanced. Syria, Iran, and Iraq were often at odds with each other, which made containing these states even easier and reduced the need to try to overthrow them.

Instead, the United States adopted a policy of "dual containment" toward Iran and Iraq and made a serious but unsuccessful attempt to broker a final peace treaty between Syria and Israel.<sup>40</sup> It also engaged in a protracted and ultimately successful effort to persuade Libya to give up its WMD programs and compensate the families of the victims of the Pan Am Flight 103 bombing, a campaign waged through economic sanctions and patient multilateral diplomacy.<sup>41</sup> Israel's capabilities were not needed to accomplish these objectives, because the United States could deal with these states by itself.

In other words, Israel was not seen as a prized ally because U.S. policy makers believed its help was essential for dealing with these so-called rogue states. Rather, Washington worried about these states in good part because

it was already committed to protecting Israel. With respect to Iran, for example, the main points of contention between Tehran and Washington were Iran's opposition to the Camp David peace process, its support for Hezbollah, and its efforts to develop WMD. The importance of these issues was magnified substantially by the existing U.S. relationship with Israel.<sup>42</sup> Washington did have interests in the region that were unrelated to Israel, of course—such as its desire to prevent any single state from dominating the Gulf and thereby ensure access to oil—and its pursuit of these interests occasionally led to friction with some states in the region. In particular, the United States would have undoubtedly opposed Iran's WMD efforts even if Israel had never existed. But the U.S. commitment to Israel made these issues seem even more urgent, without making them easier to address.

Until September 11, 2001, the danger from terrorism and problems posed by these various rogue states did not provide a compelling strategic rationale for unconditional U.S. support of the Jewish state. These concerns explain why Israel wanted help from the United States but cannot account for America's willingness to provide that help as generously as it did.

### **"PARTNERS AGAINST TERROR": THE NEW RATIONALE**

In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, the main strategic justification behind U.S. support for Israel became the claim that the two states were now "partners against terror." This new rationale depicts the United States and Israel as threatened by the same terrorist groups and by a set of rogue states that back these groups and seek to acquire WMD. Their hostility to Israel and the United States is said to be due to a fundamental antipathy to the West's Judeo-Christian values, its culture, and its democratic institutions. In other words, they hate Americans for "what we are," not for "what we do." In the same way, they hate Israel because it is also Western, modern, and democratic, and not because it has occupied Arab land, including important Islamic holy sites, and oppressed an Arab population.

The implications of the new rationale are obvious: support for Israel plays no role in America's terrorism problem or the growing anti-Americanism in the Arab and Islamic world, and ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or making U.S. support for Israel more selective or conditional would not help. Washington should therefore give Israel a free hand in dealing with the Palestinians and groups like Hezbollah. In addition, Washington should not press Israel to make concessions (such as

dismantling settlements in the

Occupied Territories) until all Palestinian terrorists are imprisoned, repentant, or dead. Instead, the United States should continue to provide Israel with extensive support and use its own power and resources to go after countries like the Islamic Republic of Iran, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Bashar al-Assad's Syria, and other countries believed to be supporting terrorists.

Instead of seeing Israel as a major source of America's troubled relationship with the Arab and Islamic world, this new rationale portrays Israel as a key ally in the global "war on terror." Why? Because its enemies are said to be America's enemies. As Ariel Sharon put it during a visit to the United States in late 2001, after the horrific attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon: "You in America are in a war against terror. We in Israel are in a war against terror. It's the same war." According to a senior official in the first Bush administration, "Sharon played the president like a violin: 'I'm fighting your war, terrorism is terrorism' and so on."<sup>43</sup> Former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told the U.S. Senate in 2002, "If we do not immediately shut down the terror factories where Arafat is producing human bombs, it is only a matter of time before suicide bombers will terrorize your cities. If not destroyed, this madness will strike in your buses, in your supermarkets, in your pizza parlors, in your cafes." Netanyahu also published an op-ed in the *Chicago Sun-Times* declaring, "No grievance, real or imagined, can ever justify terror . . . American power topples the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and the al-Qaida network there crumbles on its own. The United States must now act similarly against the other terror regimes—Iran, Iraq, Yasser Arafat's dictatorship, Syria, and a few others."<sup>44</sup> His successor, Ehud Barak, repeated this theme in an op-ed in the *Times* of London, declaring, "The world's governments know exactly who the terrorists are and exactly which rogue states support and promote their activity. Countries like Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan and North Korea have a proven track-record of sponsoring terrorism, while no one needs reminding of the carnage wrought by the terrorist thugs of Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and even Yassir Arafat's own PLO."<sup>45</sup> Prime Minister Ehud Olmert struck the same note in his own address to Congress in 2006, declaring, "Our countries do not just share the experience and pain of terrorism. We share the commitment and resolve to confront the brutal terrorists that took these innocent people from us."<sup>46</sup>

Israel's American supporters offer essentially the same justification. In October 2001, WINEP's executive director, Robert Satloff, explained why the United States should continue to back Israel after September 11: "The answer should be clear, given the democratic values we share and the common enemies we face . . . No country has suffered more from the same sort of terrorism that hit the World Trade Center and the Pentagon than Israel."<sup>47</sup> Senator Charles Schumer (D-NY) declared in December 2001 that "the PLO is the same as the Taliban, which aids, abets and provides safe haven for terrorists. And Israel is like America, simply trying to protect its homefront . . . Arafat is to Israel as Mullah Mohammed [Omar] is to America."<sup>48</sup> In April and May 2002, Congress passed by overwhelming margins (352-21 in the House, 94-2 in the Senate) two nearly identical resolutions declaring that "the United States and Israel are now engaged in a common struggle against terrorism."<sup>49</sup> The official theme of the 2002 AIPAC annual conference was "America and Israel Standing Against Terror," and the conference presentations emphasized the shared threat from Yasser Arafat, Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, the Taliban, Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, and Syria.<sup>50</sup> PNAC made the same point in an open letter to President Bush in April 2002, signed by William Kristol, Richard Perle, William Bennett, Daniel Pipes, James Woolsey, Eliot Cohen, Norman Podhoretz, and twenty-eight others, most of them prominent neoconservatives. It declared, "No one should doubt that the United States and Israel share a common enemy. We are both targets of what you [Bush] have correctly called an 'Axis of Evil' . . . As Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld has pointed out, Iran, Iraq, and Syria are all engaged in 'inspiring and financing a culture of political murder and suicide bombing' against Israel, just as they have aided campaigns of terrorism against the United States . . . You have declared war on international terrorism, Mr. President. Israel is fighting the same war."<sup>51</sup>

This new justification has a certain *prima facie* plausibility, and it is not surprising that many Americans equate what happened on September 11 with attacks on Israelis. Upon further inspection, however, the "partners against terror" rationale unravels almost completely, especially as a justification

for unconditional U.S. support. Viewed objectively, Israel is a liability in both the "war on terror" and in the broader effort to deal with so-called rogue states.

To begin with, the new strategic rationale depicts "terrorism" as a single, unified phenomenon, thereby suggesting that Palestinian suicide bombers are as much a threat to the United States as they are to Israel itself, and that the terrorists who attacked America on September 11 are part of a well-organized global movement that is also targeting Israel. But this claim rests on a fundamental misconception of what terrorism is. Terrorism is not an organization or a movement or even an "enemy" that one can declare war on; terrorism is simply the tactic of indiscriminately attacking enemy targets—especially civilians—in order to sow fear, undermine morale, and provoke counterproductive reactions from one's adversary. It is a tactic that many different groups sometimes employ, usually when they are much weaker than their adversaries and have no other good option for fighting against superior military forces. Zionists used terrorism when they were trying to drive the British out of Palestine and establish their own state—for example, by bombing the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946 and assassinating UN mediator Folke Bernadotte in 1948, among other acts—and the United States has backed a number of "terrorist" organizations in the past (including the Nicaraguan contras and the UNITA guerrillas in Angola). American presidents have also welcomed a number of former terrorists to the White House (including PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, and Israeli Prime Ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, who played key roles in the main Zionist terror organizations), which merely underscores the fact that terrorism is a tactic and not a unified movement. Clarifying this issue in no way justifies attacks on innocent people—which is always morally reprehensible—but it reminds us that groups that employ this method of struggle do not always threaten vital U.S. interests and that the United States has sometimes actively supported such groups.

In contrast to al Qaeda, in fact, the terrorist organizations that threaten Israel (such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah) do not attack the United States and do not pose a mortal threat to America's core security interests. With respect to Hezbollah, for example, the Hebrew University historian Moshe Maoz observes that it "is mostly a threat against Israel. They did attack U.S. targets when there were American troops in Lebanon, but they killed to oust foreign forces from Lebanon. I doubt very much whether Hezbollah will go out of its way to attack America." The Middle East expert Patrick Seale agrees: "Hezbollah is a purely local phenomenon directed purely at the Israelis," and the terrorism experts Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon echo this view with respect to Hamas, noting, "Thus far, Hamas has not targeted Americans."<sup>52</sup> We may believe that all terrorist acts are morally wrong, but from the perspective of U.S. strategic interests, not all terrorists are alike.

There is no convincing evidence linking Osama bin Laden and his inner circle to the various Palestinian terrorist groups, and most Palestinian terrorists do not share al Qaeda's desire to launch a global Islamic restoration or restore the caliphate. In fact, the PLO was secular and nationalist—not Islamist—and it is only in the last decade or so, as the occupation has ground on, that many Palestinians have become more attracted to Islamist ideas. Nor are their activities—however heinous and deplorable—simply random violence directed against Israel or the West. Instead, Palestinian terrorism has

always been directed solely at their perceived grievances against Israel, beginning with resistance to the original Zionist influx and continuing after the expulsion of much of the Palestinian population in the 1948 war. Today, these actions are largely a response to Israel's prolonged campaign to colonize the West Bank and Gaza Strip and a reflection of the Palestinians' own weakness. These territories contained few Jews when Israel captured them in 1967, but Israel spent the next forty years colonizing them with settlements, road networks, and military bases, while brutally suppressing Palestinian attempts to resist these encroachments.<sup>53</sup> Not surprisingly, Palestinian resistance has frequently employed terrorism, which is usually how subject populations strike back at powerful occupiers.<sup>54</sup> And while groups like Hamas have yet to publicly accept Israel's existence, we should not forget that Yasser Arafat and the rest of the PLO did, and that Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has reiterated that commitment on numerous occasions.

More important, claiming that Israel and the United States are united by a shared terrorist threat has

the causal relationship backward. The United States did not form an alliance with Israel because it suddenly realized that it faced a serious danger from "global terrorism" and urgently needed Israel's help to defeat it. In fact, the United States has a terrorism problem in good part because it has long been so supportive of Israel. It is hardly headline news to observe that U.S. backing for Israel is unpopular elsewhere in the Middle East—that has been true for several decades—but many people may not realize how much America's one-sided policies have cost it over the years. Not only have these policies helped inspire al Qaeda, but they have also facilitated its recruitment efforts and contributed to growing anti-Americanism throughout the region.

Of course, those who believe that Israel is still a valuable strategic asset often deny that there was any connection between U.S. support for Israel and the terrorism problem, and especially not the September 11 attacks. They claim that Osama bin Laden seized on the plight of the Palestinians only recently, and only because he realized it was good for recruiting purposes. Thus, WINEP's Robert Satloff claims that bin Laden's identification with Palestine is "a recent—and almost surely opportunistic—phenomenon," and Alan Der-showitz declares, "Prior to September 11, Israel was barely on bin Laden's radar screen." Dennis Ross suggests that bin Laden was merely "trying to gain legitimacy by implying that his attack on America was about the plight of the Palestinians," and Martin Kramer says he knows of no "unbiased terrorism expert" who believes that "American support for Israel is the source of popular resentment, propelling recruits to al Qaeda." The former *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz likewise argues that "if Israel had never come into existence, or if it were magically to disappear, the United States would still stand as an embodiment of everything that most of these Arabs consider evil."<sup>55</sup>

It is not surprising that some of Israel's defenders offer such claims, because acknowledging that U.S. support for Israel has fueled anti-American terrorism and encouraged growing anti-Americanism would require them to admit that unconditional support for Israel does in fact impose significant costs on the United States. Such an admission would cast doubt on Israel's net strategic value and imply that Washington should make its support conditional on Israel adopting a different approach toward the Palestinians.

Contrary to these claims, there is in fact abundant evidence that U.S. support for Israel encourages anti-Americanism throughout the Arab and Islamic world and has fueled the rage of anti-American terrorists. It is not their only grievance, of course, but it is a central one.<sup>56</sup> While some Islamic radicals are genuinely upset by what they regard as the West's materialism and venality, its alleged "theft" of Arab oil, its support for corrupt Arab monarchies, its repeated military interventions in the region, etc., they are also angered by U.S. support for Israel and Israel's harsh treatment of the Palestinians. Thus, Sayyid Qutb, the Egyptian dissident whose writings have been an important inspiration for contemporary Islamic fundamentalists, was hostile to the United States both because he saw it as a corrupt and licentious society and also because of U.S. support for Israel.<sup>57</sup> Or as Sayyid Muhammed Husayn Fadlallah, spiritual leader of Hezbollah, put it in 2002, "I believe that America bears responsibility for all of Israel, both in its occupation of the lands of [19]48 or in all its settlement policies [in the lands occupied since 1967], despite the occasional utterance of a few timid and embarrassed words which disapprove of the settlements . . . America is a hypocritical nation ... for it gives solid support and lethal weapons to the Israelis, but gives the Arabs and the Palestinians [only] words."<sup>58</sup> One need not agree with such sentiments to recognize the potency of these arguments in the minds of many Arabs and to realize how unquestioned support for Israel has fueled anger and resentment against the United States.

An even clearer demonstration of the connection between U.S. support for Israel and anti-American terrorism is the case of Ramzi Yousef, who masterminded the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993 and is now serving a life sentence in a U.S. prison. Not only did Yousef mail letters to several New York newspapers, taking credit for the attack and demanding that the United States terminate aid to Israel, he also told the agents who flew him back to the United States following his arrest in Pakistan in 1995 that he felt guilty about causing U.S. deaths. But as Steve Coll recounts in his prizewinning book *Ghost Wars*, Yousef's remorse

was "overridden by the strength of his desire to stop the killing of Arabs by Israeli troops" and by his belief that "bombing American targets was the 'only way to cause change.'" Yousef reportedly also said that "he truly believed his actions had been rational and logical in pursuit of a change in U.S. policy toward Israel." According to Coll, Yousef "mentioned no other motivation during the flight and no other issue in American foreign policy that concerned him." Further corroboration comes from Yousef's associate Abdul Rahman Yasin, who told the CBS news correspondent Lesley Stahl that Yousef had recruited him by telling him that acts of terrorism would be "revenge for my Palestinian brothers and my brothers in Saudi Arabia," adding that Yousef "talked to me a lot about this."<sup>59</sup>

Or consider the most obvious case: Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. Contrary to the declarations of Satloff, Dershowitz, Kramer, and others, considerable evidence confirms that bin Laden has been deeply sympathetic to the Palestinian cause ever since he was a young man and that he has long been angry at the United States for backing Israel so strongly. According to Michael Scheuer, who directed the CIA's intelligence unit on al Qaeda and its founder, the young bin Laden was for the most part gentle and well behaved, but "an exception to Osama's well-mannered, nonconfrontational demeanor was his support for the Palestinians and negative attitude towards the United States and Israel."<sup>60</sup> After September 11, bin Laden's mother told an interviewer that "in his teenage years he was the same nice kid . . . but he was more concerned, sad, and frustrated about the situation in Palestine in particular, and the Arab and Muslim world in general."<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, bin Laden's first public statement intended for a wider audience—released December 29, 1994—directly addressed the Palestinian issue. As Bruce Lawrence, compiler of bin Laden's public statements, explains, "The letter makes it plain that Palestine, far from being a late addition to bin Laden's agenda, was at the centre of it from the start."<sup>62</sup>

Bin Laden also condemned the United States on several occasions prior to September 11 for its support of Israel against the Palestinians and called for jihad against America on this basis. According to Benjamin and Simon, the "most prominent grievance" in bin Laden's 1996 fatwa (titled "Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places") is "bin Laden's hallmark: the 'Zionist-Crusader alliance.'" Bin Laden refers explicitly to Muslim blood being spilled "in Palestine and Iraq" and blames it all on the "American-Israeli conspiracy."<sup>63</sup> When the CNN reporter Peter Arnett asked him in March 1997 why he had declared jihad

against the United States, bin Laden replied, "We declared jihad against the US government, because the US government is unjust, criminal, and tyrannical. It has committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous, and criminal, whether directly or through its support of the Israeli occupation of the Land of the Prophet's Night Journey [Palestine]. And we believe the US is directly responsible for those who were killed in Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq."<sup>64</sup> These comments are hardly anomalous. As Max Rodenbeck, Mideast correspondent for the *Economist*, writes in a prominent review of two important books about bin Laden, "Of all these themes, the notion of payback for injustices suffered by the Palestinians is perhaps the most powerfully recurrent in bin Laden's speeches."<sup>65</sup>

The 9/11 Commission confirmed that bin Laden and other key al Qaeda members were motivated both by Israel's behavior toward the Palestinians and by U.S. support for Israel. A background study by the commission's staff notes that bin Laden tried to accelerate the date of the attack in the fall of 2000, after Israeli opposition party leader Ariel Sharon's provocative visit (accompanied by hundreds of Israeli riot police) to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, the site of al-Aqsa Mosque, one of the three holiest sites in Islam. According to the staff statement, "although bin Laden recognized that [Mo-hamed] Atta and the other pilots had only just arrived in the United States to begin their flight training, the al Qaeda leader wanted to punish the United States for supporting Israel."<sup>66</sup> The following year, "when bin Laden learned from the media that Sharon would be visiting the White House in June or July 2001, he attempted once more to accelerate the operation."<sup>67</sup> In addition to informing the timing of the 9/11 attacks, bin Laden's anger at the United States for backing Israel had implications for his preferred choice of targets. In the first meeting between Atta, the mission leader, and bin Laden in late 1999, the initial plans called for hitting the U.S. Capitol because it was "the perceived source of U.S. policy in support of Israel."<sup>68</sup> In short, bin Laden and his deputies clearly see the issue of Palestine as central to

their agenda.

The 9/11 Commission also notes that Khalid Sheikh Mohammed—whom it described as "the principal architect of the 9/11 attacks"—was primarily motivated by the Palestinian issue. In the commission's words, "By his own account, KSM's animus toward the United States stemmed not from his experiences there as a student, but rather from his violent disagreement with U.S. foreign policy favoring Israel."<sup>69</sup> It is hard to imagine more compelling evidence of the role that U.S. support for Israel played in inspiring the 9/11 attacks.

Even if bin Laden himself were not personally engaged by the Palestinian issue, it still provides him with an effective recruiting tool. Arab and Islamic anger has grown markedly since the end of the Cold War, and especially since the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000, in part because the level of violence directed against the Palestinians has been both significantly greater and more visible.<sup>70</sup> The First Intifada (1987-92) was much less violent, and there was relative calm in the Occupied Territories during the Oslo years (1993-2000). The development of the Internet and the emergence of alternative media outlets such as Al Jazeera now provide round-the-clock coverage of the carnage. Not only is Israel inflicting more violence upon its Palestinian subjects, but Arabs and Muslims around the world can see it with their own eyes. And they can also see that it is being done with American-made weapons and with tacit U.S. consent. This situation provides potent ammunition for America's critics, which is why the deputy leader of Hezbollah, Sheik Naim Qassem, told a Lebanese crowd in December 2006, "There is no longer a political place for America in Lebanon. Do you not recall that the weapons fired on Lebanon were American weapons?"<sup>71</sup>

These policies help explain why many Arabs and Muslims are so angry with the United States that they regard al Qaeda with sympathy, and some are even willing to support it, either directly or tacitly. A 2004 survey of Moroccans reported that 8 percent had a "favorable" or "very favorable" image of President Bush, but the comparable figure for bin Laden was 45 percent. In Jordan, a key U.S. ally, the numbers were 3 percent for Bush and 55 percent for bin Laden, who beat Bush by a margin of 58 percent in Pakistan, whose government is also closely allied with the United States.<sup>72</sup> The Pew Global Attitudes Survey reported in 2002—before the invasion of Iraq—that "public opinion about the United States in the Middle East/Conflict Area is overwhelmingly negative," and much of this unpopularity stems from the Palestinian issue.<sup>73</sup> According to the Middle East expert Shibley Telhami, "No other issue resonates with the public in the Arab world, and many other parts of the Muslim world, more deeply than Palestine. No other issue shapes the regional perceptions of America more fundamentally than the issue of Palestine."<sup>74</sup> Ussama Makdisi agrees, writing that "on no issue is Arab anger at the United States more widely and acutely felt than that of Palestine . . . For it is over Palestine that otherwise antithetical Arab secularist and Islamist interpretations of history converge in their common perception of an immense gulf separating official American avowals of support for freedom from actual American policies."<sup>75</sup> U.S. support for Israel is not the only source of anti-Americanism, of course, but it is an important one, and it makes winning the war on terror and advancing other U.S. interests more difficult.

Other government studies and numerous public opinion polls offer the same conclusion: Arab populations are deeply angered by America's support for Israel, which they regard as insensitive to Arab concerns and inconsistent with professed U.S. values. Although many Arabs have somewhat favorable views of U.S. science and technology, U.S. products, American movies and TV, and even surprisingly positive views of the American people and U.S. democracy, their views of American foreign policy—and especially U.S. support for Israel—are strongly negative.<sup>76</sup> As a visiting Yemeni physicist remarked in 2001, "When you go there, you really love the United States . . . but when you go back home, you find the US applies justice and fairness to its own people, but not abroad."<sup>77</sup> A 2004 report by the Pentagon's Defense Science Board concluded that "Muslims do not 'hate our freedom,' but rather they hate our policies," and the 9/11 Commission acknowledged that "it is simply a fact that American policy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and American policy in Iraq are dominant staples of popular commentary across the Arab and Muslim world."<sup>78</sup>

Similarly, when the respected polling firm Zogby International asked citizens of six Arab countries

if their attitude toward America was shaped by their feelings about American values or by U.S. policies, "an overwhelming percentage of respondents indicated that policy played a more important role." When asked open-ended questions about their "first thought" when they think of America, the most common answer is "unfair foreign policy." And when asked what the United States could do to improve its image, the most frequent answers are "change Middle East policy" and "stop supporting Israel."<sup>79</sup> Not surprisingly, after Congress directed the State Department to establish an "advisory group on public diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World" in June 2003, the group's report found that "citizens in these countries are genuinely distressed at the plight of the Palestinians and at the role they perceive the United States to be playing."<sup>80</sup>

Prominent Arab leaders and well-informed public commentators confirm that unconditional U.S. support for Israel has made the United States increasingly unpopular throughout the Middle East. UN Special Envoy Lakhdar Brahimi, whom the Bush administration enlisted to help form an interim Iraqi government in June 2004, said that "the great poison in the region is the Israeli policy of domination and the suffering imposed on the Palestinians," adding that people throughout the Middle East recognized the "injustice of this policy and the equally unjust support of the United States for this policy." In 2004, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak warned, "There exists a hatred [of America] never equaled in the region," in part because Arabs "see [Israeli Prime Minister] Sharon act as he wants, without the Americans saying anything."<sup>81</sup> King Abdullah II of Jordan offered a similar view in March 2007, telling a joint session of Congress that "the denial of justice and peace in Palestine ... is the core issue. And this core issue is not only producing severe consequences for our region, it is producing severe consequences for our world."<sup>82</sup> Not surprisingly, these pro-American regimes want the United States to change a policy that reinforces popular discontent over their own ties to the United States.

U.S. support for Israel is hardly the only source of anti-Americanism in the Arab and Islamic world, and making it more conditional would not remove all sources of friction between these countries and the United States. Examining the consequences of Israel's treatment of the Palestinians and tacit U.S. support of these policies is not to deny the presence of genuine anti-Semitism in various Arab countries or the fact that groups and governments in these societies sometimes fan these attitudes and use the Israel-Palestine conflict to divert attention from their own mistakes. Rather, our point is simply that the United States pays a substantial price for supporting Israel so consistently. This posture fuels hostility toward the United States in the Middle East, motivates anti-American extremists and aids their recruiting, gives authoritarian governments in the region an all-too-convenient scapegoat for their own failings, and makes it harder for Washington to convince potential supporters to confront extremists in their own countries.

When it comes to fighting terrorism, in short, U.S. and Israeli interests are not identical. Backing Israel against the Palestinians makes winning the war on terror harder, not easier, and the "partner against terror" rationale does not provide a compelling justification for unconditional U.S. support.

## **CONFRONTING ROGUE STATES**

The new strategic rationale also portrays Israel as an essential ally in the campaign against authoritarian rogue states that support terrorism and that seek to acquire WMD. Like the "partners against terror" argument, this familiar justification sounds convincing at first hearing. Isn't it obvious that dictatorships like Syria, Iran, or Saddam Hussein's Iraq are hostile both to Israel and the United States? Aren't such regimes likely to use WMD to blackmail the United States, or give WMD to terrorists? Given these dangers, doesn't it make sense to continue generous aid to Israel, both to protect it from these dangerous neighbors and to keep the pressure on them, thereby hastening the day when these brutal regimes either collapse or change their ways?

In fact, this rationale does not stand up to careful scrutiny either. Although the United States does have important disagreements with each of these regimes—most notably their support for certain



terrorist organizations and their apparent interest in acquiring WMD—they are not a dire threat to vital American interests, apart from the U.S. commitment to Israel itself. America's main strategic interest in the Middle East is oil, and protecting access to this commodity mainly depends on preventing any single country from controlling the entire region. This concern could justify going after one of these states if it grew too strong or too aggressive—as the United States did when it expelled Iraq from Kuwait in 1990-91—but it does not justify going after Iran, Iraq, and Syria at the same time.

The other features that are frequently invoked to explain why the United States should back Israel against these rogue states are even less compelling on strategic grounds. Does the fact that they are dictatorships justify relentless U.S. hostility? No, because the United States has allied itself with other dictatorships when doing so advanced its interests, and it still does so today. Is their support for terrorist groups a sufficient rationale? Not really, because these states and these terrorist groups have refrained from attacking the United States and because the United States has often turned a blind eye toward the promotion of terrorism in the past, including terrorism supported by these same states. Like most countries, the United States has been willing to cooperate with regimes it did not necessarily like when doing so advanced U.S. interests. Washington backed Saddam Hussein and Iraq during its war with Iran in the 1980s, for example, and it still backs Pakistan's military dictatorship despite that government's well-documented support for Islamic terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere. U.S. leaders were also happy to accept Iran's help when dealing with the Taliban and pleased to get intelligence information about al Qaeda from Syria. These admittedly are limited instances of cooperation, but they do suggest that neither state is a mortal threat to vital U.S. interests.

What about Syrian meddling in Lebanon or a potential Iranian challenge to U.S. allies in the Persian Gulf? These issues are not trivial, but they do not justify backing Israel as strongly as the United States does. Israel's own meddling in Lebanon has repeatedly complicated U.S. efforts there, and its own WMD arsenal and frequent willingness to use force have encouraged other Middle Eastern states to desire WMD of their own. As previously noted, Israel is not much of an asset when it comes to maintaining stability in Lebanon or preserving a balance of power in the Gulf. As we discuss at length in Part II, Israel and the lobby have repeatedly frustrated U.S. efforts to deal more effectively with these admittedly problematic regimes.

As a justification for helping Israel, in fact, this particular strategic argument is essentially circular. Israel is portrayed as a vital ally for dealing with its dangerous neighbors, but the commitment to Israel is an important reason why the United States sees these states as threats in the first place. Indeed, Washington might find it easier to address the various conflicts that it does have with these states were its policies not constrained by the prior commitment to Israel. In any case, these states are at present too weak to harm the United States significantly (though they can certainly make life much more difficult for certain U.S. actions, most notably in Iraq), and Israel has not been much of an asset when America has been forced to take steps against them.

Even the threat posed by WMD does not provide a compelling reason to support Israel as strongly as the United States currently does. The United States has its own reasons to oppose the spread of WMD in the Middle East (and elsewhere), but it would not be a strategic disaster for the United States if some of these states in this region were eventually to acquire WMD despite our best efforts. Instead, U.S. concerns about Saddam's WMD programs or Iran's current nuclear ambitions derive largely from the threat they are said to pose to Israel. President Bush admitted as much in March 2006, saying, "The threat from Iran is, of course, their stated objective to destroy our strong ally Israel."<sup>83</sup>

Yet given that both Israel and the United States have powerful nuclear forces of their own, this danger is overstated. Attacking the United States or Israel directly is out of the question, because Israel has several hundred weapons of its own and the United States has thousands. If either country were ever attacked, the perpetrator would immediately face a devastating retaliation. Neither country could be blackmailed by a nuclear-armed rogue state, because the blackmailer could not carry out the threat without facing the same fate. The Soviet Union had thousands of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, was committed to and guided by a revolutionary ideology, and was governed by ruthless men

who placed little value on human life. Yet Moscow could not use its vast arsenal to "blackmail" the United States, and Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev never even tried. The reason is obvious: the United States had its own weapons and could (and would) retaliate in kind.

The danger that a rogue state might decide to give one of its nuclear weapons to a terrorist group is equally remote, because the country's leaders could never be sure the transfer would remain undetected or that they would

not be blamed and punished afterward. Indeed, giving away the nuclear weapons that they had run grave risks to obtain is probably the last thing such regimes would ever do. They would no longer control how the weapons might be used and they could never be certain that the United States (or Israel) would not incinerate them if either country merely *suspected* that a particular "rogue state" had provided terrorists with the ability to carry out a WMD attack. If the United States could live with a nuclear Soviet Union or a nuclear China (whose former leaders were among the greatest mass murderers the world has ever known), and if it can tolerate a nuclear Pakistan and embrace a nuclear India, then it could live (however reluctantly) with a nuclear Iran as well.

It is sometimes said that deterrence cannot work against these regimes, because their leaders (such as Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad) are irrational religious fanatics who would welcome martyrdom and thus could not be effectively deterred. In the words of the *Washington Post's* Charles Krauthammer, "Against millenarian fanaticism glorying in a cult of death, deterrence is a mere wish."<sup>84</sup> Disproving such an assertion is impossible, of course, because one can never be 100 percent certain that some world leader might not succumb to suicidal madness. There are nonetheless good reasons to be skeptical of such frightening claims. None of these allegedly irrational leaders could launch a WMD attack by himself; mounting an actual strike would require the active assistance and assent of many other people, all of whom would have to willingly embrace martyrdom themselves. (In Iran, for instance, authority over the military is not even in President Ahmadinejad's hands.) Moreover, there is no evidence suggesting that any of these leaders has ever sought martyrdom (Saddam Hussein certainly didn't, until the noose was nearly around his neck).

Finally, it is worth noting that such claims have been heard before and turned out to be wrong. U.S. hard-liners once argued that Soviet leaders were ideologically driven and contemptuous of human life and thus might not be deterrable, and other U.S. leaders feared China's acquisition of nuclear weapons because they thought Mao Zedong was an irrational leader who might be willing to risk tens of millions of people in a nuclear exchange. Secretary of State Dean Rusk once warned that "a country whose behavior is as violent, irascible, unyielding, and hostile as that of Communist China is led by leaders whose view of the world and of life itself is unreal," but Chinese nuclear conduct turned out to be quite prudent.<sup>85</sup> U.S. leaders should not be complacent about the spread of WMD in the Middle East, but this problem is not a sufficient strategic justification for backing Israel as strongly as the United States currently does.

Even if Syria or Iran does present challenges for the United States in places like Lebanon or Iraq, or if they either have or want WMD, the U.S. relationship with Israel actually makes it harder to deal effectively with them. Israel's nuclear arsenal is one reason why some of its neighbors want nuclear weapons, and threatening them with regime change has merely reinforced that desire. America's willingness to back Israel in spite of Israel's own nuclear arsenal and its refusal to sign the NPT also makes the United States look hypocritical when it tries to confront would-be proliferators about their own weapons programs. Yet Israel is not much of an asset when Washington contemplates using force against these regimes—as it has done twice in Iraq—because Israel cannot participate in the fight.

Moreover, the combination of U.S. support for Israel and Israel's continued oppression of the Palestinians has also eroded America's standing in many other quarters and made it more difficult to obtain meaningful cooperation on important strategic issues like the war on terrorism or the related effort to democratize the Middle East. As noted in Chapter 1, foreign populations generally see the United States as "too supportive" of Israel, and many foreign elites think its tacit support for Israel's policies in the Occupied Territories is morally obtuse. In April 2004, for example, fifty-two former British diplomats sent Prime Minister Tony Blair a letter saying that the conflict between Israel and the

Palestinians had "poisoned relations between the West and the Islamic and Arab worlds," and warning that the policies of Bush and Sharon were "one-sided and illegal" and will "cost yet more Israeli and Palestinian blood." Blair did not really need to be told, however, as he tried repeatedly (though unsuccessfully) to get the Bush administration to engage this issue more seriously. Not to be outdone, a group of eighty-eight former U.S. diplomats quickly followed suit with a similar letter to President Bush.<sup>86</sup> Even prominent Israelis such as the veteran military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff understood that "the continuation of this conflict, including the Israeli occupation, will most certainly lead to new waves of terror; international terrorism, which the Americans fear so much, will spread."<sup>87</sup>

The consequences of all this became clear in 2006, when U.S. efforts to forge a Sunni coalition to help deal with the deteriorating situation in Iraq and to balance a rising Iran were undermined by Sunni concerns that the United States had consistently taken Israel's side in its conflict with the Palestinians, and their awareness that it would be politically dangerous to get too close to the Americans. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Arab diplomats say countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates will find it difficult to publicly stand with the U.S. on Iran and on broad regional stability unless Washington pressures Israel on a peace initiative." Or as one Arab diplomat put it, "The road to Baghdad runs through Jerusalem, and not the other way around."<sup>88</sup> And that is why the bipartisan Iraq Study Group concluded in December 2006 that "the United States will not be able to achieve its goals in the Middle East unless the United States deals directly with the Arab-Israeli conflict."<sup>89</sup>

In short, treating Israel as America's most important ally in the campaign against terrorism and against assorted Middle East dictatorships exaggerates Israel's ability to help on these issues, overlooks how the relationship contributes to these problems, and ignores the ways that Israel's policies make U.S. efforts to address them more difficult. Israel's strategic value has declined steadily since the end of the Cold War. Steadfast support for Israel can no longer be justified by the argument that it is helping us defeat a great power rival; instead, backing Israel unconditionally helps make the United States a target for radical extremists and makes America look callous and hypocritical in the eyes of many third parties, including European and Arab allies. The United States still benefits from various acts of strategic cooperation with Israel, but on balance, it is more of a liability than an asset.

## **A DUBIOUS ALLY**

A final reason to question Israel's strategic value is that it sometimes does not act like a loyal ally. Like most states, Israel looks first and foremost to its own interests, and it has been willing to do things contrary to American interests when it believed (rightly or wrongly) that doing so would advance its own national goals. In the notorious "Lavon affair" in 1954, for example, Israeli agents tried to bomb several U.S. government offices in Egypt, in a bungled attempt to sow discord between Washington and Cairo. Israel sold military supplies to Iran while U.S. diplomats were being held hostage there in 1979–80, and it was one of Iran's main military suppliers during the Iran-Iraq War, even though the United States was worried about Iran and tacitly backing Iraq. Israel later purchased \$36 million worth of Iranian oil in 1989 in an attempt to obtain the release of Israeli hostages in Lebanon. All of these acts made sense from Israel's point of view, but they were contrary to American policy and harmful to overall U.S. interests.<sup>90</sup>

In addition to selling weapons to America's enemies, Israel has transferred American technology to third countries, including potential U.S. adversaries like China, actions that violated U.S. laws and threatened American interests. In 1992, the State Department's inspector general reported that starting in 1983 there was evidence of a "systematic and growing pattern of unauthorized transfers" by Israel.<sup>91</sup> At about the same time, the General Accounting Office officials looking into the "Dotan affair" (the embezzlement and illegal diversion of millions of dollars of U.S. military aid by the former head of Israeli Air Force procurement) made repeated efforts to meet with Israeli officials to discuss the matter. According to the GAO, "The

Government of Israel declined to discuss the issues or allow [U.S.] investigators to question Israeli personnel."<sup>92</sup>

Little has changed in recent years. Indeed, even Douglas Feith, the former undersecretary of defense and a consistent supporter of Israel, was reportedly angry when Israel agreed in 2004 to upgrade a killer drone it had sold to China in 1994.<sup>93</sup> "Something is going badly wrong in the [U.S.-Israeli] military relationship," said another senior Bush administration official.<sup>94</sup>

Amplifying these tensions is the extensive espionage that Israel engages in against the United States. According to the GAO, the Jewish state "conducts the most aggressive espionage operations against the United States of any ally."<sup>95</sup> Stealing economic secrets gives Israeli firms important advantages over American businesses in the global marketplace and thus imposes additional costs on U.S. citizens.

More worrying, however, are Israel's continued efforts to steal America's military secrets. This problem is highlighted by the infamous case of Jonathan Pollard, an American intelligence analyst who gave Israel large quantities of highly classified material between 1981 and 1985. After Pollard was caught, the Israelis refused to tell the United States what Pollard gave them.<sup>96</sup> The Pollard case is but the most visible tip of a larger iceberg. Israeli agents tried to steal spy-camera technology from a U.S. firm in 1986, and an arbitration panel later accused Israel of "perfidious," "unlawful," and "surreptitious" conduct and ordered it to pay the firm, Recon/Optical Inc., some \$3 million in damages. Israeli spies also gained access to confidential U.S. information about a Pentagon electronic intelligence program and tried unsuccessfully to recruit Noel Koch, a senior counterterrorism official in the Defense Department. The *Wall Street Journal* quoted John Davitt, former head of the Justice Department's internal security section, saying that "those of us who worked in the espionage area regarded Israel as being the second most active foreign intelligence service in the United States."<sup>97</sup>

A new controversy erupted in 2004 when a key Pentagon official, Larry Franklin, was arrested on charges of passing classified information regarding U.S. policy toward Iran to an Israeli diplomat, allegedly with the assistance of two senior AIPAC officials, Steven Rosen and Keith Weissman. Franklin eventually accepted a plea bargain and was sentenced to twelve years in prison for his role in the affair, and Rosen and Weissman are scheduled to go on trial in the fall of 2007.<sup>98</sup>

Israel is of course not the only country that spies on the United States, and Washington conducts extensive espionage against both allies and adversaries as well. Such behavior is neither surprising nor particularly reprehensible, because international politics is a rough business and states often do unscrupulous things in their efforts to gain an edge over other countries. Nonetheless, the close relationship between Washington and Jerusalem has made it easier for Israel to steal American secrets, and it has not hesitated to do just that. At the very least, Israel's willingness to spy on its principal patron casts further doubt on its overall strategic value, especially now that the Cold War is over.

## CONCLUSION

There is no question that Israel has derived substantial benefits from U.S. support, although one might also argue that this support has been used to pursue policies—such as settlement construction—that were not in Israel's long-term interest. It is also clear that the United States derived some strategic value from its aid to Israel, especially during the Cold War. Yet these benefits cannot fully justify or explain why the United States has been willing to give Israel such consistent support over such an extended period. Subsidizing and protecting Israel may have been a net plus for the United States at the height of the Cold War—though even this claim is not open and shut—but that rationale evaporated when the Soviet Union collapsed and the superpower competition in the Middle East ended. Today, America's intimate embrace of Israel—and especially its willingness to subsidize it no matter what its policies are—is not making Americans safer or more prosperous. To the contrary: unconditional support for Israel is undermining relations with other U.S. allies, casting doubt on America's wisdom and moral vision, helping inspire a generation of anti-American extremists, and complicating U.S. efforts to deal

with a volatile but vital region. In short, the largely unconditional "special relationship" between the United States and Israel is no longer defensible on strategic grounds. If a convincing rationale is to be found, we must look elsewhere. In the next chapter, we examine the moral case for American support.

## A DWINDLING MORAL CASE

When George W. Bush spoke at the annual policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in May 2004, he invoked a set of moral themes to help explain U.S. support for Israel. The president began his speech by applauding AIPAC's efforts "to strengthen the ties that bind our nations—our shared values, our strong commitment to freedom." He went on to emphasize that Israel and the United States "have much in common. We're both . . . born of struggle and sacrifice. We're both founded by immigrants escaping religious persecution in other lands. We have both built vibrant democracies, built on the rule of law and market economies. And we're both countries founded on certain basic beliefs: that God watches over the affairs of men, and values every life. These ties have made us natural allies, and these ties will never be broken."

Bush also noted one important difference and drew a moral conclusion from it. Whereas the United States was relatively safe in the past because of its geographical location, "Israel has faced a different situation as a small country in a tough neighborhood. The Israeli people have always had enemies at their borders and terrorists close at hand. Again and again, Israel has defended itself with skill and heroism. And as a result of the courage of the Israeli people, Israel has earned the respect of the American people."<sup>1</sup>

Bush's remarks underscore the degree to which U.S. support for Israel is often justified not on strategic grounds but on the basis of essentially moral claims. The *moral rationale* for American support rests on several distinct lines of argument, and Israel's supporters often invoke one or more of these claims in order to justify the "special relationship." Specifically, Israel is said to deserve generous and nearly unconditional U.S. support because it is weak and surrounded by enemies dedicated to destroying it; it is a democracy, which is a morally preferable form of government; the Jewish people have suffered greatly from past crimes; Israel's conduct has been morally superior to its adversaries' behavior, especially compared to the Palestinians; the Palestinians rejected the generous peace offer that Israel made at Camp David in July 2000 and opted for violence instead; and it is clear from the Bible that Israel's creation is God's will. Taken together, these arguments underpin the more general claim that Israel is the one country in the Middle East that shares American values and therefore enjoys broad support among the American people. Many U.S. policy makers accept these various arguments, but even if they did not, the American people supposedly want them to back Israel and certainly do not want them to put any pressure on the Jewish state.

Upon close inspection, the moral rationale for unqualified U.S. support is not compelling. There is a strong moral case for supporting Israel's existence, but that fortunately is not in danger at present. Viewed objectively, Israel's past and present conduct offers little moral basis for privileging it over the Palestinians or for undertaking policies in the region that are not in America's strategic interest.

The moral rationale relies heavily on a particular understanding of Israel's history that is widely held by many Americans (both Jews and gentiles). In that story, Jews in the Middle East have long been victims, just as they were in Europe. "The Jew," Elie Wiesel tells us, "has never been an executioner; he is almost always the victim."<sup>2</sup> The Arabs, and especially the Palestinians, are the victimizers, bearing a marked similarity to the anti-Semites who persecuted Jews in Europe. This perspective is clearly

evident in Leon Uris's famous novel *Exodus* (1958), which portrays the Jews as both victims and heroes and the Palestinians as villains and cowards. This book sold twenty million copies between 1958 and 1980 and was turned into a popular movie (1960). Scholars have shown that the *Exodus* narrative has had an enduring influence on how Americans think about the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>3</sup>

The conventional wisdom about how Israel was created and how it has subsequently behaved toward the Palestinians as well as neighboring states is wrong. It is based on a set of myths about past events that Israeli scholars have systematically demolished over the past twenty years.<sup>4</sup> While there is no question that Jews were frequently victims in Europe, in the past century they have often been the victimizers in the Middle East, and their main victims were and continue to be the Palestinians. Not only is the basic point backed up by an abundance of evidence, but it is also intuitively plausible. After all, how could Jews coming to Palestine from Europe create a state of their own without taking harsh measures against the Arab population that already dwelt in the land they wanted for their new state? Just as the Europeans who created the United States and Canada could not do so without committing significant crimes against the native inhabitants, it was virtually impossible for the Zionists to carve out a Jewish state in Palestine without committing similar crimes against the local residents, who were bound to resent their encroachments and attempt to resist them. Unfortunately, this "new history," as it is called in Israel, has not been adequately acknowledged in the United States, which is one reason why the moral rationale still carries significant weight for many Americans.<sup>5</sup>

Israel's more recent conduct is a different matter, however. With the global reach of the Internet and twenty-four-hour cable news networks, many Americans have seen considerable evidence of Israel's brutal treatment of its Palestinian subjects in the Occupied Territories. They have also seen the consequences of Israel's actions in the second Lebanon war (2006), in which the Israel Defense Forces pummeled civilian targets across Lebanon and then dumped several million deadly cluster bomblets in the towns and villages of southern Lebanon.<sup>6</sup>

Although these actions have tarnished Israel's public image in the United States, its supporters remain undaunted and continue to make the moral case for sustaining the present relationship between those two countries. In fact, a good case can be made that current U.S. policy conflicts with basic American values and that if the United States were to choose sides on the basis of moral considerations alone, it would back the Palestinians, not Israel. After all, Israel is prosperous and has the most powerful military in the Middle East. No state would deliberately start a war with it today. Israel does have a serious terrorism problem, but that is mainly the consequence of colonizing the Occupied Territories. By contrast, the Palestinians are stateless, impoverished, and facing a deeply uncertain future. Even allowing for the Palestinians' various shortcomings, which group now has the stronger moral claim to U.S. sympathy?

Getting to the bottom of this issue requires that we look in more detail at the particular arguments that make up the moral rationale. Our focus will be primarily on Israeli behavior, and no attempt will be made to compare it with the actions of other states in the region or in other parts of the world. We are not focusing on Israel's conduct because we have an animus toward the Jewish state, or because we believe that its behavior is particularly worthy of censure. On the contrary, we recognize that virtually all states have committed serious crimes at one time or another in their history, and we are cognizant of the fact that state building is often a violent enterprise. We are also aware that some of Israel's Arab neighbors have at times acted with great brutality. We focus on Israel's actions because the United States provides it with a level of material and diplomatic support that is substantially greater than what it gives to other states, and it does so at the expense of its own interests. Our aim is to determine whether Israel deserves special treatment because it acts in an exceptionally virtuous manner, as many of its supporters claim. Does Israel behave significantly better than other states do? The historical record suggests that it does not.

## **BACKING THE UNDERDOG**

Israel is often portrayed as weak and besieged, a Jewish David surrounded by a hostile Arab Goliath. This image has been carefully nurtured by Israeli leaders and sympathetic writers, but the opposite is closer to the truth. Israel has always been militarily stronger than its Arab adversaries. Consider Israel's 1948 War of Independence, where the popular belief is that the Zionists—who fought against five Arab armies as well as the Palestinians—were badly outnumbered and outgunned. Benny Morris, a prominent Israeli historian, refers to this description of the balance of power as "one of the most tenacious myths relating to 1948."<sup>7</sup>

One might think that Israeli forces were at a significant quantitative and qualitative disadvantage in 1948, because it was a small new country surrounded by Arab states that had far more people and far greater material resources. In fact, comparing the population size and the resources of Israel and the Arab world tells you little about the balance of military power between them. As Morris notes, "The atlas map showing a minuscule Israel and a giant surrounding Arab sea did not, and, indeed, for the time being, still does not, accurately reflect the true balance of military power in the region. Nor do the comparative population figures; in 1948, the Yishuv [the Jewish settlement in Palestine before Israel was created] numbered some 650,000 souls—as opposed to 1.2 million Palestinian Arabs and some 30 million Arabs in the surrounding states (including Iraq)."<sup>8</sup> The reason is simple: the Arab states have been remarkably ineffective at translating those latent resources into actual military power, while Israel, by contrast, has been especially good at doing so.

The War of Independence was actually two separate conflicts. The first was a civil war between the Jews and the Palestinians, which started on November 29, 1947 (the day of the UN decision to partition Mandate Palestine) and ran until May 14, 1948 (the day Israel declared its independence). The second was an international war between Israel and five Arab armies, which began on May 15, 1948, and ended on January 7, 1949.

The Zionists won a lopsided victory over the Palestinians in their civil war because they enjoyed a decisive advantage in numbers and quality of both soldiers and weapons.<sup>9</sup> Jewish fighting units were far better organized and trained than the Palestinian forces, which had been decimated by the British during the 1936-39 revolt and had not recovered by 1948. As the Israeli historian Ilan Pappé notes, "A few thousand irregular Palestinians and Arabs were facing tens of thousands of well-trained Jewish troops."<sup>10</sup> Not surprisingly, Israeli leaders were fully aware of this power imbalance and sought to take advantage of it. In fact, Yigal Yadin, a senior military commander in the 1948 war and the IDF's second chief of staff, maintained that if it had not been for the British presence in Palestine until May 1948, "we could have quelled the Arab riot in one month."<sup>11</sup>

The Israelis also had a clear advantage in manpower throughout their war with the five Arab armies. Morris notes that when the fighting started in mid-May, Israel "fielded some 35,000 armed troops as compared with the 25-30,000 of the Arab invading armies. By the time of Operation Dani, in July, the IDF had 65,000 men under arms and by December, close to 90,000 men under arms—at each stage significantly outnumbering the combined strength of the Arab armies ranged against them in Palestine."<sup>12</sup> Israel also enjoyed an advantage in weaponry, save for a brief twenty-five days at the start of that conflict (May 15-June 10, 1948). Moreover, with the possible exception of Transjordan's small Arab Legion, the quality of the Israeli fighting forces was far superior to their Arab adversaries and they were much better organized as well. In short, the Zionists won the civil war against the Palestinians and the international war against the invading Arab armies because they were more powerful than their adversaries, despite the absolute advantage in population that their Arab foes enjoyed. As Morris notes, "It was superior Jewish firepower, manpower, organization, and command and control that determined the outcome of battle."<sup>13</sup>

The IDF won quick and decisive victories against Egypt in 1956 and against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in 1967—before large-scale U.S. aid began flowing to Israel. In October 1973, Israel was a victim of a stunning surprise attack by the Egyptian and Syrian armies. Although an outnumbered IDF suffered serious setbacks in the first days of fighting, it quickly recovered and was on the verge of destroying the Egyptian and Syrian armies when the United States and the Soviet Union intervened to

halt the fighting. The remarkable turnaround, according to Morris, was due to the fact that "the IDF's machines, both in the air and on the ground, were simply superior. So was its manpower: Israeli pilots, maintenance and ground control staffs, tank officers, and men were far better trained and led than their Arab counterparts."<sup>14</sup> These victories offer eloquent evidence of Israeli patriotism, organizational ability, and military prowess, but they also reveal that Israel was far from helpless even in its earliest years.<sup>15</sup>

Today, Israel is the strongest military power in the Middle East. Its conventional forces are far superior to those of its neighbors, and it is the only state in the region with nuclear weapons. Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with Israel, and Saudi Arabia has offered to do so as well. Syria has lost its Soviet patron, Iraq has been decimated by three disastrous wars, and Iran is hundreds of miles away and has never directly attacked Israel. The Palestinians barely have effective police, let alone a military that could threaten Israel's existence, and they are further weakened by profound internal divisions. The deaths caused by Palestinian suicide bombers are tragic and strike fear in the hearts of all Israelis, but they do relatively little damage to Israel's economy, much less threaten its territorial integrity.<sup>16</sup> Groups like Hezbollah can launch low-yield missiles and rockets at Israel and might be able to kill a few hundred Israelis over the course of months or years, but these attacks do not represent an existential threat to Israel. According to a 2005 assessment by Tel Aviv University's prestigious Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, "The strategic balance decidedly favors Israel, which has continued to widen the qualitative gap between its own military capability and deterrence powers and those of its neighbors."<sup>17</sup> If backing the underdog were a compelling rationale, the United States would be supporting Israel's opponents.

Of course, there is another dimension to the argument that Israel has long been under siege and is always the victim: the claim that despite Israel's military superiority, its Arab neighbors are determined to destroy it. Indeed, some argue that the Arabs precipitated wars in 1948, 1967, and 1973 in order "to drive the Jews into the Sea."<sup>18</sup>

While there is no question that Israel faced serious threats in its early years, the Arabs were not attempting to destroy Israel in any of those three wars. This is not because the Arabs were happy about the presence of a Jewish state in their midst—they clearly were not—but rather because they have never had the capability to win a war against Israel, much less defeat it decisively. There is no question that some Arab leaders talked about "driving the Jews into the Sea" during the 1948 war, but this was largely rhetoric designed to appease their publics. In fact, the Arab leaders were mainly concerned with gaining territory for themselves at the expense of the Palestinians, one of the many occasions when Arab governments put their own interests ahead of the Palestinians' welfare. Morris, for example, writes:

What ensued, once Israel declared its independence on 14 May 1948 and the Arab states invaded on 15 May, was "a general land grab," with everyone—Israel, Transjordan, Syria, Egypt, and even Lebanon—bent on preventing the birth of a Palestinian Arab state and carving out chunks of Palestine for themselves. Contrary to the old historiography, Abdullah's [king of Transjordan] invasion of eastern Palestine was clearly designed to conquer territory for his kingdom—at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs—rather than to destroy the Jewish state. Indeed, the Arab Legion stuck meticulously, throughout the war, to its non-aggressive stance *vis-a-vis* the Yishuv and the Jewish state's territory ... It is not at all clear that Abdullah and Glubb [the British general who commanded Transjordan's Arab Legion] would have been happy to see the collapse in May 1948 of the fledgling Jewish republic. Certainly Abdullah was far more troubled by the prospects of the emergence of a Palestinian Arab state and of an expanded Syria and an expanded Egypt on his frontiers than by the emergence of a small Jewish state.<sup>19</sup>

And Abdullah, as Morris notes, was the only Arab leader who "committed the full weight" of his military power to attacking Israel, "indicating either inefficiency or, perhaps, a less than wholehearted seriousness about the declared aim of driving the Jews into the sea." Shlomo Ben-Ami, a noted historian and a former Israeli foreign minister, has a similar view of Arab goals in the 1948 war: "111 prepared



and poorly co-ordinated, the Arab armies were dragged into the war by popular pressure in their home states, and because their leaders each had his own agenda of territorial expansion. Securing the establishment of a Palestinian state . . . was less of a motive for the Arab leaders who sent their armies to Palestine than establishing their own territorial claims or thwarting those of their rivals in the Arab coalition."<sup>20</sup>

The myth of Israel as a victim is also reflected in the conventional wisdom about the 1967 war, which claims that Egypt and Syria are principally responsible for starting it. In particular, the Arabs are said to have been preparing to attack Israel when the IDF beat them to the punch and scored a stunning victory.<sup>21</sup> It is clear from the release of new documents about the war, however, that the Arabs did not intend to initiate a war against Israel in the late spring of 1967, much less try to destroy the Jewish state.<sup>22</sup> Avi Shlaim, a distinguished Israeli "new historian," writes, "There is general agreement among commentators that [Egyptian President] Nasser neither wanted nor planned to go to war with Israel."<sup>23</sup> In fact, Israel bears considerable responsibility for the outbreak of the war. Shlaim writes that "Israel's strategy of escalation on the Syrian front was probably the single most important factor in dragging the Middle East to war in June 1967, despite the conventional wisdom on the subject that singles out Syrian aggression as the principal cause of war."<sup>24</sup> Ben-Ami goes even farther, writing that Yitzhak Rabin, the IDF chief of staff, "intentionally led Israel into a war with Syria. Rabin was determined to provoke a war with Syria . . . because he thought this was the only way to stop the Syrians from supporting Fatah attacks against Israel."<sup>25</sup>

None of this is to deny that Egypt's decision in May 1967 to close the Straits of Tiran was a legitimate cause of concern to Israel. But it was not a harbinger of an imminent Egyptian attack, and that point was recognized by American policy makers and many Israeli leaders. Serious diplomatic efforts were also under way to solve the crisis peacefully. Yet Israel chose to attack anyway, because its leaders ultimately preferred war to a peaceful resolution of the crisis. In particular, Israel's military commanders wanted to inflict significant military defeats on their two main adversaries—Egypt and Syria—in order to strengthen Israeli deterrence over the long term.<sup>26</sup> Some also had territorial ambitions. General Ezer Weizman, the IDF's chief of operations, reflected this sentiment when he said on the eve of the war, "We are on the brink of a second War of Independence, with all its accomplishments."<sup>27</sup> In short, Israel was not preempting an impending attack when it struck the first blow on June 5, 1967. Instead, it was launching a preventive war—a war aimed at affecting the balance of power over time—or, as Menachem Begin put it, a "war of choice." In his words, "We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him [Egyptian President Nasser]."<sup>28</sup>

The Egyptians and the Syrians certainly did attack Israel in October 1973, but it is a well-established fact that both Arab armies were pursuing a limited aims strategy. The Egyptians hoped to conquer a slice of territory in the Sinai Peninsula and then bargain with Israel for the return of the rest of the Sinai, while the Syrians hoped to recapture the Golan Heights. Neither the Egyptians nor the Syrians intended to invade Israel, much less

threaten its existence. Not only did Israel have the most formidable army in the region, but it also had nuclear weapons, which would have made any attempt to conquer it suicidal. Benny Morris puts the point well: "Presidents Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Hafez Assad of Syria sought to regain the territories lost in 1967. Neither aimed to destroy Israel."<sup>29</sup> In fact, key decision makers in both Cairo and Damascus recognized that they were pursuing an especially risky strategy by picking a fight with the mighty IDF. General Hassan el Badri, who helped plan the Egyptian attack, remarked that "it almost seemed that success would be impossible."<sup>30</sup> And these doubters were correct, because the IDF, after recovering from the initial attack, routed both Arab armies.

With the possible exception of Iran, it is hard to make the case today that Israel's neighbors are bent on destroying it. As noted, Israel has signed peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan, and, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, Israel walked away from a possible peace treaty with Syria in 2000. At an Arab summit in March 2002, the crown prince of Saudi Arabia attempted to defuse the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by putting forward a proposal calling for full recognition of Israel by virtually every Arab government and normalization of relations with the Jewish state. In return, Israel would have to with-

draw from the Occupied Territories and work toward a fair solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. The initiative was unanimously endorsed by the Arab League. Even Saddam Hussein backed it.<sup>31</sup> The proposal went nowhere at the time, but the Saudis resurrected it in early 2007. There is certainly no evidence that post-Saddam Iraq is interested in destroying Israel. While Hamas and Hezbollah may reject Israel's existence and inflict suffering, they do not, as noted, have the capability to pose a mortal danger. Iran would obviously be a serious threat to Israel if it acquired nuclear weapons, but as long as Israel has its own nuclear arsenal, Iran cannot attack it without being destroyed itself.

### **AIDING A FELLOW DEMOCRACY**

American backing is often justified by the claim that Israel is a fellow democracy. Indeed, its defenders frequently remind Americans that Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East and that it is surrounded by hostile dictatorships. This rationale sounds convincing, but it cannot account for the current level of U.S. support. After all, there are many democracies around the world, but none receives the level of unconditional aid that Israel does.

In fact, whether a country is democratic is not a reliable indicator of how Washington will relate to it. The United States has overthrown a few democratic governments in the past and has supported numerous dictators when doing so was thought to advance U.S. interests. The Eisenhower administration overthrew a democratically elected government in Iran in 1953, while the Reagan administration supported Saddam Hussein in the 1980s. Today, the Bush administration has good relations with dictators like Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Pervez Musharraf in Pakistan, and at the same time it has worked to undermine the democratically elected Hamas government in the Occupied Territories. It also has an acrimonious relationship with Hugo Chavez, the elected leader of Venezuela. Being democratic neither justifies nor fully explains the extent of American support for Israel.

The "shared democracy" rationale is also weakened by aspects of Israeli democracy that are at odds with core American values. The United States is a liberal democracy where people of any race, religion, or ethnicity are supposed to enjoy equal rights. While Israel's citizens are of many backgrounds, including Arab, Muslim, and Christian, among others, it was explicitly founded as a Jewish state, and whether a citizen is regarded as Jewish ordinarily depends on kinship (verifiable Jewish ancestry).<sup>32</sup> Israel's Jewish character is clearly reflected in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, which was officially proclaimed on May 14, 1948. It explicitly refers to the United Nations' recognition "of the right of the Jewish people to establish their state," openly proclaims "the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz-Israel," and later describes the new state as "the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land."<sup>33</sup>

Given Israel's Jewish character, its leaders have long emphasized the importance of maintaining an unchallenged Jewish majority within its borders. Israelis worry a great deal about the flow of Jews and Palestinians into and out of Israel, the relative birthrates of Palestinians and Jews, and the possibility that expanding Israel's borders beyond the pre-1967 lines might result in many more Arabs living in their midst. David Ben-Gurion, for example, proclaimed that "any Jewish woman who, as far as it depends on her, does not bring into the world at least four healthy children is shirking her duty to the nation, like a soldier who evades military service."<sup>34</sup> There are now about 5.3 million Jews and 1.36 million Arabs living in Israel, including the disputed area of East Jerusalem. There are another 3.8 million Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, which means that there are only about 140,000 more Jews than Palestinians living in what used to be called Mandate Palestine, and by almost all accounts the Palestinians have a higher birthrate than the Jews.<sup>35</sup> It is not surprising, in light of these numbers, that it is commonplace these days for Israeli Jews to talk about their fellow Arab citizens and Palestinian subjects as a potential "demographic threat."<sup>36</sup>

One might think that although Israel is a Jewish state at its core, its Basic Laws (there are eleven) still guarantee equal rights for all its citizens, Arabs or Jews. But that is not the case. The initial draft of

the Basic Law on Human Dignity and Liberty, which approximates the U.S. Bill of Rights, contained language that promised equality for all Israelis: "All are equal before the law, and there shall be no discrimination on the grounds of gender, religion, nationality, race, ethnic group, country of origin or any other irrelevant factor."<sup>37</sup> Ultimately, however, a Knesset committee removed that clause from the final version that became law in 1992. Since then, Arab members of Israel's Knesset have made numerous attempts to amend that Basic Law by adding language that provides for equality before the law. But their Jewish colleagues have refused to go along, a situation that stands in marked contrast to the United States, where the equality principle is enshrined in law.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to Israel's commitment to maintaining its Jewish identity and its refusal to grant *de jure* equality for non-Jews, Israel's 1.36 million Arabs are *de facto* treated as second-class citizens. An Israeli government commission found in 2003, for example, that Israel behaves in a "neglectful and discriminatory" manner toward them.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, there is widespread support among Israeli Jews for this unequal treatment of Israeli Arabs. A poll released in March 2007 found that 55 percent of Israeli Jews wanted segregated entertainment facilities, while more than 75 percent said they would not live in the same building as an Israeli Arab. More than half of the respondents said that for a Jewish woman to marry an Arab is equal to national treason, and 50 percent said that they would refuse employment if their immediate supervisor was an Arab.<sup>40</sup> The Israel Democracy Institute reported in May 2003 that 53 percent of Israeli Jews "are against full equality for the Arabs," while 77 percent of Israeli Jews believe that "there should be a Jewish majority on crucial political decisions." Only 31 percent "support having Arab political parties in the government."<sup>41</sup> That sentiment squares with the fact that Israel did not appoint its first Muslim Arab cabinet minister until January 2007, almost six decades after the founding of the state. And even that one appointment, which was to the minor portfolio of science, sports, and culture, was highly controversial.<sup>42</sup>

Israel's treatment of its Arab citizens is more than just discriminatory. For example, to limit the number of Arabs in its midst, Israel does not permit Palestinians who marry Israeli citizens to become citizens themselves and does not give these spouses the right to live in Israel. The Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem called this restriction "a racist law that determines who can live here according to racist criteria."<sup>43</sup> Also, the Olmert government is pushing—and the Knesset's ministerial committee on legislation approved on January 10, 2007—a law that would allow the courts to revoke the citizenship of "unpatriotic" citizens. This legislation, which is clearly aimed at Israeli Arabs, was labeled "a drastic and extreme move that harms civil liberties" by Israel's attorney general.<sup>44</sup> Such laws may be understandable in light of Israel's founding principles—the explicit aim of creating a Jewish state—but they are not consistent with America's image of a multi-ethnic democracy in which all citizens are supposed to be treated equally regardless of their ancestry.

In early 2007, Benjamin Netanyahu apologized to ultra-Orthodox Israelis with large families for the hardships that were caused by welfare cuts that he had made in 2002 when he was finance minister. He noted, however, that there was at least one important and unexpected benefit of these cuts: "there was a dramatic drop in the birth rate" within the "non-Jewish public."<sup>45</sup> For Netanyahu, like many Israelis who are deeply worried about the so-called Arab demographic threat, the fewer Israeli Arab births, the better.

Netanyahu's comments would almost certainly be condemned if made in the United States. Imagine the outcry that would arise here if a U.S. cabinet official spoke of the benefits of a policy that had reduced the birthrates of African Americans and Hispanics, thereby preserving a white majority. But such statements are not unusual in Israel, where important leaders have a history of making derogatory comments about Palestinians and are rarely sanctioned for them. Menachem Begin once said that "Palestinians are beasts walking on two legs," while former IDF Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan referred to them as "drugged roaches in a bottle" and also said that "a good Arab is a dead Arab." Another former chief of staff, Moshe Ya'alon, referred to the Palestinian threat as like a "cancer" on which he was performing "chemotherapy."<sup>46</sup>

Such discriminatory views are not restricted to Israeli leaders. In a recent survey of Jewish high school students in Israel, 75 percent of the respondents said that Arabs are "uneducated." The same

percentage said that they are "uncivilized," while 74 percent of those polled said that Arabs are "unclean." Commenting on this last finding, Larry Derfner wrote in the *Jerusalem Post*: "To say Arabs are unclean is not a hard-line political statement. It's not an unduly harsh comment on Arab behavior. To say Arabs are unclean is to evince an irrational, hysterical, impenetrable, absolute hatred for an entire ethnic group—which, in fact, happens not to be unclean, no more than Jews are. To say Arabs are unclean is an expression of racism in about its purest, most virulent form." The person who oversaw the survey said, "We were not surprised by the outcome of the research. Anyone who is familiar with the field knows that these warped perceptions exist, but these findings are at the most severe extreme of a disturbing phenomenon." It is noteworthy that the same survey polled Israeli Arab youth as well, and Derfner reports that "while their attitudes toward Jews are awful, they're considerably less awful than the Jewish students' attitudes toward them."<sup>47</sup> These hostile attitudes toward Israeli Arabs, coupled with fears about a "demographic threat" and the desire to maintain a Jewish majority, have led to considerable support among Israeli Jews for expelling or "transferring" much of the Arab population from Israel. Indeed, Avigdor Lieberman, who was appointed deputy prime minister for strategic threats in 2006, has made it clear that he favors expulsion, so as to make Israel "as much as possible" a homogeneous Jewish state. Specifically, he advocates trading portions of Israel that are densely packed with Arabs for areas of the West Bank that contain Jewish settlers. He is not the first Israeli cabinet minister to advocate expulsion.<sup>48</sup>

Although he is a controversial figure, Lieberman is not an outlier in Israel on this issue. The Israel Democracy Institute reported in May 2003 that 57 percent of Israel's Jews "think that the Arabs should be encouraged to emigrate." A 2004 survey conducted by Haifa University's Center for the Study of National Security found that the number had increased to 63.7 percent. One year later, in 2005, the Palestinian Center for Israel Studies found that 42 percent of Israeli Jews believed that their government should encourage Israeli Arabs to leave, while another 17 percent tended to agree with the idea. The following year, the Center for Combating Racism found that 40 percent of Israel's Jews wanted their leaders to encourage the Arab population to emigrate, while the Israel Democracy Institute found the number to be 62 percent.<sup>49</sup> If 40 percent or more of white Americans declared that blacks, Hispanics, and Asians "should be encouraged" to leave the United States, it would surely prompt vehement criticism.

These attitudes are perhaps to be expected, given the long conflict between Israelis and Palestinians and the considerable suffering it has produced on both sides. They are also no worse than the attitudes that many Americans had for different minority groups (especially African Americans) throughout much of American history. Yet whatever their origins, they are clearly attitudes that would now earn widespread condemnation here in the United States, if their existence were more widely known, and they pose a serious challenge to clichés about "our shared values, our strong commitment to freedom."

Finally, Israel's democratic status is undermined by its refusal to grant the Palestinians a viable state of their own and by its continued imposition of a legal, administrative, and military regime in the Occupied Territories that denies them basic human rights. Israel at present controls the lives of about 3.8 million Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank, while colonizing lands on which they have long dwelt. Israel formally withdrew from Gaza in the summer of 2005 but continues to maintain substantial control over its residents.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, Israel controls air, sea, and land access, which means that the Palestinians are effectively prisoners within Gaza, able to enter or leave only with Israeli approval. Jan Egeland, a senior UN figure, and Jan Eliasson, the Swedish foreign minister, wrote in September 2006 that the Palestinians are "living in a cage," which naturally has had devastating effects on their economy, as well as their mental and physical well-being.<sup>51</sup>

On the West Bank, Israel continues to expropriate Palestinian land and build settlements. The situation was succinctly described in a *Ha'aretz* editorial in late December 2006: "Virtually not a week goes by without a new revelation, each more sensational and revolting than the previous one, about the building spree in West Bank settlements, in blatant violation of the law and in complete contradiction to

official government policy."<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the Israeli organization Peace Now recently released a study based on Israeli government records, which shows that more than 32 percent of the land that Israel holds for the purpose of building settlements is privately owned by Palestinians. Israel intends to keep almost all of this land forever. This seizure of Palestinian property violates not only Israeli law but also a fundamental principle of democracy: the protection of private property.<sup>53</sup>

In sum, Israel has a vibrant democratic order for its Jewish citizens, who can and do criticize their government and choose their leaders in open and free elections. Freedom of the press is also alive and well in Israel, where, paradoxically, it is much easier to criticize Israeli policy than it is in the United States. This is why so much of the evidence in this study is drawn from the Israeli press. Despite these positive features, Arab Israelis are systematically marginalized, the millions of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories are denied full political rights, and the "shared democracy" rationale is correspondingly weakened.

### **COMPENSATION FOR PAST CRIMES**

A third moral justification is the history of Jewish suffering in the Christian West, especially the tragic experience of the Holocaust. Because Jews were persecuted for centuries and many believe they can be safe only in a Jewish homeland, Israel is said to deserve special treatment. This view formed the basis for the original Zionist program, played an important role in convincing the United States and other countries to back Israel's founding, and continues to resonate today.

There is no question that Jews suffered greatly from the despicable legacy of anti-Semitism and that Israel's creation was an appropriate response to a long record of crimes. This history provides a strong moral case for supporting Israel's founding and continued existence. This backing is also consistent with America's general commitment to national self-determination. But one cannot ignore the fact that the creation of Israel involved additional crimes against a largely innocent third party: the Palestinians. Crimes against Jews justify backing Israel's existence, but its crimes against Palestinians undermine its claim to special treatment.

The history of these events is well documented. When political Zionism began in earnest in the late nineteenth century, there were only about fifteen thousand to seventeen thousand Jews living in Palestine.<sup>54</sup> In 1893, for example, the Arabs comprised roughly 95 percent of the population, and though under Ottoman control, they had been in continuous possession of this territory for thirteen hundred years.<sup>55</sup> The old Zionist adage that Palestine was "a land without people for a people without a land" was dead wrong regarding the land; it was occupied by another people.<sup>56</sup>

The early Zionists hoped that the waves of Jews who began leaving Europe in the last decades of the nineteenth century would come to Palestine, allowing the Jews to gain a decisive numerical advantage over the Arabs there. But that did not happen, mainly because most of these Jews preferred to go to the United States. Only one hundred thousand of the four million Jews who left Europe between 1880 and 1920 went to Palestine.<sup>57</sup> In fact, until Hitler came to power, the Jews in Palestine could not fill "the generous immigration quotas allowed by the British."<sup>58</sup> In 1948, when Israel was founded, its 650,000 Jews were only about 35 percent of Palestine's population and they owned only 7 percent of its land.<sup>59</sup>

From the start, the leading Zionists were determined to create a Jewish state that covered virtually all of Palestine, and even parts of Lebanon and Syria.<sup>60</sup> Of course, there were differences among them on where they thought the borders should be drawn in an ideal world, and almost all recognized that it might not be possible to realize all of their territorial ambitions. The mainstream Zionist leadership, it should be emphasized, was never interested in establishing a binational state where Arabs and Jews lived side by side in a country that had no religious identity and might even have more Arabs than Jews. The goal from the beginning was to create instead a Jewish state in which Jews comprised at least 85 percent of the population.<sup>61</sup>

The Zionists' ambitions also went beyond a permanent partition of Palestine. It is widely believed in the United States, especially among Israel's supporters, that the Zionists were willing to agree to a permanently partitioned Palestine, and indeed they did agree to the partition plans put forward by Britain's Peel Commission in 1937 and the UN in 1947. But their acceptance of these plans did not mean

that they intended to accept only part of Palestine in perpetuity, or that they were willing to support the creation of a Palestinian state. As recent scholarship makes abundantly clear, the Zionist leadership was sometimes willing to accept partition as a first step, but this was a tactical maneuver and not their real objective. They had no intention of coexisting alongside a viable Palestinian state over the long run, as that outcome was in direct conflict with their dream of creating a Jewish state in all of Palestine.

There was fierce opposition among the Zionists to the Peel Commission's partition plan, and their leader, David Ben-Gurion, was barely able to get his fellow Zionists to accept it. They eventually agreed to the proposal, however, because they recognized that Ben-Gurion intended eventually to take all of the land of Palestine. The Zionist leader made this point clearly in the summer of 1937 when he told the Zionist Executive, "After the formation of a large army in the wake of the establishment of the state, we will abolish partition and expand to the whole of Palestine." Similarly, he told his son Amos that same year, "Erect a Jewish State at once, even if it is not in the whole land. The rest will come in the course of time. It must come."<sup>62</sup>

The Peel Commission's plan went nowhere in 1937, and over the course of the ensuing decade the Zionists remained committed to incorporating all of Mandate Palestine into a future Jewish state. Ben-Gurion made a number of comments in the first half of 1947 that show he still wanted all of Palestine. For example, the Israeli scholar Uri Ben-Eliezer reports:

On May 13, 1947, Ben-Gurion told a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive which was held in the United States: "We want the Land of Israel in its entirety. That was the original intention." A week later, speaking to the Elected Assembly in Jerusalem, the leader of the Yishuv wondered: "Does anyone among us disagree that the original intention of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and the original intention of the hopes harbored by generations of the Jewish people, was finally to establish a Jewish state in the whole Land of Israel?" Speaking to the Mapai Secretariat in June, Ben-Gurion stated that it would be a mistake to forgo any part of the land. We have no right to do that, he said, and there is no need for it.<sup>63</sup>

Later that year, in November, the UN devised a new plan to partition Palestine between the Zionists and the Palestinian Arabs. The Zionists publicly accepted this plan as well. But in fact Ben-Gurion had already negotiated a deal with King Abdullah of Transjordan to divide up Palestine between Israel and Transjordan and deny the Palestinians a state.<sup>64</sup> This secret arrangement, which Britain endorsed, allowed Transjordan to acquire the West Bank and Israel to take what it could of the rest of Palestine. The deal was ultimately implemented during the 1948 war, although in a somewhat disjointed fashion. Israeli leaders, not surprisingly, gave serious thought during the war to conquering the West Bank and taking all of Mandate Palestine for their new state, but they decided that the likely costs outweighed the potential benefits. Transjordan, which later became Jordan, controlled the West Bank until the 1967 Six-Day War, when the IDF conquered it. In short, Israel's founding fathers were determined from the beginning to create a "greater Israel," which left no room for a Palestinian state and little room for Palestinians inside the Jewish state.

Given that Arabs heavily outnumbered Jews in Palestine and that the Zionists were bent on conquering as much territory as feasible, they had little choice but to expel large numbers of Arabs from the territory that would eventually become Israel. There was no other way to accomplish their objective, as the Arabs were hardly likely to give up their land voluntarily. This is why the Peel Commission's plan to partition Palestine called explicitly for population transfer. It is also why the UN partition plan, which called for establishing an Israel that was 55 percent Jewish and 45 percent Arab, was unworkable.<sup>65</sup> There was certainly no way that a Jewish state could be created in all of Palestine without convincing large numbers of Arabs to leave.

In light of these realities, expulsion was a frequent topic of conversation among Zionists since the earliest days of the movement, and it was widely recognized as the only realistic way to solve the demographic problem that stood in the way of creating a Jewish state.<sup>66</sup> Ben-Gurion saw the problem

clearly, writing in 1941 that "it is impossible to imagine general evacuation [of the Arab population] without compulsion, and brutal compulsion."<sup>67</sup> Or as he wrote his son in October 1937, "We shall organize a modern defense force . . . and then I am certain that we will not be prevented from settling in other parts of the country, either by mutual agreement with our Arab neighbors or by some other means."<sup>68</sup> No doubt he would have preferred to do so via "mutual agreement," but Ben-Gurion understood that this was a remote possibility and that the Zionists would need a strong army to accomplish their aims. Morris puts the point succinctly: "Of course, Ben-Gurion was a transferist. He understood that there could be no Jewish state with a large and hostile Arab minority in its midst. . . Ben-Gurion was right. If he had not done what he did, a state would not have come into being. That has to be clear. It is impossible to evade it. Without the uprooting of the Palestinians, a Jewish state would not have arisen here."<sup>69</sup>

Expulsion is a horrible and controversial strategy and it makes no sense for any group contemplating the transfer of a rival population to announce its intentions to the world. Thus, after commenting in 1941 that he could not imagine how transfer could be accomplished without "brutal compulsion," Ben-Gurion went on to say that the Zionists should not "discourage other people, British or American, who favour transfer from advocating this course, but we should in no way make it part of our programme."<sup>70</sup> He was not rejecting this policy, however; he was simply noting that the Zionists should not openly proclaim it. Further reflecting how "highly sensitive" the subject of transfer was to Israel's founding fathers, Benny Morris notes that "it was common practice in Zionist bodies to order stenographers to 'take a break' and thus to exclude from the record discussion on such matters." Moreover, he notes that "Jewish press reports" describing how Ben-Gurion and other Zionist leaders reacted to the Peel Commission's plan for partitioning Palestine "generally failed to mention that Ben-Gurion, or anyone else, had come out strongly in favor of transfer or indeed had even raised the subject."<sup>71</sup>

The opportunity to expel the Palestinians and create a Jewish state came in 1948, when Jewish forces drove up to seven hundred thousand Palestinians into exile.<sup>72</sup> Israelis and their supporters in the United States long claimed that the Arabs fled because their leaders told them to, but scholars have demolished this myth. In fact, most Arab leaders urged the Palestinian population to stay home, but fear of violent death at the hands of Zionist forces led most of them to flee.<sup>73</sup> After the war, Israel barred the return of the Palestinian exiles. As Ben-Gurion put it in June 1948, "We must prevent at all costs their return."<sup>74</sup> By 1962, Israel owned almost 93 percent of the land inside its borders.<sup>75</sup> To achieve this outcome, 531 Arab villages were destroyed "and eleven urban neighborhoods emptied of their inhabitants."<sup>76</sup> Former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan captures the catastrophe that the Zionists inflicted on the Palestinians to create the state of Israel: "Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you because geography books no longer exist, not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either . . . There is not a single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population."<sup>77</sup>

The fact that the creation of Israel entailed a grave injustice against the Palestinian people was well understood by Israel's leaders. As Ben-Gurion told Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress, in 1956, "If I was an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs. We come from Israel, it's true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that?"<sup>78</sup>

Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the founding father of the Israeli right, made essentially the same point when he wrote in 1923, "Colonization is self-explanatory and what it implies is fully understood by every sensible Jew and Arab. There can only be one purpose in colonization. For the country's Arabs that purpose is essentially unacceptable. This is a natural reaction and nothing will change it."<sup>79</sup> Berl Katznelson, a close ally of Ben-Gurion and a leading intellectual force among the early Zionists, put the point bluntly: "The Zionist enterprise is an enterprise of conquest."<sup>80</sup>

In the six decades since Israel was created, its leaders have repeatedly sought to deny the Palestinians' national ambitions.<sup>81</sup> Prime Minister Golda Meir, for example, famously remarked that "there was no such thing as a Palestinian."<sup>82</sup> Many Israeli leaders also maintained a deep interest in incorporating the West Bank and Gaza into Israel. In 1949, for example, Moshe Dayan proclaimed that Israel's boundaries were "ridiculous from all points of view." Israel's eastern border, he felt, should be the Jordan River. Dayan was no exception in this regard; many of his fellow generals as well as Ben-Gurion himself were keen on acquiring the West Bank for Israel.<sup>83</sup> Benny Morris is certainly correct when he notes that "the vision of 'Greater Israel' as Zionism's ultimate objective did not end with the 1948 war."<sup>84</sup>

After the start of the First Intifada in December 1987, some Israeli leaders began to countenance giving the Palestinians limited autonomy in particular areas of the West Bank and Gaza. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who signed the 1993 Oslo Accords, is often said to have been willing to allow the Palestinians to have a viable state in almost all of the Occupied Territories. But this view is not correct; Rabin in fact opposed creating a full-fledged Palestinian state. Speaking in 1995, the year that he was murdered, Rabin said, "I seek peaceful coexistence between Israel as a Jewish state, not all over the land of Israel, or most of it; its capital, the united Jerusalem; its security border with Jordan rebuilt; next to it, a Palestinian entity, less than a state, that runs the life of Palestinians . . . This is my goal, not to return to the pre—Six-Day War lines but to create two entities, a separation between Israel and the Palestinians who reside in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."<sup>85</sup>

The depth of Israel's opposition to creating a Palestinian state—even in the late 1990s—is reflected in an incident involving First Lady Hillary Clinton. In the spring of 1998, Israelis and their American supporters sharply criticized her for saying that "it would be in the long-term interests of peace in the Middle East for there to be a state of Palestine, a functioning modern state that is on the same footing as other states." White House officials, according to the *New York Times*, immediately "disowned" her comments and "insisted that she was speaking only for herself." Her view, the White House press secretary said, "is not the view of the President."<sup>86</sup>

By 2000, however, it was finally acceptable for American politicians to speak openly about the desirability of a Palestinian state. At the same time, pressure from extremist violence and the growing Palestinian population has forced recent Israeli leaders to dismantle the settlements in the Gaza Strip and to explore territorial compromises involving the West Bank. Still, no Israeli government has been willing to offer the Palestinians a viable state of their own. As discussed below, even Prime Minister Ehud Barak's purportedly generous offer at Camp David in July 2000 would have given the Palestinians only a disarmed and dismembered state under de facto Israeli control. In 2002, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir reiterated his opposition to giving the Palestinians any kind of state, while former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made it clear the following year that he favored only a semisovereign Palestinian state.<sup>87</sup>

Europe's crimes against the Jews provide a strong moral justification for Israel's right to exist. No new settler state can hope to come into existence without some degree of violence, but Israel has continued to impose terrible violence and discrimination on the Palestinians for decades. These policies can no longer be justified on the grounds that the existence of Israel is at stake. Israel's survival is not in doubt, even if some Islamic extremists harbor unrealistic hopes or Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad says that Israel "should vanish from the page of time."<sup>88</sup> More important, the past suffering of the Jewish people does not obligate the United States to help Israel no matter what it does today.

## **"VIRTUOUS ISRAELIS" VERSUS "EVIL ARABS"**

Another moral argument portrays Israel as a country that has sought peace at every turn and showed great and noble restraint even when provoked. The Arabs, by contrast, are said to have acted with deep wickedness and indiscriminate violence. This narrative is endlessly repeated by Israeli leaders and by



American apologists for Israel such as Alan Dershowitz and the *New Republic* editor in chief Martin Peretz. Israel, according to Peretz, adheres closely to a doctrine called "purity of arms," which means that "everything reasonable must be done to avoid harming civilians, even if that entails additional risks to Israeli soldiers." Moreover, he maintains that "Israel has for years vacillated between responding to terror with exquisitely calibrated force and pacifying terrorists by giving them some of what they want," while its Arab enemies are part "of the very same terror that was launched on us on Sept. 11."<sup>89</sup> The IDF, according to Ariel Sharon and Ehud Olmert, among others, "is the most moral army in the world."<sup>90</sup> This description of Israeli behavior is yet another myth, another element in what Meron Benvenisti, the former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, calls Israel's "sacred narrative."<sup>91</sup>

Israeli scholarship shows that the early Zionists were far from benevolent toward the Palestinian Arabs.<sup>92</sup> The Arab inhabitants did resist the Zionists' encroachments, sometimes killing Jews and destroying their homes. But this resistance would be expected given that the Zionists were trying to create their own state on Arab lands. "Were I an Arab," Ben-Gurion candidly remarked in June 1937, "I would rebel even more vigorously, bitterly, and desperately against the immigration that will one day turn Palestine and all its Arab residents over to Jewish rule."<sup>93</sup> The Zionists responded vigorously and often ruthlessly, and thus neither side owns the moral high ground during this period.

This same scholarship also reveals that the creation of Israel in 1948 involved explicit acts of ethnic cleansing, including executions, massacres, and rapes by Jews.<sup>94</sup> Of course, Zionist leaders did not tell their troops to murder and rape Palestinians, but they did advocate using brutal methods to remove huge numbers of Palestinians from the land that would soon be the new Jewish state. Consider what Ben-Gurion wrote in his diary on January 1, 1948, at a time when he was involved in a series of important meetings with other Zionist leaders about how to deal with the Palestinians in their midst: "There is a need now for strong and brutal reaction. We need to be accurate about timing, place and those we hit. If we accuse a family—we need to harm them without mercy, women and children included. Otherwise, this is not an effective reaction . . . There is no need to distinguish between guilty and not guilty."<sup>95</sup> It is hardly surprising that this sort of guidance from the Zionist leadership—Ben-Gurion was summarizing the emerging policy—led Jewish soldiers to commit atrocities. After all, we have seen this pattern of behavior in many wars, fought by many different peoples. Regardless, the occurrence of atrocities in this period undercuts Israel's claim to a special moral status.

Israel's subsequent conduct toward its Arab adversaries and its Palestinian subjects has often been severe, belying any claim to morally superior conduct. Between 1949 and 1956, for example, Morris estimates that "Israeli security forces and civilian guards, and their mines and booby-traps, killed somewhere between 2,700 and 5,000 Arab infiltrators." Some of them were undoubtedly bent on killing Israelis, but according to the available evidence, "the vast majority of those killed were unarmed; the overwhelming majority had infiltrated for economic or social reasons." Morris notes that this "free-fire" policy led to "a series of atrocities" against the infiltrators.<sup>96</sup>

These kinds of acts were not anomalous. The IDF murdered hundreds of Egyptian prisoners of war in both the 1956 and 1967 wars.<sup>97</sup> In 1967, it expelled between 100,000 and 260,000 Palestinians from the newly conquered West Bank and drove 80,000 Syrians from the Golan Heights.<sup>98</sup> When the victims of these ethnic cleansings tried to sneak back to their homes, often unarmed, Israelis sometimes shot them on sight.<sup>99</sup> Amnesty International estimates that between 1967 and 2003, Israel destroyed more than ten thousand homes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.<sup>100</sup> Israel was also complicit in the massacre of innocent Palestinians by a Christian militia at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps following its invasion of Lebanon in 1982. An Israeli investigatory commission found Defense Minister Ariel Sharon to bear "personal responsibility" for these atrocities by allowing the Phalangists to enter the camps.<sup>101</sup> While the commission's willingness to hold a top official like Sharon accountable is admirable, we should not forget that Israeli voters subsequently elected him prime minister.

Israel has now controlled the West Bank and Gaza for forty years, making it, as the historian Perry Anderson notes, "the longest official military occupation of modern history."<sup>102</sup> When the occupation began, Benny Morris explains, Israelis "liked to believe, and tell the world, that they were running an

'enlightened' and 'benign' occupation, qualitatively different from other military occupations the world had seen. The truth was radically different. Like all occupations, Israel's was founded on brute force, repression and fear, collaboration and treachery, beatings and torture chambers, and daily intimidation, humiliation, and manipulation."<sup>103</sup> During the First Intifada (1987-91), for example, the IDF distributed truncheons to its troops and encouraged them to break the bones of Palestinian protestors. The Swedish branch of the Save the Children organization released a thousand-page report in May 1990 that detailed the effects of that conflict on the children in the Occupied Territories. It estimated that "23,600 to 29,900 children required medical treatment for their beating injuries in the first two years of the [first] intifada." Moreover, it estimated that almost one-third of the children were ten years or under; one-fifth were five and under; more than four-fifths "had been beaten on their heads and upper bodies and at multiple locations"; and almost one-third of the children "sustained broken bones, including multiple fractures."<sup>104</sup>

Ehud Barak, the IDF's deputy chief of staff during the First Intifada, said at the time, "We do not want children to be shot under any circumstances . . . When you see a child you don't shoot." Nevertheless, Save the Children estimated that sixty-five hundred to eighty-five hundred children were wounded by gunfire during the first two years of the Intifada. Regarding the 106 recorded cases of "child gunshot deaths," the report concluded that almost all of them "were hit by directed—not random or ricochet— gunfire"; almost 20 percent suffered multiple gunshot wounds; about 12 percent were shot from behind; 15 percent of the children were ten years or younger; "most children were not participating in a stone-throwing demonstration when shot"; and "nearly one-fifth of the children were shot dead while at home or within ten meters of their homes."

Israel's response to the Second Intifada (2000-05) was even more violent, leading the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* to declare that "the IDF ... is turning into a killing machine whose efficiency is awe-inspiring, yet shocking."<sup>105</sup> The IDF fired one million bullets in the first days of the uprising, which is hardly a measured response.<sup>106</sup> Over the course of that uprising, Israel killed 3,386 Palestinians, while 992 Israelis were killed by the Palestinians, which means that Israel killed 3.4 Palestinians for every Israeli lost.

Among those killed were 676 Palestinian children and 118 Israeli children; thus, the ratio of Palestinian to Israeli children killed was 5.7 to 1. Of the 3,386 Palestinian deaths, 1,815 were believed to be bystanders, 1,008 were killed while fighting the Israelis, and the circumstances of 563 deaths are unknown. In other words, well over half of the Palestinian fatalities appear to have been noncombatants. A similar pattern holds on the Israeli side, where 683 of its 992 deaths were civilians; the remaining 309 were military.<sup>107</sup> Israeli forces have also killed several foreign peace activists, including a twenty-three-year-old American woman crushed by an Israeli bulldozer in March 2003.<sup>108</sup> Yet the Israeli government rarely investigates these civilian deaths, much less punishes the perpetrators.<sup>109</sup>

These facts about Israel's conduct have been amply documented by numerous human rights organizations—including prominent Israeli groups— and are not disputed by fair-minded observers.<sup>110</sup> And that is why four former officials of Shin Bet (the Israeli domestic security organization) condemned Israel's conduct during the Second Intifada in November 2003. One of them declared, "We are behaving disgracefully," and another termed Israel's conduct "patently immoral."<sup>111</sup>

A similar pattern can be seen in Israel's response to the escalation in violence in Gaza and Lebanon in 2006. The killing of two Israeli soldiers and the capture of a third by Hamas in June 2006 led Israel to reoccupy Gaza and launch air strikes and artillery fire that destroyed critical infrastructure, including the electric power station that provided residents of Gaza with half of their electricity. The IDF has also killed hundreds of Palestinians since moving back into Gaza, many of them children.<sup>112</sup> This dire situation led the UN high commissioner for human rights, Louise Arbour, to proclaim in November 2006 that "the violation of human rights in this territory ... is massive."<sup>113</sup> Likewise, when Hezbollah units crossed the Israeli-Lebanese border in July 2006 and captured two IDF soldiers and killed several more, Israel unleashed a bombing campaign that was designed to inflict massive punishment on Lebanon's civilian population by destroying critical infrastructure like roads, bridges, gas stations, and buildings. More than one thousand Lebanese died, most of them innocent civilians. As discussed in

Chapter 11, this response was both strategically foolish and a violation of the laws of war. In short, there is little basis for the often-heard claim that Israel has consistently shown great restraint in dealing with its adversaries.

An obvious challenge to this point is the claim that Israel has faced a mortal threat throughout its history, both from "rejectionist" Arab governments and from Palestinian terrorists. Isn't Israel entitled to do whatever it

takes to protect its citizens? And doesn't the unique evil of terrorism justify continued U.S. support, even if Israel often responds harshly?

In fact, this argument is not a compelling moral justification either. Palestinians have used terrorism against their Israeli occupiers as well as innocent third parties; their willingness to attack civilians is wrong and should be roundly condemned. This behavior is not surprising, however, because the Palestinians have long been denied basic political rights and believe they have no other way to force Israeli concessions. As former Prime Minister Barak once admitted, had he been born a Palestinian, he "would have joined a terrorist organization."<sup>114</sup> If the situation were reversed and the Israelis were under Arab occupation, they would almost certainly be using similar tactics against their oppressors, just as other resistance movements around the world have done.<sup>115</sup>

Indeed, terrorism was one of the key tactics that the Zionists used when they were in a similarly weak position and trying to obtain their own state. It was Jewish terrorists from the infamous Irgun, a militant Zionist group, who in late 1937 introduced into Palestine the now-familiar practice of placing bombs in buses and large crowds. Benny Morris speculates that "the Arabs may well have learned the value of terrorist bombings from the Jews."<sup>116</sup> Between 1944 and 1947, several Zionist organizations used terrorist attacks to drive the British from Palestine and took the lives of many innocent civilians along the way.<sup>117</sup> Israeli terrorists also murdered the UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in 1948, because they opposed his proposal to internationalize Jerusalem.<sup>118</sup> The perpetrators of these acts were not isolated extremists: the leaders of the murder plot were eventually granted amnesty by the Israeli government and one of them was later elected to the Knesset. Another terrorist leader, who approved of Bernadotte's murder but was not tried, was future Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. He openly argued that "neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat." Rather, terrorism had "a great part to play ... in our war against the occupier [Britain]." Nor did Shamir express regrets about his terrorist past, telling an interviewer in 1998 that "had I not acted as I did, it is doubtful that we would have been able to create an independent Jewish state of our own."<sup>119</sup>

Of course, Menachem Begin, who headed the Irgun and later became prime minister, was one of the most prominent Jewish terrorists in the years before Israeli independence. When speaking of Begin, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol often referred to him simply as "the terrorist."<sup>120</sup> The Palestinians' use of terrorism is morally reprehensible today, but so was the Zionists' reliance on it in the past. Thus, one cannot justify American support for Israel on the grounds that its past or present conduct was morally superior.

Another possible line of defense is that Israel does not purposely target noncombatants, while Hezbollah and the Palestinians do aim to kill Israeli civilians. Moreover, the terrorists who strike at Israel use civilians as human shields, which regrettably leaves the IDF no choice but to kill innocent civilians when it strikes at its deadly foes. These rationales are not convincing either. As discussed in Chapter 11, the IDF targeted civilian areas in Lebanon, and there is little evidence that Hezbollah was using civilians as human shields. While there is also no evidence that it has been official Israeli policy to kill Palestinian civilians, the IDF has often failed to take care to avoid civilian casualties when fighting against groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The fact that Hezbollah and the Palestinians target civilians does not entitle Israel to jeopardize civilian lives by using disproportionate force.

There is no question that Israel is justified in responding with force to violent acts by groups like Hamas and Hezbollah, but its willingness to use its superior military power to inflict massive suffering on innocent civilians casts doubt on its repeated claims to a special moral status. Israel may not have acted worse than many other countries, but it has not acted any better.

## CAMP DAVID MYTHS

The portrayal of Israel as primed for peace and the Palestinians as bent on war is reinforced by the standard interpretation of the Clinton administration's failed effort to complete the Oslo peace process. According to this story, Prime Minister Barak offered the Palestinians "almost everything" they wanted at Camp David in July 2000.<sup>121</sup> But Arafat, still determined to derail the peace process and eventually destroy Israel, rejected this generous offer and instead launched the Second Intifada in late September 2000. Israel accepted and Arafat rejected an even more generous proposal—the so-called Clinton parameters—put forth by President Clinton on December 23, 2000, providing further evidence that he had no interest in peace.

In this story, the failure of the peace process was almost entirely Arafat's fault. Israel was eager to make peace but could not find a reliable partner, confirming Abba Eban's famous quip that "the Arabs never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity." This account also implies that neither Israel nor the United States bears responsibility for the continued conflict and bolsters the argument that Israel was correct in refusing to make concessions to the Palestinians as long as Arafat was in charge.

There is only one problem with this widely held version of events: it is not correct.<sup>122</sup> Although Barak deserves credit for being the first—indeed, the only—Israeli leader to offer the Palestinians their own state, the terms he offered them at Camp David were far from generous. To start, it seems clear that Barak's best offer at Camp David promised the Palestinians immediate control of Gaza and eventual control of 91 percent of the West Bank.<sup>123</sup> Even so, there were major problems with this offer from the Palestinians' perspective. Israel planned to keep control of the Jordan River Valley (roughly 10 percent of the West Bank) for between six and twenty-one years (different accounts of the negotiations vary on this point), which meant that the Palestinians would be given immediate control over no more than 81 percent of the West Bank, not 91 percent. The Palestinians, of course, could not be sure that Israel would ever relinquish control of the Jordan River Valley.

In addition, the Palestinians had a slightly more expansive definition of what constituted the West Bank than the Israelis did. This difference, which amounted to roughly 5 percent of the territory in question, meant that the Palestinians saw themselves immediately getting 76 percent of the West Bank and, if the Israelis were willing to surrender the Jordan River Valley at some future date, maybe 86 percent. What made this deal especially difficult for the Palestinians to accept was the fact that they had already agreed in the 1993 Oslo Accords to recognize Israeli sovereignty over 78 percent of the original British Mandate.<sup>124</sup> From their perspective, they were now being asked to make another major concession and accept at best 86 percent of the remaining 22 percent.

To make matters worse, the final Israeli proposal at Camp David in the summer of 2000 would not have given the Palestinians a continuous piece of sovereign territory in the West Bank. The Palestinians maintain that the West Bank would have been divided into three cantons separated by Israeli territory. Israelis dispute this claim, but Barak himself acknowledges that Israel would have maintained control of a "razor-thin" wedge of territory running from Jerusalem to the Jordan River Valley.<sup>125</sup> This wedge, which would completely bisect the West Bank, was essential to Israel's plan to retain control of the Jordan River Valley. Thus, the Palestinian state proposed at Camp David would have been composed of either two or three distinct cantons in the West Bank, and Gaza, which is itself separated from the West Bank by Israeli territory. Barak later said that the Palestinian areas on the West Bank could have been connected by "a tunnel or bridge," while Gaza and the West Bank would have been connected by a travel corridor.<sup>126</sup>

With regard to the thorny issue of Jerusalem, Barak's proposal to divide the city was a major step in the right direction. Nonetheless, the Palestinians were not offered full sovereignty in a number of Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, which made the proposal significantly less attractive to them. Israel would also have kept control over the new Palestinian state's borders, its airspace, and its water resources, and the Palestinians would be permanently barred from building an army to defend themselves.<sup>127</sup> It is hard to imagine any leader accepting these terms. Certainly no other state in the

world has such curtailed sovereignty, or faces so many obstacles to building a workable economy and society. Given all this, it is not surprising that Barak's former foreign minister, Shlomo Ben-Ami, who was a key participant at Camp David, later told an interviewer, "If I were a Palestinian I would have rejected Camp David, as well."<sup>128</sup>

The common claim that Arafat launched the Second Intifada in late September 2000—either to enhance his leverage in the negotiations or to destroy the peace process itself—does not stand up against the evidence either.<sup>129</sup> He continued negotiating with the Israelis and the Americans after Camp David, and he even visited Prime Minister Ehud Barak's home a few nights before the violence broke out. According to Charles Enderlin, a French journalist who has written an important book on the failure of these negotiations, the two leaders were uncharacteristically friendly and optimistic about the negotiations that evening.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, the former head of Shin Bet, Ami Ayalon, has stated that "Arafat neither prepared nor triggered the Intifada."<sup>131</sup> The so-called Mitchell Commission, headed by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell and charged with restarting the peace process, reached the same conclusion.<sup>132</sup>

The Second Intifada broke out shortly after Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount, Judaism's most holy site, on September 28, 2000. He had to be accompanied by more than a thousand Israeli police, because Muslims consider that same site, the location of the al-Aqsa Mosque, to be the third holiest site in Islam. But Sharon's provocative move was only the precipitating cause, not the root cause, of the violence. Trouble had been brewing among the Palestinians well before Sharon's visit, and key individuals on both sides recognized the danger. In fact, Palestinian leaders asked American and Israeli officials to bar Sharon's visit precisely because they anticipated a violent reaction and wanted to prevent it.<sup>133</sup>

Part of the problem was the Palestinians' growing dissatisfaction with Arafat, whose corrupt leadership had done little to improve their lives, much less deliver a state. But the main cause was Israel's provocative policies in the Occupied Territories, compounded by its harsh response to the demonstrations that immediately followed Sharon's visit.<sup>134</sup> Ben-Ami is exactly right that the Second Intifada "did not start merely as a tactical move. It erupted out of the accumulated rage and frustration of the Palestinian masses at the colossal failure of the peace process since the early days of Oslo to offer them a life of dignity and well-being, and at the incompetence and corruption of their own leaders in the Palestinian Authority."<sup>135</sup>

The Palestinians' frustrations are not hard to fathom. Between the start of the Oslo peace process in September 1993 and the outbreak of the Second Intifada seven years later, Israel confiscated more than forty thousand acres of Palestinian land, built 250 miles of bypass and security roads, established thirty new settlements, and increased the settler population in the West Bank and Gaza by almost one hundred thousand, which effectively doubled that population.<sup>136</sup> The Israelis also reneged on promises to transfer territory back to the Palestinians and created a system of checkpoints that sharply reduced the Palestinians' freedom of movement and badly damaged their economy. The Palestinians were primed to explode by 2000, and when they did, the Israelis unleashed their superior firepower with scant restraint.<sup>137</sup> The IDF, as noted, fired more than a million bullets in the first few days of the uprising.

Although Arafat did not launch the Second Intifada, he exploited the resulting violence in a foolish attempt to enhance his bargaining position. Not only did this move make Barak less willing to cut a deal, but it also damaged Barak's standing with the Israeli electorate and paved the way for Sharon's election in February 2001. Arafat's attempt to leverage the uprising also delayed the negotiations, which meant that the lame-duck Clinton administration had even less time in which to complete the process.

Some argue that Arafat's ultimate goal in manipulating the violence was to erase Israel from the map. That was certainly his goal when he first emerged on the world stage in the 1960s, but he recognized by the late 1980s that there was no way that the Palestinians could make Israel go away. Arafat went to some lengths in the 1990s—certainly by participating in the Oslo peace process—to make clear that he accepted Israel's existence and that his struggle with Israel was over control of the Occupied Territories, not all of historic Palestine.<sup>138</sup> When Camp David failed and the Second Intifada

began, almost all of Israel's key intelligence figures believed that Arafat accepted Israel's existence and merely sought a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, as the Middle East specialist Jeremy

Pressman points out, if Arafat and the Palestinians were determined to eliminate Israel, they would have accepted Barak's offer and used the new state as "a launching pad for the elimination of Israel." But instead they negotiated "as if they expected to abide by any agreements and live for the long term within the framework of a two-state solution."<sup>140</sup>

Finally, the oft-repeated claim that Arafat rejected the December 2000 Clinton parameters, which did improve on Barak's last offer at Camp David, is also wrong. The official Palestinian response thanked Clinton for his continued efforts, declared that considerable progress had been made, asked for clarification on some points, and expressed reservations about others.<sup>141</sup> The Israeli government also had its own reservations about the proposal, which Barak outlined in a twenty-page single-spaced document. Thus, both the Palestinians and the Israelis accepted the Clinton parameters and saw them as the basis for continued negotiation, but neither side accepted them in toto. The White House spokesman Jake Siewert made just this point on January 3, 2001, when he said that "both sides have now accepted the President's ideas with some reservations," and Clinton confirmed this point in a speech to the Israel Policy Forum four days later.<sup>142</sup> Negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians continued at Taba, Egypt, until late January 2001, when Ehud Barak, not Arafat, broke off the talks. With elections in Israel imminent and public opinion there running strongly against the talks, Barak felt that the clock had run out on him.<sup>143</sup> His successor, Ariel Sharon, who was adamantly opposed to the Oslo peace process as well as the Clinton parameters, refused to resume negotiations despite repeated Palestinian requests. We will never know if peace was within sight by early 2001, but the charge that Arafat and the Palestinians rejected a last chance for peace and chose violence over reconciliation is false.

### **SUPPORTING ISRAEL IS GOD'S WILL**

There is a final moral claim that some say justifies the close embrace between the United States and Israel. As discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, some evangelical Christians—especially so-called Christian Zionists—view the establishment of the Jewish state as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Genesis says that God gave Abraham and his descendants the land of Israel; by colonizing the West Bank, Jews are merely taking back what God gave them. Some Christians also see the creation of a greater Israel as a key event leading to the end-time "final battle" depicted in the New Testament's Book of Revelation. Both perspectives imply that Israel deserves U.S. support not because it is a democracy, an underdog, or a morally superior society, but because backing Israel is God's will.

This line of argument undoubtedly appeals to some fervently religious individuals, but anticipating Armageddon is not a sound basis for making American foreign policy. Church and state are separate in the United States, and the religious opinions of any group are not supposed to determine the country's foreign policy. It is also an odd reading of Christian ethics to support the powerful Israeli state in its mistreatment of dispossessed Palestinians and its suppression of their rights.

### **WHAT DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT?**

The six moral arguments that we have just examined underpin the broader claim that the real basis of U.S. support for Israel is the American people's enduring identification with the Jewish state. The columnist Jeff Jacoby of the *Boston Globe* writes that "solidarity with Israel is an abiding feature of American public opinion. Because the American people are pro-Israel, the American government is pro-Israel. And because Americans so strongly support Israel in its conflict with the Arabs, American policy in the Middle East is committed to Israel's defense." As the AIPAC spokesman Josh Block said on the

eve of its 2007 Policy Conference, "There's one issue—that is, support for the U.S. relationship with Israel—that brings everyone together." In fact, he argued that "all trends indicate that Americans . . . understand quite clearly that the basic values we celebrate are reflected in only one country in the Middle East—our ally Israel."<sup>144</sup>

This claim, however widely believed, does not stand up to close inspection. There is a degree of cultural affinity between the United States and Israel, based in part on the shared Judeo-Christian tradition. There is also no question that many Americans look favorably on Israel because it is a democracy, because of the history of anti-Semitism, and because they sympathize with Israel in its fight against Palestinian terrorism. But the common roots of Judaism and Christianity have hardly been a reliable source of amity between Jews and Christians in the past.<sup>145</sup> Not only have Christians waged brutal wars against each other, but they have also been the primary perpetrators of violent anti-Semitism in previous centuries. And some fundamentalists—including Christian Zionists—still regard the conversion of Jews as an important evangelical objective. By itself, therefore, this "cultural affinity" cannot

account for the consistent level of U.S. support, or even the generally favorable attitudes that many Americans express toward the Jewish state.

As will become clear in later chapters, the American people are inclined to support Israel in part because its supporters in the United States cultivate sympathy by stifling criticism of Israel while simultaneously portraying it in a favorable light. Indeed, there is much more criticism of Israel's actions in Israel itself than there is in America. If there were a more open and candid discussion about what the Israelis are doing in the Occupied Territories, and about the real strategic value of Israel as a U.S. ally, there would be much less sympathy for Israel in the American public.

Nonetheless, the degree of public support for Israel—and for specific Israeli policies—should not be overstated. Although the American people have favorable perceptions of Israel and clearly support the existence of a Jewish state, support for Israel is not especially deep. Most Americans also recognize that the United States pays a price for its unyielding support of Israel. For example, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press has been asking Americans for many years whether they sympathize more with Israel or the Palestinians. There has always been much more sympathy for Israel, but from 1993 through 2006, the number went above 50 percent only once—it was 52 percent during the second Lebanon war in 2006—and was as low as 37 percent in July 2005.<sup>146</sup>

Regarding the consequences of U.S. support for Israel, a Pew survey conducted in November 2005 found that 39 percent of the American public said that it was "a major cause of global discontent." Among opinion leaders, the numbers were substantially higher. Indeed, 78 percent of members of the news media, 72 percent of military leaders, 72 percent of security experts, and 69 percent of foreign affairs specialists believe that backing Israel seriously damages America's image around the world.<sup>147</sup> A *Newsweek* poll released a few weeks after the September 11 attacks found that 58 percent of the respondents believed that U.S. support for Israel was a factor in Osama bin Laden's decision to attack America.<sup>148</sup>

The American people are considerably more critical of some Israeli actions than U.S. politicians are, and the public clearly supports taking a hard-nosed approach to dealing with Israel when they think it is in the national interest to do so. As we explain in Chapter 7, a survey in the spring of 2003 showed that 60 percent of Americans were willing to withhold aid to Israel if it resisted U.S. pressure to settle its conflict with the Palestinians. In fact, 73 percent said the United States should not favor either side in the conflict.<sup>149</sup> Two years later, the Anti-Defamation League found that 78 percent of Americans believed that Washington should favor neither Israel nor the Palestinians.<sup>150</sup> Andrew Kohut, the director of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, points out that "average Americans see shades of gray in the Middle East conflict, and their sympathies notwithstanding, they favor a neutral role for the United States."<sup>151</sup>

Unlike their leaders, the American people displayed a tough-minded approach to dealing with Israel during the Lebanon war in 2006. As discussed in Chapter 11, polls showed that slightly more than half of the public thought that Israel was either equally responsible or mainly responsible for the war,

and in at least two polls more than half of the respondents said that the United States should not take sides.<sup>152</sup> But the United States emphatically took Israel's side in Lebanon, as it has in every recent conflict involving Israel. This enthusiastic and unconditional support cannot be explained by the generally favorable opinion of Israel held by most Americans.

## CONCLUSION

The moral or strategic arguments commonly invoked by Israel's backers cannot account for America's remarkable relationship with the Jewish state over the past three decades. This is especially true for the post-Cold War period, when the strategic rationale largely evaporated and the moral rationale was badly undermined by Israeli behavior in the Occupied Territories. Yet the relationship continued to grow and deepen.

Some Americans surely do not find this situation anomalous, as they sincerely believe that there are powerful moral and strategic reasons behind U.S. support for Israel. Because the essential facts in this story are so at odds with this perspective, it is hard to imagine that the number of true believers is large enough to account for America's exceptional relationship with the Jewish state. We are left with a puzzle: either a relatively small number of true believers are exerting a disproportionate influence on U.S. foreign policy, or they have managed to persuade lots of other people—especially key politicians and policy makers—that these flawed rationales are in fact correct. Because the strategic and moral case is increasingly weak, something else must be behind the striking pattern of ever-increasing U.S. support. We address that issue in the next chapter.

## WHAT IS THE "ISRAEL LOBBY"?

In the United States, interest groups routinely contend to shape perceptions of the national interest and to convince legislators and presidents to adopt their preferred policies. The interplay of competing factions was famously extolled by James Madison in the *Federalist No. 10*, and the influence of different interest groups has long shaped various aspects of American foreign policy, including decisions for war.

When a particular interest group is especially powerful or politically adept, it may influence policy in ways that are not good for the country as a whole. A tariff that shields a particular industry from foreign competition will benefit certain companies but not the many consumers who have to pay more for that industry's goods. The National Rifle Association's success in thwarting gun control legislation undoubtedly benefits gun manufacturers and dealers, but it leaves the rest of society more vulnerable to gun-related violence. When a former lobbyist for the American Petroleum Institute becomes chief of staff at the White House's Council on Environmental Quality, and uses this position to water down reports on the connection between greenhouse gas emissions and global warming (before resigning to take a job at ExxonMobil), one may reasonably worry that the oil industry is protecting its interests in ways that may harm all of us.'

The influence of the Israel lobby on U.S. foreign policy merits the same scrutiny as the impact of energy interests on environmental regulations or the role of pharmaceutical companies in shaping policy on prescription drugs. We believe the activities of the groups and individuals who make up the lobby are the main reason why the United States pursues policies in the Middle East that make little sense on either strategic or moral grounds.



Were it not for the lobby's efforts, the strategic and moral arguments that are commonly invoked to justify unconditional American support would be called into question more frequently and U.S. policy in the Middle East would be significantly different than it is today. Pro-Israel forces surely believe that they are promoting policies that serve the American as well as the Israeli national interest. We disagree. Most of the policies they advocate are not in America's or Israel's interest, and both countries would be better off if the United States adopted a different approach.

As we have already noted, we are not questioning American support for Israel's right to exist, because that right is clearly justified and is now endorsed by more than 160 countries around the world. What we are questioning—and what needs to be explained—is the magnitude of U.S. support for Israel and its largely unconditional nature (as described in Chapter 1), as well as the degree to which U.S. Middle East policy is conducted with Israel's welfare in mind (as explored in detail in Part II). To begin that task, this chapter identifies the central components of the Israel lobby and describes how it has evolved over time. We also discuss why it has become so influential, especially when compared to potential competitors like the "Arab lobby" and the "oil lobby." The following chapters describe the different strategies that have made it such a powerful interest group and a remarkably effective player in the making of U.S. Middle East policy.

## DEFINING THE LOBBY

We use "Israel lobby" as a convenient shorthand term for the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. The lobby is not a single, unified movement with a central leadership, however, and the individuals and groups that make up this broad coalition sometimes disagree on specific policy issues. Nor is it some sort of cabal or conspiracy. On the contrary, the organizations and individuals who make up the lobby operate out in the open and in the same way that other interest groups do.

Using the term "Israel lobby" is itself somewhat misleading, insofar as many of the individuals and some of the groups in this loose coalition do not engage in formal lobbying activities (direct efforts to persuade elected officials). Rather, the various parts of the lobby work to influence U.S. policy in a variety of ways, much as other interest groups do. One might more accurately dub this the "pro-Israel community" or even the "help Israel movement," because the range of activities that different groups undertake goes beyond simple lobbying. Nonetheless, because many of the key groups do lobby, and because the term "Israel lobby" is used in common parlance (along with labels such as the "farm lobby," "insurance lobby," "gun lobby," or other ethnic lobbies), we have chosen to employ it here.<sup>2</sup>

As with other special interest groups, the boundaries of the Israel lobby cannot be identified precisely, and there will always be some borderline individuals or organizations whose position is hard to classify.<sup>3</sup> It is easy to identify groups that are clearly part of the lobby—such as the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA)—as well as individuals who are key members—such as Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. There are also many groups that are obviously not part of the lobby—such as the National Association of Arab-Americans—and individuals who should clearly be excluded as well—such as Columbia University scholar Rashid Khalidi. Nevertheless, there will always be some groups and individuals whose position is more ambiguous. Like other social and political movements, the Israel lobby's boundaries are somewhat fuzzy.

This situation highlights that the lobby is not a centralized, hierarchical organization with a defined membership. There are no membership cards or initiation rites. It has a core consisting of organizations whose declared purpose is to encourage the U.S. government and the American public to provide material aid to Israel and to support its government's policies, as well as influential individuals for whom these goals are also a top priority. The lobby, however, also draws support from a penumbra of groups and individuals who are committed to Israel and want the United States to continue supporting

it, but who are not as energetically or consistently active as the groups and individuals that form the core. Thus, a lobbyist for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), or the leadership of organizations like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Christians United for Israel (CUFI) are part of the core, while individuals who occasionally write letters supporting Israel to their local newspaper or send checks to a pro-Israel political action committee should be seen as part of the broader network of supporters.

This definition does not mean that every American with favorable attitudes toward Israel is a member of the lobby. To offer a personal illustration, the authors of this book are "pro-Israel," in the sense that we support its right to exist, admire its many achievements, want its citizens to enjoy secure and prosperous lives, and believe that the United States should come to Israel's aid if its survival is in danger. But we are obviously not part of the Israel lobby. Nor does it imply that every American official who supports Israel is part of the lobby either. A senator who consistently votes in favor of aid to Israel is not necessarily part of the lobby, because he or she may simply be responding to political pressure from pro-Israel interest groups.

To be part of the lobby, in other words, one has to actively work to move American foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. For an organization, this pursuit must be an important part of its mission and consume a substantial percentage of its resources and agenda. For an individual, this means devoting some portion of one's professional or personal life (or in some cases, substantial amounts of money) to influencing U.S. Middle East policy. A journalist or academic who sometimes covers Middle East issues and occasionally reports events that portray Israel favorably—such as the *New York Times* reporter David Sanger or the Duke University professor Bruce Jentleson—should not be seen as part of the lobby. But a journalist or scholar who predictably takes Israel's side and devotes a significant amount of his or her writing to defending steadfast U.S. support for Israel—such as the *Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer or the former Princeton University historian Bernard Lewis—clearly is.

Of course, the level of effort and the specific activities will vary in each case, and these various groups and individuals will not agree on every issue that affects Israel. Some individuals—such as Morton Klein of ZOA, John Hagee of CUFI, and Rael Jean Isaac of Americans for a Safe Israel—oppose a two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians and believe instead that Israel should retain all or most of the Occupied Territories. Others, such as Dennis Ross of WINEP and Martin Indyk of the Brookings Institution, favor a negotiated settlement and have occasionally criticized specific Israeli actions. Despite these differences, however, each of these individuals believes that the United States should give Israel substantial diplomatic, economic, and military support even when Israel takes actions the United States opposes, and each has devoted a significant amount of his or her professional life to encouraging this sort of support. Thus, although it would clearly be wrong to think of the lobby as a single-minded monolith, much less portray it as a cabal or conspiracy, it would be equally mistaken to exclude anyone who works actively to preserve America's special relationship with the Jewish state.

#### **THE ROLE OF AMERICAN JEWRY**

The bulk of the lobby is comprised of Jewish Americans who are deeply committed to making sure that U.S. foreign policy advances what they believe to be Israel's interests. According to the historian Melvin I. Urofsky, "No other ethnic group in American history has so extensive an involvement with a foreign nation." Steven T. Rosenthal agrees, writing that "since 1967 . . . there has been no other country whose citizens have been as committed to the success of another country as American Jews have been to Israel."<sup>4</sup> In 1981, the political scientist Robert H. Trice described the pro-Israel lobby as "comprised of at least 75 separate organizations—mostly Jewish—that actively support most of the actions and policy positions of the Israeli government."<sup>5</sup> The activities of these groups and individuals go beyond merely voting for pro-Israel candidates to include writing letters to politicians or news organizations, making financial contributions to pro-Israel political candidates, and giving active support to one or more pro-Israel organizations, whose leaders often contact them directly to convey their agenda.

Yet the Israel lobby is not synonymous with American Jewry, and "Jewish lobby" is not an appropriate term for describing the various individuals and groups that work to foster U.S. support for Israel. For one thing, there is significant variation among American Jews in their depth of commitment

to Israel. Roughly a third of them, in fact, do not identify Israel as a particularly salient issue. In 2004, for example, a well-regarded survey found that 36 percent of Jewish Americans were either "not very" or "not at all" emotionally attached to Israel.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, many American Jews who care a lot about Israel do not support the policies endorsed by the dominant organizations in the lobby, just as many gun owners do not support every policy that the NRA advocates and not all retirees favor every position endorsed by the AARP. For example, American Jews were less enthusiastic about going to war in Iraq than the population as a whole, even though key organizations in the lobby supported the war, and they are more opposed to the war today. Finally, some of the individuals and groups that are especially vocal on Israel's behalf, such as the Christian Zionists, are not Jewish. So while American Jews are the lobby's predominant constituency, it is more accurate to refer to this loose coalition as the Israel lobby. It is the specific political agenda that defines the lobby, not the religious or ethnic identity of those pushing it.

The attachment that many American Jews feel for Israel is not difficult to understand, and as noted in the Introduction, it resembles the attitudes of other ethnic groups that retain an affinity for other countries or peoples with similar backgrounds in foreign lands.<sup>7</sup> Although many Jews in the United States were ambivalent about Zionism during the movement's early years, support grew significantly after Hitler came to power in 1933 and especially after the horrors inflicted on the Jews during World War II became widely known.<sup>8</sup>

Relatively few Jews chose to leave the United States and move to Israel after its founding in 1948, a pattern that Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and other Israeli leaders initially criticized. Nevertheless, a strong commitment to Israel soon became an important element of identity for many American Jews.<sup>9</sup> The establishment of a Jewish state in historic Palestine seemed miraculous in itself, especially in the aftermath of the Nazi Holocaust. Israel's achievements in "making the desert bloom" were an obvious source of pride, and a close identification with Israel provided a new basis for community for a population that was rapidly assimilating into American society and becoming increasingly secular at the same time. As Rosenthal notes:

To equate Israel with Judaism was a comforting way to avoid the encumbrances of religion by focusing one's Jewishness on a secular state 8,000 miles from home . . . Synagogues, the new mainstay of American Jewish life in the postwar era, became Israel-centered. A new class of Jewish professionals . . . arose in the suburbs. They soon discovered that Israel was the most effective means to counter the growing religious indifference of their constituencies. Primarily in response to Israel's overwhelming need for financial and political support, new institutions . . . arose, and fundraising and lobbying increasingly defined American Jews' relationship to Israel.<sup>10</sup>

American Jews have formed an impressive array of civic organizations whose agendas include working to benefit Israel, in many cases by influencing U.S. foreign policy. Key organizations include AIPAC, the American Jewish Congress, ZOA, the Israel Policy Forum (IPF), the American Jewish Committee, the ADL, the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, Americans for a Safe Israel, American Friends of Likud, Mercaz-USA, Hadassah, and many others. Indeed, the sociologist Chaim I. Waxman reported in 1992 that the *American Jewish Yearbook* listed more than eighty national Jewish organizations "specifically devoted to Zionist and pro-Israel activities . . . and for many others, objectives and activities such as 'promotes Israel's welfare,' 'support for the State of Israel' and 'promotes understanding of Israel' appear with impressive frequency."<sup>11</sup> Fifty-one of the largest and most important organizations come together in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, whose self-described mission includes "forging diverse groups into a unified force for Israel's well-being" and working to "strengthen and foster the special U.S.-Israel relationship."<sup>12</sup>

The lobby also includes think tanks such as the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), the Middle East Forum (MEF), and WINEP, as well as individuals who work in universities and other research organizations. There are also dozens of pro-Israel PACs ready to funnel money to

pro-Israel political candidates or to candidates whose opponents are deemed either insufficiently supportive of or hostile to Israel. The Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan research group that tracks campaign contributions, has identified roughly three dozen such "pro-Israel" PACs (many of them "stealth PACs" whose names do not reveal a pro-Israel orientation) and reports that these organizations contributed approximately \$3 million to congressional candidates in the 2006 midterm election.<sup>13</sup>

Of the various Jewish organizations that include foreign policy as a central part of their agenda, AIPAC is clearly the most important and best known. In 1997, when *Fortune* magazine asked members of Congress and their staffs to list the most powerful lobbies in Washington, AIPAC came in second behind AARP but ahead of heavyweight lobbies like the AFL-CIO and the NRA.<sup>14</sup> A *National Journal* study in March 2005 reached a similar conclusion, placing AIPAC in second place (tied with AARP) in Washington's "muscle rankings."<sup>15</sup> Former Congressman Mervyn Dymally (D-CA) once called AIPAC "without question the most effective lobby in Congress," and the former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Lee Hamilton, who served in Congress for thirty-four years, said in 1991, "There's no lobby group that matches it. . . They're in a class by themselves."<sup>16</sup>

The influence that groups like AIPAC now enjoy did not emerge overnight. During Zionism's early years, and even after Israel's founding, lobbying on Israel's behalf tended to occur quietly behind the scenes and usually depended on personal contacts between influential government officials, especially the president, and a small number of Jewish leaders, pro-Zionist advisers, or Jewish friends. For example, Woodrow Wilson's support for the Balfour Declaration in 1917 was due in part to the influence of his Jewish friends Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Rabbi Stephen Wise. Similarly, Harry S. Truman's decision to back Israel's creation and to recognize the new state was influenced (though not determined) by intercessions from Jewish friends and advisers.<sup>17</sup>

The tendency for Israel's supporters to keep a low profile reflected concerns about lingering anti-Semitism in the United States, as well as the fear that overt lobbying on Israel's behalf would expose American Jews to the charge of dual loyalty. AIPAC itself had explicitly Zionist roots: its founder, I. L. "Si" Kenen, was head of the American Zionist Council in 1951, which was a registered foreign lobbying group. Kenen reorganized it as a U.S. lobbying organization—the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs—in 1953-54, and the new organization was renamed AIPAC in 1959. Kenen relied on personal contacts with key legislators rather than public campaigns or mass mobilization, and AIPAC generally followed "Kenen's Rules" to advance Israel's cause. Rule No. 1 was: "Get behind legislation; don't step out in front of it (that is, keep a low profile)."<sup>18</sup>

According to J. J. Goldberg, the editor of the Jewish newspaper *Forward*, Zionist influence "increased exponentially during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, because the affluence and influence of Jews in American society had increased," and also because Kennedy and Johnson "counted numerous Jews among their close advisers, donors and personal friends."<sup>19</sup> AIPAC was still a small operation with a modest staff and budget, and as Stuart Eizenstat points out, "Not until the mid-1960s did overt organized Jewish political activity on behalf of the state of Israel come into its own."<sup>20</sup>

The lobby's size, wealth, and influence grew substantially after the Six-Day War in June 1967. According to Eizenstat, that conflict "galvanized the American Jewish public like no event since Israel's War of Independence . . . The sense of pride in 'new Jews,' proud, strong, capable of defending themselves, had an incalculable effect on American Jewry." The successful campaign against anti-Semitism, aided by the widespread awareness of the horrors of the Holocaust, helped remove lingering discriminatory barriers, and Jewish Americans "lost the sense of fear that had stunted their political will" in earlier years. And because Israel was becoming a central focus of Jewish identity in a world where assimilation was increasingly viable and widespread, there were few reasons not to express that attachment in politics.<sup>21</sup>

The heightened concern with Israel's well-being within Jewish organizations continued during the War of Attrition (1969-70) and the October War (1973). These conflicts reinforced pride in Israel's military prowess, but they also raised fears about Israel's security, thereby reinforcing the Israelcentric focus of many Jewish community-relations groups.<sup>22</sup> Albert Chernin, the executive director of the

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRCAC, later renamed the Jewish Council for Public Affairs), expressed this perspective in 1978 when he said that our "first priority is Israel, of course, reflecting the complete identity of views of the American Jewish leadership with the concerns of the rank and file." The historian Jack Wertheimer terms this comment a "stunning admission that political efforts to shore up Israel superseded all other concerns of Jewish community relations organizations in the United States."<sup>23</sup>

As American foreign aid to Israel began to exceed private contributions, pro-Israel organizations increasingly focused on political activities intended to preserve or increase U.S. governmental support. According to Wertheimer, "The overall responsibility for lobbying for Israel was assumed by the Conference of Presidents . . . and AIPAC. Both had been founded in the 1950s and had played a modest role prior to 1967. The needs of Israel for political support catapulted these two organizations to prominence in the 1970s and 1980s."<sup>24</sup>

This increased effort reflected awareness that backing Israel was costly for the United States and therefore had to be justified and defended in the political sphere. As Morris Amitay, who replaced Kenen as AIPAC's executive director in 1975, put it, "The name of the game, if you want to help Israel, is political action."<sup>25</sup> Under Amitay and his successor, Tom Dine, AIPAC was transformed from an intimate, low-budget operation into a large, mass-based organization with a staff of more than 150 employees and an annual budget (derived solely from private contributions) that went from some \$300,000 in 1973 to an estimated \$40-60 million today.<sup>26</sup> Instead of shunning the limelight, as it had done under Kenen, AIPAC increasingly sought to advertise its power. According to one former staffer, "The theory was, no one is scared of you if they don't know about you."<sup>27</sup> In contrast to the earlier patterns of intimate lobbying on behalf of Jews by Jewish advisers and sympathetic gentiles, AIPAC and other groups in the lobby did not define their public agenda as humanitarian support for Jews in Israel. Rather, the evolution of the lobby increasingly involved the formulation and promotion of sophisticated arguments about the alignment of America's and Israel's strategic interests and moral values.

Flush with cash and well positioned in the Cold War political landscape, AIPAC found its political muscle enhanced by new federal rules on campaign financing, which triggered the creation of independent PACs and made it easier to channel money toward pro-Israel candidates. AIPAC may not have been all that formidable in the early 1960s, but by the 1980s, notes Warren Bass, it was a "Washington powerhouse."<sup>28</sup>

## **UNITY IN DIVERSITY AND THE NORM AGAINST DISSENT**

As noted above, the lobby is not a centralized, hierarchical movement. Even among the Jewish elements of the lobby, there are important differences on specific policy issues. In recent years, AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents have tilted toward Likud and other hard-line parties in Israel and were skeptical about the Oslo peace process (a phenomenon we discuss at greater length below), while a number of other, smaller groups—such as Ameinu, Americans for Peace Now, Brit Tzedek v'Shalom (Jewish Alliance for Justice and Peace), Israel Policy Forum, Jewish Voice for Peace, Meretz-USA, and the Tikkun Community—strongly favor a two-state solution and believe Israel needs to make significant concessions in order to bring it about.<sup>29</sup>

These differences have occasionally led to rifts within or among these different organizations. In 2006, for example, the Israel Policy Forum, Americans for Peace Now, Jewish Voice for Peace, and Brit Tzedek v'Shalom openly opposed an AIPAC-sponsored congressional resolution (HR 4681) that would have imposed even more draconian restrictions on aid to the Palestinians than the Israeli government sought.<sup>30</sup> A watered-down version of the resolution passed by a comfortable margin, but the episode reminds us that pro-Israel groups do not form a monolith with a single party line.

These divisions notwithstanding, the majority of organized groups in the American Jewish community—especially the largest and wealthiest among them—continue to favor steadfast U.S. support for Israel no matter what policies the Jewish state pursues. As an AIPAC spokesman explained

in June 2000, when concerns about Israel's arms sales to China led to calls for a reduction in U.S. support, "We are opposed to linking Israel's aid under any circumstances because once it starts it never stops."<sup>31</sup> Even the dovish Americans for Peace Now supports "robust U.S. economic and military assistance to Israel," opposes calls to "cut or condition" U.S. aid, and seeks only to prevent U.S. aid from being used to support settlement activities in the Occupied Territories.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, the moderate Israel Policy Forum does not advocate making American aid more conditional but rather focuses its efforts on persuading the U.S. government to work more actively and effectively for a two-state solution.<sup>33</sup> Despite differences on the peace process and related issues, in short, almost every pro-Israel group wants to keep the "special relationship" intact. A notable exception is Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which has called for the U.S. government to suspend military aid to Israel until it ends the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, given this position, one might argue that JVP is not part of the lobby at all.

Given their desire to maximize U.S. backing, Israeli officials frequently engage American Jewish leaders and ask them to help mobilize support in the United States for particular Israeli policies. As Rabbi Alexander Schindler, former chair of the Conference of Presidents, told an Israeli magazine in 1976, "The Presidents' Conference and its members have been instruments of official governmental Israeli policy. It was seen as our task to receive directions from government circles and to do our best no matter what to affect the Jewish community." (Schindler thought this situation was "not acceptable," telling the interviewer that "American Jewry is in no mood to be used by anyone.")<sup>35</sup> Yet Albert Chernin of NJCRAC offered a similar appraisal in the 1970s, saying that "in domestic areas we made policy, but in Israel affairs the policy was a given ... In reality, [the Conference of Presidents] was the vehicle through which Israel communicated its policy to the community."<sup>36</sup> Ori Nir of the *Forward* quotes an unnamed activist with a major Jewish organization claiming in 2005 that "it is routine for us to say: 'This is our policy on a certain issue, but we must check what the Israelis think.' We as a community do it all the time." Or as Hyman Bookbinder, a high-ranking official of the American Jewish Committee, once admitted, "Unless something is terribly pressing, really critical or fundamental, you parrot Israel's line in order to retain American support. As American Jews, we don't go around saying Israel is wrong about its policies."<sup>37</sup>

Israel's ability to galvanize support within the United States has been demonstrated on numerous occasions. Zionist (and later, Israeli) officials encouraged American Jewish leaders to campaign for the UN partition plan in 1947 and for U.S. recognition in 1948, and to lobby against the abortive peace plan formulated by the UN mediator Folke Bernadotte in 1948. Coordinated efforts such as these also helped convince the Truman administration to significantly increase economic aid to Israel in 1952 and to abandon a Pentagon and State Department proposal for a \$ 10 million grant of military assistance to Egypt.<sup>38</sup> During the crisis preceding the 1967 Six-Day War, the Israeli government instructed its ambassador in Washington to "create a public atmosphere that will constitute pressure on the [Johnson] administration . . . without it being explicitly clear that we are behind this public campaign." The effort involved getting sympathetic Americans to write letters, editorials, telegrams, and public statements, etc. — "in a variety of styles" — whose purpose, according to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, was "to create a public atmosphere . . . that will strengthen our friends within the administration." White House officials eventually asked their Israeli counterparts to shut down the letter-writing campaign, but the Israeli ambassador reported back to Jerusalem that "of course we are continuing it." According to the historian Tom Segev, the White House was "inundated with letters from citizens calling on the president to stand by Israel."<sup>39</sup>

This tendency to support Israel's actions reflexively may be less prevalent today, but major organizations in the lobby still defer to the preferences of Israel's leaders on many occasions. Following the release of the Bush administration's "road map" for Middle East peace in March 2003, for example, Malcolm Hoenlein of the Conference of Presidents reportedly told *Ha'aretz* that if the Israeli government expressed reservations about the road map, it would have the support of America's Jewish community. And, Hoenlein emphasized, "We will not hesitate to make our voice heard."<sup>40</sup>

Despite the fissures that have emerged between the Israeli government and some groups within

American Jewry, this community "has generally accepted the principle that on matters of fundamental security there ought to be no public criticism of Israel."<sup>41</sup> According to Steven Rosenthal, "For millions of American Jews, criticism of Israel was a worse sin than marrying out of the faith." Or as Bookbinder once acknowledged, "There is a feeling of guilt as to whether Jews should double-check the Israeli government . . . They automatically fall into line for that very reason."<sup>42</sup> Recent surveys of American Jewish opinion reveal that roughly two-thirds of the respondents agree that "regardless of their individual views on the peace negotiations with the Arabs, American Jews should support the policies of the duly-elected government of Israel."<sup>43</sup> Thus, even when both leaders and rank and file of important Jewish-American organizations have serious reservations about Israeli policy, they rarely call for the U.S. government to put significant pressure on the Israeli government.

The norm against public criticism has been vividly illustrated on a number of occasions over the past several decades. In 1973, for example, a group of progressive American Jews formed a new organization, Breira (Alternative), which called for more open discussion between Israel and the diaspora and sought to mobilize support for withdrawal from the Occupied Territories and a peace settlement with the Palestinians. In addition to making their views publicly known through advertisements in major American newspapers, several Breira leaders were part of a delegation of American

Jews who met in a private capacity with a group of Palestinian representatives, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee.

Although a few Jewish leaders defended Breira, a powerful backlash soon emerged from the major Jewish organizations. AIPAC's *Near East Report* accused Breira of undermining support for Israel, and the president of the Reform rabbinate, Arthur Lelyveld, said that groups like Breira "gave aid and comfort... to those who would cut aid to Israel and leave it defenseless before murderers and terrorists." A Hadassah newsletter labeled Breira members "cheerleaders for defeatism" and warned its own members to "reject the advances of these organizations with their dogmas that run counter to Israeli security and Jewish survival." The president of the conservative Rabbinical Assembly declared that Breira was "fronting for the PLO," and forty-seven rabbis issued a statement terming Breira's positions "practically identical with the Arab point of view." The prosettlement group Americans for a Safe Israel distributed a thirty-page pamphlet smearing Breira's leaders for their involvement with other left-wing causes and referring to them as "Jews for *Fatah*." Not to be outdone, the ZOA magazine *American Zionist* accused Breira of abusing the right of free speech, warning that "the Jews who cry 'Foul!' in public must realize the treacherous consequences of their efforts . . . Ramifications are felt not by them, but by fellow Jews thousands of miles away."

In the face of this assault, Breira stood little chance of building a following or establishing a more open climate for discussion. Local community groups excluded Breira representatives, and the Jewish Community Council of New Haven agreed to admit the local Breira chapter only on the condition that it confine its criticism within the community. An internal memorandum prepared by the American Jewish Committee recommended co-opting the group, but only if it agreed to "direct the exposition of their different views on sensitive Israel-Diaspora issues to the Jewish community itself and refrain from appealing to the general public." Unable to attract sustained funding and weakened by leadership defections, Breira disbanded after five years.<sup>44</sup>

In response to the Breira controversy, organizations like the Conference of Presidents, the Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee, and NJCRAC conducted internal studies or public inquiries on the proper place of dissent. According to J. J. Goldberg, "All these organizations reached the same conclusion: American Jews had the right to discuss issues freely, but only within discreet forums outside public view." In 1976, the Israeli ambassador to the United States, Simcha Dinitz, working with representatives from NJCRAC and the Conference of Presidents, developed a set of principles to guide behavior within the Jewish community. The first principle, Goldberg notes, was that "Israelis were the only ones entitled to decide Israeli policy" and the second was that "American Jews should stand publicly united with Israel and air disputes only in private."<sup>45</sup> By the 1970s, writes Edward Tivnan,

"Total support of Israel had become a requirement of leadership in local Jewish communities throughout America."<sup>46</sup>

The norm against public criticism of Israeli policy remains for the most part intact.<sup>47</sup> In October 1996, for example, the president of ZOA, Morton Klein, sent a letter to ADL head Abraham Foxman protesting an invitation to *New York Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman to speak at an ADL dinner, charging that Friedman "regularly defames Israel and its Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu." Klein then circulated the letter to an array of officials at the Conference of Presidents, leading Foxman to denounce him as a "thought policeman." The dispute intensified when David Bar-Man, Netanyahu's director of communications, weighed in and declared that Friedman should not be given a platform by "any organization that purports to be Zionist." Though sometimes critical of certain Israeli policies, Friedman is hardly anti-Israel, and Foxman himself is one of Israel's most ardent defenders. But Klein's response shows how deep the opposition to open discussion runs.<sup>48</sup>

A few years later, Edgar Bronfman Sr., then president of the World Jewish Congress, was accused of "perfidy" when he wrote a letter to President Bush urging him to pressure Israel to curb construction of its controversial "security fence." The executive vice president of the congress, Isi Liebler, declared that "it would be obscene at any time for the president of the World Jewish Congress to lobby the president of the United States to resist policies being promoted by the government of Israel."<sup>49</sup> Liebler and others were similarly incensed two years later, when the president of the moderate Israel Policy Forum, Seymour Reich, advised Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to pressure Israel to reopen a critical border crossing in the Gaza Strip in November 2005. Reich's advice to Rice was reasonable and well intentioned, but Liebler denounced his action as "irresponsible behavior," and the president of the Orthodox Union, Stephen Savitzky, said it was "not only disrespectful to Israel's government but offensive to millions of American Jews who categorically reject such an approach." Liebler also warned, "There is obviously something sick in the state of World Jewry when purportedly mainstream leaders feel that they can lobby freely against the security policies of the democratically elected government of Israel. If this sort of behavior is to be tolerated we may as well write off our one remaining ally — Diaspora Jewry." Recoiling from these attacks, Reich announced that "the word pressure is not in my vocabulary when it comes to Israel."<sup>50</sup>

The reluctance to criticize Israel's policies openly is not difficult to fathom. In addition to the obvious desire not to say anything that might aid Israel's enemies, groups or individuals who criticize Israeli policy or the U.S.-Israel relationship are likely to find it harder to retain support and raise funds within the Jewish community. They also run the risk of being ostracized by the larger mainstream organizations. Although groups like Americans for Peace Now, the Tikkun Community, the Israel Policy Forum, and the New Israel Fund have endured and thrived where Breira did not, other progressive Jewish groups, such as New Jewish Agenda, encountered the same opposition that Breira had faced and lasted little more than a decade.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, although Americans for Peace Now was eventually admitted to the Conference of Presidents in 1993 after a contentious struggle, the progressive Meretz USA and the liberal Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association were denied membership in 2002 despite support from moderate groups within the Conference. On a smaller scale, Jewish Voice for Peace was denied a booth at a major Jewish community event in the San Francisco area on the grounds that it was insufficiently supportive of Israel, and the Hillel chapter at the University of Texas refused to give an organization called Jewish Students for Palestinian Rights space to conduct a study group.<sup>52</sup>

Efforts to marginalize dissenting Jewish voices continue to this day. When the Union of Progressive Zionists (UPZ) sponsored campus appearances in 2006 by Breaking the Silence, an organization of former Israeli soldiers that is critical of IDF operations in the Occupied Territories, ZOA denounced UPZ and demanded that it be expelled from the Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC), a network of pro-Israel groups that includes AIPAC and the ADL. According to ZOA's Klein, sponsoring groups that are critical of Israel "is not the mission of the ICC." UPZ's director emphasized the group's "love for Israel," other groups rallied to its defense, and the ICC steering committee unanimously rejected ZOA's demand. Undeterred, Klein denounced the members of the steering committee and said, "Their mission



includes fighting incitement, and yet we are astonished that they would ignore this incitement by Israelis against Israel." ZOA also issued a press release urging member organizations in the ICC to change their votes. The press release quoted an Israeli Foreign Ministry report saying, "The willingness of Jewish communities to host these organizations and even sponsor them is unfortunate . . . Their negative effect on Israel's image must be stopped." At least one Orthodox group on the ICC steering committee subsequently announced it was now in favor of removing the UPZ.<sup>53</sup>

## THE LOBBY MOVES RIGHT

Most American Jews have long supported liberal causes and the Democratic party, and a majority of them favor a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, some of the most important groups in the lobby—including AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents—have become increasingly conservative over time and are now led by hard-liners who support the positions of their hawkish counterparts in Israel. As J. J. Goldberg chronicles in his important book, *Jewish Power*, the Six-Day War and its aftermath brought into prominence a group of "New Jews" drawn disproportionately from hard-line Zionist, Orthodox, and neoconservative circles. "Their defiance was so strident, and their anger so intense," he writes, "that the rest of the Jewish community respectfully stood back and let the New Jews take the lead. The minority was permitted to speak for the mass and become the dominant voice of Jewish politics."<sup>55</sup>

This trend was reinforced by the campaign on behalf of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment (which linked most-favored-nation trading status for the Soviet Union to Moscow's willingness to permit greater Jewish emigration), by the emergence and growth of the so-called neoconservative movement (see below), and by the Likud party's successful effort to cultivate and strengthen hard-line support in key pro-Israel organizations during the years when Likud was sharing power with Israel's Labor party. According to Goldberg, "The genius of Shamir's strategy . . . was to manipulate the central bodies of Jewish representation so that, without taking sides, they became voices for the Likud half of the government." Likud party officials (including Prime Minister Shamir's chief of staff Yossi Ben-Aharon) worked to ensure that the Conference of Presidents was chaired by more conservative officials and also helped engineer the selection of Malcolm Hoenlein as executive vice chairman of the conference in 1986. More hard-line groups were given greater access and attention by Israeli leaders, which reinforced the perception that they were the authoritative voices of the Jewish community. As an adviser to Labor party leader Shimon Peres later admitted, "Ignoring American Jewry was one of the biggest mistakes we made . . . We let Shamir's people do whatever they wanted."<sup>56</sup>

This rightward shift also reflects the way decisions are made in some key organizations in the lobby, as well as the growing influence of a small number of wealthy conservatives who increasingly dominate organizations like AIPAC. There are more than fifty organizations represented in the Conference of Presidents, for example, and each has a single vote regardless of size. But as Michael Massing points out, "Smaller conservative groups in the conference decisively outnumber the larger liberal ones and so can neutralize their influence. And that leaves considerable discretion in the hands of [executive vice chairman] Malcolm Hoenlein," who is a longtime supporter of Israel's settler movement and was deeply skeptical about the Oslo peace process.<sup>57</sup>

Similarly, membership on AIPAC's board of directors is based on each director's financial contributions, not, observes Massing, on "how well they represent AIPAC's members."<sup>58</sup> The individuals willing to give the largest amounts to AIPAC (and to sympathetic politicians) tend to be the most zealous defenders of Israel, and AIPAC's top leadership (consisting primarily of former presidents of the organization) is considerably more hawkish on Middle East issues than are most Jewish Americans. Although AIPAC formally endorsed the Oslo peace process in 1993, it did little to make it work and dropped its opposition to a Palestinian state—without endorsing the idea—only after Ehud Barak became prime minister in 1999.<sup>59</sup>

Indeed, AIPAC and other hard-line groups have occasionally backed more extreme positions than those favored by the Israeli government. In 1994, for example, the hawkish ZOA successfully lobbied for an amendment to the foreign aid bill that placed additional restrictions on U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority, even though both the Clinton administration and the Rabin government in Israel opposed the measure.<sup>60</sup> The Conference of Presidents never endorsed the Oslo peace process, and AIPAC helped sponsor the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, a transparent attempt to disrupt the peace process by requiring the United States to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the key donors that form AIPAC's inner circle reportedly ousted executive director Tom Dine because his views were insufficiently hawkish.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to this tendency for those with more extreme views to back and dominate key organizations in the lobby, there is another reason that many pro-Israel groups have moved rightward: to keep contributions flowing in. As Waxman notes, "Many American Jewish organizations now need Israel to legitimate their own existence. Although these organizations may have been established for the purpose of enhancing and strengthening Israel, today Israel is vital for their continued viability."<sup>63</sup> Portraying Israel as beleaguered and vulnerable and issuing dire warnings about continued or growing anti-Semitism helps maintain a high level of concern among potential supporters and thus helps ensure these organizations' continued existence. Writing in 1992, Jonathan Woocher of the Jewish Education Service of North America made precisely this point: "We have seen the emergence of a whole new industry in America, of organizations monitoring and purporting to fight anti-Semitism everywhere in the world . . . The success of the Simon Wiesenthal Center has been particularly striking. It has become a major direct mail fundraising enterprise by outflanking even the ADL in the hunt for anti-Semitic threats to Jewish security. It is (sadly) not uncommon today to see organizations jockeying for position in a context to determine who among them is 'toughest' in fighting anti-Semitism that is waged in the Jewish press and barrages of direct mail appeals."<sup>64</sup> Or as Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times* remarked three years later, "Ever since Mr. Rabin and Mr. Arafat shook hands they have received only the most tepid support from mainstream American Jewish groups, like the Conference of Presidents, and outright hostility from the orthodox and fringe Jewish groupings. It is as if these organizations can only thrive if they have an enemy, someone to fight."<sup>65</sup>

It bears repeating that a number of groups in the American Jewish community are critical of certain Israeli policies, and especially its continued presence in the Occupied Territories. Some of these organizations, such as the Israel Policy Forum or Brit Tzedek v'Shalom, actively promote U.S. engagement in the peace process and have been able to win some minor legislative victories in recent years. Yet such groups lack the financial resources and the influence of AIPAC, the ADL, ZOA, or the Conference of Presidents, whose right-of-center views are unfortunately taken by politicians, policy makers, and the media to be the representative voice of American Jewry.<sup>66</sup> For the moment, therefore, the major organizations in the lobby will continue to advocate policy positions at odds with many of the people in whose name they claim to speak.

## THE ROLE OF THE NEOCONSERVATIVES

The lobby's drift to the right has been reinforced by the emergence of the neoconservatives. The neoconservative movement has been an important part of American intellectual and political life since the 1970s, but it has drawn particular attention since September 11. This group has been prominent in shaping the Bush administration's unilateralist foreign policy, and especially the ill-fated decision to invade Iraq in March 2003.

Neoconservatism is a political ideology with distinct views on both domestic and foreign policy, although only the latter is relevant here.<sup>67</sup> Most neoconservatives extol the virtues of American hegemony—and sometimes even the idea of an American empire—and they believe U.S. power should

be used to encourage the spread of democracy and discourage potential rivals from even trying to compete with the United States.<sup>68</sup> In their view, spreading democracy and preserving U.S. dominance is the best route to long-term peace. Neoconservatives also believe that America's democratic system ensures that it will be seen as a benign hegemon by most other countries, and that U.S. leadership will be welcomed provided it is exercised decisively. They tend to be skeptical of international institutions (especially the UN, which they regard as both anti-Israel and as a constraint on America's freedom of action) and wary of many allies (especially the Europeans, whom they see as idealistic pacifists free-riding on the Pax Americana).<sup>69</sup> Viewing U.S. leadership as "good both for America and for the world," to quote the website of the neoconservative Project for New American Century, neoconservatives generally favor the unilateral exercise of American power instead.

Very importantly, neoconservatives believe that military force is an extremely useful tool for shaping the world in ways that will benefit America. If the United States demonstrates its military prowess and shows that it is willing to use the power at its disposal, then allies will follow our lead and potential adversaries will realize it is futile to resist and will decide to "bandwagon" with the United States.<sup>70</sup> Neoconservatism, in short, is an especially hawkish political ideology.

Neoconservatives occupy influential positions at a variety of organizations and institutions. Prominent neoconservatives include former and present policy makers like Elliott Abrams, Kenneth Adelman, William Bennett, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, the late Jeane Kirkpatrick, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, James Woolsey, and David Wurmser; journalists like the late Robert Bartley, David Brooks, Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol, Bret Stephens, and Norman Podhoretz; academics like Fouad Ajami, Eliot Cohen, Aaron Friedberg, Bernard Lewis, and Ruth Wedgwood; and think-tank pundits like Max Boot, David Frum, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Robert Kagan, Michael Ledeen, Joshua Muravchik, Daniel Pipes, Danielle Pletka, Michael Rubin, and Meyrav Wurmser. The leading neoconservative magazines and newspapers are *Commentary*, the *New York Sun*, the *Wall Street Journal* op-ed page, and the *Weekly Standard*. The think tanks and advocacy groups most closely associated with these neoconservatives are the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the Center for Security Policy (CSP), the Hudson Institute, the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD), the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), the Middle East Forum (MEF), the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP).

Virtually all neoconservatives are strongly committed to Israel, a point they emphasize openly and unapologetically. According to Max Boot, a leading neoconservative pundit, supporting Israel is "a key tenet of neoconservatism," a position he attributes to "shared liberal democratic values."<sup>71</sup> Benjamin Ginsberg, a political scientist who has written extensively about American politics as well as anti-Semitism, convincingly argues that one of the main reasons that the neoconservatives moved to the right was "their attachment to Israel and their growing frustration during the 1960s with a Democratic party that was becoming increasingly opposed to American military preparedness and increasingly enamored of Third World causes." In particular, writes Ginsberg, they embraced Ronald Reagan's "hardline anti-communism" because they saw it as a "political movement that would guarantee Israel's security."<sup>72</sup>

Given their hawkish orientation, it is not surprising that the neoconservatives tend to align with right-wing elements in Israel itself. For example, it was a group of eight neoconservatives (led by Richard Perle and including Douglas Feith and David Wurmser) that drafted the 1996 "Clean Break" study for incoming Likud Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. That study advocated that Israel abandon the Oslo peace process and use bold measures—including military force—to topple unfriendly Middle Eastern regimes and thereby "transcend" the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>73</sup>

Many neoconservatives are connected to an overlapping set of Washington-based think tanks, committees, and publications whose agenda includes promoting the special relationship between the United States and Israel. Consider Richard Perle, one of the most prominent neoconservatives, who is a fellow at AEI and also affiliated with the right-wing CSP, the Hudson Institute, JINSA, PNAC, MEF, and FDD, and also serves on WINEP's board of advisers. His fellow neoconservatives are similarly well

connected: William Kristol is the editor of the *Weekly Standard*, cofounder of PNAC, and previously associated with FDD, MEF, and AEI. The *Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer is a past recipient of AEI's Irving Kristol Award (named for William's father, one of neoconservatism's founding figures), a signatory of several PNAC open letters, a contributing editor at the *Weekly Standard*, and is also affiliated with FDD. The list of past and present connections would delight a network theorist: Elliott Abrams (CSP, Hudson, PNAC); William Bennett (AEI, CSP, PNAC); John Bolton (AEI, JINSA, PNAC); Douglas Feith (CSP, JINSA); David Frum (AEI, *Weekly Standard*); Reuel Marc Gerecht (AEI, PNAC, *Weekly Standard*); Michael Ledeen (AEI, JINSA); Jeane Kirkpatrick (AEI, FDD, JINSA, PNAC, WINEP); Joshua Muravchik (AEI, JINSA, PNAC, WINEP); Daniel Pipes (PNAC, MEF, WINEP); Norman Podhoretz (Hudson, *Commentary*, PNAC); Michael Rubin (AEI, CSP, MEF); Paul Wolfowitz (AEI, PNAC, WINEP); David Wurmser (AEI, MEF, FDD); and James Woolsey (CSP, JINSA, PNAC, FDD).

This summary by no means exhausts the interrelated affiliations within the neoconservative movement, but what may seem to some like a shadowy conspiracy (or even a "right-wing cabal") is anything but. On the contrary, the various think tanks, committees, foundations, and publications that have nurtured the neoconservative movement operate much as other policy networks do. Far from shunning publicity or engaging in hidden plots, these groups actively court publicity for the explicit purpose of shaping public and elite opinion and thereby moving U.S. foreign policy in the directions they favor. The neoconservative network is both undeniably impressive and similar to networks that have arisen in other policy areas, such as tax reform, the environment, or immigration.

Of course, the neoconservatives care about America's security as well as Israel's, and they believe that their policy prescriptions will benefit both countries. In the 1980s, however, some more traditional conservatives—sometimes referred to as "paleoconservatives"—claimed that the neoconservatives were more concerned about Israel than the United States. For example, Russell Kirk, the well-known conservative political theorist, maintained that "what really animates the neoconservatives ... is the preservation of Israel. That lies in back of everything."<sup>74</sup> The neoconservatives vehemently denied these charges, which led to several bitter exchanges between these contending conservative factions. That conflict eventually subsided, but tension still remains between these two strands of the conservative movement.<sup>75</sup>

A number of commentators have emphasized the Jewish roots of neo-conservatism, even though many of the movement's key tenets run counter to the liberal attitudes that still predominate in the American Jewish community. In *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy*, a book that paints a sympathetic portrait of its subject, Murray Friedman goes so far as to describe neoconservatism as "American Jewish conservatism."<sup>76</sup> But not all neoconservatives are Jewish, which reminds us that the lobby is defined not by ethnicity or religion but by a political agenda. There are a number of prominent gentiles who have adopted most if not all of the basic tenets of neoconservatism, to include vigorous support for Israel and a tendency to favor its more hard-line elements. Their ranks include the *Wall Street Journal* editor Robert Bartley, former Secretary of Education William Bennett, former UN Ambassadors John Bolton and Jeane Kirkpatrick, and former CIA director James Woolsey. Although these non-Jews have played an important role in pushing forward the neoconservative agenda, Jews nonetheless comprise the core of the neoconservative movement. In this sense, neoconservatism is a microcosm of the larger pro-Israel movement. Jewish Americans are central to the neoconservative movement, just as they form the bulk of the lobby, but non-Jews are active in both. Neoconservatives are also emblematic insofar as much of their political agenda is at odds with the traditional political views of most American Jews.

## THE CHRISTIAN ZIONISTS

The lobby includes another important group of gentiles—the Christian Zionists, a subset of the broader politically oriented Christian Right. Prominent members of this constituency include religious figures

such as the late Jerry Falwell, Gary Bauer, Pat Robertson, and John Hagee, as well as politicians like former House Majority Leaders Tom DeLay (R-TX) and Richard Armey (R-TX), and Senator James Inhofe (R-OK). Although support for Israel is not their only concern, a number of Christian evangelicals have become increasingly visible and vocal in their support for the Jewish state, and they have recently formed an array of organizations to advance that commitment within the political system.<sup>77</sup> In a sense, the Christian Zionists can be thought of as an important "junior partner" to the various pro-Israel groups in the American Jewish community.

The origins of Christian Zionism lie in the theology of dispensationalism, an approach to biblical interpretation that emerged in nineteenth-century England, largely through the efforts of Anglican ministers Louis Way and John Nelson Darby. Dispensationalism is a form of premillennialism, which asserts that the world will experience a period of worsening tribulations until Christ returns. Like many other Christians, dispensationalists believe that Christ's return is foretold in Old and New Testament prophecy, and that the return of the Jews to Palestine is a key event in the preordained process that will lead to the Second Coming. The theology of Darby, Way, and their followers influenced a number of prominent English politicians and may have made British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour more receptive to the idea of creating a Jewish national home in Palestine.<sup>78</sup>

Dispensationalist theology was popularized in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by a number of Protestant theologians, including the evangelist Dwight Moody (founder of Chicago's Moody Bible Institute), C. I. Scofield, and William E. Blackstone. Recent popular expressions include Hal Lindsey's best-selling *Late Great Planet Earth* and Timothy LaHaye's *Left Behind* series, a fictional account of Armageddon whose combined sales reportedly total more than fifty million copies.<sup>79</sup>

The founding of the state of Israel in 1948 gave new life to the dispensationalist movement, but the Six-Day War in 1967, which its leaders saw as a "miracle of God," was even more important for its emergence as a political force.<sup>80</sup> Dispensationalists interpreted Israel's seizure of all of Jerusalem and the West Bank (which, like Israel's Likud party, they refer to as Judea and Samaria) as the fulfillment of Old and New Testament prophecy, and these "signs" encouraged them and other Christian evangelicals to begin working to ensure that the United States was on the "right side" as the Bible's blueprint for the end-times unfolded.<sup>81</sup> According to Timothy Weber, former president of the Memphis Theological Seminary, "Before the Six Day War, dispensationalists were content to sit in the bleachers of history, explaining the End-Time game on the field below . . . But after [the] expansion of Israel into the West Bank and Gaza, they began to get down on the field and be sure the teams lined up right, becoming involved in political, financial, and religious ways they never had before."<sup>82</sup> Their efforts were part of the broader rise of the so-called Christian Right (not all of whom are strongly committed to Israel) and were clearly aided by the growing political prominence of the evangelical movement.

Given these beliefs, it is not surprising that Daniel Pipes believes that "other than the Israel Defense Forces, America's Christian Zionists may be the Jewish state's ultimate strategic asset." Or as Michael Freund, former director of communications for Benjamin Netanyahu, wrote in 2006, "Thank God for Christian Zionists. Like it or not, the future of the relationship between Israel and the U.S. may very well hinge far less on America's Jews than on its Christians."<sup>83</sup>

Christian Zionists have formed a number of organizations whose avowed purpose is to encourage support for Israel. These groups include Christians United for Israel (CUFI, described by founder John Hagee as "a Christian version of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee"), the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel, the Unity Coalition for Israel, Christian Friends of Israeli Communities (CFIC), the Christians' Israel Public Action Committee, the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ), and a host of smaller groups.<sup>84</sup> Christian Zionists are also key players in the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews (IFCJ), a Chicago-based organization run by Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, whose mission is "to promote understanding and cooperation between Jews and Christians and to build broad support for Israel." In 2002, IFCJ allied with the former Christian Coalition director and GOP strategist Ralph Reed to form a new group, Stand for Israel, that seeks "to engage people both spiritually and politically on behalf of Israel" and sponsors an annual "international

day of prayer and solidarity" on Israel's behalf.<sup>85</sup>

In this modern, activist phase, Christian Zionist beliefs naturally align with groups in the American Jewish community and in Israel that support the settler movement and oppose a two-state solution. According to CUFI founder Hagee, "We support Israel because all other nations were created by an act of men, but Israel was created by an act of God!" Hagee has also told followers that "God opposes giving away the land" and claims his movement has raised more than \$12 million to help settle new immigrants in Israel, including in settlements in the Occupied Territories.<sup>86</sup>

Hagee's views are typical of Christian Zionism. The late Ed McAteer, founder of the evangelical Religious Roundtable and a major organizing force in the Christian Right, once declared that "every grain of sand between the Dead Sea, the Jordan River, and the Mediterranean Sea belongs to the Jews. This includes the West Bank and Gaza."<sup>87</sup> According to ICEJ director Malcolm Hedding, "We stand for the right that all the land that God gave under the Abrahamic covenant 4000 years ago is Israel's . . . There is no such thing as a Palestinian."<sup>88</sup> Similarly, Ted Beckett, founder of CFIC, describes the mission of CFIC as providing "solidarity, comfort and aid" to settlers in "Judea, Samaria, and Gaza"; the organization pairs U.S. churches with individual Israeli settlements so that the former can support the latter. In one celebrated example, Faith Bible Chapel in Arvada, Colorado, "adopted" the West Bank settlement of Ariel, reportedly providing funds for a library, health clinic, and other needs.<sup>89</sup>

As noted above, Christian Zionists oppose a two-state solution or any other form of territorial concession to the Palestinians. On the eve of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's breakthrough visit to Jerusalem in 1977, evangelical groups published advertisements in major American newspapers saying that they viewed "with grave concern any effort to carve out of the Jewish homeland another nation or political entity."<sup>90</sup> In 1996, the Third International Christian Zionist Congress resolved that "the Land which He promised to His People is not to be partitioned ... It would be further error for the nations to recognize a Palestinian state in any part of Eretz Israel."<sup>91</sup> Such ardent beliefs led the Christian Right leader (and former GOP presidential hopeful) Pat Robertson to suggest that the stroke suffered by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in January 2006 was divine retribution for Sharon's decision to withdraw from the Gaza Strip. In Robertson's words, "He was dividing God's land and I would say woe unto any prime minister of Israel who takes a similar course to appease the [European Union], the United Nations, or the United States of America . . . God says, 'this land belongs to me. You better leave it alone.'" Robertson later apologized for his "inappropriate and insensitive" remarks, but they offer a revealing insight into how some Christian evangelicals justify a greater Israel.<sup>92</sup>

These same beliefs appear to have influenced several prominent U.S. politicians. In 2002, House Majority Whip (and later Majority Leader) Tom DeLay told AIPAC's annual policy conference that he opposed giving land to the Palestinians, saying, "I've toured Judea and Samaria, and I've stood on the Golan Heights. I didn't see occupied territory. I saw Israel."<sup>93</sup> DeLay's predecessor as Majority Leader, Richard Armey, told *Hardball's* Chris Matthews in May 2002 that he was "content to have Israel grab the entire West Bank" and that he "happened to believe that the Palestinians should leave."<sup>94</sup> Or as Senator James Inhofe told his colleagues in a floor speech explaining why Israel had the right to all of Palestine: "This is the most important reason: Because God said so ... It is at this place [Hebron] where God appeared to Abraham and said, 'I am giving you this land,' the West Bank."<sup>95</sup>

Given the Christian Zionists' support for an expansionist Israel, it is not surprising that Israeli hardliners have been eager to make common cause with them, especially given the growing opposition to the occupation within mainline Christian churches. As Colin Shindler observes, "A symbiotic relationship thus came into existence after 1977 that served both the ideologies of the Israeli Right and the Christian Right."<sup>96</sup> Menachem Begin's Likud government actively courted evangelicals in this period, giving Falwell a private jet in 1979 and making him in 1980 the only gentile ever to receive the coveted Jabotinsky Medal for "outstanding achievement" (other recipients include authors Leon Uris and Elie Wiesel). When Israel bombed Iraq's Osirak reactor in 1981, Begin reportedly called Falwell before calling President Reagan, asking Falwell to "get to work for me" and explain Israel's action to the American public.<sup>97</sup> Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu brought a group of

evangelical leaders to Israel in 1996 under the auspices of the Israel Christian Advocacy Council, and Pat Robertson and Ehud Olmert (mayor of Jerusalem at the time) served as cochairmen of the Praying for Jerusalem campaign in 2002.<sup>98</sup>

The Israeli government has encouraged Christian tour groups to visit Israel, both as a source of tourism income and to solidify evangelical support back in the United States. Thus, in 2002, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon told ICEJ's annual Feast of Tabernacles meeting (reportedly the largest foreign religious gathering in Israel) that "we need you and we need your support ... I also have a message I would like you to take home: send more people like you to visit Israel."<sup>99</sup> Sharon's successor, Ehud Olmert, offered a similar message when he was mayor of Jerusalem, telling the gathering, "You are part of our army, of our power, of our defense."<sup>100</sup>

Christian Zionist organizations have become increasingly visible on other Middle East issues as well. CUFI organized a pro-Israel meeting in Washington during the second Lebanon war in the summer of 2006, and Jerry Falwell chose that moment to warn, "We are on the verge of a war without borders," which "will serve as a prelude or forerunner to the future Battle of Armageddon and the glorious return of Jesus Christ."<sup>101</sup> The best-selling millenarian author Hal Lindsey wrote in January 2007 that a preemptive nuclear strike on Iran was "the only logical choice available to Israel," and John Hagee warned in his 2006 book, *Jerusalem Countdown*, "The coming nuclear showdown with Iran is a certainty. The war of Ezekiel 38-39 could begin before this book gets published."<sup>102</sup> Hagee also condemned the bipartisan Iraq Study Group report in December 2006, saying that James Baker "is once again sticking the knife in Israel's back" and declaring that "my father's generation . . . would have bombed Iran by this time."<sup>103</sup>

Some Jewish-American organizations have welcomed this alliance with the Christian Zionists, despite lingering concerns that these groups seek to advance a Christian agenda in the United States and to convert Jews to Christianity. AIPAC established its own liaison office to work with the evangelical movement, pro-Likud organizations such as the Zionist Organization of America forged close links with Falwell, and cooperation with Christian evangelicals even received a blessing in the pages of *Commentary* from Irving Kristol, one of neoconservatism's founding fathers.<sup>104</sup> According to Nathan Perlmutter, former director of the ADL, "Jews can live with all the domestic priorities of the Christian Right, on which liberal Jews differ so radically, because none of these concerns is as important as Israel." Perlmutter's successor, Abraham Foxman, who has regularly criticized the domestic political agenda of the Christian Right, echoed this view in early 2007, saying that the ADL welcomed evangelical support "at a time when there are serious threats to the Jewish state."<sup>105</sup> According to David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee, willingness to align with the Christian Right was essentially pragmatic: "the end of time may come tomorrow, but Israel hangs in the balance today."<sup>106</sup>

The strong ties between the two main branches of the lobby were on display at the 2007 AIPAC Policy Conference, where John Hagee's address to the opening dinner received an overwhelmingly enthusiastic reception from those in attendance. The response to Hagee is somewhat surprising, given that he has recently written that Jews "have everything but spiritual life," that anti-Semitism was the result of the Jews' "rebellion [against God]," and that God was going to drag "anti-Semitic nations to the nations of Israel to crush them so that the Jews of Israel as a whole will confess that He is the Lord."<sup>107</sup> Despite Hagee's worrisome statements, ADL's Foxman declared, "There is a role for him . . . because of his support for Israel."<sup>108</sup>

Awareness of the Christian Zionists' agenda has made more moderate Israelis and Jewish Americans deeply wary of their embrace. "But for the needs of Israel," observes the historian Naomi Cohen, "most American Jews would have rejected out of hand any dealings with the New Christian Right."<sup>109</sup> They fear that converting Jews to Christianity is still a long-term goal of many evangelical groups, and they worry that the Christian Zionists' uncompromising views will make it more difficult to reach a lasting peace with the Palestinians. Jo-Ann Mort of Americans for Peace Now terms the collaboration between American Jews and the Christian Right an "unholy alliance," and the Israeli moderate Yossi Alpher warns that Christian support for continued settlement expansion is "leading us

into a scenario of out-and-out disaster." As he told CBS News, "God save us from these people." Similarly, the Israeli-American scholar Gershom Gorenberg notes that dispensationalist theology does not foresee a happy fate for Jews: in the end-times "the Jews die or convert." In particular, he warns, the Christian Zionists "don't love real Jewish people. They love us as characters in their story, in their play . . . [and] it's a five act play in which the Jews disappear in the fourth act."<sup>110</sup>

How important is the Christian Zionist branch of the Israel lobby? By providing financial support to the settler movement and by publicly inveighing against territorial concessions, the Christian Zionists have reinforced hard-line attitudes in Israel and the United States and have made it more difficult for American leaders to put pressure on Israel. Absent their support, settlers would be less numerous in Israel, and the U.S. and Israeli governments would be less constrained by their presence in the Occupied Territories as well as their political activities. Plus, Christian tourism (a substantial portion occurring under evangelical auspices) has become a lucrative source of income for Israel, reportedly generating revenues in the neighborhood of \$1 billion each year.<sup>111</sup>

The presence of a vocal but non-Jewish voice in support of Israel also makes U.S. backing more than just a response to special pleading by American Jewry and probably exerts some effect on the political calculations of politicians who do not have large Jewish constituencies. Irvine Anderson suggests that dispensationalist thinking reinforces "an American cultural predisposition to support the State of Israel, based in part on the influence of the Christian Bible." In particular, "having grown up hearing Bible stories ... or having read about . . . the ingathering of Jews to Palestine as a prelude to the Second Coming, it is not surprising that many, though certainly not all, Americans simply assume that it is right and proper for Jews to return to Palestine and create their own state there."<sup>112</sup>

Yet the influence of the Christian Zionists should not be overstated. Their strong commitment to a "greater Israel" and resulting opposition to a two-state solution did not prevent the Clinton administration from pursuing the latter at Camp David in 2000, did not halt the 1998 Wye Agreement mandating an Israeli redeployment from parts of the West Bank, and, perhaps most revealingly, did not stop President George W. Bush, who has close ties to the Christian Right, from declaring his own support for a Palestinian state in 2001.

There are several reasons why Christian Zionists exert less impact on U.S. Middle East policy than the other parts of the Israel lobby do. Although the Christian Right has been a key part of President Bush's political base (which has to some degree magnified the visibility of the Christian Zionist elements within this broader movement), the alliance goes well beyond the issue of Israel to include a broad array of social issues. Supporting Israel is only one of the many issues that evangelicals like Robertson, Bauer, and Falwell have been concerned with, and it may not even be the most important. Leaders of the Christian Right often claim to speak on behalf of forty million or more professed evangelical Christians, but the number of followers who care deeply about Israel is undoubtedly smaller. In addition, and in sharp contrast to groups like AIPAC, Christian Zionists lack the organizational capacity to analyze national security topics or to offer specific legislative guidance on concrete foreign policy issues. Surveys of congressional aides by Ruth Mouly in the 1980s and Irvine Anderson in 1999 found "little evidence of extensive direct lobbying of Congress by Falwell or other prominent members of the Religious Right on the subject of Israel."<sup>113</sup> Similarly, Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, founder of IFCJ, told the Israeli writer Zev Chafets that a delegation of evangelicals he had taken to visit then National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice in 2003 "was the only Christian group ever to lobby the White House specifically on behalf of Israel."<sup>114</sup> Even if Eckstein overstated the case somewhat, it is clear that Israel is only one of many items on the evangelicals' list of concerns. By contrast, groups like AIPAC, the Anti-Defamation League, ZOA, and the Conference of Presidents put U.S. support for Israel at the top of their agenda, and their efforts to influence foreign policy are reinforced by think tanks like JINSA and WINEP.

Furthermore, Christianity contains a complex set of moral and religious teachings, and many of its most important precepts neither justify nor encourage unconditional support for Israel. Christian



Zionists may believe that biblical prophecy justifies Jewish control of all of Palestine, but other Christian principles—such as Christ's command to "love thy neighbor as thyself"—are sharply at odds with Israel's treatment of its Palestinian subjects. Familiarity with Old Testament stories and other aspects of the Judeo-Christian tradition has not prevented many mainline Christian churches from openly backing a two-state solution and criticizing various aspects of Israeli policy, based on their own commitment to Christian principles of peace and justice.<sup>115</sup> Just as many American Jews do not support everything that Israel is doing, neither do many Christians, including evangelicals.

Christian Zionists also lack the financial power of the major pro-Israel Jewish groups, and they do not have the same media presence when it comes to Middle East issues.<sup>116</sup> Leaders like Robertson or Bauer may get lots of media attention when they speak on moral or religious questions, but media organizations are more likely to turn to the Brookings Institution or WINEP when discussing current events in Israel or the Middle East. For all these reasons, the Christian Zionists are best seen as a significant adjunct to the Jewish elements of the lobby, but not its most important part.

### **THE LOBBY'S SOURCES OF POWER**

Why is the Israel lobby so effective? One reason is the wide-open nature of the American political system. The United States has a divided form of government, a well-established tradition of free speech, and a system in which elections are very expensive to run and where campaign contributions are weakly regulated. This environment gives different groups many different ways to gain access or influence policy. Interest groups can direct campaign contributions to favored candidates and try to defeat candidates whose views are suspect. They can also lobby elected representatives and members of the executive branch, and they can try to get their own supporters appointed to key policy-making positions. Moreover, there are numerous ways for interest groups to mold public opinion: by cultivating sympathetic journalists; writing books, articles, and op-eds; and working to discredit or marginalize anyone with different views. For a group that is highly motivated and has sufficient resources, there is no shortage of ways to influence public policy.<sup>117</sup>

The lobby's effectiveness also reflects the basic dynamics of interest group politics in a pluralistic society. In a democracy, even relatively small groups can exercise considerable influence if they are strongly committed to a particular issue and the rest of the population is largely indifferent. Even if the group's absolute numbers are small, policy makers—and especially members of Congress—will tend to accommodate them, because they can be confident that the rest of the population will not penalize them for doing so. As one U.S. senator put it, when asked why he and his colleagues signed a piece of controversial legislation pushed by the lobby, "There is no political advantage in not signing. If you do sign you don't offend anyone. If you don't you might offend some Jews in your state."<sup>118</sup>

The disproportionate influence of small but focused interest groups increases even more when opposing groups are weak or nonexistent, because politicians have to accommodate only one set of interests and the public is likely to hear only one side of the story. Whether the issue is farm subsidies or foreign policy, special interest groups often wield political power that far exceeds their absolute numbers in the population.

As will become clear in the next chapter, the Israel lobby enjoys a number of advantages in the competition for influence in the United States. American Jews are relatively prosperous and well educated, and have an admirable philanthropic tradition. They give generously to political parties and have very high rates of political participation. A sizable minority of American Jews is not strongly committed to Israel, but a clear majority is at least somewhat engaged and a significant minority is strongly energized by this issue. When married to the support Israel gets from Christian Zionists, it is a potent base.

Equally important is the impressive level of resources and expertise within the major Jewish organizations in the lobby. According to the political scientist Robert Trice, "Most major Jewish groups are characterized by large memberships, well-trained professional staffs, adequately financed social, welfare and political programs, specialized working groups for particular problems and elaborate internal communications networks." Moreover, the existence of numerous organizations at the local and national level explains "the ability of the pro-Israel movement to mobilize rapidly and in a coordinated

fashion on a national scale when important foreign policy issues arise."<sup>119</sup>

These efforts are facilitated by Israel's generally favorable image in the United States. As former Senator Warren Rudman (R-NH) once commented, "They have a pretty good product to sell."<sup>120</sup> As we shall see, that favorable image is due in good part to the lobby's own efforts to make sure that Israel is portrayed favorably, as well as the broad sense that the United States and Israel are part of a common Judeo-Christian culture and are linked by various informal connections.<sup>121</sup>

Finally, the lobby benefits from the absence of effective opposition. As one senator explained, "There's no countervailing sentiment ... If you vote contrary to the tremendous pressure of AIPAC, nobody says to you, 'That's great.'"<sup>122</sup> Although Arab Americans are a significant minority, they are neither as wealthy, well organized, numerous, or politically active as Jewish Americans. As a group, Arab Americans have not been as successful in reaching prominent positions in academia, business, and the media, and they are also less visible in politics. This is partly because the main waves of Arab immigration to the United States occurred relatively recently, and first-generation immigrants are less affluent, less represented in important professions, less familiar with American mores and institutions, less active in politics, and therefore less influential than subsequent generations tend to be.

Pro-Arab organizations are also no match for the major groups that make up the Israel lobby. There are a handful of pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian interest groups in the United States, but they are smaller than AIPAC and other pro-Israel organizations, not nearly as well funded, and nowhere near as effective. According to Mitchell Bard, the former editor of AIPAC's *Near East Report*, "From the beginning, the Arab lobby has faced not only a disadvantage in electoral politics but also in organization. There are several politically oriented groups, but many of these are one-man operations with little financial or popular support." U.S. politicians rarely, if ever, complain about pressure from an "Arab-American lobby" and have little reason to adjust their behavior to accommodate it. As Harry Truman famously remarked, "In all of my political experience I don't ever recall the Arab vote swinging a close election."<sup>123</sup>

Moreover, because Arab Americans come from a variety of countries and backgrounds, and include Christians as well as Muslims, they are unlikely to speak with a unified voice on Middle East issues. Indeed, they sometimes hold sharply opposing views. And whereas many Americans sense a degree of cultural proximity between Israel and the United States and believe Israelis are "like us," Arabs are often seen as part of an alien (or even hostile) civilization. As a result, winning hearts and minds in the United States is an uphill battle for its Arab-American citizens in ways that it has not been for American Jews or their Christian allies. Robert Trice's 1981 assessment of Arab-American groups remains true today: "Their impact on most aspects of U.S. Middle East policy remains negligible."<sup>124</sup>

## THE (MODEST) IMPACT OF OIL

Neither Arab governments nor the vaunted "oil lobby" pose a significant counterweight to the Israel lobby. The belief that oil companies and/or wealthy oil sheikhdoms exert a powerful influence on U.S. Middle East policy is widespread and is reflected in the frequent claim that the war in Iraq in 2003 was a "war for oil" and for related corporate interests such as Halliburton.<sup>125</sup> Interestingly, this view is advanced by some of Israel's most persistent critics—such as Noam Chomsky and Stephen Zunes—as well as by fervent defenders like Martin Peretz.<sup>126</sup> More conspiratorial versions of this perspective suggest that personal and financial connections between the Bush family and the House of Saud have shaped U.S. Middle East policy to America's detriment.<sup>127</sup> These various interpretations portray the Israel lobby as just one player among many, and probably not the most important one.

There is no question that the United States has a major strategic interest in the energy resources located in the Persian Gulf. Although the United States currently imports more of its energy from Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela than from states in the Middle East, oil and natural gas are bought and sold in a tightly integrated world market and thus anything that reduces the overall supply is going to push prices up and hurt the American economy.<sup>128</sup> As discussed in Chapter 2, this is why U.S. leaders

see the Persian Gulf as a vital interest and why they have taken steps to preserve a local balance of power there and prevent any hostile state from interfering with the flow of oil from that region. This basic fact also explains why the United States has sought to preserve good relations with a number of different countries in the Gulf, despite differing with them on various domestic and foreign policy issues. The importance of Middle East oil led the United States to become a close ally of Saudi Arabia after World War II and is one reason why Washington backed the shah of Iran for many years. After his regime fell in 1979, this same desire to maintain a local balance of power and to keep the oil flowing convinced the Reagan administration to tilt toward Saddam Hussein's Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). The United States then intervened to evict Iraq from Kuwait after it seized the sheikhdom in 1990, a policy consistent with the long-standing U.S. policy of preventing any single power from establishing hegemony in the region. A powerful lobby was not needed to encourage these policies, because few questioned the need to keep Persian Gulf oil out of unfriendly hands.

Beyond this obvious interest in preserving access to Middle East oil, however, there is little evidence that either wealthy Arab states or a powerful "oil lobby" has had much impact on the broad thrust of U.S. Middle East policy. After all, if Arab petrodollars or energy companies were driving American policy, one would expect to see the United States distancing itself from Israel and working overtime to get the Palestinians a state of their own. Countries like Saudi Arabia have repeatedly pressed Washington to adopt a more evenhanded position toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but to little avail, and even wielding the "oil weapon" during the 1973 October War had little effect on U.S. support for Israel or on overall American policy in the region. Similarly, if oil companies were driving U.S. policy, one would also have expected Washington to curry favor with big oil producers like Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Muammar Gaddafi's Libya, or the Islamic Republic of Iran, so that U.S. companies could make money helping them develop their energy resources and bringing them to market. Instead, the United States imposed sanctions on all three of these countries, in sharp opposition to what the oil industry wanted. Indeed, as we will show in Part II, in some cases the U.S. government deliberately intervened to thwart business deals that would have benefited U.S. companies. If the oil lobby were as powerful as some critics believe, such actions would not have occurred.

Wealthy oil producers such as Saudi Arabia have hired public relations firms and professional lobbyists to enhance their image in the United States and to lobby for specific arms deals, and their efforts have occasionally borne fruit. Their most notable achievement was convincing Congress to approve the sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia in 1982, despite AIPAC's strong opposition. This episode is sometimes invoked to demonstrate the Israel lobby's limited influence and the power of the "Arab lobby," but the latter's victory in this case was mostly due to a set of unusually favorable conditions. The strategic importance of Saudi oil was obvious, the Soviet Union was seen as a serious military threat to the Gulf at that time, Ronald Reagan was a popular president, and his administration pulled out all the stops to win congressional approval. Even so, the sale barely squeaked through (the final Senate vote was 52-48 in favor), and Reagan was forced to withdraw several subsequent arms packages to Saudi Arabia and Jordan in the face of renewed opposition from the lobby and from Congress.<sup>129</sup>

One reason why Arab oil producers have only limited influence is their lack of an indigenous base of support in the United States. Because they are forced to rely on professional lobbyists and public relations firms, it is easier for critics to denigrate their representatives as mere agents of a foreign power. AIPAC's Tom Dine once dismissed Saudi lobbying efforts by saying, "They hire foreign agents like Fred Dutton to do their bidding. Their support is not rooted in American soil."<sup>130</sup> The Israel lobby, by contrast, is a manifestation of the political engagement of a subset of American citizens, and so its activities are widely and correctly seen as a legitimate form of political activity.

Furthermore, because most oil-exporting governments depend on large revenues to keep themselves in power, threatening to cut off the supply is not credible and their leverage is thus reduced. Many of these governments also have sizable investments in Western economies and would suffer considerable losses in the event of a sustained economic downturn. Reducing production would drive prices up and make alternative energy sources more attractive, and give the United States and other

countries a big incentive to wean themselves from oil dependence once and for all. Because major oil exporters like Saudi Arabia want to keep the industrial powers hooked on oil and gas, they have an obvious disincentive to using what little leverage may be at their disposal. As a result, U.S. dependence on imported energy supplies has not given these countries much influence over U.S. policy.

What about energy companies? These corporations do engage in plenty of lobbying activities, but their efforts in recent decades have focused almost entirely on their commercial interests rather than on broader aspects of foreign policy. Specifically, energy companies concentrate on tax policy, government regulation, environmental concerns, access to potential drilling sites, and other practical dimensions of energy policy. For them, foreign policy is normally a secondary concern, and according to Robert Trice, their

"primary goal ... is to create a political and economic environment in the Middle East that will allow them to maximize profits. As such, the political interests of corporate actors are generally much narrower than those of the pro-Arab groups."<sup>131</sup>

This relatively narrow focus is apparent when one examines the website of the American Petroleum Institute, the flagship trade association of the oil industry. Five topics appear under the general heading of "policy issues": climate change, exploration/production, fuels, taxes and trade, and homeland security. There is no reference to "Israel" or the "Arab-Israeli conflict" anywhere on the site, and few references to foreign policy at all. By contrast, Israel and U.S. foreign policy are front and center on the websites of AIPAC, the ADL, and the Conference of Presidents.<sup>132</sup> As AIPAC's Morris Amitay noted in the early 1980s, "When oil interests and other corporate interests lobby, 99 percent of the time they are acting in what they perceive to be their own self-interest—they lobby on tax bills . . . We very rarely see them lobbying on foreign policy issues ... In a sense, we have the field to ourselves."<sup>133</sup>

In addition, American corporations appear to be discouraged from trying to influence U.S. Middle East policy by the fear of retaliation from well-organized pro-Israel groups. In 1975, for example, the revelation that Gulf Oil had underwritten a number of pro-Arab activities in the United States led to public condemnations by the Conference of Presidents and the Anti-Defamation League. In response, Gulf bought a half-page ad in the *New York Times* in which it apologized for its action and told readers, "You may be certain it will not happen again." As Trice notes, "A vigilant, sensitive, and reactive pro-Israel lobby is one reason why U.S. corporations have tended to avoid direct participation in domestic political debates on Middle East questions."<sup>134</sup>

Some commentators believe that oil and gas companies are driving U.S. policy either to gain lucrative concessions in places like Iraq, or to foment instability that will drive up oil prices and enable them to reap windfall profits.<sup>135</sup> Not only is there little direct evidence of such behavior, but it runs counter to the long-term interests of major energy companies. Energy companies do not like wars in oil-rich regions, sanctions, or regime change—the staples of U.S. Middle East policy in recent years—because each of them threatens access to oil and gas reserves and thus their ability to make money, and such events also encourage Americans to think more seriously about reducing demand for the oil companies' main product. Thus, when Vice President Dick Cheney was the president of Halliburton, Inc., a major oil services firm, in the 1990s, he opposed U.S. sanctions on Iran (a policy, as discussed in Chapter 10, driven largely by the lobby) and complained that U.S. firms were being "cut out of the action" by America's "sanctions happy" policy.<sup>136</sup> Cheney's earlier position suggests that if oil companies controlled Middle East policy, the United States would have pursued a very different agenda in recent years.

None of this denies that oil companies, good capitalists that they are, will seek to profit from foreign policy initiatives that they did not encourage. It is not surprising that oil companies want to obtain lucrative concessions in post-Saddam Iraq, just as they would have been happy to do business with Saddam himself. On balance, however, wealthy Arab governments and the oil lobby exert much less influence on U.S. foreign policy than the Israel lobby does, because oil interests have less need to skew foreign policy in the directions they favor and they do not have the same leverage.<sup>137</sup> Writing in the early 1970s, the Columbia University professor and former Assistant Secretary of State Roger Hilsman observed, "It is obvious to even the most casual observer . . . that United States foreign policy in the

Middle East, where oil reigns supreme, has been more responsive to the pressures of the American Jewish community and their natural desire to support Israel than it has to American oil interests." In his comparison of the Israel and Arab lobbies, Mitchell Bard acknowledges that although oil companies like Aramco have conducted lobbying campaigns in the past, the effort "has had no observable impact on U.S. policy." Or as AIPAC's former legislative director, Douglas Bloomfield, told *BBC News* in 2003, "AIPAC has one enormous advantage. It really doesn't have any opposition."<sup>138</sup>

### THE QUESTION OF "DUAL LOYALTY"

This picture of a powerful special interest group, comprised mainly of American Jews and working to move U.S. policy in a pro-Israel direction, is bound to make some people uncomfortable, because it seems to invoke the specter of "dual loyalty," which was once a common anti-Semitic canard in old Europe. The charge, in its original incarnation, was that Jews in the diaspora were perpetual aliens who could not assimilate and become good patriots. According to this now-discredited argument, Jews were thought to be loyal only to each other. The infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a tsarist forgery that was exposed and discredited long ago, claimed that Jews operate as a fifth column in the countries where they live, working for a committee of Jewish elders who are secretly plotting to dominate the world.

In this earlier, anti-Semitic incarnation, dual loyalty was in fact a misnomer, as the charge implied that Jews were loyal only to each other and felt no genuine loyalty to their home countries. Today, however, both scholars and commentators use the term in a neutral and nonpejorative fashion to describe the widespread circumstance where individuals feel genuine attachments (or loyalties) to more than one country. Thus, in his recent comparison of different ethnic diasporas, the Israeli political scientist Gabriel Sheffer distinguishes among "total," "dual," and "divided" loyalty, and notes that all three responses occur when members of a particular ethnic, national, or religious group are scattered across different states.<sup>139</sup> As discussed below, other thoughtful Jewish Americans have used "dual loyalty" to describe their own attitudes and experiences, but their use of the term is very different from its past employment as an anti-Semitic slander.

Any notion that Jewish Americans are disloyal citizens is wrong. We fully agree with Malcolm Hoenein, who directs the Conference of Presidents, that "it is safe to say that American Jews are among the most patriotic and loyal of American citizens."<sup>140</sup> As we have made clear, those who lobby on Israel's behalf are acting in ways that are consistent with long-standing political traditions. Indeed, political life in the United States has long proceeded from the assumption that all individuals have a variety of attachments and loyalties—to country, religion, family, employer, just to name a few—and that American citizens will create formal and informal associations that reflect those loyalties and interests. Consider, for example, a 2006 Pew Global Attitudes survey of Christians in thirteen countries in which 42 percent of the U.S. respondents saw themselves as Christians first and Americans second.<sup>141</sup> These different attachments, which sometimes include an affinity for a foreign country, may reflect ancestry, religious affiliation, personal experience (such as overseas study or a Peace Corps assignment), or any number of other sources. It is legitimate for U.S. citizens to express such attachments and affinities in political life; this is in fact what democratic theory implies that they should do. As we have noted, it is even permissible for Americans to hold dual citizenship and to serve in foreign armies—including the IDF—and some have done so.

Americans who work to influence U.S. foreign policy in ways that benefit Israel almost always believe that the policies they favor will benefit the United States as well. As former AIPAC executive director Tom Dine told one interviewer, "I came to this job thinking American foreign policy and how to strengthen America's position in the world. At the same time, I thought a lot about Israel because I am Jewish."<sup>142</sup> More to the point, Theodore Mann, a former head of the Conference of Presidents, said in 2001 that "leading American Jews really feel very deeply that American interests and Israeli interests are one and the same."<sup>143</sup>

While there is no question that this perspective is widely and deeply held, there is a problem with it: no two countries will always have the same interests. It is just not the way international politics works. There have been instances in the past, and there will be more in the future, where U.S. and Israeli interests were at odds. For example, it made good strategic sense for Israel to acquire nuclear weapons in the 1960s, but it was not in America's interest to have Israel go nuclear. Nor is it in the U.S. national interest when Israel kills or wounds innocent Palestinian civilians (even if only unintentionally) and especially not when it uses American-made weapons to do it. One sees a similar divergence of interests in Israel's decision to invade Lebanon in 1982, and in its recent opposition to U.S. plans to sell advanced weaponry to Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states.<sup>144</sup>

Nonetheless, many of Israel's supporters find it hard to acknowledge that Jerusalem and Washington could have fundamentally different interests. In other words, they fully accept the strategic and moral rationales that we laid out and refuted in Chapters 2 and 3, and they work hard to convince policy makers of their continued validity. They may also hold to these views because humans are usually uncomfortable when important values conflict. Even when U.S. and Israeli interests are clearly at odds, some of Israel's American backers will find it difficult to acknowledge that a significant tradeoff exists.

There are, however, thoughtful Jewish Americans—including some prominent policy makers—who openly acknowledge that conflicts can and do arise among their Jewish identities, their understandable interest in Israel's well-being, and their genuine loyalty to the United States. To his credit, Henry Kissinger dealt forthrightly with this issue in his memoirs, writing that "though not practicing my religion, I could never forget that thirteen members of my family had died in Nazi concentration camps . . . Most Israeli leaders were personal friends. And yet... I had to subordinate my emotional preferences to my perception of the national interest... It was not always easy; occasionally it proved painful."<sup>145</sup>

Kissinger acknowledges what many would deny: tensions are bound to arise whenever Americans have strong affinities for other countries, no matter what the origins of those attachments and no matter how consistently they resolve them on behalf of their homeland. Or as one of Bill Clinton's Middle East advisers admitted anonymously, "We act in America's interest, but through a prism." Another veteran Jewish-American diplomat expressed a similar feeling by saying, "I thank God that I'm not working in Middle East affairs or at the U.N., where you might have to vote to condemn the Israelis."<sup>146</sup>

These statements are in no sense confessions of disloyalty; on the contrary, they are admirably honest reflections on the multiple loyalties that all human beings feel and that sometimes come into conflict. The journalist Eric Alterman offered an equally candid acknowledgment in 2003, noting that his own "dual loyalties" were "drilled into me by my parents, my grandparents, my Hebrew school teachers and my rabbis, not to mention Israeli teen-tour leaders and AIPAC college representatives." But instead of pretending that potential tradeoffs will never arise, Alterman recognizes that "we ought to be honest enough to at least imagine a hypothetical clash between American and Israeli interests. Here, I feel pretty lonely admitting that, every once in a while, I'm going to go with what's best for Israel."<sup>147</sup>

Yet Alterman is not in fact alone. Consider the remarks of Stephen Steinlight, former director of national affairs at the American Jewish Committee. After recounting his own upbringing in America as a "Jewish nationalist, even a quasi-separatist," Steinlight remarks,

The process of my nationalist training was to inculcate the belief that the primary division of the world was between "us" and "them." Of course we saluted the American and Canadian flags and sang those anthems, usually with real feeling, but it was clear where our primary loyalty was meant to reside. I am also familiar with the classic, well-honed answer to this tension anytime this is cited: Israel and America are democracies; they share values; they have common strategic interests; loyalty to one cannot conceivably involve disloyalty to the other, etc., etc. All of which begs huge questions . . . and while it may be true in practice most of the time, it is by no means an absolute construct, devoid of all sort of potential exceptions . . . We have no less difficult a balancing act

between group loyalty and a wider sense of belonging to America. That America has largely tolerated this dual loyalty—we get a free pass, I suspect, largely over Christian guilt about the Holocaust—makes it no less a reality.<sup>148</sup>

It is important to emphasize that this phenomenon is not confined to Jewish Americans; rather, such tensions are an inevitable feature of a melting pot society that has drawn its citizens from all over the world.<sup>149</sup> It is equally important to note that most American Jews would surely reject any suggestion that they would place Israel's interests ahead of America's if an obvious conflict arose between them.

Jews and non-Jews who believe that the United States should continue to give Israel strong and unconditional support have every right to advocate their positions, and it is wrong to question their loyalty when they do. Yet it is equally legitimate for critics to point out that organizations like AIPAC are not neutral, or that the individuals who run AIPAC, the ADL, the Conference of Presidents, and similar organizations are motivated by an attachment to Israel that is bound to shape their thinking about many foreign policy issues. Why else would Malcolm Hoenlein describe his job as follows: "I devote myself to the security of the Jewish state"?<sup>150</sup> Or why does John Hagee of CUFI address the potential conflict between his support for Israeli settlements and official U.S. opposition to them by saying that "the law of God transcends the laws of the United States government and the U.S. State Department"?<sup>151</sup> If he were not inspired by a strong attachment to Israel, why would Lenny Ben-David, the former director of information and research at AIPAC, agree to serve as Israel's deputy chief of mission in Washington from 1997 to 2000?<sup>152</sup>

It is equally legitimate to question whether the policies advocated by these individuals and the organizations they represent are in the U.S. national interest, just as it is legitimate to question the impact of other special interest lobbies on other elements of U.S. domestic or foreign policy. Their patriotism can be above reproach, but their advice might be fostering policies that are wreaking havoc in a region of considerable strategic importance to the United States and indeed to the rest of the world. To question the soundness of that advice has nothing to do with the older, discredited use of "dual loyalty" to imply that Jews were unpatriotic.

## CONCLUSION

The Israel lobby is the antithesis of a cabal or conspiracy; it operates out in the open and proudly advertises its own clout. In its basic operations, the Israel lobby is no different from interest groups like the farm lobby, steel and textile workers, and a host of ethnic lobbies, although the groups and individuals who comprise the Israel lobby are in an unusually favorable position to influence U.S. foreign policy. What sets it apart, in short, is its extraordinary effectiveness. In the next two chapters, we examine the strategies it employs to achieve its goals.

## GUIDING THE POLICY PROCESS

The groups and individuals who make up the lobby pursue two broad strategies to encourage steadfast U.S. support for Israel. First, they exert significant influence on the policy-making process in Washington. Second, these organizations go to considerable lengths to ensure that public discourse about Israel is favorable and that it echoes the strategic and moral rationales discussed in Chapters 2

and 3. We examine the first of these strategies in this chapter and explore the lobby's efforts to shape public discourse in Chapter 6.

Because political power in the United States is divided between the legislative and executive branches, the lobby's tactics sometimes vary depending on which branch of government is involved. In addition to helping get sympathetic individuals elected or appointed to key positions, groups in the lobby strive to shape the political calculations of officials who might be tempted to chart a more independent course. Whatever a legislator's or policy maker's personal views might be, the lobby wants uncritical support for Israel to be the "smart" political choice. Like other powerful interest groups, in short, the Israel lobby achieves its aims by constraining the policies key officials are willing to consider, pressing them to take steps they would rather avoid (but will pretend to favor), making it hard for U.S. leaders to sustain initiatives that groups in the lobby oppose, and shaping perceptions and framing options so that many key leaders willingly favor the policies that these groups endorse.<sup>1</sup>

### **HOLDING SWAY ON CAPITOL HILL**

A key pillar of the lobby's effectiveness is its influence in the U.S. Congress. Unlike virtually every other country, Israel is largely immune from criticism on Capitol Hill. This situation is remarkable by itself, because Congress frequently deals with contentious issues and competing viewpoints are usually easy to find. Whether the issue is abortion, arms control, affirmative action, gay rights, the environment, trade policy, health care, immigration, or welfare, there is almost always a lively debate on Capitol Hill. But where Israel is concerned, potential critics fall silent and there is hardly any debate at all.

The absence of serious deliberation when Israel is involved was revealed in a hearing on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process held on February 14, 2007, by the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia in the House of Representatives. With Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice trying to restart the moribund peace process, the subcommittee sought testimony from three witnesses. Despite some differences on certain policy issues, all three are central players in the lobby: Martin Indyk, the former AIPAC official and former U.S. ambassador to Israel who now heads the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution; David Makovsky of the pro-Israel Washington Institute for Near East Policy; and the neoconservative pundit Daniel Pipes, who directs the right-wing Middle East Forum. No critic of Israel, much less a Palestinian or Arab American, was brought in to offer alternative views or suggest the United States take a different approach. M. J. Rosenberg, who once worked for AIPAC and is now a key figure with the Israel Policy Forum, a moderate pro-Israel group that actively supports a two-state solution, nicely summed up the situation: "This was a hearing about two sides of a conflict where only one side was allowed to speak," adding that "everyone who saw an official Congressional hearing that banned the Arab point of view was either hurt by the spectacle or angered by it. And that damages the interests of America, and of Israel."<sup>2</sup>

One reason for the lobby's success in Congress is that some key members have been Christian Zionists, such as former House Speaker Richard Armey, who said in September 2002 that "my No. 1 priority in foreign policy is to protect Israel." One would think that the top priority for any U.S. representative would be to "protect America," but that is not what Armey said. Regarding Tom DeLay, Armey's successor as speaker, Morton Klein, the president of ZOA, said that "he cared about Israel in every fiber of his being." DeLay himself said that he was "an Israeli at heart."<sup>3</sup>

There are also Jewish senators and representatives who work to make U.S. foreign policy support Israel's interests. In 2006, in fact, a record number of Jewish Americans were elected to the House and Senate, a fact that underscores their impressive achievements in American society and their traditionally high level of civic engagement and political participation.<sup>4</sup> Some of these legislators—such as Senators Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) and Charles Schumer, and Representatives Jerrold Nadler (D-NY), Henry Waxman (D-CA), and Robert Wexler (D-FL)—are ardent defenders of Israel.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Waxman said in the wake of the 2006 election that "there will be some Democratic chairmen who may not share all my views ... on Israel." He made it clear, however, that "they will not be chairing committees dealing with Israel and the Middle East."<sup>6</sup> He was right, of course: the chair of the House subcommittee that held the hearing described above was Gary Ackerman (D-NY), another avid backer of Israel, while the chair of the larger Committee on Foreign Affairs is Tom Lantos (D-CA),



who has no rival on Capitol Hill in his devotion to Israel. As one former AIPAC leader put it, Lantos "is true blue and white."<sup>7</sup>

But it isn't only the representatives themselves who can tilt legislation in a pro-Israel direction. Congressional staffers are at the center of the legislative process, registering the positions of outside interest groups and parsing different policy options for their bosses. As Morris Amitay, a former head of AIPAC, once noted, "There are a lot of guys at the working level up here [on Capitol Hill] . . . who happen to be Jewish, who are willing ... to look at certain issues in terms of their Jewishness . . . These are all guys who are in a position to make the decision in these areas for those senators . . . You can get an awful lot done just at the staff level."<sup>8</sup> As discussed below, representatives from groups in the lobby sometimes participate directly in this process, helping Hill staffers draft legislation, providing them with talking points that legislators can use in public, helping write the "Dear Colleague" letters that legislators send one another to position themselves on key issues, and drafting and circulating open letters designed to put congressional pressure on the executive branch.

Of all the groups that make up the lobby, it is AIPAC that holds the key to influence in Congress, a fact that is widely acknowledged by politicians from both parties.<sup>9</sup> Bill Clinton once described AIPAC as "stunningly effective" and "better than anyone else lobbying in this town," while former House Speaker Newt Gingrich called it "the most effective general-interest group . . . across the entire planet." Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-NV) agrees, saying, "I can't think of a policy organization in the country as well-organized and respected [as AIPAC]." The *New Yorker's* Jeffrey Goldberg calls it "a leviathan among lobbies," and AIPAC's own website proudly quotes the *New York Times's* assessment that it is "the most important organization affecting America's relationship with Israel."<sup>10</sup>

AIPAC's success is due in large part to its ability to reward legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda and to punish those who do not, based mainly on its capacity to influence campaign contributions. Money is critical to U.S. elections, which have become increasingly expensive to win, and AIPAC makes sure that its friends get financial support so long as they do not stray from AIPAC's line.

This process works in several ways. To begin with, many of the same individuals who bankroll AIPAC are often important political contributors in their own right. Using data from the Federal Election Commission (FEC), the journalist Michael Massing found that "between 1997 and 2001, the 46 members of AIPAC's board of directors gave well in excess of \$3 million in campaign contributions," and many of them remain generous donors to pro-Israel PACs and candidates today.<sup>11</sup> "Since 2000," the *Washington Post* reported in 2004, "[AIPAC] board members have contributed an average of \$72,000 each to campaigns and political committees."<sup>12</sup>

Second, AIPAC helps connect political candidates to other donors and sources of funds. Despite its name, AIPAC is not a political action committee and does not officially endorse candidates or give money directly to their campaigns. Instead, AIPAC screens potential candidates and arranges meetings with potential donors and fund-raisers, and provides information to the growing number of pro-Israel PACs. According to the historian David Biale, "The American Jewish 'Israel lobby' has developed since the Six Day War into one of the most sophisticated and effective lobbying organizations in the United States Congress. It has done so in part by developing a national network of Jewish Political Action Committees for contributing funds to congressional candidates based on the criterion of support for Israel."<sup>13</sup> As AIPAC President Howard Friedman told the organization's members in August 2006, "AIPAC meets with every candidate running for Congress. These candidates receive in-depth briefings to help them completely understand the complexities of Israel's predicament and that of the Middle East as a whole. We even ask each candidate to author a 'position paper' on their views of the U.S.-Israel relationship—so it's clear where they stand on the subject."<sup>14</sup>

Friedman's description of AIPAC's modus operandi is consistent with testimony from other political figures. Tom Hayden, the antiwar figure who was running for a seat in the California Assembly in the early 1980s, explains how he won support from the local power broker Michael Berman (brother of longtime California Congressman Howard Berman) on the condition that he would always

be a "good friend to Israel." Hayden, who won the election, notes that he "had to be certified 'kosher,' not once but over and over again. The certifiers were the elites, beginning with rabbis and heads of the multiple mainstream Jewish organizations . . . An important vetting role was held as well by . . . [AIPAC], a group closely associated with official parties in Israel. When necessary, Israeli ambassadors, counsels general and other officials would intervene with statements declaring someone a 'friend of Israel.'" Hayden, one may note, merely held state-level offices in his political career, although he was unusually visible in that role."

In the same vein, Harry Lonsdale, the Democratic candidate who ran unsuccessfully against Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) in 1990, has described his own visit to AIPAC headquarters during that campaign. "The word that I was pro-Israel got around," he writes. "I found myself invited to AIPAC in Washington, D.C., fairly early in the campaign, for 'discussions.' It was an experience I will never forget. It wasn't enough that I was pro-Israel. I was given a list of vital topics and quizzed (read grilled) for my specific opinion on each. Actually, I was told what my opinion *must* be, and exactly what words I was to use to express those opinions in public . . . Shortly after that encounter at AIPAC, I was sent a list of American supporters of Israel . . . that I was free to call for campaign contributions. I called; they gave, from Florida to Alaska."<sup>16</sup>

Former Idaho governor John V. Evans tells a similar story about his 1986 campaign against incumbent Idaho Senator Steven Symms. He visited AIPAC headquarters, where, according to Evans, they "emphasized constantly that they were not a PAC (political action committee) . . . But they noted that there were Jewish organizations all over the country that had their own PACs and that if we could contact them, they would be able to help us." According to the *Wall Street Journal*, AIPAC "steered Mr. Evans to a series of supposedly independent organizations—many of them run by people with ties to AIPAC—that gave him \$204,950 for his losing race against Republican Sen. Steve Symms."<sup>17</sup>

AIPAC also keeps track of congressional voting records and makes these records available to its members, so that they can decide which candidates or PACs to support.<sup>18</sup> Candidates or incumbents who are seen as hostile to Israel, on the other hand, can expect AIPAC to guide campaign contributions toward their opponents. Internal AIPAC documents acquired by the *Washington Post* in 1988 revealed that its deputy political director was actively "trying to help raise money for several candidates in the 1986 Senate race," and the *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1987 that "despite AIPAC's claims of non-involvement in political spending, no fewer than 51 pro-Israel PACs—most of which draw money from Jewish donors and operate under obscure-sounding names—are operated by AIPAC officials or people who hold seats on AIPAC's two major policymaking bodies."<sup>19</sup> Although the Federal Election Commission later ruled that there was "insufficient evidence" to conclude that AIPAC controlled the network of pro-Israel PACs, the belief that AIPAC helps guide contributions remains widespread.<sup>20</sup> The veteran diplomat David Newsom, who served as assistant secretary of state in the Nixon administration and as undersecretary of state under Jimmy Carter, reports that "when a prominent member of Congress was once asked the reason for the power of AIPAC in the legislature, he replied, 'Money. It's as simple as that.'"<sup>21</sup>

The Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), a nonpartisan research group that tracks campaign contributions, has identified roughly three dozen pro-Israel PACs active in recent elections. In the 2006 midterms, these groups gave more than \$3 million to candidates from both parties.<sup>22</sup> Between 1990 and 2004, reports the *Economist*, pro-Israel groups contributed nearly \$57 million to candidates and parties, while Arab-American and Muslim PACs contributed slightly less than \$800,000.<sup>23</sup> When combined with individual contributions to particular candidates and donations given to the national party organizations themselves, pro-Israel forces wield considerable electoral clout. According to CRP's Steven Weiss, "If you are a candidate and you get the pro-Israel label from AIPAC, the money will start coming in from contributors all over the country."<sup>24</sup>

There is little doubt about the potency of these tactics. In 2006, for example, money from pro-Israel groups and individuals helped Senator Joseph Lieberman retain his seat by running independently following his defeat by Ned Lamont in the Democratic primary. Lieberman received a total of more

than \$145,000 from two dozen different pro-Israel PACs, and none of these groups helped Lamont. In the same year, \$76,000 worth of pro-Israel PAC contributions helped Sheldon Whitehouse defeat incumbent Senator Lincoln Chaffee (R-RI), who had long been regarded as lukewarm on Israel.<sup>25</sup> Other beneficiaries of pro-Israel PAC support include successful candidates such as Robert Menendez (D-NJ) and Brad Ellsworth (D-IN). According to Ron Kampeas of the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, the money for these (and other candidates) was "raised by a loose network of donors, many of whom have strong ties to [AIPAC], the pro-Israel lobby."<sup>26</sup>

AIPAC and its related network cannot influence every election, of course, and even large donations from pro-Israel groups could not get Lonsdale or Evans elected or prevent former Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) or incumbent Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA) from being defeated in their respective bids for reelection in 2004 and 2006.<sup>27</sup> But over the past three decades it has helped many successful candidates win their races, while driving from office a number of individuals it considered unfriendly to Israel. In 2002, for example, it helped defeat Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) by funneling campaign money to her opponents. McKinney returned to office in 2004 but was again defeated for reelection in 2006. Hank Johnson, her victorious opponent in the 2006 Democratic primary, received at least \$34,000 from seven pro-Israel PACs.<sup>28</sup> In another well-known case, wealthy Chicago businessman and former AIPAC President Robert Asher helped recruit and vet an Illinois attorney, Richard Durbin, to run against incumbent Congressman Paul Findley (R-IL) in 1982. Durbin had never held elected office, and as Asher later recalled, "I probed [Durbin's] views ... I wanted to make sure we were supporting someone who was not only against Paul Findley but also a friend of Israel. He beat Findley with a lot of help from Jews, in-state and out-of-state. Now, how did the Jewish money find him? I traveled around the country talking about how we had the opportunity to defeat someone unfriendly to Israel. And the gates opened."<sup>29</sup> Asher solicited funds with a letter to potential donors declaring that the election was the "best chance" to remove a "dangerous enemy of Israel" from Congress, and Durbin eventually received a total of \$104,325 in campaign funds from thirty-one different pro-Israel PACs. By way of comparison, in the 1982 election, other Illinois congressional candidates received an average of about \$3,700 from the same groups.<sup>30</sup> Durbin went on to narrowly beat Findley, who had served eleven previous terms, and he later won election to the Senate, where he currently serves as majority whip.

In 2002, Mayer "Bubba" Mitchell, another member of the "Gang of Four" (the group of wealthy donors that guides AIPAC's policy making), used similar tactics to oust Congressman Earl Hilliard (D-AL). Like Durbin, Hilliard's opponent got financial help from AIPAC supporters across the country. According to the *New Yorker's* Jeffrey Goldberg, Asher later said that he had "asked Bubba how he felt after [Hilliard's opponent] won, and he said 'Just like you did when Durbin got elected.'"<sup>31</sup> AIPAC has also played an important role in defeating a number of other politicians who took positions it disagreed with, including Representative Pete McCloskey (R-CA) and Senators J. William Fulbright (D-AR) and Roger Jepson (R-IA), to name

a few. Jepson's fate is particularly revealing: he was targeted after he succumbed to a personal plea from President Ronald Reagan and agreed to support the 1981 sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia. His opponent in the 1984 Senate race, Democrat Tom Harkin, received more than \$100,000 in pro-Israel PAC money and Jepson lost his seat. Senator Alan Cranston (D-CA) later commented that Jepson's fate "has sort of struck terror into the hearts of senators about switching" on Middle East votes.<sup>32</sup>

Another example of the lobby's ability to influence elections concerns former Senator Adlai Stevenson (D-IL), who ran for governor of Illinois in 1982. He first ran afoul of pro-Israel groups in 1980, when he introduced an amendment to a Senate bill that called for reducing foreign aid to Israel if it did not stop building settlements. Stevenson knew the amendment would never pass, but he wanted to show that his colleagues would support Israel even if it was acting in ways that were contrary to official U.S. policy. The measure was easily defeated, gaining only seven votes. One reluctant opponent of the amendment, Senator Quentin Burdick (D-ND), told the Illinois senator, "Sorry, Adlai, but I am up for reelection." When Stevenson ran for governor two years later, he quickly discovered that campaign contributions began to dry up, and indeed, went to his opponent. According to the former senator, he

and his wife "were reviled as anti-Semitic. Some in the press turned hostile. Jewish Democratic Committeemen wilted under pressure. Jewish friends and supporters were also reviled." Stevenson was narrowly defeated, and as he later said, "the lobby made the difference in that election many times over."<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most renowned example of the costs that can befall a politician who crosses AIPAC is the defeat of Senator Charles Percy (R-IL) in 1984. Despite a generally pro-Israel voting record, Percy incurred AIPAC's wrath by declining to sign the AIPAC-sponsored "Letter of 76" protesting President Ford's threatened "reassessment" of U.S. Middle East policy in 1975. He also made the mistake of calling PLO leader Yasser Arafat more "moderate" than some other Palestinian terrorists. Percy's opponents in both the primary and general election in 1984 received large sums from pro-Israel PACs, and a businessman from another state (California), Michael Goland, who was also a major contributor to AIPAC, spent \$1.1 million on anti-Percy advertising in Illinois. (Goland was later convicted of making illegal campaign contributions in the 1986 California Senate race.)<sup>34</sup> As Tom Dine boasted after Percy's narrow defeat, "All the Jews in America, from coast to coast, gathered to oust Percy. And the American politicians—those who hold public positions now, and those who aspire—got the message."<sup>35</sup> Dine's hyperbole notwithstanding, the basic lesson of these cases is hard to miss. As J. J. Goldberg, the editor of the *Forward*, said in 2002, "There is this image in Congress that you don't cross these people or they take you down."<sup>36</sup>

AIPAC and pro-Israel PACs focus on more than getting Israel-friendly candidates elected. They have also had notable success turning politicians who have been critical of Israel into steadfast supporters. Former Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) was an outspoken critic of the U.S. foreign aid program for much of his career, which also meant that he opposed giving substantial aid to Israel. In 1984, however, Helms was in a hard-fought (and expensive) race for reelection against James Hunt, the popular governor of North Carolina. Sensing an opportunity to put a formidable enemy out of business, AIPAC channeled large amounts of campaign money to Hunt, who came within a hair of winning. Helms got the message: he traveled to Israel the following year and had his picture taken with a yarmulke on his head kissing the Western Wall. The same trip also produced a picture of the senator with Ariel Sharon for his office wall. More important, Helms became a vocal supporter of Israel and remained one until his retirement in 2002.<sup>37</sup>

One sees a similar evolution on the part of Senator Hillary Clinton, whose support for Palestinian statehood in 1998 and public embrace of Suha Arafat (wife of Yasser Arafat) in 1999 provoked strong criticism from groups in the lobby. Clinton became an ardent defender of Israel once she began running for office herself, and she now gets strong backing, including financial support, from pro-Israel organizations and individuals. After Clinton appeared at a pro-Israel rally in July 2006 and expressed strong support for Israel's highly destructive war against Lebanon, Helen Freedman, executive director of the hard-line Americans for a Safe Israel, declared, "I thought her remarks were very good, especially in light of her history, and we can't forget her kiss to Suha."<sup>38</sup> Pro-Israel PACs contributed more than \$30,000 to Clinton's 2006 reelection campaign, and the *Forward* reported in January 2007 that Clinton was "expected to snare the lion's share of the Jewish community's substantial political donations in the race for the 2008 Democratic Presidential nomination."<sup>39</sup>

If electoral pressure and persuasion don't work, AIPAC has been known to threaten politicians who appear reluctant to follow its lead.<sup>40</sup> In 2006, for example, Congresswoman Betty McCollum (D-MN), a liberal with a solid pro-Israel voting record, nonetheless opposed the AIPAC-backed Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act. The measure, which sought to impose draconian measures on the Palestinian Authority in the aftermath of the election of Hamas, was also opposed by the State Department, the Catholic Bishops, and other pro-Israel groups like Americans for Peace Now and the Israel Policy Forum. Nonetheless, an AIPAC lobbyist told McCollum's chief of staff that the representative's "support for terrorists will not be tolerated," a threat that led McCollum to demand an apology from AIPAC chief Howard Kohr and to bar AIPAC representatives from her offices.<sup>41</sup>

The basic message is clear: any senator or representative who crosses AIPAC is playing with fire.

Although the lobby's efforts are hardly the only reason that these defeated candidates faced electoral challenges and eventually lost (for example, Cynthia McKinney's prospects were also damaged by a much-publicized confrontation with a Capitol Hill security guard, and Lincoln Chafee faced an uphill battle given anti-Republican sentiment in 2006), its ability to affect a politician's electoral prospects is well known. As one congressional source put it in 1991, "Voting against Israel has become like voting against lumber in Washington state, except AIPAC does it all over the country."<sup>42</sup> And that is why Morris Amitay, the former AIPAC director who later served as the organization's treasurer, could say in 2002 that "everyone seems to be very good nowadays," and why Jimmy Carter said in February 2007 that "I don't see any present prospect that any member of the US Congress, the House or Senate, would say, 'Let's take a balanced position between Israel and the Palestinians and negotiate a peace agreement.'" He added, "It's almost politically suicidal ... for a member of the Congress who wants to seek reelection to take any stand that might be interpreted as anti-policy of the conservative Israeli government."<sup>43</sup>

AIPAC's clout also explains why attendance at its annual Policy Conference has become a command performance for prominent members of both parties as well as leading officials from the executive branch. Speakers at the 2007 Policy Conference included Vice President Dick Cheney, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY), and House Minority Leader John Boehner (R-OH). The previous year's speakers included Cheney, Boehner, UN Ambassador John Bolton, Senators Susan Collins (R-ME) and Evan Bayh (D-IN), and Representatives Roy Blunt (R-MO), Shelley Berkley (D-NV), Artur Davis (D-AL), Bill Pascrell (D-NJ), and Robert Wexler, as well as former senator and presidential hopeful John Edwards. Speakers in other years have included President George W. Bush, Secretaries of State Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, former House Speakers Dennis Hastert (R-IL), Richard Armey, and Newt Gingrich, and a bevy of prominent pro-Israel pundits. It is hard to think of any other lobbying organization that is wooed as strenuously by politicians in both parties.

AIPAC's ability to influence elections helps ensure that Israel gets generous aid each year and makes it dangerous for senators or representatives to utter even mild criticisms of Israel's conduct. But its influence on Capitol Hill goes even farther. Lobbying groups of all types exercise influence not merely by direct persuasion and by using campaign contributions to gain access, but also by providing a "legislative subsidy" to sympathetic lawmakers and supplying overworked staffs with direct assistance in analyzing issues, framing legislation, and offering talking points and speeches to give to constituents.<sup>44</sup> Not only does every member of Congress receive AIPAC's biweekly newsletter *Near East Report*, its personnel are also available to help staffers when issues affecting Israel arise. According to Douglas Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member, "It is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPAC first when they need information, before calling the Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service, committee staff or administration experts." More important, he notes that AIPAC is "often called upon to draft speeches, work on legislation, advise on tactics, perform research, collect co-sponsors and marshal votes."<sup>45</sup> In other words, AIPAC inserts itself directly into the legislative and policy-making process with considerable frequency, as we explore in more detail in Part II.

To seal the deal, an AIPAC sister organization, the American Israel Education Foundation (AIEF), funds free congressional trips to Israel itself. These junkets burnish a legislator's pro-Israel credentials and facilitate fund-raising, and also expose him or her to the policy preferences and basic worldview of Israel's leaders. This situation helps explain why about 10 percent of all congressional trips overseas are to Israel, even though it is but one of the nearly two hundred countries in the world. The Center for Public Integrity reports that AIEF spent nearly \$1 million on these visits from January 2000 to mid-2005. Not surprisingly, AIPAC and other Jewish groups lobbied hard—and successfully—to make sure that the new ethics rules enacted following the Jack Abramoff and Tom DeLay scandals did not interfere with these visits.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to emphasize again that AIPAC's activities are similar to the behavior of other influential lobbies and consistent with the interest group tradition of the U.S. political system. In his

study *Jews and American Politics*, Stephen Isaacs described AIPAC's Morris Amitay as saying, "What is important... is that none of this is untoward . . . You use the traditional tactics of the democracy . . . letters, calls."<sup>47</sup>

These "traditional tactics" to influence Congress also enable the lobby to put pressure on the executive branch when it takes actions that are considered to be not in Israel's interest. When that happens, the president or cabinet official is likely to get a hard-hitting letter from one or both houses of Congress, signed by most of its members, as President Gerald Ford did when he threatened a reassessment of U.S.-Israeli relations in 1975. President Bush got a similar letter in April 2002, when he briefly sought to pressure Israel to end a large-scale military incursion in the Occupied Territories. The lopsided percentage of signatories for each of these letters is eloquent testimony to AIPAC's ability to twist arms. As Senator Daniel In-ouye (D-HI) commented after signing the letter to Ford in 1975, "It's easier to sign one letter than to answer 5000." Or as Senator John Culver (D-IA) later admitted, "The pressure was just too great. I caved."<sup>48</sup> Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice felt the same pressure as she sought to restart the peace process by visiting the Middle East in March 2007. Just before her departure, Rice received an AIPAC-sponsored letter signed by seventy-nine senators, urging her to avoid contact with the new Palestinian "unity government" until it recognized Israel, renounced terror, and agreed to abide by Israeli-Palestinian agreements.<sup>49</sup> No wonder former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger once told AIPAC's Tom Dine, "Dine, I deal with you because you could hurt me."<sup>50</sup>

The bottom line is that AIPAC, which bills itself as "America's Pro-Israel Lobby," has an almost unchallenged hold on Congress.<sup>51</sup> One of the three main branches of the American government is firmly committed to supporting Israel. Open debate about U.S. policy toward Israel does not occur there, even though that policy has important consequences for the entire world. As Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC) noted as he was leaving office in 2004, "You can't have an Israeli policy other than what AIPAC gives you around here."<sup>52</sup> Another senator, speaking on condition of anonymity, told a *Washington Post* reporter in 1991, "My colleagues think AIPAC is a very, very powerful organization that is ruthless, and very, very alert. Eighty percent of the senators here roll their eyes on some of the votes. They know that what they're doing isn't what they really believe is right, but why fight on a situation where they're liable to get beat up on?"<sup>53</sup>

Small wonder, then, that former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon once told an American audience, "When people ask me how they can help Israel, I tell them—Help AIPAC." His successor, Ehud Olmert, agrees, remarking, "Thank God we have AIPAC, the greatest supporter and friend we have in the whole world."<sup>54</sup>

### THE MAKING OF PRO-ISRAEL PRESIDENTS

Whether through influence on Congress or in more direct ways, groups in the lobby also exert significant leverage over the executive branch. American presidents are not as sensitive to pressure as Congress is, and most of them have taken positions that Israel or the lobby opposed at one time or another. But such instances are becoming increasingly rare, even though Israel's strategic value has declined and some of its actions (such as the continued effort to colonize the Occupied Territories) are at odds with stated U.S. policy.

Influence over the executive branch derives in part from the impact Jewish voters have on presidential elections. Despite their small numbers in the population (less than 3 percent), American Jews make large campaign donations to candidates from both parties. As presidential adviser and former White House Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan wrote in a confidential memorandum to President Jimmy Carter, "Wherever there is major political fundraising in this country, you will find American Jews playing a significant role."<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the *Washington Post* once estimated that Democratic presidential candidates "depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as 60 percent of the money raised from private sources."<sup>56</sup> Other estimates are lower, but contributions from Jewish Americans form a substantial share—between 20 and 50 percent—of the contributions made to the Democratic party and its presidential candidates.<sup>57</sup> Israel is not the only issue that inspires these contributions, of course, but candidates who are perceived as hostile (or even indifferent) to Israel run the risk of seeing some of

these funds go to their opponents.

Furthermore, Jewish voters have high turnout rates and are concentrated in key states like California, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, which increases their weight in determining who becomes president. Although they still favor the Democratic party, their support for Democratic candidates can no longer be taken for granted. John F. Kennedy received 82 percent of the Jewish vote in 1960, for example, but George McGovern received only 64 percent in 1972, and Jimmy Carter got a mere 45 percent in 1980. In close races, therefore, the so-called Jewish vote can tip the balance in key states. Jeffrey Helmreich of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs exaggerates only slightly when he writes that "American Jewish voters maintain the potential to be *the* decisive factor in national election results . . . American Jews wield power through their high concentration in key states and their tendency to behave as a swing vote in ways that set them apart from virtually all other groups in American politics."<sup>58</sup> Because Jewish

voters matter in close elections, presidential candidates go to considerable lengths to cultivate their support. Indeed, a 2007 story in the *Jerusalem Post* referred to this effort to court Jewish support as "a Washington ritual as reliable as the cherry blossoms."<sup>59</sup> Candidates are especially eager to appeal to AIPAC and other organizations in the lobby—and not just to Jewish voters as a bloc—because they know that the seal of approval from these prominent organizations will facilitate fund-raising and encourage higher turnout on their behalf.

Gaining and retaining that support means backing Israel down the line, which is why presidential candidates John Edwards, Mitt Romney, and John McCain all made emphatic pro-Israel speeches to the 2007 Herzliya conference (an annual meeting on Israeli national security organized by the hawkish Institute for Policy and Strategy). They wanted to avoid the fate that befell Howard Dean in the 2004 presidential campaign, when he made the mistake of recommending that the United States take a more "even-handed role" in the Arab-Israeli conflict. In response, one of Dean's rivals for the nomination, Joseph Lieberman, accused him of selling Israel down the river and labeled his statement "irresponsible."<sup>60</sup> Even more remarkably, virtually all of the top Democrats in the House of Representatives signed a hardhitting letter to Dean criticizing his comments, and the *Chicago Jewish Star* reported that "anonymous attackers . . . are clogging the e-mail inboxes of Jewish leaders around the country, warning—without much evidence—that Dean would somehow be bad for Israel."<sup>61</sup>

This worry was absurd, because Dean is in fact an unabashed supporter of Israel.<sup>62</sup> His campaign cochair was former AIPAC president Steven Grossman, and Dean said his own views on the Middle East more closely reflected those of AIPAC than the more moderate Americans for Peace Now. Moreover, Dean's wife is Jewish and his children were raised Jewish as well. Dean wasn't questioning U.S. support for Israel; he had merely suggested that to "bring the sides together," Washington should act as an honest broker. This is not a radical idea, but key groups in the lobby do not welcome the idea of evenhandedness when it comes to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Dean's failure to win the Democratic nomination has many causes, of course, but the incident underscored the potential cost of being anything less than ardently pro-Israel during a presidential campaign.

#### **KEEPING THE ADMINISTRATION IN LINE**

Key organizations in the lobby also directly target the administration in power. The principal mission of the Conference of Presidents is to pressure the White House when it acts in ways that the Conference opposes, as it did when Gerald Ford threatened to reassess U.S. support for Israel, when George H. W. Bush briefly withheld loan guarantees in 1992, or, as discussed in Chapter 7, when George W. Bush called for the creation of a Palestinian state in the immediate aftermath of September 11.

But there is an even more obvious way to shape an administration's policy: the lobby's goals are served when individuals who share its perspective occupy important positions in the executive branch. In a notorious incident in 1992, for example, the New York businessman Haim Katz, calling as a potential donor to pro-Israel candidates, secretly taped a phone call with AIPAC President David Steiner. In addition to describing how AIPAC had helped direct campaign contributions to friendly politicians, Steiner told Katz that he had met personally to "cut a deal" with Secretary of State James Baker for \$3 billion in foreign aid to Israel, plus "a billion dollars in other goodies that people don't even

know about." More to the point, he told Katz that "we have a dozen people in [Clinton's] campaign, in the headquarters . . . and they're all going to get big jobs." Steiner was forced to resign after Katz went public, and he later said his statements to Katz were not true, but there is little reason to doubt the thrust of his remarks.<sup>63</sup> After all, wouldn't any powerful interest group want individuals who shared its views to get key appointments in each administration? In fact, plenty of other lobbies have done exactly that. Former Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton and Deputy Secretary J. Steven Griles both worked as lobbyists for oil or mining industries prior to their appointments in the Bush administration, for example, and Daniel A. Troy was a lawyer who frequently represented tobacco and pharmaceutical companies before being appointed chief counsel to the Food and Drug Administration in 2001.<sup>64</sup>

The Israel lobby is no different. As we have noted, the Clinton administration's Middle East policy was heavily shaped by officials with close ties to Israel or to prominent pro-Israel organizations. The two most notable individuals in this regard were Martin Indyk, the former deputy director of research at AIPAC and cofounder of the pro-Israel Washington Institute for Near East Policy, who served on Clinton's National Security Council, as ambassador to Israel (1995–97, 2000–01), and as assistant secretary of state (1997–2000); and Dennis Ross, who served as Clinton's special envoy to the Middle East and joined WINEP after leaving government in 2001.<sup>65</sup> They were among President Clinton's closest advisers at the Camp David summit in July 2000.

Although both Indyk and Ross supported the Oslo peace process and favored the creation of a Palestinian state—which led hard-liners to denounce them unfairly for betraying Israel—they did so only within the limits of what would be acceptable to Israeli leaders.<sup>66</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, the American delegation at Camp David took most of its cues from Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, coordinated negotiating positions with Israel in advance, and did not offer its own independent proposals for settling the conflict. Even the "Clinton parameters" presented in December 2000 were less an independent American proposal than Clinton's summary of where the negotiations stood and his assessment of the bargaining space within which a solution might be found. Palestinian negotiators complained that the Israelis would sometimes present them with a specific proposal, and then later the Americans would offer the same idea, only the Americans would label it a "bridging proposal." As another member of the U.S. team later admitted, Israeli proposals were often "presented [to the Palestinians] as U.S. concepts, not Israeli ones," a subterfuge that fooled no one and reinforced Palestinian suspicions. Not surprisingly, Palestinian representatives protested that they were "negotiating with two Israeli teams—one displaying an Israeli flag, and one an American flag."<sup>67</sup>

The issue is not whether individuals like Indyk or Ross were dedicated public servants acting in what they thought to be the best interest of the United States—they surely were. The issue, rather, is whether their well-known sympathies for Israel made it more difficult for the administration to operate effectively during the negotiations and made it less inclined to bring U.S. leverage to bear on the Israeli government, thus reducing the chances of securing a peace deal. We believe that this situation hampered the entire Oslo process, including the abortive Camp David summit.

The problem is even more pronounced in the second Bush administration, whose ranks have included staunchly pro-Israel neoconservatives like Elliott Abrams, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, Aaron Friedberg, John Hannah, I. Lewis Libby, William Luti, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, and David Wurmser. As we shall see in Part II, these officials consistently pushed for policies favored by Israel and backed by key organizations in the lobby.

By the same token, groups in the lobby also try to make sure that people who are seen as critical of Israel do not get important foreign policy jobs. In 1987, former AIPAC head Tom Dine told an interviewer that AIPAC was helping vet presidential advisers, saying, "This is an actual example . . . One of the [1988] presidential candidates called us and said 'I will be publicly declaring soon, and I am interested in hiring so and so for a top campaign position. Tell me what you think about him.'" Dine said his answer was "thumbs up" in that case, but others are less fortunate.<sup>68</sup> Jimmy Carter wanted to make George Ball his first secretary of state, but he knew that Ball was perceived as critical of Israel and that the lobby would oppose the appointment.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Richard Marius, a Harvard lecturer hired in 1995 as Vice President



Al Gore's chief speechwriter, has said that he was fired before he began work after the *New Republic* publisher Martin Peretz (who was Gore's undergraduate tutor and a close confidant) falsely claimed that Marius was an anti-Semite, based on a book review Marius had published in *Harvard Magazine* in 1992.<sup>70</sup> A few years later, in 2001, when Bruce Riedel left his position handling Middle East issues on the National Security Council, the *New Republic* reported that the Pentagon had "held up the appointment of Riedel's designated successor, the Middle East expert Alina Romanowski, whom Pentagon officials suspect of being insufficiently supportive of the Jewish state."<sup>71</sup> The person appointed instead was Elliott Abrams, who had previously pleaded guilty to withholding information from Congress during the Iran-contra affair. Abrams is hardly objective about Israel, having previously written in a 1997 book that "there can be no doubt that Jews, faithful to the covenant between God and Abraham, are to stand apart from the nation in which they live. It is the very nature of being Jewish to be apart—except in Israel—from the rest of the population."<sup>72</sup> This is a remarkable comment coming from an individual who holds a critically important position on Middle East policy in the U.S. government. "For the government of Israel," wrote Nathan Guttman in *Ha'aretz*, his appointment was "a gift from heaven."<sup>73</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Like other foreign policy interest groups, the Israel lobby seeks to influence the U.S. government through a variety of different channels. It is in a better position to do so than most other groups, which is one reason its efforts are so effective. But its efforts are not limited to building influence inside the Beltway. The lobby also strives to shape public discourse about Israel and the Middle East, so that the American public generally supports a pro-Israel orientation and does not question the merits of unconditional U.S. backing. This second strategy is the subject of the next chapter.

# DOMINATING PUBLIC DISCOURSE

One of the lobby's central concerns is to ensure that public discourse about Israel echoes the strategic and moral rationales dissected in Chapters 2 and 3. Its various elements do this by constantly reaffirming Israel's strategic value, by repeating one-sided accounts about Israel and its founding, and by defending Israel's actions in policy debates. The goal is to convince the public that America's and Israel's interests and values are one and the same.

At the same time, groups in the lobby try to marginalize anyone who criticizes Israeli policy or challenges the "special relationship," and try to prevent that person's views from getting a fair hearing in the public arena. To do this, the lobby sometimes employs heavy-handed tactics to silence critics, accusing them of being anti-Israel or anti-Semitic. Channeling public discourse in a pro-Israel direction is critically important, because an open and candid discussion of Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories, Israeli history, and the lobby's role in shaping America's Middle East policy might easily lead more Americans to question existing policy toward Israel and to call for a relationship with Israel that more effectively serves the U.S. national interest.

Accordingly, key elements in the lobby strive to influence discourse about Israel in the media, think tanks, and academia, because these institutions are critical to shaping popular opinion. They promote efforts to portray Israel in a positive light and they go to considerable lengths to marginalize anyone who questions Israel's past or present conduct or seeks to cast doubt on the merits of unconditional U.S. backing. Pro-Israel forces are well aware that dominating discussions about the Jewish state is essential to their agenda. These efforts do not always succeed, of course, but are still remarkably effective.

## THE MEDIA IS THE MESSAGE

A key part of preserving positive public attitudes toward Israel is to ensure that the mainstream media's coverage of Israel and the Middle East consistently favors Israel and does not call U.S. support into question in any way. While serious criticism of Israel occasionally reaches a large audience across the United States, the American media's coverage of Israel tends to be strongly biased in Israel's favor, especially when compared with news coverage in other democracies.

This claim might sound to some like the old anti-Semitic accusation that "Jews control the media." It is anything but. There is no question that some Jewish Americans, such as Martin Peretz and Mortimer Zuckerman, use their positions in the media to advance their views on Israel and the Middle East. This behavior is legitimate and unsurprising, as all elites tend to use their privileged positions to advance their various interests. More to the point, however, there are certainly owners, publishers, editors, columnists, and reporters in the mainstream media who have no special feelings for Israel and would feel comfortable criticizing its policies as well as the United States-Israel relationship. There are surely even influential individuals who may be strongly pro-Israel but would nevertheless welcome a more open discourse about that country.

It is therefore wrong—and objectionable—to argue that Jews or pro-Israel forces "control" the media and what they say about Israel. In fact, the reason that the lobby works so hard to monitor and influence what the mainstream media says about Israel is precisely that the lobby does not control them. If the media were left to their own devices, they would not serve up as consistent a diet of pro-Israel coverage and commentary. Instead, there would be a more open and lively discussion about the Jewish state and U.S. policy toward it, as there is in virtually every other democracy in the world. Indeed, that debate is especially lively in Israel itself, the one state where Jews clearly *do* "control the media."

The lobby's perspective on Israel is widely reflected in the mainstream media in part because a substantial number of American commentators who write about Israel are themselves pro-Israel. In a 1976 comparison of domestic interest groups and U.S. Middle East policy, Robert H. Trice found that "one of the most serious political handicaps of pro-Arab groups during the 1966-1974 period was their inability to gain support from any of the best-known and nationally-syndicated columnists." Trice also found that "pro-Israel groups could count on media support not only from national columnists but also from the editors of some of the country's most widely read newspapers." Pro-Israel groups were more active shaping media coverage than pro-Arab groups were; in 1970, for example, the Conference of Presidents distributed press kits (complete with photos and feature stories) to more than seventeen hundred newspapers and to major wire services. In Trice's words, "At virtually every level of media organization—from local communities, syndicated columnists, and major national papers, to the international news services that supply the country with information—pro-Israel groups were more successful than pro-Arab groups at getting their side of the story transmitted to both the articulate and mass publics."<sup>1</sup>

Matters have not changed much since then. The debate among Middle East pundits, wrote the media critic Eric Alterman in 2002, is "dominated by people who cannot imagine criticizing Israel." He listed fifty-six "columnists and commentators who can be counted upon to support Israel reflex-ively and without qualification." Conversely, Alterman identified only five pundits who consistently criticize Israeli behavior or endorse pro-Arab positions.<sup>2</sup> Although some readers subsequently challenged Alterman's coding of a handful of cases and a few of those he listed are now deceased, the disparity remains overwhelming and the challenges did not undermine his core claim.<sup>3</sup>

Consider the columnists who have covered the Middle East for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* in recent years. William Safire and the late A. M. Rosenthal were passionate defenders of Israel (and in Safire's case, especially favorable toward Ariel Sharon); today, David Brooks consistently defends Israel's position. Thomas L. Friedman is more moderate; he has been critical of some of Israel's policies (and occasionally the lobby itself), but he almost never takes the Palestinians' side or advocates that the United States distance itself from Israel. Nicholas D. Kristof is frequently critical of various aspects of American foreign policy and wrote one controversial column in March 2007 decrying the lack of serious public discussion of U.S. relations with Israel. But the Middle East is not a frequent

theme in his commentary and he certainly did not take a pro-Palestinian position.<sup>4</sup> Maureen Dowd has been sharply critical of pro-Israel neoconservatives, but like Kristof, she rarely writes about the Jewish state or U.S. policy toward it. No one in the *Times's* stable of regular columnists is a consistent defender of the Palestinians, or even as evenhanded as former columnist Anthony Lewis, who retired in 2001.

As for the *Washington Post*, it has had several columnists in recent years who consistently supported Israel: Jim Hoagland, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, and George Will. It used to feature two others: the late Michael Kelly and William Kristol, who runs the *Weekly Standard* and has a column in *Time*. Not only were these individuals staunchly pro-Israel, they tended to favor the ideas and policies of the hawkish Likud party rather than Israeli moderates. Richard Cohen also writes about the Middle East for the *Post*, but he has the same profile as the *Times's* Friedman: attached to Israel but willing to offer qualified and intelligent criticism. Neither of these papers—which are arguably the two most influential daily newspapers in the United States—employs any full-time commentator who consistently favors the Arab or Palestinian side.

In recent years, the only prominent columnist who has frequently criticized Israel is Robert Novak, whose column is syndicated by the *Chicago Sun-Times* and regularly appears in the *Post*. Still, Novak is hardly a champion of the Palestinian cause. The fact is that the "other side" has no equivalent of Safire and Krauthammer, or even Friedman and Cohen, at either the *Times* or the *Post*, or any other major American newspaper, for that matter. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, regularly publishes three opinion columnists who are staunch defenders of Israel: Max Boot, Jonathan Chait, and Jonah Goldberg. It employs no columnist who is critical of Israel, much less anyone who routinely defends the Palestinians against the Israelis.

Although these papers occasionally publish guest op-eds that challenge Israeli policy, the balance of opinion clearly favors Israel. There is no American commentator comparable to a Robert Fisk or a Patrick Seale, who are often sharply critical of Israel and who publish regularly in British newspapers, and no one remotely like Israeli commentators Amira Hass, Akiva El-dar, Gideon Levy, and Bradley Burston, all of whom are openly critical of particular policies that their country pursues. The point here is not that these individuals are always right and pro-Israel commentators are wrong; the point is that voices like theirs are almost entirely absent from major American newspapers.

Not surprisingly, this pro-Israel bias is also reflected in newspaper editorials. Robert Bartley, the late editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, once remarked, "Shamir, Sharon, Bibi—whatever those guys want is pretty much fine by me."<sup>5</sup> The *Journal*, along with other prominent newspapers like the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *New York Sun*, and the *Washington Times*, regularly runs editorials that read as if they were written by the Israeli prime minister's press office. To its credit, the *New York Times's* editorials sometimes criticize Israeli policies, and in recent years, the criticism has occasionally been strongly worded. The *Times* recognizes that the Palestinians have legitimate grievances and a right to have their own state. Still, its treatment of the two sides over the years has not been evenhanded.<sup>6</sup> In his memoirs, former *Times* executive editor Max Frankel recounted the impact his own pro-Israel attitudes had on his editorial choices: "I was much more deeply devoted to Israel than I dared to assert . . . Fortified by my knowledge of Israel and my friendships there, I myself wrote most of our Middle East commentaries. As more Arab than Jewish readers recognized, I wrote them from a pro-Israel perspective."<sup>7</sup>

Magazines like *Commentary*, the *New Republic*, and the *Weekly Standard* also zealously defend Israel at every turn. Indeed, *Commentary's* former editor, Norman Podhoretz, once told a gathering of journalists in Jerusalem that "the role of Jews who write in both the Jewish and general press is to defend Israel, and not join in the attacks on Israel."<sup>8</sup> Martin Peretz, the longtime editor of the *New Republic*, once proclaimed, "I am in love with the state of Israel," and admitted that "there's a sort of party line on Israel" at his journal.<sup>9</sup>

The media's reporting of news events involving Israel is less slanted than their editorial commentary, in part because most reporters strive to be objective, but also because it is difficult to cover events in the Occupied Territories or in southern Lebanon without acknowledging Israel's actual behavior. But still, to discourage unfavorable reporting on Israel, groups in the lobby organize letter-

writing campaigns, demonstrations, and boycotts against news outlets whose content they consider anti-Israel. As the *Forward* reported in April 2002, "Rooting out perceived anti-Israel bias in the media has become for many American Jews the most direct and emotional outlet for connecting with the conflict 6,000 miles away."<sup>10</sup> One CNN executive has said that he sometimes gets six thousand e-mail messages in a single day complaining that a story is anti-Israel, and papers such as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Miami Herald*, the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *Washington Post* have faced consumer boycotts over their Middle East reporting.<sup>11</sup> One correspondent told the journalist Michael Massing that newspapers were "afraid" of AIPAC and other pro-Israel groups, saying that "the pressure from these groups is relentless. Editors would just as soon not touch them."<sup>12</sup> As the former spokesman for the Israeli consulate in New York, Menachem Shalev, once put it, "Of course, a lot of self-censorship goes on. Journalists, editors, and politicians are going to think twice about criticizing Israel if they know they are going to get thousands of angry calls in a matter of hours. The Jewish lobby is good at orchestrating pressure."<sup>13</sup>

America's Jewish press is not exempt from pressure, either. In 1989, for example, AIPAC's media director, Toby Dershowitz, asked Andrew Carroll, the editor of *Washington Jewish Week*, not to assign the reporter Larry Cohler to an ongoing story about AIPAC, because his earlier reports—which had been somewhat critical of AIPAC—were supposedly "inaccurate." When Cohler received the assignment anyway, Dershowitz and AIPAC legal counsel David Ifshin called Carroll. Ifshin said that if Cohler remained on the assignment, AIPAC would reexamine his earlier stories "with an eye toward litigation." This not-too-subtle attempt to pressure Carroll did not succeed, but in 1991, AIPAC's foreign policy director, Steven Rosen, sent several board members of *Washington Jewish Week* an internal AIPAC memorandum arguing that Carroll was too sympathetic to the political left and "sought to bring down the organized Jewish community." In April 1992, a new editor with no professional newspaper experience was hired over Carroll, who resigned three months later and was replaced by the former editor of the AIPAC newsletter *Near East Report*.<sup>14</sup>

One of the lobby's most energetic media watchdog groups—though not the only one—is the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA). It has been especially critical of National Public Radio, which it sometimes refers to as "National Palestine Radio."<sup>15</sup> In addition to maintaining a website to publicize alleged examples of media bias, CAMERA organized demonstrations outside National Public Radio stations in thirty-three cities in May 2003, and it tried to convince contributors to withhold support from NPR until its Middle East coverage became more sympathetic to Israel. One of Boston's public radio stations, WBUR, reportedly lost more than \$1 million in contributions as a result of these efforts. In 2006, CAMERA ran expensive full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* and *New York Sun* criticizing Jimmy Carter's book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, ads that included the publisher's phone number and encouraged readers to call and complain.<sup>16</sup>

Additional pressure on NPR comes from Israel's friends in Congress. In March 2003, for example, a group of congressmen—whose ranks included staunch defenders of Israel such as California Democrats Tom Lantos, Brad Sherman, and Henry Waxman—wrote a letter to NPR President Kevin Klose, asking for an internal audit of its Middle East coverage. Klose refused, but he also began reaching out to various Jewish groups in an effort to deflect the pressure.<sup>17</sup>

The lobby's efforts to gain favorable coverage take other forms as well. In August 2003, for example, the writer Ian Buruma wrote an article in the *New York Times Magazine* titled "How to Talk About Israel." He made the obvious point that it is sometimes difficult to talk "critically and dispassionately" about Israel in the United States and pointed out that "even legitimate criticism of Israel, or of Zionism, is often quickly denounced as anti-Semitism by various watchdogs." In response, Bret Stephens, then the editor of the *Jerusalem Post* and now a columnist and editorial board member at the *Wall Street Journal*, published a vitriolic open letter in the *Post* that began by asking Buruma, "Are you a Jew?" Two paragraphs later, Stephens declared, "What matters to me is that *you* say, 'I am a Jew.'" Why did this matter? Because in Stephens's view, "One must be at least a Jew to tell the goyim how they may or may not talk about Israel." The message of this remarkable letter was, in short, that non-Jews should talk about this subject only in ways that Jews

deem acceptable.<sup>18</sup> Sensitivity on this point may also explain why an editor at the *New York Times* asked the historian Tony Judt to identify himself as Jewish in an op-ed he had written defending our original *London Review of Books* article.<sup>19</sup>

Stephens's views are undoubtedly anathema to many people—including most American Jews—but the fact remains that some leading figures in the lobby are uncomfortable with a free and open discussion of issues related to Israel. ADL head Abraham Foxman told *New York Times Magazine* writer James Traub that it is "naive" to think that the "free market of ideas ultimately sifts falsehood to produce truth." As Traub recounts, "Experience . . . has taught [Foxman] that the truth does not win on its own merits; the market for falsehood is too powerful." Falsehood, in this view, is what would follow from a serious interrogation of the United States—Israel relationship and Israel's strategic and moral standing. Groups like the ADL want to make sure that critics of Israel and unconditional U.S. support for the Jewish state remain on the margins of public discourse, and that their views about Israel be regarded as illegitimate.<sup>20</sup>

The final way to encourage favorable coverage of Israel is to co-opt prominent commentators so that they disseminate a pro-Israel perspective. Toward this end, the Conference of Presidents helped establish America's Voices in Israel, a nonprofit group whose purpose, according to the Conference's website, is "to strengthen American understanding of and support for Israel by inviting U.S.-based radio talk show hosts to see Israel and broadcast their programs live from Jerusalem." The America's Voices website describes the organization as being "on the forefront of Israel's hasbara (public relations) efforts," and Conference of Presidents head Malcolm Hoenlein (who is also president of the America's Voices board) calls it "one of the most important, exciting, and effective hasbara initiatives." Participants have included radio personalities such as Oliver North, Glenn Beck, Monica Crowley, Michael Medved, Armstrong Williams, and many others. The campaign helps ensure that a growing array of talk show hosts will purvey a pro-Israel message to their listeners.<sup>21</sup>

These diverse efforts share a common purpose: to make it less likely that mainstream media organizations will report information or events that portray Israel negatively, and to promote public commentary that reinforces the strategic and moral rationales that are used to justify strong U.S. support. These efforts are not 100 percent successful, of course, but they are still quite effective.

### THINK TANKS THAT THINK ONE WAY

Pro-Israel forces wield significant influence in think tanks, which play an increasingly important role in shaping public debate as well as actual policy on key issues. Instead of relying on government officials or academics to provide analysis and commentary, news media increasingly depend on experts from Washington-based think tanks, most of which have energetic public relations and media relations offices designed to promote their experts' views in the public arena. Many think tanks also distribute brief and easily digested policy memorandums to legislators and other government officials; organize seminars, working breakfasts; and briefings for officials and their staffs; and encourage their own analysts to publish op-eds and other visible forms of commentary, all with the goal of shaping the prevailing climate of ideas. Think tanks like the American Enterprise Institute or Brookings supply advisers to presidential campaigns and officials to new administrations, offer the same people a safe haven when they are out of power, and provide them with platforms from which they can continue to influence debate inside and outside the Beltway. They serve as incubators for new policy ideas and are a critical part of the web of power in Washington.<sup>22</sup>

Recognizing the need for a prominent but seemingly "objective" voice in the policy arena surrounding Israel, former AIPAC president Larry Weinberg; his wife, Barbi Weinberg; AIPAC's vice president; and AIPAC deputy director for research Martin Indyk founded the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in 1985.<sup>23</sup> Although WINEP plays down its links to Israel and claims that it provides a "balanced and realistic" perspective on Middle East issues, this is not the case.<sup>24</sup> In fact, WINEP is

funded and run by individuals who are deeply committed to advancing Israel's agenda. Its board of advisers includes prominent pro-Israel figures such as Edward Luttwak, Martin Peretz, Richard Perle, James Woolsey, and Mortimer Zuckerman, but includes no one who might be thought of as favoring the perspective of any other country or group in the "Near East." Many of its personnel are genuine scholars or experienced former officials, but they are hardly neutral observers on most Middle East issues and there is little diversity of views within WINEP's ranks.

The lobby's influence in the think tank world extends well beyond WINEP. As discussed in Chapter 4, over the past twenty-five years, pro-Israel individuals have established a commanding presence at the American Enterprise Institute, the Center for Security Policy, the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Hudson Institute, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs. These think tanks are all decidedly pro-Israel and include few, if any, critics of U.S. support for the Jewish state.

Another indication of the lobby's influence in the think tank world is the evolution of the Brookings Institution. For many years, its senior expert on Middle East issues was William B. Quandt, a distinguished academic and former NSC official with a well-deserved reputation for evenhandedness regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the mid-1970s, in fact, Brookings released an influential report on the Middle East that emphasized the need for Israeli withdrawals, Palestinian self-determination (including the possibility of an independent state), open access to religious sites in Jerusalem, and security guarantees for Israel. The Brookings study was produced by a diverse group of experts and is widely seen as the blueprint behind the Carter administration's successful efforts to negotiate an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.<sup>25</sup>

Today, however, Brookings's work on these issues is conducted through its Saban Center for Middle East Policy, which was established in 2002 with a \$13 million grant, primarily financed by Haim Saban, an ardent Zionist. The *New York Times* described him as "perhaps the most politically connected mogul in Hollywood, throwing his weight and money around Washington and, increasingly, the world, trying to influence all things Israeli." This "tireless cheerleader for Israel" told the *Times*, "I'm a one-issue guy, and my issue is Israel." His efforts led Ariel Sharon to describe him as "a great American citizen and a man who always stood by Israel and the Jewish people in times of need."<sup>26</sup> The man chosen to run the Saban Center was Martin Indyk, the former Clinton administration official who had previously served as AIPAC's deputy director of research and helped found WINEP.

It is hard to imagine that a research institute funded by Saban and directed by Indyk is going to be anything but pro-Israel. To be sure, the Saban Center occasionally hosts Arab scholars and exhibits some diversity of opinion. Saban Center fellows—like Indyk himself—often endorse the idea of a two-state settlement between Israel and the Palestinians. But Saban Center publications never question U.S. support for Israel and rarely, if ever, offer significant criticism of key Israeli policies. Moreover, individuals who stray from the Center's line do not remain for long, as former NSC official Flynt Leverett's brief tenure there illustrates.<sup>27</sup>

The Center's pro-Israel proclivities are on display at its annual Saban Forum, which brings together prominent U.S. and Israeli leaders for a two-day conference, held in either Washington or Jerusalem. The 2006 Forum, titled "America and Israel: Confronting a Middle East in Turmoil," featured appearances by Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, Bill Clinton, Senator Hillary Clinton, Shimon Peres, William Kristol, Representatives Tom Lantos and Jane Harman, and Israel Minister of Strategic Affairs Avigdor Lieberman, among others. Pro-Arab voices, or voices who might articulate a different view of U.S.-Israeli relations, were conspicuously absent.<sup>28</sup>

Given the important role that these institutions play in shaping ideas and policy, the balance of power inside the Beltway strongly favors Israel. There are a few smaller think tanks that are not reflexively pro-Israel—like the New America Foundation, the Cato Institute, and the Middle East Institute—but the largest and most visible foreign policy research institutions in Washington usually take Israel's side and do not question the merits of unconditional U.S. support.

Finally, a word is in order about the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, which is based in

New York City. Its impressive staff of experts has a more diverse range of views than the leading think tanks in Washington, for many years hosting both visible critics of Israeli policy such as Henry Siegman, former head of the American Jewish Congress, along with ardent pro-Israel figures like Max Boot. But the Council is not exempt from pressure, as the reaction to its invitation to Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in September 2006 illustrates. Prominent Jewish organizations angrily protested the invitation and an effort to organize a set of high-profile resignations was headed off only when Council president Richard Haass agreed to downgrade the session from a dinner to a "working meeting." As the ADL's Abe Foxman told the *New York Times Magazine*, "To break bread with the guy . . . was crossing the line." Given Ahmadinejad's offensive remarks about Israel and the Holocaust, this reaction is understandable.<sup>29</sup> Yet it illustrates once again the lobby's efforts to ensure that the various institutions that shape public discourse remain sensitive to its concerns.

### **POLICING ACADEMIA**

The lobby's campaign to mold debate about Israel has faced the greatest difficulty in academia. Not only do many professors have tenure (which insulates them from many forms of pressure), but they also work in a realm where intellectual freedom is a core value and where challenging the prevailing wisdom is common and often prized. There is also a deep-seated commitment to freedom of speech on college and university campuses. The internationalization of American universities over the past thirty years has brought large numbers of foreign-born students and professors to the United States, and these people are often more critical of Israel's conduct than Americans tend to be.

Even so, groups in the lobby did not devote significant efforts to shaping discussion on campus during the 1990s, mainly because the Oslo peace process was under way. There was relatively little violence between Israel and the Palestinians during this period, and many believed the conflict was on the verge of being solved. As a result, there was only mild criticism of Israel in the 1990s and little need for the lobby to intervene.

Criticism at colleges and universities rose sharply after the Oslo process collapsed and Ariel Sharon came to power in February 2001, and it became especially intense in the spring of 2002 when the IDF reoccupied Palestinian-controlled areas in the West Bank and employed massive force against the Second Intifada. As one would expect, the lobby moved aggressively to "take back the campuses." New groups sprang up, like the Caravan for Democracy, which brought "speakers from Israel to discuss the challenges Israel faces as the only democracy in the Middle East."<sup>30</sup> The Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) initiated a series of advocacy training sessions for college students who wanted to defend Israel on their campuses, and a new organization—the Israel on Campus Coalition—was formed to coordinate the twenty-six different groups that now sought to make Israel's case on campus.

Not to be outdone, Christians United for Israel recently formed a partnership with the David Project, a Boston-based pro-Israel group focused on campus issues. Their goal is to establish college chapters and training programs (the first being at California State University, Bakersfield) designed to help Christian students "make the case for Israel." CUFI executive director David Brog said the purpose of the program was to "build the next generation," and David Project director Charles Jacobs said it "will teach them how to respond so that they can say more than just God gave Israel the land. We will teach them how to understand the conflict, not as a border war, but as a regional conflict between Arabs and Jews, as the centerpiece of a global war."<sup>31</sup>

Predictably, the most important organization in the effort to win back the campuses was AIPAC, which had been monitoring campus activity and training young advocates for Israel since at least the late 1970s. AIPAC more than tripled its spending on college programs as Israel came under fire. The aim of this effort, according to Jonathan Kessler, the director of leadership development at AIPAC, was "to vastly expand the number of students involved on campus, their competence, and their involvement in the national pro-Israel effort." In the summer of 2003, AIPAC brought 240 college students on all-

expenses-paid trips to Washington, D.C., for four days of intensive advocacy training. Students were instructed that when they returned to school they should concentrate on networking with campus leaders of all kinds and winning them over to Israel's cause.<sup>32</sup> In 2007, more than 1,200 students from nearly 400 colleges and universities attended AIPAC's annual Policy Conference, including 150 student body presidents.<sup>33</sup>

This campaign to cultivate students has been accompanied by efforts to influence university faculty and hiring practices. In the early 1980s, for example, AIPAC recruited students to help it identify professors and campus organizations that might be considered anti-Israel. The findings were published in 1984 in *The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus*. At the same time, the ADL, which was compiling files on individuals and organizations it considered suspect regarding Israel, surreptitiously distributed a small booklet containing "background information on pro-Arab sympathizers active on college campuses" who "use their anti-Zionism as merely a guise for their deeply felt anti-Semitism."<sup>34</sup>

This effort intensified in September 2002, when Daniel Pipes established Campus Watch, a website that posted dossiers on suspect academics and, stealing a page from AIPAC's playbook, encouraged students to report comments or behavior that might be considered hostile to Israel.<sup>35</sup> This transparent attempt to blacklist and intimidate scholars prompted a harsh reaction and Pipes later removed the dossiers, but the website still invites students to report alleged anti-Israel behavior at U.S. colleges.<sup>36</sup>

Pipes's campaign to stamp out criticism of Israel on campuses did not stop there. Together with Martin Kramer, an Israeli-American scholar who has appointments at both WINEP and Israel's Shalem Center, and Stanley

Kurtz, a contributing editor at the *National Review* and research fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution, Pipes began encouraging Congress to curtail or at least closely monitor the Title VI funding that the federal government gives to Middle East and other area studies programs at major universities. The aim is to silence or at least inhibit critics of Israel and as a result force universities to hire scholars whose views are more in line with those of Pipes, Kramer, and Kurtz. The International Studies in Higher Education Act (HR 3077), which they supported, would have set up a government-appointed board to watch over international studies centers receiving federal monies. The board's mandate would include making recommendations to the Secretary of Education and Congress that would help ensure that the activities of centers receiving funding "reflect diverse perspectives and the full range of views on world regions, foreign languages and international affairs."<sup>37</sup> Though seemingly innocuous, this aspect of the proposed legislation was in fact a response to Kramer and Kurtz's claims that existing Middle East studies programs were biased and fostering anti-American and anti-Israel attitudes.<sup>38</sup>

Had the legislation passed as written, universities that wanted government support would have faced a clear incentive to hire individuals for their area studies programs who supported existing U.S. policy and were not critical of Israel. Key groups in the lobby backed the initiative, with AIPAC, the ADL, the American Jewish Congress, and five other organizations dispatching a letter to Congress that accused existing Title VI centers of "uncritically promoting a positive image of Palestinians, Arabs, and the Islamic World, while ignoring or denigrating Israel."<sup>39</sup> HR 3077 was approved by the House but was never formally considered by the full Senate.<sup>40</sup> Similar legislation was reintroduced in 2005 and passed the House by a narrow margin (221 to 199) in March 2006, but the Senate again declined to act and the legislation expired at the end of the 109th Congress.<sup>41</sup>

Kramer and Kurtz claimed victory in 2007, however, when a congression-ally mandated National Research Council study of the Title VI programs recommended the creation of an executive-level presidential appointee to oversee international studies and language programs.<sup>42</sup> The NRC study defended the integrity of existing area studies programs and did not endorse Kramer and Kurtz's accusations of bias. In fact, one member of the study group, former Census Bureau director Kenneth Prewitt, told reporters that bias would have been visible if it were rampant, but in his words, "it's not out there."<sup>43</sup> Some supporters of existing Title VI centers suggested that assigning these programs to a high-level presidential appointee would enhance their status and help them obtain greater resources. However, giving a sin



gle individual such extensive oversight also raises the worrisome possibility that a future presidential appointee might one day be in a position to implement the Pipes/Kramer/Kurtz program of ideological conformity.

Moreover, the April 2007 version of the Title VI legislation on international education programs, now under consideration in the Senate, would create a complaint procedure for individuals who felt that an existing Title VI program did not contain sufficiently diverse views. If complainants were not satisfied by the university's response, their grievance could be "filed with the Department [of Education] and reviewed by the Secretary." The draft legislation also directs the secretary to "take the review of such complaints into account when determining the renewal of grants."<sup>44</sup> If this clause becomes law, one can easily imagine groups in the lobby leveling repeated complaints against any Middle East studies program that employs someone who has criticized Israeli policies, in order to convince the Department of Education to cut off Title VI support or to encourage the university in question to safeguard its funding by tilting in a pro-Israel direction.

To further counter a perceived anti-Israel bias in academia, a number of philanthropists have established Israel studies programs at U.S. universities (in addition to the roughly 130 Jewish studies programs that already exist), so as to increase the number of "Israel-friendly" scholars on campus.<sup>45</sup> NYU announced the establishment of the Taub Center for Israel Studies on May 1, 2003, and similar programs have been established at other schools, including Berkeley, Brandeis, and Emory. Academic administrators emphasize the pedagogical value of these programs, but they are also intended to promote Israel's image on campus. Fred Lafer, the head of the Taub Foundation, makes clear that his foundation funded the NYU center to help counter the "Arabic [*sic*] point of view" that he thinks is prevalent in NYU's Middle East programs.<sup>46</sup>

Similar motives reportedly lay behind gambling mogul Sheldon Adelson's proposed multimillion-dollar gift to expand the existing Program for Jewish Civilization at Georgetown University so as to create a center focusing on the "Jewish theme as a paradigm of international relations." *Ha'aretz* reported in August 2006 that "one of the key goals of Adelson and other advocates of the Jewish center is to moderate the Arab presence at the university." The program's first director, Yossi Shain (who also heads the Har-tog School of Government at Tel Aviv University), said it was important to set up such a program at Georgetown "because it's a Jesuit school, because it's in Washington, because it's in the foreign service school." Similarly, university rabbi Harold White said that establishing the new center would bal

ance Georgetown's existing Arab center, and this was particularly important because "many Georgetown graduates end up at the State Department."<sup>47</sup>

The lobby's desire to police academia has led to several noteworthy efforts to pressure administrators or influence personnel decisions. In the summer of 2002, for example, pro-Israel groups at the University of Chicago claimed that there was "an atmosphere of intimidation and hate for Jewish students on campus" and charged that the faculty and administration were doing nothing about the problem. Indeed, it was said that faculty and administrators "sanction and even encourage such outbursts." Stung by the allegations, the administration collected all the students' claims and investigated them. Only two charges were found to be valid: an instance of anti-Semitic graffiti in a dormitory, which the resident staff failed to deal with promptly, and an e-mail sent out by a graduate student on a department mailing list that told a joke about Auschwitz. Although regrettable, this hardly constituted evidence of an "atmosphere of persecution and estrangement," which is how one Jewish student described Chicago in 2002. Nevertheless, the Israeli consul general in Chicago and then the Israeli ambassador to the United States visited the university shortly thereafter. Their aim was to force the president and the provost to find ways to improve Israel's profile on campus. During this same period, the prominent Palestinian-American historian Rashid Khalidi, who was then on Chicago's faculty, had his e-mail system bombarded with spam.<sup>48</sup>

When Columbia recruited Khalidi away from the University of Chicago, reports Jonathan Cole, the former provost at Columbia, "The complaints started flowing in from people who disagreed with the content of his political views." Princeton faced much the same problem a few years later when it tried to

woo Khalidi away from Columbia.<sup>49</sup> The late Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said, who taught at Columbia for many years, was the target of similar denunciations, and Cole later said that "any public statement in support of the Palestinian people by the preeminent literary critic Edward Said will elicit hundreds of e-mails, letters, and journalistic accounts that call on us to denounce Said and to either sanction or fire him."<sup>50</sup> Columbia's travails did not end there: in 2004, the David Project produced a propaganda film alleging that faculty in Columbia University's Middle East Studies program were anti-Semitic and were intimidating Jewish students who defended Israel.<sup>51</sup> Columbia was raked over the coals in neoconservative publications like the *New York Sun*, but a faculty committee assigned to investigate the charges found no evidence of anti-Semitism and the only incident worth noting was the possibility that one professor had "responded heatedly" to a student's question. The committee also found that the accused professors had been the target of an overt intimidation campaign.<sup>52</sup>

One would like to think that these were just isolated incidents, but much the same thing happened again in 2006, when the Departments of History and Sociology at Yale University voted an appointment for Professor Juan Cole, a distinguished historian at the University of Michigan. Cole is also the author of a prizewinning weblog ("Informed Comment"), and he has been critical of a number of Israeli policies in recent years. Pro-Israel columnists in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Times* attacked Cole's appointment, and the newspaper *Jewish Week* reported that several prominent Jewish donors had called Yale officials to protest the decision, which was subsequently overturned by Yale's appointments committee. The actual impact of donor pressure is unknown, but the incident underscores the importance that some of Israel's supporters have placed on shaping discourse on campus.<sup>53</sup>

Efforts to protect Israel from criticism have also targeted individual speakers, visiting professors, and guest lecturers, in order to create an atmosphere where free expression and open debate are curtailed. In 1984, a student group at Stanford University invited alumnus and former Congressman Pete McCloskey to teach as a visiting lecturer. McCloskey was a prominent critic of unconditional U.S. support for Israel, having proposed an amendment in 1980 that would have reduced American aid by the amount that Israel was spending annually on its West Bank settlements. His actions led to charges that he was an anti-Semite and helped ensure his defeat in his 1982 Senate campaign. But the controversy did not stop there: the director of Stanford's Hillel chapter said his appointment was "a slap in the face of the Jewish community," and members of the student governing council threatened to reduce his compensation or terminate his appointment if he did not remove an article by former Assistant Secretary of State George Ball from his course syllabus and add materials reflecting pro-AIPAC views. In sharp contrast with normal academic practice, they also insisted that he schedule additional class sessions with guests representing alternative perspectives. A faculty review found the student group guilty of "serious abridgments" of academic freedom and McCloskey eventually received a formal apology from the Stanford provost.<sup>54</sup>

We have some experience with this tactic ourselves. In early 2006, we were each independently invited to appear on a panel at the U.S. Naval War College's annual Current Strategy Forum. The topic of the panel was "The Nature of Power," which, it is worth noting, had little to do with Middle East politics or U.S. foreign policy in that region. Following the publication of our original article, "The Israel Lobby," in March 2006, the president of the War College received phone calls from several members of Congress who questioned whether it was appropriate to have us speak at the conference.<sup>55</sup> To his credit, the president took no action in response to these calls and we appeared without incident. A subsequent invitation to Walt to speak in a lecture series at the University of Montana also provoked heated denunciations by several faculty members, who began a protracted but unsuccessful campaign to have the faculty coordinator of the lecture series removed from his post.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to targeting faculty and hiring on campus, a number of pro-Israel academics and groups have tried to suppress publication of scholarly works that challenged their particular views. In 1998, for example, the ADL called on the publisher of Norman Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn's *A Nation on Trial* (Metropolitan Books) to halt its release. *A Nation on Trial* is a sharply worded critique of Daniel

Goldhagen's controversial best seller *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, which argues that the Holocaust was not simply the product of Nazi beliefs and Hitler's own madness but also was rooted in a pervasive "eliminationist ideology" in German society that predated the Nazi period. Like the Goldhagen book, *A Nation on Trial* elicited both praise and criticism from respected scholars. Yet ADL head Abraham Foxman said *A Nation on Trial* should not have been published, insisting that the issue was not "whether Goldhagen's thesis is right or wrong but what is 'legitimate criticism' and what goes beyond the pale."<sup>57</sup>

A similar episode took place in 2003, when lawyers representing the Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz sent threatening letters to the University of California Press in an attempt to halt publication of Finkelstein's book *Beyond Chutzpah*, an extended critique of Dershowitz's own *The Case for Israel*. Dershowitz also wrote to California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger (who has nominal authority of public institutions like the university) as part of his campaign against Finkelstein. Dershowitz subsequently claimed that he was not trying to suppress publication, but that is certainly how officials at UC Press interpreted his actions. They resisted these pressures and issued Finkelstein's book anyway.<sup>58</sup>

The campaign to keep Americans from reading or hearing critical views about Israel even occurs at the high school level. In February 2005, for example, the *New York Sun* reported that Columbia's Khalidi was involved in a lecture program for high school teachers sponsored by New York City's Department of Education. The *Sun* and some local politicians immediately went to work to get him fired. The *Sun* accused him of calling Israel a "racist state" (a charge Khalidi vehemently denied), and his participation was labeled "outrageous" by Congressman Anthony Weiner (D-NY), at that time a candidate for mayor, and "an abomination" by Brooklyn City Council member Simcha Felder. Joel Klein, the chancellor of the Department of Education, dropped him from the program the next day and issued a public statement saying, "Rashid Khalidi should not have been included in a program that provided professional development for [Department of Education] teachers and he won't be participating in the future."<sup>59</sup> The following year, New York's City Council approved a study program on Israel "initiated by the public relations department of the Israeli Consulate in New York."<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, a coalition of thirty-plus Jewish groups had already organized a new nationwide program to train high school students to be more effective advocates for Israel.<sup>61</sup>

Pro-Israel groups and individuals have fought a multifront battle— against students, professors, administrators, and the curriculum itself—to shape discourse on campus. Their efforts have not been as successful in academia as they have been on Capitol Hill or even in the media, but their work has not been in vain. Despite the continued turmoil in the region and Israel's continued expansion in the Occupied Territories, there is less criticism of Israel on college campuses today than there was five years ago.<sup>62</sup>

## OBJECTIONABLE TACTICS

As we have repeatedly emphasized, lobbying on Israel's behalf is wholly legitimate, as are overt efforts to shape public perceptions by participating in public discourse about matters relating to Israel. We do not think the lobby's current influence serves the interest of either the United States or Israel, but most of its tactics are reasonable and simply part of the normal rough-and-tumble that is the essence of democratic politics. Unfortunately, some pro-Israel individuals and groups have occasionally taken their defense of Israel to illegitimate extremes, attempting to silence individuals who hold views they dislike. This endeavor can involve intimidating and smearing critics of Israel, or even attempting to damage or wreck their careers. The previous discussion of the lobby's actions in academia provides a number of examples of this kind of behavior, which has no place in a democratic society. The lobby, however, does not confine its strong-arm tactics to the academic world. Consider what happened in October 2006 to Tony Judt, a New York University historian who is Jewish but frequently critical of Israel's actions. He was scheduled to give a

lecture at the Polish consulate in New York City, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy." The Polish government was not sponsoring the event; the consulate had merely rented its facilities to Network 20/20, an independent group that sponsors lectures on a wide range of topics. David Harris, the executive director of the American Jewish Committee, got wind of the event and contacted the Polish consul general. Harris later explained that he had called as a "friend of Poland" and said that the lecture "was going to be entirely contrary to the entire spirit of Polish foreign policy." The consul general also received two inquiries from the ADL, and he later described the calls as "exercising a delicate pressure . . . We are adults and our IQs are high enough to understand that." The consulate canceled Judt's lecture at the last minute, which led a group of prominent American intellectuals to issue an open letter denouncing this obvious effort to stifle free discussion.<sup>63</sup> Judt has also reported receiving death threats against him and his family on other occasions, inspired by his previous criticisms of Israeli policy.<sup>64</sup>

A similar incident occurred later that same month, when the French embassy in the United States scheduled a reception to celebrate the publication of Carmen Callil's *Bad Faith*, a widely hailed examination of the role that a scurrilous French official (Louis Darquier) had played in the deportation of French Jews to Auschwitz. Although the book is a passionate and moving indictment of French complicity in the Holocaust, the embassy reportedly received complaints about a brief passage in Callil's postscript: "What caused me anguish, as I tracked down Louis Darquier, was to live so closely to the helpless terror of the Jews of France, and to see what the Jews of Israel were passing on to the Palestinian people." Bowing to the pressure, the French embassy said that "it could not endorse a personal opinion of the author expressed in the postscript of the book" and canceled the reception.<sup>65</sup>

An even more prominent case involved *My Name Is Rachel Corrie*, a play about the young woman who was killed in March 2003 by an Israeli bulldozer when she was attempting to prevent the IDF from demolishing a Palestinian home in the Gaza Strip. The play, which was based on Corrie's diaries and e-mails, opened in April 2005 at the Royal Court Theatre in London and was widely acclaimed. It was scheduled to open in March 2006 at the New York Theater Workshop, which has a well-established reputation for staging controversial productions, only to be postponed about a month before its scheduled opening. The *New York Times* reported that the workshop's artistic director had decided to postpone the play "after polling local Jewish religious and community leaders as to their feelings about the work,"

and the *Los Angeles Times* quoted him saying that "what we heard was that after Ariel Sharon's illness and the election of Hamas in the recent Palestinian elections, we had a very edgy situation."<sup>66</sup> (The original Royal Court production of the play was eventually brought to New York in the fall of 2006 for a limited run of eighty performances.) A similar occurrence took place in Canada in December 2006 when that country's largest not-for-profit theater canceled a scheduled production of the play, due to fears that it would anger Toronto's Jewish community.<sup>67</sup> And the same thing happened again in April 2007, when Miami's Mosaic Theatre canceled plans to mount the play after protests from what the *Miami Herald* called an "impassioned, vocal minority" of subscribers and outside individuals.<sup>68</sup>

The overzealous pursuit of supposedly "dangerous critics" has even landed one prominent group in the lobby in a courtroom. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the ADL enlisted the services of a private investigator named Roy Bullock who also did intelligence gathering for the apartheid government in South Africa. Bullock, in turn, obtained information from a Los Angeles police intelligence officer who allegedly removed confidential documents from the police department and the Department of Motor Vehicles. In all, the two reportedly maintained files on some twelve thousand individuals and six hundred organizations in California, some of which were provided to the ADL. In addition to white supremacists and neo-Nazi groups, the targets of this surveillance included a number of Jewish dissidents, Arab-American groups, and other critics of Israeli government policies. The San Francisco district attorney launched a criminal investigation, and the police officer ultimately pleaded no contest to the unauthorized use of a police computer. But the district attorney was reluctant to prosecute the ADL because he thought it was a force for good. Instead, the district attorney accepted an offer by the ADL to pay \$75,000 to fight bigotry in the local area, and no criminal charges were filed against the organization or Bullock.

There was, however, a civil suit brought by three of the targets, two of them Jewish. The ADL eventually agreed to settle out of court and to pay each \$50,000 plus court costs. ADL head Abraham Foxman denied that the ADL spied on anyone, but defended its practice of investigating groups critical of Israel by saying "a viable, safe, secure haven" in Israel is "part and parcel of the safety and security and survival of the Jewish people." The ADL was not protecting the community from anti-Semitism or bigotry, which is its stated mission; it was simply targeting individuals thought to be critical of Israel or of U.S. support.<sup>69</sup>

### THE "NEW ANTI-SEMITISM"

No discussion of how the lobby operates would be complete without examining one of its most powerful weapons: the charge of anti-Semitism. Anyone who criticizes Israeli actions or says that pro-Israel groups have significant influence over U.S. Middle East policy stands a good chance of getting labeled an anti-Semite. In fact, anyone who says that there is an Israel lobby runs the risk of being charged with anti-Semitism, even though AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents are hardly bashful about describing their influence and the Israeli media themselves refer to America's "Jewish lobby."<sup>70</sup> In effect, the lobby both boasts of its own power and frequently attacks those who call attention to it.

This accusation is now being made in the context of alarmist claims about a resurgence of virulent anti-Semitism, especially in Europe. In October 2002, Conference of Presidents chairman Mortimer B. Zuckerman wrote in *U.S. News & World Re-port* of a "shameful contagion of anti-Semitism," warning that "Europe is sick again," and the *Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby devoted a March 2004 column to the resurgent "cancer of anti-Semitism in Europe."<sup>71</sup> We are "getting to a point," the U.S. ambassador to the European Union said in early 2004, "where it is as bad as it was in the 1930s."<sup>72</sup>

Measuring anti-Semitism is a complicated matter, but the weight of evidence points in the opposite direction. Indeed, in the spring of 2004, when accusations of European anti-Semitism were prevalent in America, separate surveys of European public opinion conducted by the ADL and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press showed that it was actually declining.<sup>73</sup>

Consider France, which pro-Israel groups often portray as the most anti-Semitic state in Europe, and whose capital, according to the *New Republics* Martin Peretz, is "the headquarters of anti-Semitic Europe today, just as during the Third Republic."<sup>74</sup> Yet a poll of French citizens in 2002 found that 89 percent could envisage living with a Jew; 97 percent believed making anti-Semitic graffiti is a serious crime; 87 percent thought attacks on French synagogues are scandalous; and 85 percent of practicing French Catholics rejected the charge that Jews have too much influence in business and finance.<sup>75</sup> The head of the French Jewish community declared in the summer of 2003 that "France is not more anti-Semitic than America."<sup>76</sup> According to *Ha'aretz*, the French police reported that anti-Semitic incidents in France had declined by almost 50 percent in 2005, and this despite the fact that France has the largest Muslim population of any country in Europe.<sup>77</sup>

When a French Jew was brutally murdered by a Muslim gang in February 2006, tens of thousands of French demonstrators poured into the streets to condemn anti-Semitism. President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin both attended the victim's memorial service in a public show of solidarity with French Jewry.<sup>78</sup> It is also worth noting that in 2002, more Jews from the former Soviet empire immigrated to Germany than to Israel, making it "the fastest growing Jewish community in the world," according to an article in the Jewish newspaper *Forward*.<sup>79</sup> If Europe were really "as bad as it was in the 1930s," it is hard to imagine that Jews would be moving there in large numbers.

We recognize that Europe is not free of the scourge of anti-Semitism. No one would deny that there are still some virulent autochthonous anti-Semites in Europe (as there are in the United States), but their numbers are small and their extreme views are rejected by the vast majority of Europeans. Nor would we deny that there is anti-Semitism among European Muslims, some of it provoked by Israel's behavior toward the Palestinians and some of it straightforwardly racist.<sup>80</sup> In Great Britain, for example, the Community Security Trust (CST), a watchdog group that monitors anti-Semitism, reported a 31 percent rise in such incidents in 2006. Although such deplorable events should never be taken lightly, the total number of incidents reported was 594 (in a country of more than sixty million people), and nearly a quarter of them coincided with the 2006 war in Lebanon. As CST's Mark Gardner acknowledged, "This

is certainly not comparable with the 1930s or anything remotely like that."<sup>81</sup> Several other groups—including the Israel-based Global Forum Against Anti-Semitism—reported that anti-Semitic incidents had actually declined during this same period. Given potential coding and underreporting issues, these conflicting results suggest that claims of a substantial rise or fall in actual anti-Semitism should be made and interpreted with some caution.<sup>82</sup>

When pressed to go beyond vague assertions, pro-Israel groups now claim that there is a "new anti-Semitism," which they equate with criticism of Israel.<sup>83</sup> When the synod of the Church of England voted in early 2006 to divest from Caterpillar Inc. on the grounds that Caterpillar manufactures the bulldozers used to demolish Palestinian homes, the chief rabbi of the U.K. complained that it would "have the most adverse repercussions on . . . Jewish-Christian relations in Britain," while Rabbi Tony Bayfield, the head of the Reform movement, said, "There is a clear problem of anti-Zionist— verging on anti-Semitic— attitudes emerging in the grass roots, and even in the middle ranks of the Church."<sup>84</sup> The church was guilty of neither anti-Zionism nor anti-Semitism; it was merely protesting Israeli policy.<sup>85</sup>

Supporters of Israel, in fact, have a history of using fears of a "new anti-Semitism" to shield Israel from criticism. In 1974, when Israel was under increasing pressure to withdraw from the lands it had conquered in 1967, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein of the ADL published *The New Anti-Semitism*, which argued that anti-Semitism was on the rise and exemplified by the growing unwillingness of other societies to support Israel's actions.<sup>86</sup> In the early 1980s, when the invasion of Lebanon and Israel's expanding settlements triggered additional criticisms, and when U.S. arms sales to its Arab allies were hotly contested, then ADL head Nathan Perlmutter and his wife, Ruth Ann Perlmutter, released *The Real Anti-Semitism in America*, which argued that anti-Semitism was on its way back, as shown by the pressure on Israel to make peace with the Arabs and by events like the sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia.<sup>87</sup> The Perlmutteres also suggested that many "a-Semitic" actions, which they define as acts not motivated by hostility to Jews, may nonetheless harm Jewish interests (and especially Israel's well-being), and could easily bring back genuine anti-Semitism.<sup>88</sup>

The troubling logic of this argument is revealed by the fact that there was little mention of anti-Semitism during the 1990s, when Israel was involved in the Oslo peace process. Indeed, one Israeli scholar wrote in 1995 that "never before, at least since the time Christianity seized power over the Roman Empire, has anti-Semitism been less significant than at present."<sup>89</sup> Charges of anti-Semitism became widespread only in the spring of 2002, when Israel came under severe criticism around the world for its brutal behavior in the Occupied Territories.

Critics are also accused of holding Israel to an unfair standard or questioning its right to exist. Thus, Natan Sharansky, the former Soviet dissident who is now a prominent Israeli author and politician, declares, "The new anti-Semitism appears in the guise of 'political criticism of Israel,' consisting of a discriminating approach and double standard towards the state of the Jews, while questioning its right to exist."<sup>90</sup> The implication is that anyone who criticizes Israel's actions (or the actions of its supporters) is opposed to its existence and is therefore hostile to Jews. But this is a bogus charge, because it conflates criticism of Israel's actions with the rejection of Israel's legitimacy. In fact, Western critics of Israel hardly ever question its right to exist. Instead, they question its behavior toward the Palestinians, which is a legitimate criticism; many Israelis question it themselves.

Israel is not being judged by a double standard when Western critics offer such charges. Although a few critics may single Israel out for undue criticism, Israel is for the most part being judged by the same standard that

people in the West apply to all democracies. This criterion is entirely appropriate, especially since Israel and its American supporters constantly emphasize that it deserves special treatment because it is the "only democracy in the Middle East." Israel, in other words, is expected to behave like contemporary Britain, Canada, Denmark, the United States, and so forth, and not like the military junta in Burma, Pervez Musharraf's Pakistan, or Fidel Castro's Cuba. Israel's treatment of the Palestinians elicits criticism because it is contrary to widely accepted human rights norms and international law, as well as the principle of national self-determination. And it is hardly the only state that has faced sharp criticism on these grounds. The United States was widely condemned for the abuses that occurred at Abu Ghraib

prison and also for the way it has treated detainees at Guantanamo. But America is not being held to a double standard either; it is merely being expected to live up to its own stated values and to widely accepted human rights principles. And so is Israel.

## THE GREAT SILENCER

These fine points notwithstanding, the charge of anti-Semitism remains a widely used weapon for dealing with critics of Israel, especially in the United States. This tactic has been effective for a number of reasons. First, anti-Semitism is a set of beliefs that led to great evils in the past, including the monstrous crimes of the Holocaust, and it is now utterly discredited in most segments of society. The charge of anti-Semitism is one of the most powerful epithets one can level at someone in America, and no respectable person wants to be tarred with that brush. Undoubtedly, the fear of being called an anti-Semite discourages many individuals from voicing reservations about Israel's conduct or the merits of U.S. support.

Second, smearing critics of Israel or the lobby with the charge of anti-Semitism works to marginalize them in the public arena. If the accusation sticks, the critic's arguments will not be taken seriously by the media, government officials, and other influential elites, and groups that might otherwise pay attention to that person's views will be discouraged from soliciting them. Politicians will be especially reluctant to associate themselves with anyone who has been charged as anti-Semitic, because doing so could have a chilling effect on their own careers.

Third, this tactic works because it is difficult for anyone to prove beyond all doubt that he or she is not anti-Semitic, especially when criticizing Israel or the lobby. Proving a negative is hard to do under any circumstances, especially when it comes to something like intentions and motivations that cannot be observed directly, and pointing to other behavior that is inconsistent with anti-Semitism is not likely to carry much weight. Until recently, therefore, the charge of anti-Semitism has been a potent way to make sure that criticisms of Israel or the lobby were rarely spoken and were either ignored or disparaged when they were.

The accusation is likely to resonate among American Jews, many of whom still believe that anti-Semitism is rife. Not only does the history of Jews in the diaspora provide plenty of cause to worry, that tendency is magnified by the role that the Holocaust plays in the attitudes of a significant number of Jewish Americans. As Peter Novick makes clear in his seminal book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, that cataclysmic event has become a key element of American Jewish consciousness. It defines how many American Jews think about the world around them, and not surprisingly, it has fostered a powerful sense of victimization for some of them. Despite the great success Jews have achieved in America, many Jewish Americans still worry that virulent anti-Semitism could return at any time. As Jack Wertheimer notes, "By virtually any measure, domestic anti-Semitism has declined sharply; however, many American Jews continue to believe that *other* Jews in the United States are targets of bigotry." Frank Rich, the *New York Times* columnist, acknowledges this thinking when he writes, "Like many other Jews, I am perhaps all too willing to believe that the entire world is anti-Semitic."<sup>91</sup>

This profound sense of fear among American Jews was clearly evident when Israel was harshly criticized around the world in the spring of 2002. Nat Hentoff, who writes for the *Village Voice*, remarked at the time that "if a loudspeaker goes off and a voice says, 'all Jews gather in Times Square,' it could never surprise me," and Ron Rosenbaum wrote in the *New York Observer*, "There is likely to be a second Holocaust." These concerns grew so loud that Leon Wieseltier of the *New Republic*, himself a deeply committed defender of Israel, felt compelled to write a cover story titled "Hitler Is Dead: The Case Against Jewish Ethnic Panic." Describing Jews in the United States, he wrote, "The community is sunk in excitability, in the imagination of disaster. There is a loss of intellectual control. Death is at every Jewish door. Fear is wild. Reason is derailed. Anxiety is the supreme proof of authenticity. Imprecise and inflammatory analogies abound. Holocaust imagery is everywhere."<sup>92</sup> In short, many American Jews find it easy to believe that a person (and especially a gentile) who criticizes either Israel's

actions or the influence of groups like AIPAC is probably an anti-Semite at heart.

For all these reasons, when faced with criticism of Israel's policies, some of its defenders are quick to invoke the charge of anti-Semitism. The first and most visible case is the heated reaction to Jimmy Carter's recent book, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*. Despite its provocative title, the book is neither polemical nor unsympathetic to Israel's strategic situation. Carter is certainly critical of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and what that means for the Palestinians living there, and he correctly observes that it is difficult to have a candid discussion of these issues in the United States. But as Yossi Beilin, a prominent Israeli politician, noted, "There is nothing in the criticism that Carter has for Israel that has not been said by Israelis themselves."<sup>93</sup> Even Carter's use of the term "apartheid"—which seems to have provoked much of the ire directed at him—echoes the use of the term by Israeli critics of the occupation and by prominent South Africans such as Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and current Minister of Intelligence Ronnie Kasrils.<sup>94</sup>

As noted, the ADL and CAMERA attacked Carter's book in prominent ads in major newspapers, and though a number of critics addressed the substance of Carter's claims, others immediately launched personal attacks on the former president.<sup>95</sup> Abraham Foxman said, "I believe he is engaging in anti-Semitism," while Martin Peretz wrote that Carter "will go down in history as a Jew-hater."<sup>96</sup> Deborah Lipstadt, the historian who won a landmark suit against notorious Holocaust denier David Irving, wrote in the *Washington Post* that "Carter has repeatedly fallen back—possibly unconsciously—on traditional anti-Semitic canards" and suggested that there was a strong similarity between some of Carter's views and those of former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.<sup>97</sup> As Carter himself said, "I have been called an anti-Semite. I have been called a bigot. I have been called a plagiarist. I have been called a coward."<sup>98</sup> It was a remarkable reaction to the man who in his stewardship of the Egyptian-Israeli peace process had done as much as any human being to enhance Israel's overall security.

A similar reaction—albeit on a smaller scale—occurred when former neoconservative Francis Fukuyama published an article critiquing Charles Krauthammer's 2004 Irving Kristol Lecture at the American Enterprise Institute. Fukuyama's analysis was pointed but respectful (among other things, he called Krauthammer a "gifted thinker" whose ideas were "worth taking seriously"), but his suggestion that Krauthammer's views on how to deal with the Islamic world derived too much from Israel's experience led Krauthammer to charge Fukuyama with anti-Semitism.<sup>99</sup>

We are not unacquainted with this line of attack. When our original article, "The Israel Lobby," was published in the *London Review of Books* in March 2006, we were widely and falsely accused of being anti-Semites. Eliot Cohen published an op-ed about our piece in the *Washington Post* titled "Yes, It's Anti-Semitic," and the *New York Sun* immediately linked us with David Duke.<sup>100</sup> The ADL termed our article "a classical conspiratorial anti-Semitic analysis invoking the canards of Jewish power and Jewish control"—ignoring our explicit statement that the lobby was just another interest group engaged in legitimate political activities—while the *New Republic* published four separate attacks on our paper, all describing it as anti-Semitic.<sup>101</sup> In separate op-eds in the *Wall Street Journal*, William Kristol accused us of "anti-Judaism," and Ruth Wisse, a Harvard professor of Yiddish literature, likened our piece to the writings of a notorious nineteenth-century German anti-Semite. And in his own critique of Carter's book, Shmuel Rosner of *Ha'aretz* generously opined that the ex-president and Nobel Peace Prize winner was "not as anti-Semitic as Walt-Mearsheimer."<sup>102</sup>

The tendency to accuse critics of Israel of being anti-Semitic reached new heights (or perhaps a new low) in early 2007, when the American Jewish Committee released a paper by the Indiana University English professor Alvin H. Rosenfeld titled "'Progressive' Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism." Rosenfeld identified a group of liberal American Jews (including the playwright Tony Kushner, the historian Tony Judt, the poet Adrienne Rich, and the *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen) who have been critical of Israel and charged them with participating "alongside" a new anti-Semitism that denies Israel's right to exist. In his introduction to the paper, the committee's executive director, David Harris, wrote, "The most surprising—and distressing—feature of this new trend is the very public participation of some Jews in the verbal onslaught against Zionism and the Jewish state."<sup>103</sup>



The targets of Rosenfeld's critique vehemently denied his various charges, and Rabbi Michael Lerner *of Tikkun* pointed out the consequences of such unwarranted accusations. "When we talk to Congressional representatives who are liberal or even extremely progressive on every other issue," he wrote, "they tell us privately that they are afraid to speak out about the way Israeli policies are destructive to the best interests of the United States or the best interests of world peace—lest they too be labeled anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. If it can happen to Jimmy Carter, some of them told me recently, a man with impeccable moral credentials, then no one is really politically safe."<sup>104</sup>

In all of these cases, there was no evidence of actual anti-Semitism. True anti-Semitism conceives of Jews as being different from other people, in various invidious ways, which gives those others license to single them out and

persecute them in both large and small ways. Anti-Semites maintain that Jews who are engaged in what seem like legitimate political activities—running for office, contributing to political campaigns, writing articles and books, or organizing lobbying groups—are actually engaged in dark and secret conspiracies. Real anti-Semites sometimes favor harsh measures to deny Jews full political rights and at times advocate even more violent persecution of Jews. Even in its milder forms, anti-Semitism indulges in various forms of stereotyping and implies that Jews should be viewed with suspicion or contempt, while seeking to deny them the ability to participate fully and freely in all realms of society. In its essential features, true anti-Semitism resembles other forms of racist or religious discrimination, all of which have been roundly condemned in Europe and the United States since the end of World War II.

By contrast, almost all of the many gentiles and Jews who now criticize Israeli policy or worry about the lobby's impact on U.S. foreign policy find such views deeply disturbing and categorically reject them. Rather, they believe that Jews are like other human beings, which means that they are capable of both good and bad deeds, and that they are entitled to the same status as other members of society. They also believe that Israel acts like other states, which is to say that it vigorously defends its own interests and sometimes pursues policies that are wise and just and sometimes does things that are strategically foolish and even immoral. This perspective is the opposite of anti-Semitism. It calls for treating Jews like everyone else and treating Israel as a normal and legitimate country. Israel, in this view, should be praised when it acts well and criticized when it does not. Americans are also entitled to be upset and critical when Israel does things that harm U.S. interests, and Americans who care about Israel should be free to criticize it when its government takes actions that they believe are not in Israel's interest either. There is neither special treatment nor a double standard here. Similarly, most critics of the lobby do not see it as a cabal or conspiracy; rather, they argue—as we have—that pro-Israel organizations act as other interest groups do. While the charge of anti-Semitism can be an effective smear tactic, it is usually groundless.

Indeed, there are signs that the reflexive charge of anti-Semitism is beginning to lose its power to stifle debate. The attacks on Jimmy Carter's book did not deter the former president from publicizing it widely (including a visible and successful appearance at Brandeis University), and a number of other public figures and mainstream publications have recently offered intelligent criticisms of Israeli policy and the lobby's influence.<sup>105</sup> Even William Kristol seems to have recognized that calling critics of Israel or the lobby

anti-Semites is losing its capacity to silence others, writing in the *Wall Street Journal* that "the mainstream Jewish organizations have played the 'anti-Semitism' card so often that it has been devalued."<sup>106</sup> The obvious reason is that increasing numbers of people recognize that this serious charge keeps getting leveled at individuals who are not anti-Semites but who are merely questioning Israeli policies or pointing out that the lobby promotes policies that are not always in the U.S. national interest.

Let us be clear: anti-Semitism is a despicable phenomenon with a long and tragic history, and all people should remain vigilant against its resurgence and condemn it when it arises. Furthermore, we should all be disturbed by the presence of genuine anti-Semitism in parts of the Arab and Islamic world (and in other societies—e.g., Russia), as well as its lingering presence in some segments of American and European society. But it is essential that we distinguish between true anti-Semitism and legitimate criticism of Israeli policy, because blurring them makes it harder to fight true bigotry and makes it more

difficult to intelligently discuss U.S. foreign policy. Americans should be free to discuss the activities of groups that are pushing the United States to support Israel generously and unconditionally, in the same way that we examine the political activities of other interest groups without having to worry about being smeared or marginalized.

## **CONCLUSION**

The various strategies that groups in the lobby employ—as discussed in this chapter and the previous one—are mutually reinforcing. If politicians know that it is risky to question Israeli policy or the United States' unyielding support for Israel, then it will be harder for the mainstream media to locate authoritative voices that are willing to disagree with the lobby's views. If public discourse about Israel can be shaped so that most Americans have generally positive impressions of the Jewish state, then politicians will have even more reason to follow the lobby's lead. Playing the anti-Semitism card stifles discussion even more and allows myths about Israel to survive unchallenged. Although other interest groups employ similar strategies in varying form, most of them can only dream of having the political muscle that pro-Israel organizations have amassed. The question, therefore, is what effect does the Israel lobby have on U.S. foreign policy? Is its influence in the American national interest, or has it encouraged policies that are bad for the United States and even for Israel itself? It is to that question that we now turn.

## **PART II**

# **THE LOBBY IN ACTION**

## **INTRODUCTION TO PART II**

The Israel lobby's influence would not be especially worrisome if its agenda were limited to making sure that Congress continued to provide foreign aid for the Jewish state. Although there might be better uses for this money, the United States is a wealthy country and can afford the \$3 billion-plus that it annually provides to Israel. But the lobby's efforts have not been limited to foreign aid. Like a number of other special interest groups, it also works to influence various aspects of U.S. foreign policy, in its case focusing primarily on the Middle East. These efforts to shape policy in the region are understandable: although material aid is valuable, it is even more helpful to have the world's only superpower bring its vast capabilities to bear on Israel's behalf.

Even so, this aspect of the lobby's agenda would be of little concern if it encouraged policies that were obviously in America's best interest. In the next five chapters, we show that this is not the case. The United States has three main interests in the Middle East today: keeping Persian Gulf oil flowing to world markets, discouraging the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and reducing anti-American terrorism originating in the region. There are instances where the lobby has supported policies that advanced these interests, but many of the policies that organizations in the lobby have promoted over time have ultimately left the United States worse off. That was not their intention, of course, and the groups and individuals who pushed for these policies undoubtedly believed that the actions they

avored would be good for the United States. They were wrong. Indeed, although these policies were intended to benefit Israel, many of them have damaged Israel's interests as well.

### **THE LOBBY'S AGENDA**

In addition to preserving U.S. aid to Israel, groups in the lobby have sought to ensure that American power is used to shape the Middle East environment in ways they believed would advance Israel's interests, especially in security. In practical terms, this meant backing Israel in its long struggle with the Palestinians and directing American power against other movements or states that might be at odds with Israel.

As noted in Chapter 4, there are differences within the pro-Israel community about the virtues of creating a viable Palestinian state, with the leaders of the lobby tending to be more hostile to that idea than the rank and file. Nevertheless, few supporters of Israel advocate an evenhanded policy toward the two sides, and fewer still have called for the United States to pressure Israel to produce a settlement.

Most pro-Israel groups—and especially the central organizations in the lobby—also want the United States to help Israel remain the dominant military power in the Middle East. In addition to maintaining generous aid to Israel's military establishment, these groups favor using American power to deal with Israel's main regional adversaries: Iran, Iraq under Saddam, and Syria. At the very least, the lobby wants America to contain these so-called rogue states and to make sure that they do not acquire nuclear weapons. Some of these groups have gone farther, advocating that the United States use its power to topple the regimes in Iran, Iraq, and Syria and replace them with leaders willing to live peacefully with Israel. In the best of all possible worlds, Washington would transform the entire region by spreading democracy and drying up support for terrorism against both the United States and Israel.

Finally, the lobby has pushed American leaders to disarm Hezbollah and help create a Lebanon that is friendly to Israel. But these goals cannot be accomplished without radically changing the behavior of Iran and Syria, since those states support and arm Hezbollah, and Syria has a long history of involvement in Lebanese politics. Given these and other links among Israel's adversaries, the lobby tends to see all of them as part of a seamless web of evil that the United States must at least keep at bay if not destroy.

To deal with these different threats to Israel, key groups within the lobby have encouraged the United States to deploy substantial military forces in the Middle East. As we will show, the lobby played an important role in making the case for war with Iraq, which was the first step in a broader campaign of regional transformation. Even today, many of Israel's most vociferous supporters oppose withdrawing American forces from Iraq and redeploying them outside of the region, because keeping U.S. forces in the neighborhood leaves them well positioned to threaten Israel's adversaries or to take action against them should the need or the opportunity arise.

### **THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL AFTER 9/11**

The lobby made considerable progress pushing its agenda during the 1990s, even though it was more difficult to make the case that Israel was a strategic asset for the United States once the Cold War was over. Then came the attacks of September 11, 2001, which forced Americans to focus considerable attention on the Arab and Islamic world, and especially the Middle East. This was a critical moment for Israel and the lobby.

Would the Bush administration conclude that close ties between the United States and Israel were fueling anti-American terrorism, and would it therefore try to improve its image in the Arab and Islamic world by distancing itself—even if only slightly—from Israel? Specifically, would President Bush put pressure on the Sharon government to end its efforts to colonize the West Bank and instead create a viable Palestinian state? Might the United States also begin to reduce its military presence in the wider Middle East, which had grown considerably since 1990 and which had worked to Israel's advantage?

These were not idle fears. As we describe in Chapter 2, there was compelling evidence showing that Osama bin Laden was committed to the Palestinian cause and was angry at the United States for backing Israel so strongly. It was also clear that he deeply resented the presence of American troops on Arab soil, especially in Saudi Arabia, and that the combination of these two policies was fueling Arab and Islamic anger at the United States and facilitating al Qaeda's efforts. Might the United States respond to this situation by returning to its earlier position as an "offshore balancer" in the Middle East and pressing more vigorously for an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? There were precedents for precisely this sort of response: the Reagan administration had briefly deployed U.S. troops in Lebanon in the early 1980s but had removed them after a suicide bomber killed 241 marines in Beirut. Presidents Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush had also made genuine progress toward peace in the region, but only by putting pressure on Israel and by paying less attention to the lobby.

Yet despite these concerns, the post-September 11 focus on Middle East threats was also an opportunity for Israel and its American advocates. If the Bush administration could be convinced that Israel was a critical ally in the war on terror and that Israel's enemies were America's enemies as well, then perhaps the United States could be induced to back Sharon's hard-line approach toward the Palestinians and to take aim at Israel's regional adversaries: Hezbollah, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. In essence, American policy makers had to be shown that it made good strategic sense for the United States to try to rid the Middle East of Israel's foes, which were also said to be America's foes. As one would expect, Israel and key groups in the lobby began working together to turn this opportunity into a reality.

Their efforts succeeded. The Bush administration eventually embraced the lobby's views about the new threat environment and rejected the alternative paradigm. Not only did the United States gradually adopt Israel's policy preferences toward the Palestinians, Iran, and the rest of the region, it also adopted many of Israel's justifications for these policies. American and Israeli leaders began to sound as if they were speaking from the same page.

The conventional wisdom is that this outcome was overdetermined. In this version of events, Bush and Sharon (and now Ehud Olmert) saw the world in essentially the same way. The president and his advisers needed little encouragement from the lobby, because they had accepted Israel's views on how to deal with the Arab Islamic world from the very beginning, and even more so after 9/11.<sup>1</sup>

This interpretation of how U.S. Middle East policy evolved after 9/11 is not accurate, because it overlooks the very real disagreements that occasionally emerged between the Bush administration and the Israeli government. In the first year after September 11, Bush and Sharon clashed on a number of occasions over the Palestinian issue. Even after those disputes were resolved, there were still important differences between them regarding the Palestinians. In fact, Bush's efforts to deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict sometimes reflected the alternative paradigm, which called for greater effort to promote Israeli-Palestinian peace and defuse Arab hostility. This view enjoyed considerable support within the State Department and the U.S. intelligence community, as well as among the uniformed military. Bush also had important differences with Israel and the lobby over U.S. policy toward Syria. On both the Palestinian and Syrian issues, however, the lobby successfully pressured Bush to change course and to adopt its policy preferences instead.

Furthermore, the lobby played a critical role in shaping U.S. policy toward Iraq and Iran, as well as the Bush administration's grand scheme for transforming the Middle East into a sea of democracies. And the lobby worked overtime to convince Americans that Israel was in the right during its war in Lebanon in the summer of 2006 and to ensure that politicians from both parties supported Israel unreservedly.

These are controversial claims and should not be made lightly. Both before and during the war in Iraq, a number of public figures suggested that President Bush's Middle East policy—especially his decision to invade Iraq—was at least partly intended to benefit Israel. Not surprisingly, both Israelis and prominent pro-Israel Americans challenged this view, in some cases invoking the familiar charge that such individuals were anti-Semites. But controversial or not, the issue here is a factual one: Did the lobby exert a significant influence on U.S. Middle East policy? And if so, were the results beneficial for

the United States or for Israel? The answer to the first question is clearly yes, and we believe the answer to the second question is emphatically no.

Let us look more closely at the Bush administration's policies in the Middle East, starting with its support for Israel's policies in the Occupied Territories, followed by an examination of its decision to invade Iraq. We will then consider Washington's broader policy of regional transformation, paying special attention to its policy toward Syria and Iran. Finally, we will examine America's handling of the 2006 Lebanon war. We argue that in each case, U.S. policy would have been different if the lobby were not as powerful, or if the main groups within it had favored a different approach. America's actions would have also have been more in line with its national interest, and better for Israel as well.

## THE LOBBY VERSUS THE PALESTINIANS

It is now largely forgotten, but in the fall of 2001, and again in the spring of 2002, the Bush administration sought to reduce anti-American sentiment in the Arab and Islamic world by pressing Israel to halt its expansionist policies in the Occupied Territories and by advocating the creation of a Palestinian state. Following the September 11 attacks, American policy makers believed that shutting down the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or at least making a serious attempt to do so, would undermine support for terrorist groups like al Qaeda and facilitate the building of an international coalition against terrorism— which might even include states like Iran and Syria.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the Bush administration was unable to persuade Jerusalem to change its policies, and Washington instead ended up backing Israel's hard-line approach toward the Palestinians. Over time, Bush and his lieutenants also adopted Israel's justifications for this approach, and U.S. and Israeli rhetoric became similar. A *Washington Post* headline in February 2003 summarized the situation: "Bush and Sharon Nearly Identical on Mideast Policy."<sup>2</sup> The lobby's influence was one of the central reasons for this shift.

The story begins in late September 2001. President Bush began pushing Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to show restraint in the Occupied Territories and to do everything possible to contain the violence of the Second Intifada. The administration put what the *New York Times* described as "enormous pressure" on Sharon to allow Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres to meet with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, even though Bush was highly critical of Arafat's leadership.<sup>3</sup> In early October, the new American president said publicly for the first time that he supported a Palestinian state. This event was itself a surprising development, since even President Clinton, who had worked assiduously for a two-state solution, did not dare utter the words "Palestinian state" in public until his last month in office.<sup>4</sup> Bush had emphasized before 9/11 that he intended to take a hands-off approach toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, which makes his sudden interest in this issue especially revealing.

Israeli leaders were alarmed by these developments, fearing that Washington might "sell out" the Jewish state to win favor with the Arabs. The *Washington Post* reported that "sources close to Sharon say he is furious at U.S. attempts to enlist Iran, Syria and other states that have sponsored attacks on Israel into the U.S.-led coalition."<sup>5</sup> In early October, Sharon erupted, accusing Bush of trying "to appease the Arabs at our expense." Israel, he warned, "will not be Czechoslovakia."<sup>6</sup> Hours after making these comments, the Israel Defense Forces invaded several Palestinian areas in Hebron.<sup>7</sup>

Bush was reportedly angry at Sharon's likening his actions to Neville Chamberlain's capitulation at Munich, and White House press secretary Ari Fleischer called Sharon's remarks "unacceptable."<sup>8</sup> The

Israeli prime minister offered a pro forma apology, but the basic problem remained unresolved.<sup>9</sup> Later in October, following the assassination of Israeli Minister of Tourism Rehavam Zeevi by a renegade Palestinian splinter group, the IDF launched another large-scale incursion into Palestinian-controlled territory in the West Bank. Bush met personally with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and demanded a quick withdrawal, saying that he hoped "the Israelis would move their troops as quickly as possible."<sup>10</sup> The Israeli government rejected that demand and said it would leave when it was satisfied that Arafat had cracked down on Palestinian terrorists. The *Guardian* wrote that Ariel Sharon had "provoked the most bruising confrontation with Washington since George Bush came to power, flatly rejecting a demand to end an occupation of Palestinian lands that threatens the survival of Yasser Arafat."<sup>11</sup>

Sharon and the pro-Israel lobby moved quickly to resolve this growing dispute by convincing the Bush administration and the American people that the United States and Israel faced a common threat from terrorism. Israeli officials and key groups in the lobby would repeatedly emphasize over the next few years that there was no real difference between Arafat and Osama bin Laden and that therefore the United States and Israel should isolate the Palestinians' elected leader and not politically engage with him. As Sharon told his self-described "longtime supporter," the columnist William Safire of the *New York Times*, in December 2001, "You in America are in a war against terror. We in Israel are in a war against terror. It's the same war."<sup>12</sup>

Sharon's concerns about U.S. Middle East policy actually began immediately after 9/11, several weeks before Bush first expressed his support for a Palestinian state. He had a telephone conversation with American Jewish leaders on September 14, in which he made it clear that he was worried that the Bush administration would treat Arafat differently from bin Laden and that Bush would try to be tough on Israel as a way of winning Arab support for the war on terrorism. Sharon asked those leaders for their help.<sup>13</sup> But little happened in the wake of that conversation, in part because almost everyone in the United States was still reeling from the events of 9/11, but also because it was not clear at that point where American policy was headed. In that uncertain moment, the Project for the New American Century released an open letter to Bush on September 20, signed by many neoconservatives, including William J. Bennett, Eliot Cohen, Aaron Fried-berg, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, Jeane Kirk-patrick, William Kristol, Richard Perle, and Norman Podhoretz. The letter described Israel as "America's staunchest ally against international terrorism" and called for the president to "fully support our fellow democracy." It also recommended that the United States cut off all support for the Palestinian Authority.<sup>14</sup>

The broad outlines of Bush's policy to defeat terrorism became much clearer after he backed a two-state solution, and neither Sharon nor the lobby was happy with the new agenda. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee immediately responded to Bush's comments about a Palestinian state by issuing a statement declaring that the advisers who were pushing this idea on Bush were "undermining America's war against terrorism. They are encouraging the president to reward, rather than punish those that harbor and support terrorism."<sup>15</sup> At the same time, Mortimer Zuckerman, the chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said that Bush was pursuing "a very short-sighted and erroneous policy."<sup>16</sup> Pro-Israel forces began repeating this basic message at every opportunity.

Influential figures in the lobby began to put pressure on the Bush administration to allow the IDF to remain in the Palestinian areas it had recently reoccupied for as long as Sharon saw fit. Abraham Foxman, the head of the Anti-Defamation League, wrote a letter to Secretary of State Colin Powell on October 23, in which he said that he was "extremely troubled" by the State Department's demand that Israel withdraw its forces from the recently seized areas. "We consider such comments to be inappropriate," he wrote, "and contrary to the long-standing American policy that Israel has the right to defend itself. The world is uniting to fight terrorism and unfortunately, the Palestinian Authority has refused to take steps to stem violence and terrorism."<sup>17</sup> Zuckerman echoed this view, saying Bush's effort to press Israel was "inappropriate, intemperate and defies logic in the face of U.S. efforts in the war on terrorism."<sup>18</sup>

The lobby also worked the halls of Congress. On November 16, eighty-nine senators sent Bush a letter praising him for refusing to meet with Arafat until the Palestinian leader took the necessary steps to end the violence against Israel. They also demanded that the United States not restrain Israel from retaliating against the Palestinians and insisted that the administration state publicly that it stood steadfastly behind Israel. According to the *New York Times*, the letter "stemmed from a meeting two weeks ago between leaders of the American Jewish community and key senators," adding that AIPAC was "particularly active in providing advice on the letter."<sup>19</sup>

By late November, relations between Jerusalem and Washington had improved considerably. This was due in part to the lobby's efforts, but also to America's initial victory in Afghanistan, which reduced the perceived need for Arab support in dealing with al Qaeda. Sharon visited the White House in early December and had a friendly meeting with Bush. In fact, just before the meeting began, the IDF attacked targets in Gaza in response to three suicide bombings in Israel. Bush neither criticized the Israelis nor asked them for restraint in the future. The White House spokesman emphasized instead that "Israel is a sovereign government" and that it "has a right to live in security." At the same time, Bush demanded that Arafat do more to stop terrorism against Israel.<sup>20</sup>

Sharon visited the White House again in February 2002 and had another amicable visit with Bush. The Israeli prime minister reiterated the accusation that Arafat was supporting terrorism and identified him as the principal obstacle to settling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Bush was now clearly receptive to this line of argument. He believed reports that Arafat was behind the controversial *Karine A* incident that had occurred a month earlier, in January 2002. The *Karine A* was a freighter loaded with fifty tons of weapons and explosives that was apparently sailing from Iran when it was captured by the Israeli navy in the Red Sea. Its final destination appeared to be Gaza, although the evidence at the time was not clear. In fact, some argued that the arms were bound for Hezbollah in Lebanon.<sup>21</sup>

While there was no definitive evidence that directly implicated Arafat, the Israeli government and the lobby worked hard to make the case that Arafat had procured the weapons and explosives to abet his terrorism campaign against Israel.<sup>22</sup> The Palestinian leader denied responsibility for the *Karine A*, and Secretary of State Colin Powell and others said that they had not seen evidence that contradicted Arafat's claim of innocence.<sup>23</sup> In the end, however, Bush agreed with Israel and its supporters. With Sharon at his side at the White House, Bush said, "Mr. Arafat has heard from us. I can't be any more clear . . . He must do everything in his power to fight terror. Obviously, we were, at first, surprised, and then extremely disappointed when the *Karine A* showed up loaded with weapons, weapons that could have only been intended for one thing, which was to terrorize."<sup>24</sup>

## THE LOBBY HUMILIATES BUSH

Although the American and Israeli positions were now converging, trouble between the two states erupted again in late March 2002, when a Hamas suicide bomber killed thirty Israelis at a Passover seder. The Palestinian Authority immediately denounced the attack and pledged to prosecute those responsible. But its dismal record of punishing militants left the Israelis cold; they had had enough. Sharon launched Operation Defensive Shield in which the IDF resumed control of virtually all of the major Palestinian areas on the West Bank.<sup>25</sup> Bush knew right away that Israel's action would damage America's image in the Arab and Islamic world and undermine the war on terrorism, so he demanded on April 4 that Sharon "halt the incursions and begin withdrawal." He underscored this message two days later, saying this meant "withdrawal without delay." On April 7, Bush's national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, told reporters that "'without delay' means without delay. It means now." That same day Secretary of State Powell set out for the Middle East to pressure all sides to stop fighting and start negotiating.

The administration soon came under fire to adopt a different approach. A key target was Powell, who was not only considered unsympathetic, if not hostile, to Israel, but was also planning to meet with

Arafat during his Middle East trip. The secretary of state immediately began feeling the heat from staunch supporters of Israel in the vice president's office and the Pentagon, who pushed Bush and Rice to abandon the effort to restrain Israel. Rice was constantly on the phone to Powell, sometimes sounding like she was giving him a "dressing-down." He believed that her concerns reflected "the views of somebody in the White House."<sup>26</sup>

Neoconservatives in the media piled on Powell as well. Robert Kagan and William Kristol wrote in the *Weekly Standard* on April 11 that Powell had "virtually obliterated the distinction between terrorists and those fighting terrorists."<sup>27</sup> The following day, David Brooks, then working for the *Weekly Standard*, described Powell's trip on the *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* as "a disaster as opposed to an unmitigated disaster." He went on to say that Powell "hurt U.S. prestige . . . shredded U.S. policy in the Middle East . . . and most importantly, he hurt our moral clarity."<sup>28</sup> Former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who was making Israel's case in the United States at the time, said even before Powell arrived in Israel that his trip "won't amount to anything."<sup>29</sup> He was right: the balance of power inside the administration shifted against Powell so quickly and completely that his deputy in Washington called the secretary in Israel and told him, "I'm holding back the fucking gates here. They're eating cheese on you."<sup>30</sup> Powell later said that his trip to the Middle East was "ten of the most miserable days imaginable."<sup>31</sup>

Powell got the message, as reflected in his behavior at a joint press conference he held with Ariel Sharon before leaving Israel. "The Secretary of State's language, body and verbal," John Simpson of the *Sunday Telegraph* wrote, "certainly were not that of the paymaster coming to call a client to account. Far from it. Mr. Powell seemed ingratiating, deferential; no doubt he realizes how much support Mr. Sharon has back in Washington and how much influence his friends have there with the President."<sup>32</sup> Netanyahu's prediction proved correct. Powell's trip did not "amount to anything."

A second target was Bush himself, who was being pressed by Jewish leaders and Christian evangelicals. Tom DeLay and Dick Armey were especially outspoken about the need to support Israel, and DeLay and Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott visited the White House on April 10 and personally warned Bush to back off.<sup>33</sup> On the following day, according to *Time* magazine, "a group of Evangelical leaders led by the Reverend Jerry Falwell and former presidential candidate Gary Bauer sent Bush a letter demanding that the Administration 'end pressure' on Sharon to withdraw from the West Bank. After Falwell adjured his followers to do the same, the White House was flooded with calls and e-mails. The next day, sources say, senior presidential aides phoned Falwell to reassure him that Bush stood behind Sharon."<sup>34</sup>

The first external sign that Bush was caving came that same day (April 11)—only one week after he insisted that Sharon withdraw his forces— when Ari Fleischer said the president believed that Sharon was "a man of peace."<sup>35</sup> Bush publicly repeated this statement on April 18 on Powell's return from his abortive mission, and the president also told reporters that Sharon had responded satisfactorily to his call for a full and immediate withdrawal.<sup>36</sup> Sharon had done no such thing, but Bush was no longer willing to make an issue of it. Israel announced the formal end of Defensive Shield on April 21, but IDF forces remained in many Palestinian areas, and significant elements of the Israeli control regime are still in force today.

Other groups in the lobby kept up the pressure. The Conference of Presidents and the United Jewish Communities sponsored a major rally in Washington in mid-April, with appearances by Armey, Netanyahu, Zucker-man, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt, and other prominent officials. The crowd even booed Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (shouting "Down with Arafat") when he briefly referred to Palestinian suffering and the possibility of a Palestinian state. Morton Klein, the head of the Zionist Organization of America, said that "if Bush doesn't get the message to stop pressuring Israel, we will have lost a great opportunity with this rally." Responding to the gathering, an unnamed administration official remarked that "policy is not based on what's popular." But the same official also admitted that "we hear so much from Jewish leaders, to see that many Jews turn out for this [rally] will just speak volumes."<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, Congress was also moving to back Sharon. Netanyahu visited Capitol Hill in mid-



April, where he met forty senators, accompanied by a "security cordon fit for a head of state."<sup>38</sup> On May 2, it overrode the administration's objections and passed two resolutions reaffirming support for Israel (the Senate vote was 94 to 2; the House version passed 352 to 21). Both resolutions emphasized that the United States "stands in solidarity with Israel," and that the two countries are, to quote the House resolution, "now engaged in a common struggle against terrorism." The House version also condemned "the ongoing support of terror by Yasir Arafat," who was portrayed as a central element of the terrorism problem.<sup>39</sup>

A few days later, a bipartisan congressional delegation on a fact-finding mission in Israel publicly proclaimed that Sharon (who was then in Washington meeting with Bush) should resist the administration's pressure to negotiate with Arafat.<sup>40</sup> Then, on May 9, a House appropriations subcommittee met to consider giving Israel an extra \$200 million to fight terrorism. The White House was opposed to the package and Secretary of State Powell took the lead and met with congressional leaders in an attempt to stop it. But the lobby backed it, just as it had helped author the two congressional resolutions. Powell lost and Bush reluctantly signed the legislation, giving Israel the money.<sup>41</sup>

Sharon and the lobby had taken on the president of the United States and his secretary of state and triumphed. Chemi Shalev, a journalist for the Israel newspaper *Ma'ariv*, reported that Sharon's aides "could not hide their satisfaction in view of Powell's failure. Sharon saw the white in President Bush's eyes, they bragged, and the President blinked first." Indeed, Bush's humiliation was not lost on commentators around the world. Spain's leading daily, *El Pais*, expressed the views of many outside observers when it commented, "If a country's weight is measured by its degree of influence on events, the superpower is not the USA but Israel."<sup>42</sup> But it was pro-Israel forces in the United States, not Sharon or Israel, that played the key role in thwarting Bush's efforts to pursue a more evenhanded policy.

### **"THE MORE THINGS CHANGE . . ."**

Despite these setbacks, Bush continued looking for a way to end the Second Intifada and create a viable Palestinian state living in peace next door to Israel. He understood that it is in America's national interest to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict as soon as possible. Bush has not come close to achieving that goal, however, mainly because there has been little change in the balance of power between Bush and the lobby since the spring of 2002. This situation has given Israeli leaders considerable leverage over Bush's Middle East policies and enables them to ignore or neutralize policies they dislike.

Seeking to move beyond his troubles in the spring of 2002, Bush gave a major speech on the Middle East on June 24.<sup>43</sup> It was a noteworthy address for two reasons. First, Bush maintained that Arafat had to give up power before the peace process could move forward. "Peace," he said, "requires a new and different political Palestinian leadership." In effect, as David Landau pointed out in *Ha'aretz*, "Yasser Arafat, the seemingly immortal leader of the Palestinian national movement, was politically assassinated ... by President George W. Bush."<sup>44</sup> The Israelis, who had been calling for Arafat's isolation for months, were ecstatic. In fact, at least two prominent conservative Israelis, Natan Sharansky and Benjamin Netanyahu, claimed that they had played a major role in convincing Bush to insert that demand in his speech.<sup>45</sup> *Ha'aretz* ran a story on the speech with the headline, "Analysis: Ariel Sharon Agrees to His Own Ideas."<sup>46</sup>

Second, Bush called for creating a Palestinian state by 2005. In pursuit of that goal, he emphasized that "Israeli settlement activity in the occupied territories must stop" and, as the security situation improved, "Israel forces need to withdraw fully to positions they held prior to September 28, 2000 [the start of the Second Intifada]." Bush was widely criticized for not saying more about what the final settlement would look like and how he planned to get from here to there.<sup>47</sup> While the speech was certainly vague about the particulars of a future agreement, Bush's comments were nevertheless important. At the time, the Bush administration was working closely with the European Union, Russia, and the UN to fashion a "Road Map" leading to a negotiated peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

The plan of the so-called Quartet was specifically designed to build on the main points laid out in Bush's speech.

In essence, the Bush administration decided in the summer of 2002 that the Road Map was the best way to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But little progress was made in implementing it until the spring of 2003. The delay was due to the fact that it took time to convince Arafat to step aside and for the Quartet to work out the details of the Road Map. Furthermore, the Bush administration was busy preparing for war with Iraq, which it invaded on March 19, 2003. Serious movement on the Road Map finally began on March 7, when Arafat signaled that he was reducing his own political power by nominating Mahmoud Abbas to be the prime minister of the Palestinian Authority.<sup>48</sup> A week later, on March 14, Bush proclaimed that he was ready to promote the Road Map. On April 30, the Quartet released the details of that peace plan.<sup>49</sup>

Then in early June, the president traveled to the Middle East to push the Road Map and try to strengthen Abbas's hand vis-a-vis Arafat. Bush's prestige was sky-high in the wake of the successful ouster of Saddam. His triumphant "Mission Accomplished" photo op on the USS *Abraham Lincoln* had occurred the previous month, the problems of postwar reconstruction in Iraq were barely apparent, and Bush's popularity at home was at near-record levels. He was in an ideal position to press all sides to get serious about peace. He met first with Arab leaders in Egypt on June 3 and then the following day with Abbas and Sharon in Aqaba, Jordan. Before the trip, reporters were skeptical about whether Bush could put pressure on Israel to achieve his goals, especially with his reelection campaign looming in 2004. "Of course I can," he told them. "Listen, if I were afraid of making the decisions necessary—for political reasons—to move the process forward, I wouldn't be going."<sup>50</sup>

The meetings were cordial and Bush's efforts to get directly involved in the peace process appeared to be off to a good start. But the Road Map went nowhere. Despite occasionally paying lip service to the Quartet's plan, Sharon was opposed to creating a viable Palestinian state, and thus he had no interest in negotiating with the Palestinians, since the aim of such negotiations was to create just such a state in the Occupied Territories. His opposition to the Road Map was clear well before March 2003. The *Washington Post* opined in an editorial on December 16, 2002, that although Sharon "has been telling voters about his readiness to support the Bush scheme," the fact is that his "envoys have been harshly criticizing the draft 'road map' in meetings with U.S. officials. According to Israeli press reports, Mr. Sharon himself dismissed the administration's plan as 'irrelevant' in a recent cabinet meeting."<sup>51</sup>

Sharon did not say much publicly in mid-March 2003, when Bush announced that he was pushing the Road Map forward, mainly because he did not want to criticize Bush when the United States was getting ready to invade Iraq.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, Sharon's views on the plan had not changed, as Chemi Shalev made clear in an article in the *Forward*: "The strategic goal of Sharon and his advisors is ultimately to undermine the road map and to exclude the three remaining members [the EU, UN, and Russia] of the so-called Madrid Quartet. . . from active involvement in the peace process."<sup>53</sup> In mid-April, *Ha'aretz* declared in an editorial that Sharon "has not internalized the conceptual change necessary to achieve a peace arrangement based on compromise. Apparently . . . the prime minister has yet to give up the vision of the settlements and the creeping annexation of the West Bank."<sup>54</sup>

Given Sharon's opposition to the Road Map, it is hardly surprising that the heads of the key organizations in the lobby viewed Bush's plan as the "road map to nowhere," to quote Conference of Presidents chairman Zuckerman.<sup>55</sup> Within hours after Bush said on March 14 that he was getting behind the Road Map, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice met at the White House with a delegation of Jewish leaders. The aim of the meeting, according to an article in *Ha'aretz*, was "to neutralize American Jewish reservations about the plan."<sup>56</sup> But according to the same article, "Rice was unable to allay the concerns of many of the participants at the meeting." Abraham Foxman, the head of the ADL, and Malcolm Hoenlein, the executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents, were especially critical. Although Hoenlein said it was necessary to wait for Israel's reaction to the plan, he emphasized that the American Jewish community would support Israel if it expressed reservations.

AIPAC also sponsored a letter to President Bush on Capitol Hill, urging him not to put pressure on Israel regarding the Road Map and demanding that the Palestinians be required to comply fully with

the plan's security requirements before Israel had to make any concessions. By early May, 85 senators and 283 representatives had signed the letter.<sup>57</sup> While AIPAC ultimately endorsed the Road Map—with qualifications—it did not campaign to win it support in Congress, which "effectively left the lobbying front open to groups that openly oppose the plan."<sup>58</sup> Many pro-Israel commentators lambasted the administration's decision to push the Road Map forward. For example, Charles Krauthammer, writing in the *Washington Post*, maintained that "proceeding along the road map" as long as Arafat retained any power was "diplomatic suicide."<sup>59</sup> Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times*, however, was critical of the major Jewish organizations for not supporting the peace plan.<sup>60</sup> Apart from more dovish groups such as the Tikkun Community and the Israel Policy Forum, there were few pro-Israel groups enthusiastically backing the Road Map. That meant it had no future.

Consequently, Israeli hard-liners were not worried much about the Road Map when its details were spelled out on April 30. In an article in *Ha'aretz* the following day, Bradley Burston asked, "So why are these people smiling?"<sup>61</sup> The answer is that the Bush administration had privately reached a series of understandings with Sharon and his lieutenants that greatly allayed their fears about the Quartet's peace plan.<sup>62</sup> In fact, the *Financial Times* reported that Elliott Abrams and Stephen Hadley, two key players on the National Security Council, secretly assured Sharon "that he would not face US pressure over the road map."<sup>63</sup>

Still, Sharon must have been worried after Bush's trip to the Middle East in early June 2003, which was widely seen as an important step in promoting the president's peace effort. Shortly after the president returned to the United States, Israel tried but failed to kill Abdel Aziz Rantisi, a key Hamas leader. It was the first of seven targeted assassinations in five days.<sup>64</sup> Sharon had promised Secretary of State Powell in May that Israel would stop targeted assassinations unless they involved a "ticking bomb," which was clearly not the case in this instance.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, Hamas had announced the day before the attack that it was willing to renew talks about a cease-fire.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the *Forward* reported that at the Aqaba summit meeting Sharon had "agreed to avoid actions that might 'inflare' the situation and weaken the rookie Palestinian prime minister."<sup>67</sup> Israeli commentators understood that the Israeli prime minister was now attempting to sink the Road Map. "The curious timing of the assassination campaign," a *Ha'aretz* correspondent wrote, "was not lost on Israelis."<sup>68</sup>

Bush was not pleased. Yet he only mildly rebuked Sharon, saying on June 10, "I am troubled by the recent Israeli helicopter gunship attacks." His aides' remarks, according to the *Washington Post*, were only "slightly stronger." But even the slightest criticism of Israel was unacceptable to the hard-liners in the lobby, who soon mobilized to check Bush's brief show of independence. DeLay had a private meeting with the president's aides and told them that he would push forward a congressional resolution supporting Israel if Bush continued to criticize it. On the evening of June 11, Bush hosted a dinner at the White House with one hundred Jewish leaders to celebrate a new exhibit at the Holocaust Memorial Museum. Malcolm Hoenlein, who met privately with Bush that evening, said that the president "and others at the White House recognized that their reaction could be counterproductive." Hoenlein went on to say that "people were taken a little aback by the comments and, from what everyone could tell, the White House was well aware of it."<sup>69</sup>

By the next day, June 12, the White House had done another U-turn and was firmly supporting Israel. The *Washington Post* reported that "in coordinated statements, White House and State Department officials tried to shift the diplomatic focus from Israeli actions to the commitments made by Arab leaders at a summit last week in Egypt to cut off funding and support for terrorist attacks against Israelis. Secretary of State Colin Powell made that point in a round of phone calls to Arab foreign ministers."<sup>70</sup> Ari Fleischer, the White House press secretary, said, "The issue is not Israel," it is "terrorists who are killing in an attempt to stop a hopeful process from moving forward."<sup>71</sup> Later that month, the House passed a resolution—by a vote of 399 to 5—expressing "solidarity with the Israeli people" and saying that Israel was fully justified in using force to deal with terrorism.<sup>72</sup>

Bush had once again tried to curb Israeli actions that strengthened anti-Americanism in the Arab and Islamic world and undermined the administration's war on terrorism, but he ended up suffering

another humiliating defeat.<sup>73</sup>

### UNILATERALISM IN, ROAD MAP OUT

Much the same pattern was evident in late July 2003, when the Bush administration began to voice its objections to Israel's so-called security fence, which was widely seen as an Israeli attempt to create "facts on the ground" that would be a major obstacle to a negotiated settlement. The issue was not construction of the fence itself but rather its intended route, which in effect would incorporate additional parts of the Occupied Territories and impose significant additional hardships on thousands of Palestinians.<sup>74</sup> Bush ex

pressed his displeasure at a joint White House press conference with Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas on July 25: "I think the wall is a problem, and I discussed this with Ariel Sharon. It is very difficult to develop confidence between the Palestinians and Israel with a wall snaking through the West Bank."<sup>75</sup> But four days later at the White House, with Bush standing at his side, Sharon made it clear that he intended to continue building the fence, although he said he would try to minimize the hardships it inflicted on the Palestinians. Bush did not challenge Sharon but instead accepted the prime minister's view that Palestinian terrorism was "the fundamental obstacle to peace."<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, the Bush administration continued to express its unhappiness with the security barrier. Secretary of State Powell suggested in an interview that the fence was an Israeli attempt to appropriate Palestinian land, and Condoleezza Rice hinted that the administration might deduct the cost of the fence from \$9 billion in loan guarantees that the United States had approved in April.<sup>77</sup> Israel's supporters in Congress mobilized and emphasized to the White House, as Senator Charles Schumer put it, that if the president "flouts the will of Congress and tries to penalize Israel for defending itself, Congress will do everything in its power to ensure that these loan guarantees are not held up."<sup>78</sup> The Israelis themselves were not seriously concerned. As one senior Israeli official put it, "We are not under any pressure . . . The United States is a very vibrant democracy, and this is a very politically oriented administration. Reality is made sometimes by political constraints."<sup>79</sup>

The issue of loan guarantees would not go away, however, and in late November the Bush administration said that it would cut \$289.5 million from the \$3 billion in loan guarantees allocated to Israel earlier that year. The lobby did not protest strongly, mainly because the punishment was effectively a weak slap on the wrist. The United States was not cutting direct foreign aid, the real meat and potatoes of its material support to Israel. Reducing the loan guarantees by roughly 10 percent simply meant that Israel had to pay a higher interest rate on a small portion of the overall amount it intended to borrow. The former director general of Israel's Finance Ministry estimated that it would cost Israel about \$4 million a year in higher interest costs, which is not a lot of money for a prosperous state like Israel.<sup>80</sup>

The Bush administration won another small victory in the fall of 2003. Sharon was threatening to expel Arafat from the West Bank and send him into exile. Powell and Rice told the Israelis that expelling the Palestinian leader was unacceptable to the United States. They got the message and Arafat remained in the West Bank.<sup>81</sup>

But these small victories were not indications of a changing tide. On the contrary, in the fall of 2003, Sharon began moving to wreck George Bush's Road Map once and for all by pushing forward his own plan for unilateral disengagement.<sup>82</sup> In November, Sharon invited Elliott Abrams, the senior director for Near East and North African Affairs on the National Security Council (NSC) and a well-known neoconservative, to a secret meeting in Rome. At the meeting, Sharon informed the American official that instead of pursuing a negotiated settlement, as called for in the Road Map, he intended to impose his own settlement on the Palestinians.<sup>83</sup> As the policy evolved in the next few months, it became clear that Israel would first withdraw all of its settlements from Gaza and turn that territory over to the Palestinians. Israel would then turn some areas of the West Bank over to the Palestinians but keep large

parts of that contested land for Israel.

Sharon's decision to leave these parts of the Occupied Territories to the Palestinians was based not on sympathy for their plight but on the fear that if Israel retained Gaza and all of the West Bank, Arabs would soon outnumber Jews in "greater Israel." The demographic issue, in other words, was driving the prime minister's policy.<sup>84</sup>

The Palestinians would have virtually no say in the process. Israel would dictate the terms of the settlement, and in the end, the Palestinians would not get a state of their own. Dov Weisglass, Sharon's closest adviser, made this clear when he said that "the significance of what we did ... is the freezing of the political process. And when you freeze that process you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state and you prevent a discussion about the refugees, the borders and Jerusalem. Effectively, this whole package that is called the Palestinian state, with all that it entails, has been removed from our agenda indefinitely." Weisglass also said that Sharon's plan "is actually formaldehyde. It supplies the amount of formaldehyde that's necessary so that there will not be a political process with the Palestinians."<sup>85</sup>

One might have expected Bush to be angry with Sharon and to try to keep the Road Map alive, especially since the president, according to his national security adviser, believed that "it is the only course that will bring durable peace and security."<sup>86</sup> But that is not what happened. In the spring of 2004, Bush publicly embraced Sharon's unilateral approach, saying that it was a "bold courageous step" and that the world owed Sharon a "thank you" for pursuing it.<sup>87</sup> Then in a dramatic shift, on April 14, Bush reversed the stated policy of every president since Lyndon Johnson by proclaiming that Israel would not have to return virtually all of the territories that it occupied in 1967, and that Palestinian refugees would not be allowed to return to their former homes in Israel but would have to settle in a new Palestinian state.<sup>88</sup> Previously, American policy was that the Israelis and the Palestinians would negotiate these issues. These moves sparked outrage in the Middle East but were widely seen in the United States as smart politics in a year when George Bush was up for reelection.<sup>89</sup>

Writing in early 2004, Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times* captured the essence of Bush's predicament regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: "Mr. Sharon has the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat under house arrest in his office in Ramallah, and he's had George Bush under house arrest in the Oval Office. Mr. Sharon has Mr. Arafat surrounded by tanks, and Mr. Bush surrounded by Jewish and Christian pro-Israel lobbyists, by a vice president, Dick Cheney, who's ready to do whatever Mr. Sharon dictates, and by political handlers telling the president not to put any pressure on Israel in an election year—all conspiring to make sure the president does nothing."<sup>90</sup>

During this entire period, the Israelis continued building settlements in the West Bank, despite American protests and despite the fact that the Road Map explicitly calls upon Israel to "freeze all settlement activity (including natural growth of settlements)."<sup>91</sup> They also continued assassinating Palestinian leaders, sometimes at the most unhelpful moments—at least from a U.S. perspective. For example, the IDF scuttled a proposed Palestinian cease-fire on July 22, 2002, when it killed Sheik Salah Shehada, a prominent Hamas leader, and fourteen others (including nine children). The White House denounced the attack as "heavy handed" but did not force Israel to end its targeted assassinations policy.<sup>92</sup> As noted previously, the IDF undermined another emerging cease-fire in June 2003, when it tried but failed to kill Rantisi, another Hamas leader.

On March 22, 2004, Israel assassinated Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin with American-made Hellfire missiles. This move was generally perceived as a serious blow to America's position in the Middle East, not only because U.S. weapons were used but also because many in the Arab world believed that the Bush administration had given Israel the green light to kill a paraplegic in a wheelchair. The *Washington Post* columnist Jim Hoagland wrote in the wake of that killing, "With the possible exception of Charles de Gaulle, no friendly foreign leader has complicated modern American diplomacy and strategy more consistently or gravely than Ariel Sharon. He pursues Israel's interests with a warrior's tenacity and directness that take away the breath, and the options, of everyone else."<sup>93</sup> Less than a month later, on April 17, 2004, the IDF finally killed Rantisi.<sup>94</sup>

## ARAFAT DIES AND NOTHING CHANGES

Arafat died in November 2004 and Abbas emerged as the Palestinian's new leader, eventually winning office in January 2005 in a peaceful democratic election that was hailed by outside observers as free and fair. One would think that this event would have been an ideal opportunity to push the peace process forward, as Abbas recognized Israel, renounced terrorism, and was eager to work out a negotiated settlement to the conflict.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, Bush had just won reelection to a second term and thus was in about as good a position as any president could be to help bolster the moderate Abbas. The Bush administration embraced the new Palestinian leader from the start, but it did virtually nothing to help him negotiate a viable state, and so ultimately undermined his power base.

The main reason Bush did little to help Abbas was that he had already committed himself to supporting Sharon's plan (and that of his successor, Ehud Olmert) to disengage unilaterally from the Palestinians. Contrary to his own pronouncements about the necessity of the Road Map, Bush was backing a strategy that held no promise of the Palestinians getting a viable state of their own, which doomed the plan from the start.

Some pro-Israel groups like the Zionist Organization of America and the Orthodox organizations were opposed to giving up any territory to the Palestinians. But the major organizations like the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee backed disengagement. Senior officials in the Conference of Presidents estimated that somewhere between 60 and 75 percent of the leaders favored the pullout, which was more than enough to ensure that the lobby ultimately backed Sharon and Bush's shift in policy, although not with great enthusiasm.<sup>96</sup>

By refusing to negotiate with Abbas and making it impossible for him to deliver tangible benefits to the Palestinian people, Sharon contributed directly to Hamas's electoral victory in January 2006. The *Ha'aretz* columnist Bradley Burston wrote just before that election, "If it appears to you . . . that Israel is Hamas' campaign manager in next week's elections for the Palestinian parliament, few would argue—especially in Hamas."<sup>97</sup> With Hamas in power, Israel had another reason not to negotiate and the Bush administration was even less likely to push them to talk with the Palestinians.

To make matters worse, Israel's policy of unilateral disengagement collapsed in the summer of 2006, about two months after Bush had hailed the policy during Ehud Olmert's first visit to the White House as the new prime minister.<sup>98</sup> After pulling out of Gaza in August 2005, the Israelis effectively cordoned off that small piece of real estate, making it impossible for the Palestinians living there to lead a decent life, much less have a state of their own. The Palestinians in Gaza continued launching rockets into Israel, and then they captured an Israeli soldier on June 25, 2006. The Israelis felt that the situation had become intolerable, so three days later they reentered Gaza.<sup>99</sup> It quickly became apparent to most Israelis, and certainly to Olmert, that Israel would face a similar situation if it unilaterally withdrew from some parts of the West Bank and effectively locked up the Palestinians left behind.

A few weeks later, on July 12, Hezbollah captured two Israeli soldiers along the Israel-Lebanon border, precipitating a war in which Hezbollah fired rockets and missiles into northern Israel. Given that Israel had unilaterally withdrawn from southern Lebanon in 2000, this crisis reinforced the point that simply pulling back from parts of the West Bank would not by itself end Israel's conflict with the Palestinians. Consequently, with the Israeli public behind him, Olmert abandoned unilateral disengagement in the late summer of 2006. In a candid interview with the Chinese news agency Xinhua in January 2007, Olmert said that when he took over from the incapacitated Sharon in January 2006, he was confident that a unilateral strategy, or what he called his "convergence plan," could solve the Palestinian problem. But he was wrong, and now, "under the existing circumstances, it would be more practical to achieve a two-state solution through negotiations rather than [unilateral] withdrawal."<sup>100</sup>

## RICE GETS "POWELLIZED"<sup>101</sup>

The Bush administration had also figured out that unilateralism was a losing strategy, and it began pushing again for a negotiated settlement along the lines of the Road Map. In late 2006, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice took the lead in trying to get the Palestinian and Israeli leaders talking to each other.<sup>102</sup> Her goal was to start a discussion about what the broad outlines of a comprehensive settlement—which she termed the "political horizon"—should look like.

While Rice was pushing the Israelis and the Palestinians to negotiate seriously, the Saudis convinced the Arab League in March 2007 to reissue its 2002 peace plan. The new proposal, like the original one, offered Israel peace and normal relations not just with the Palestinians but with all twenty-two members of the Arab League. In return, Israel would have to withdraw from all of the Occupied Territories and the Golan Heights, accept the establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories with East Jerusalem as its capital, and negotiate a "just solution" to the Palestinian refugee problem that was "agreed upon" by the relevant parties.<sup>103</sup> The Saudis made it clear that the proposal was a basis for negotiation, not a take-it-or-leave-it deal.

Both the Americans and the Saudis had powerful incentives to put an end to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.<sup>104</sup> Continuing U.S. support for Israeli policies in the Occupied Territories was not only helping fuel America's terrorism problem, but it was making it difficult for the Bush administration to get Arab states to help it deal with the war in Iraq and Iran's nuclear program. The Saudis, for their part, wanted to work closely with the Americans to contain Iran, but they were limited in what they could do because there was so much anger among the Saudi people over U.S. support for Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. The Saudis also wanted to end the conflict, because Iran was gaining influence with radical Palestinian forces in the Occupied Territories.

Given these circumstances, conditions would seem ripe for serious movement forward in the peace process. But that did not happen. Olmert showed little interest in the Arab League initiative, which appeared destined to share the same fate as the 2002 peace proposal. The Israeli prime minister was unhappy with some parts of the proposal, such as the stipulation that Israel would have to withdraw from all of the Occupied Territories. He also rejected any compromise on the issue of a Palestinian "right of return," telling the *Jerusalem Post* in March 2007, "I will not agree to any kind of Israeli responsibility for this problem. Full stop." He went on to say that the return of even one Palestinian refugee to Israel was "out of the question."<sup>105</sup>

But that point of dispute and any others could have been dealt with in the negotiations that would have ensued if Israel had agreed to talks on the basis of the proposal. *Ha'aretz* put the point well in a late March editorial: "A realistic government would have rushed to embrace this willingness for recognition and reconciliation, expressing reservations for what it does not accept and seeking dialogue on the regional level."<sup>106</sup> In mid-May, Olmert was widely criticized for failing to seriously pursue peace with the Arabs, including by two staunch supporters of Israel: Abraham Foxman of the ADL and the Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel. In the face of this mounting criticism, the prime minister responded by saying that Israel was willing to discuss the Arab League initiative, but he has taken little action beyond his rhetoric. Instead, Israel has launched a diplomatic campaign to blame the Arabs for the failure of the peace initiative.<sup>107</sup>

The Bush administration did nothing substantive to push Olmert to embrace the Arab League's proposal, although it did urge Arab leaders to alter the proposal to Israel's liking.<sup>108</sup> So far, Rice's own efforts to push the peace process forward have come to naught. For starters, Rice made it clear in an early February 2007 meeting with leaders from fifteen major Jewish organizations that not only would the administration refrain from putting pressure on Israel, but it would not offer its own suggestions on what the "political horizon" might look like.<sup>109</sup> Those concessions greatly limited the secretary's effectiveness. Rice then traveled to Jerusalem where, on February 19, she brought Olmert and Abbas together for talks. But Rice's efforts to revive the peace talks were a bust, as the Israeli prime minister refused to discuss the outlines of a possible settlement. In fact, both Olmert and Abbas refused to appear with her at the press conference afterward. Shortly thereafter, the *New York Times* ran an editorial on the meeting titled "Charade in Jerusalem," which pointed out that Rice could not even get

the two leaders to stand at her side while she read a "content-free joint statement to which they have grudgingly agreed."<sup>110</sup>

In late March 2007, Rice returned to Israel to meet with Olmert and raise the possibility that she might serve as a mediator between Israel and the Palestinians. It was her seventh visit to Israel in eight months. Olmert flatly rejected the idea of Rice acting as a diplomatic broker, forcing her to cancel the press conference planned for after the meeting. The *Daily Telegraph* (London) headline the day after the Olmert-Rice meeting said it all: "Israel Snubs Condoleezza Rice."<sup>111</sup> The secretary of state returned to Washington empty-handed and with little prospect that the Bush administration would make meaningful progress toward Arab-Israeli peace before leaving office.

This outcome, which is not only humiliating for the secretary of state but is contrary to America's national interest as well, is the result of at least two factors. First, Olmert, like his predecessor Sharon, has no interest in nego-

tiating a peace settlement with the Palestinians, because it would require Israel to give up almost all of the West Bank and create a viable Palestinian state on that territory. Olmert has made it clear that he would be willing to give up some parts of the West Bank, but he intends to keep large parts of it for Israel. Indeed, his government announced in late December 2006 that it was constructing its first new settlement in the West Bank in ten years, and the following month Israel announced that it planned to build new houses in Ma'aleh Adumim, Israel's largest existing settlement.<sup>112</sup> Israel would prefer the occupation to peace, if the latter means giving 95 percent or so of the West Bank to the Palestinians.<sup>113</sup>

One might argue that the real obstacle to peace is not Israel but Hamas, which came to power in January 2006 and remains formally committed to Israel's destruction. There is no question that Hamas's growing stature within the Palestinian community complicated any efforts to achieve peace. Nevertheless, this problem is not insurmountable. If the Israelis were genuinely interested in reaching a peace agreement with the Palestinians, they could work with the Arab League, Abbas, and the more moderate elements within Hamas to push the peace process forward and isolate—or maybe even convert—the rejectionists in Hamas and other radical groups like Islamic Jihad.<sup>114</sup> But instead, the Israelis have shown little enthusiasm for working with the growing number of Arabs who are genuinely interested in making peace with the Jewish state. By undermining moderates who want to negotiate peace, this policy merely strengthens those factions that claim that violence is the only effective tactic.

Second, pro-Israel forces in the United States have made it impossible for the United States, especially Secretary of State Rice, to push the Olmert government toward peace. Inside the White House, the main obstacle to putting any kind of meaningful pressure on Israel is Elliott Abrams. He has help, however, from two powerful neoconservatives who work for the vice president, John Hannah and David Wurmser. The journalist Jim Lobe reports that various sources have told him that "Abrams has been working systematically to undermine any prospect for serious negotiations designed to give substance to Rice's hopes—and increasingly impatient demands by Saudi King Abdullah—of offering the Palestinians a 'political horizon' for a final settlement."<sup>115</sup>

Abrams has a close relationship with Yoram Turbowitz, Olmert's chief of staff, and Shalom Turgeman, Olmert's diplomatic adviser, who all work together to make sure that the Bush administration does not push Israel to pursue policies that Olmert dislikes. Daniel Levy, a former adviser in the Israeli prime minister's office, notes that "if Rice is getting too active with her peace-making quest, then T+T (Yoram Turbowitz and Shalom Turgeman) can always be dispatched to Elliott Abrams at the White House, who in turn will enlist Cheney to keep the president in tow."<sup>116</sup> Correspondingly, Henry Siegman, who long worked on Middle East issues at the Council on Foreign Relations, maintains that "every time there emerged the slightest hint that the United States may finally engage seriously in a political process, Elliott Abrams would meet secretly with Olmert's envoys in Europe or elsewhere to reassure them that there exists no such danger."<sup>117</sup> Right before Rice arrived in Israel for her February 19 meeting with Abbas and Olmert, the Israeli prime minister put the secretary of state in her place by letting the media know that he had talked to Bush the day before and that "the prime minister and president see eye-to-eye." As Aluf Benn and Shmuel Rosner wrote in *Ha'aretz*, "The message was



unmistakable: What Rice had to say barely mattered."<sup>118</sup>

The extent to which the balance of power inside the Bush administration is stacked against Rice is further illustrated by Philip Zelikow's resignation as the State Department's counselor at the end of 2006. He was Rice's longtime friend and coauthor and one of her closest advisers. By the late summer of 2006, he was encouraging Rice to make a serious effort to negotiate a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. He felt that was essential if Washington hoped to get the Arab states and the Europeans to form an effective coalition against Iran. He made this very point on September 15, 2006, in a speech at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.<sup>119</sup>

Following the speech, there was an immediate outcry from pro-Israel groups, and, according to the *New York Times*, "The State Department quickly distanced itself from the speech, issuing a statement denying any linkage, and Israeli officials, flustered by Mr. Zelikow's remarks, said Ms. Rice later assured the Israeli foreign minister, Tzipi Livni, that the United States saw the Iranian and Palestinian issues as two separate matters."<sup>120</sup> Zelikow announced he was leaving the State Department the following month. He gave anodyne reasons for his departure in his resignation letter, although one unnamed White House source said that his departure was due in part to his unhappiness with U.S. Middle East policy. In early March

2007, Rice named Eliot Cohen, a neoconservative who had signed all the earlier PNAC letters, as Zelikow's successor.<sup>121</sup>

Despite the restrictions on her room to maneuver, Rice has tried to help strengthen Abbas at the expense of Hamas. But the lobby has limited her effectiveness on that front as well. Specifically, President Bush decided in late January 2007 to give Abbas \$86 million to beef up his security forces. But Congresswoman Nita Lowey (D-NY), a stalwart defender of Israel and the chair of an important appropriations subcommittee, held up the request.<sup>122</sup> Another pro-Israel lawmaker, Anthony Weiner, wrote to Rice and asked her to withdraw the requested money.<sup>123</sup> Morton Klein, the president of the Zionist Organization of America, weighed in, saying that Bush "should be as tough on Abbas as he is on Hamas and al Qaeda."<sup>124</sup>

Klein's uncompromising views on Abbas were shared by many Jewish leaders.<sup>125</sup> They were especially upset with Abbas for agreeing in February 2007 to join a unity government with Hamas, even though the Palestinian president made it clear that he remained committed to negotiating a two-state settlement and living in peace with Israel. AIPAC tried to push Congress to make it impossible for the U.S. government to deal with anyone in the unity government, Abbas included; but that effort failed.<sup>126</sup> To mollify Lowey, the administration reduced the requested amount to \$59 million and stipulated that it would be used only for training, purchasing nonlethal equipment, and improving security at a critical crossing point between Israel and Gaza. Lowey consented to this arrangement and the money was authorized.<sup>127</sup>

Nevertheless, the Bush administration's efforts to isolate and marginalize Hamas backfired in June 2007, when Hamas preempted the American attempt to strengthen Fatah's security forces by driving them from Gaza and seizing power there. In a belated effort to bolster Abbas, Israel has promised to release Palestinian prisoners as well as frozen Palestinian tax revenues, and Jerusalem and Washington have lifted some economic restrictions. But there is no sign that Israel will give the Palestinian leader the one thing he needs to establish his authority and trump the rejectionists: the realistic prospect of a viable state. Thus, the conflict will continue to fester, doing further damage to America's position in the Arab and Islamic world.

## CONCLUSION

Absent the lobby, the Bush administration almost certainly would have been much more self-interested and hard-nosed in pushing for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. After all, the United States has a rich history, especially in recent years, of using various tools to force other states to change their

behavior to suit America's interests. Washington extracted repeated concessions from Soviet leaders as the Soviet Union broke up, and it later pressed Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus to give up their nuclear arsenals. A similar effort eventually persuaded Libya to give up its own weapons of mass destruction programs in exchange for a lifting of extensive economic sanctions. The Clinton administration fought an intense air war to force Serbia to withdraw from Kosovo in 1999, and the Bush administration has pressured numerous countries to reject the convention establishing an International Criminal Court. And as we discuss at length in Chapter 10, the United States has gone to considerable lengths to convince Iran to give up its own nuclear ambitions. Putting pressure on Israel, the Palestinians, and the relevant Arab states in order to reach a final peace arrangement would hardly be inconsistent with America's conduct on other issues.

The United States has enormous potential leverage at its disposal for dealing with Israel and the Palestinians. It could threaten to cut off all economic and diplomatic support for Israel. If that were not enough, it would have little difficulty lining up international support to isolate Israel, much the way South Africa was singled out and shunned at the end of the last century. Regarding the Palestinians, the United States could hold out the promise of fulfilling their dream of a viable state in the Occupied Territories coupled with massive long-term economic aid. In return, the Palestinians would have to end all terrorism against Israel. Given the political divisions within Israel and the often dysfunctional Palestinian leadership, as well as the presence of violent rejectionists on both sides, achieving a final settlement would not be easy. But doing nothing, or backing Israel so consistently, has not made things better. On the contrary, this policy has almost certainly made things worse for Palestinians and Israelis alike and continues to erode America's reputation in the world and make it more difficult to deal with urgent issues like Iran and Iraq.

It might be argued that this analysis is unrealistic given Israel's generally favorable image in the eyes of many Americans. In this view, the real reason Bush has backed Israel against the Palestinians is that U.S. public opinion strongly favors Israel. The president, in short, is just responding to the will of the people. We have seen this claim before—it is the heart of the moral rationale for the special relationship between the United States and Israel. Yet this interpretation ignores the evidence that the American people would be willing to put pressure on Israel if it were part of a larger peace deal. Although U.S. surveys show greater sympathy for Israel than for the Palestinians, they also reveal considerable support for a more evenhanded policy. For example, most Americans were generally supportive of Bush's efforts to be tough on Israel in the spring of 2002. A *Time/CNN* poll taken on April 10-11 found that 60 percent of Americans felt that U.S. aid to Israel should be cut off or reduced if Sharon refused to withdraw from the Palestinian areas he had recently occupied. Moreover, 75 percent of those surveyed thought that Powell should meet with Arafat when he visited Israel. Regarding Sharon, only 35 percent found him trustworthy, while 35 percent thought he was a warmonger, 20 percent saw him as a terrorist, and 25 percent considered him an enemy of the United States.<sup>128</sup>

One year later, a May 2003 poll conducted by the University of Maryland reported that over 60 percent of Americans would be willing to withhold aid to Israel if it resisted U.S. pressure to settle the conflict. That number rose to 70 percent among "politically active" Americans. Indeed, 73 percent said that the United States should not favor either side in the conflict. It is also worth noting that only 17 percent of respondents agreed with the claim made by Bush and Sharon that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is "part of the war on terrorism." Instead, 54 percent viewed it "as a conflict between two national groups fighting over the same piece of land." The same survey showed that although most Americans did not know much about the Road Map, 55 percent had a "positive view" of it. When informed of its key elements, support rose to 74 percent.<sup>129</sup> Even a 2005 survey conducted by the ADL found that 78 percent of Americans believe that their government should favor neither Israel nor the Palestinians.<sup>130</sup>

Since September 11, the American people have been receptive to pressuring Israel when they believed that doing so would be in the U.S. national interest. President Bush has also recognized that getting the Palestinians a viable state of their own was the only way to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and his administration has tried to advance that goal on several occasions. But neither public

opinion nor presidential initiatives mattered very much, because the lobby has made it nearly impossible for the United States to put pressure on Israel to negotiate a settlement.

As we have seen, Bush formally endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state in the fall of 2001. In the spring of 2002, he called for Israel to withdraw its forces from several Palestinian areas in the West Bank and sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region to jump-start the peace process. That same summer, Bush launched the Road Map initiative, which was supposed to provide a clear timetable leading to an independent and democratic Palestinian state. The following year, Bush traveled to the Middle East to promote the Road Map. After the collapse in 2006 of the Israeli plan to impose a unilateral settlement on the Palestinians, the administration—with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in the lead—made a renewed effort to end the conflict.

In each case, the lobby moved quickly and effectively to neutralize the Bush administration's efforts. Groups in the lobby employed a variety of tactics: open letters, congressional resolutions, op-eds and press releases, and direct meetings between administration officials and the leaders of influential Jewish and evangelical groups. Sympathetic government officials, such as the NSC's Elliott Abrams, helped in these efforts, at times meeting with Israeli officials to thwart ongoing initiatives. Instead of using U.S. leverage to move toward peace (for example, by linking U.S. support to Israel's cooperation on the Road Map), Bush ended up instead backing Sharon's (and now Olmert's) chosen policy at every turn. As former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft declared in October 2004, Sharon had President Bush "wrapped around his little finger."<sup>131</sup>

Israel's ability to defy the United States—and even to get Washington to follow its preferred approach to dealing with the Palestinians—offers a classic illustration of interest group politics at work. Although public opinion polls show that the American people would support compelling Israel to offer the Palestinians a fair settlement, groups in the lobby—and especially its more hard-line elements—care more about this issue than the average American does. As a result, groups like AIPAC and the leaders of organizations like the Conference of Presidents can put disproportionate pressure on elected officials and their policy preferences are more likely to win out, even if they are bad for the United States as a whole and unintentionally harmful for Israel as well.

Maintaining U.S. support for Israel's policies against the Palestinians is a core goal of many groups in the lobby, but their objectives are not limited to that goal. They also want America to help Israel remain the dominant regional power. The Israeli government and pro-Israel groups in the United States have worked together to shape the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq, Syria, and Iran, as well as its grand scheme for reordering the Middle East. Let us now consider how the lobby and Israel influenced America's decision to invade Iraq in March 2003 in the hope that this bold stroke would lead to the democratization of the entire region.

## **IRAQ AND DREAMS OF TRANSFORMING THE MIDDLE EAST**

Why did the United States invade Iraq? In *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq*, George Packer declares that "it still isn't possible to be sure, and this remains the most remarkable thing about the Iraq war." He quotes Richard Haass, the director of policy planning in the State Department during Bush's first term and now president of the Council on Foreign Relations, saying that he would "go to his grave not knowing the answer."<sup>1</sup>

In one sense, their uncertainty is understandable, because the decision to overthrow Saddam Hussein even now seems difficult to fathom. He was clearly a brutal tyrant with worrisome ambitions—

including a desire to obtain WMD—but his own incompetence had put these dangerous objectives out of reach. His army had been routed in the 1991 Gulf War and further weakened by a decade of UN sanctions. As a result, Iraq's military power, never impressive except on paper, was a pushover by 2003. Intrusive UN inspections had eliminated Iraq's nuclear program and eventually led Saddam to destroy his biological and chemical weapons stockpiles as well. There were no convincing links between Saddam and Osama bin Laden (who were in fact hostile to each other), and bin Laden and his associates were in Afghanistan or Pakistan, not Iraq. Yet in the aftermath of 9/11, when one would have expected the United States to be focusing laserlike on al Qaeda, the Bush administration chose to invade a deteriorating country that had nothing to do with the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and was already effectively contained. From this perspective, it is a deeply puzzling decision.

From another angle, however, the decision is not that hard to understand. The United States was the world's most powerful country, and there was never any doubt about its ability to oust Saddam if it so chose. The United States had not only won the long Cold War, it had also enjoyed a remarkable run of military successes after 1989: defeating Iraq handily in 1991, halting the Balkan bloodletting in 1995, and beating Serbia in 1999. The rapid ouster of the Taliban in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 reinforced an image of military invincibility and made it harder for skeptics on Iraq to convince others that going to war was unnecessary and unwise. Americans were also shocked and alarmed by 9/11, and many of their leaders were convinced that the United States could not allow even remote dangers to grow in an era when terrorists might acquire WMD. Those who favored war believed that toppling Saddam would convince other rogue states that America was simply too powerful to oppose and compel these regimes to conform to U.S. wishes instead. In the period before the war, in short, the United States was simultaneously powerful, confident of its military prowess, and deeply worried about its own security—a dangerous combination.<sup>2</sup>

These various elements form the strategic context in which the decision for war was made and help us understand some of the underlying forces that facilitated that choice. But there was another variable in the equation, and the war would almost certainly not have occurred had it been absent. That element was the Israel lobby, and especially a group of neoconservative policy makers and pundits who had been pushing the United States to attack Iraq since well before 9/11. The prowar faction believed that removing Saddam would improve America's and Israel's strategic position and launch a process of regional transformation that would benefit the United States and Israel alike. Israeli officials and former Israeli leaders supported these efforts, because they were eager to see the United States topple one of their main regional adversaries—and the man who had launched Scud missiles at Israel in 1991.

Pressure from Israel and the lobby was not the only factor behind the Bush administration's decision to attack Iraq in March 2003, but it was a critical element. Many Americans believe that this was a "war for oil" (or for corporations like Halliburton), but there is little direct evidence to support this claim and considerable evidence that casts doubt on it. Other observers blame political advisers such as the Republican strategist Karl Rove and suggest that the war was part of a Machiavellian scheme to keep the country on a war footing and thus ensure a lengthy period of Republican control. This view has a certain partisan appeal, but it too lacks supporting evidence and cannot explain why so many prominent Democrats supported going to war. Another interpretation views the war as the first step in a bold effort to transform the Middle East by spreading democracy. This view is correct, but as we will see, this remarkably ambitious scheme was inextricably linked to concerns about Israel's security.

In contrast to these alternative explanations, we argue that the war was motivated at least in good part by a desire to make Israel more secure. This was a controversial claim before the war started, but it is even more controversial now that Iraq has turned into a strategic disaster. To be clear, the individuals and groups that pushed for war believed it would benefit both Israel and the United States, and they certainly did not anticipate the debacle that ultimately occurred. Regardless, a proper account of the lobby's role in encouraging the war is ultimately a question of evidence, and there is considerable evidence that Israel and pro-Israel groups—especially the neoconservatives—played important roles in the decision to invade.

Before examining the evidence, however, it is worth noting that a number of knowledgeable and well-respected individuals have said openly that the war was linked with Israel's security. Philip Zelikow, a member of the president's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (2001-03), executive director of the 9/11 Commission, and counselor to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (2005–06), told a University of Virginia audience on September 10, 2002, that Saddam was not a direct threat to the United States. "The real threat," he argued, is "the threat against Israel." He went on to say, "And this is the threat that dare not speak its name, because the Europeans don't care deeply about that threat . . . And the American government doesn't want to lean too hard on it rhetorically, because it is not a popular sell."<sup>3</sup>

General Wesley Clark, the retired NATO commander and former presidential candidate, said in August 2002 that "those who favor this attack now will tell you candidly, and privately, that it is probably true that Saddam Hussein is no threat to the United States. But they are afraid that at some point he might decide if he had a nuclear weapon to use it against Israel."<sup>4</sup> In January 2003, a German journalist asked Ruth Wedgwood, a prominent neoconservative academic and a member of the influential Defense Policy Board (chaired by Richard Perle), why the journalist should support the war. I could "be impolite," Wedgwood said, "and remind Germany of its special relationship with Israel. Saddam presents an existential threat to Israel. That is simply true." Wedgwood did not justify the war by saying that Iraq posed a direct threat to Germany or the United States.<sup>5</sup>

A few weeks before the United States invaded Iraq, the journalist Joe Klein wrote in *Time* magazine, "A stronger Israel is very much embedded in the rationale for war with Iraq. It is a part of the argument that dare not

speak its name, a fantasy quietly cherished by the neo-conservative faction in the Bush Administration and by many leaders of the American Jewish community."<sup>6</sup> Former Senator Ernest Hollings made a similar argument in May 2004. After noting that Iraq was not a direct threat to the United States, he asked why we invaded that country.<sup>7</sup> "The answer," which he said "everyone knows," is "because we want to secure our friend Israel." A number of Jewish groups promptly labeled Hollings an anti-Semite, with the ADL calling his comments "reminiscent of age-old, anti-Semitic canards about a Jewish conspiracy to control and manipulate government."<sup>8</sup> Hollings adamantly rejected the charge, noting that he had long been a staunch supporter of Israel and that he was simply stating the obvious, not making an untruthful claim. He demanded that his critics "apologize to me for talking about anti-Semitism."<sup>9</sup>

A handful of other public figures—Patrick Buchanan, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Maureen Dowd, Georgie Anne Geyer, Gary Hart, Chris Matthews, Congressman James P. Moran (D-VA), Robert Novak, Tim Russert, and General Anthony Zinni—either said or strongly hinted that pro-Israel hardliners in the United States were the principal movers behind the Iraq war.<sup>10</sup> In Novak's case, he referred to the war well before it happened as "Sharon's war" and continues to do so today. "I am convinced," he said in April 2007, "that Israel made a large contribution to the decision to embark on this war. I know that on the eve of the war, Sharon said, in a closed conversation with senators, that if they could succeed in getting rid of Saddam Hussein, it would solve Israel's security problems."<sup>n</sup>

The connection between Israel and the Iraq war was widely recognized long before the fighting started. When the prospect of an American invasion was beginning to dominate the headlines in the fall of 2002, the journalist Michael Kinsley wrote that "the lack of public discussion about the role of Israel ... is the proverbial elephant in the room: Everybody sees it, no one mentions it."<sup>12</sup> The reason for this reluctance, he observed, was fear of being labeled an anti-Semite. Two weeks before the war started, Nathan Guttman reported in *Ha'aretz* that "the voices linking Israel to the war are getting louder and louder. It is claimed the desire to help Israel is the major reason for President George Bush sending American soldiers to a superfluous war in the Gulf. And the voices come from all directions."<sup>13</sup>

A few days later, Bill Keller, who is now the executive editor of the *New York Times*, wrote, "The idea that this war is about Israel is persistent and more widely held than you may think."<sup>14</sup> Finally, in May 2005, two years after the war began, Barry Jacobs of the American Jewish Committee acknowledged that the belief that Israel and the neoconservatives were responsible for getting the United States

to invade Iraq was "pervasive" in the U.S. intelligence community.<sup>15</sup>

Some will surely argue that anyone who suggests that concerns about Israel's security had a significant influence on the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq is either an anti-Semite or a self-hating Jew. Such charges are both predictable and false. As we will now show, there is abundant evidence that Israel and the lobby played crucial roles in making that war happen. This is not to assert that either Israel or the lobby "controls" U.S. foreign policy; it is simply to say that they successfully pressed for a particular set of policies and were able, in a particular context, to achieve their objective. Had the circumstances been different, they would not have been able to get the United States to go to war. But without their efforts, America would probably not be in Iraq today.

## ISRAEL AND THE IRAQ WAR

Israel has always considered Iraq an enemy, but it became especially concerned about Iraq in the mid-1970s, when France agreed to provide Saddam with a nuclear reactor. For good reason, Israel worried that Iraq might use the reactor as a stepping-stone to building nuclear weapons. Responding to the threat, in 1981, the Israelis bombed the Osirak reactor before it became operational.<sup>16</sup> Despite this setback, Iraq continued working on its nuclear program in dispersed and secret locations. This situation helps explain Israel's enthusiastic support for the first Gulf War in 1991; its main concern was not to push Iraqi troops out of Kuwait but to topple Saddam and especially to make sure that Iraq's nuclear program was dismantled.<sup>17</sup> Although the United States did not remove Saddam from power, the UN inspections regime imposed on Baghdad after the war reduced—but did not eliminate—Israel's concerns. In fact, *Ha'aretz* reported on February 26, 2001, that "Sharon believes that Iraq poses more of a threat to regional stability than Iran, due to the errant, irresponsible behavior of Saddam Hussein's regime."<sup>18</sup>

Sharon's comments notwithstanding, by early 2002, when it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Bush administration was thinking seriously about another war against Iraq, some Israeli leaders told U.S. officials that they thought Iran was a greater threat.<sup>19</sup> They were not opposed to toppling Saddam, however, and Israel's leaders, who are rarely reticent when it comes to giving their American counterparts advice, never tried to convince the Bush administration not to go to war against Iraq. Nor did the Israeli government ever try to mobilize its supporters in the United States to lobby against the invasion. On the contrary, Israeli leaders were worried only that the United States might lose sight of the Iranian threat in its pursuit of Saddam. Once they realized that the Bush administration was countenancing a bolder scheme, one that called for winning quickly in Iraq and then dealing with Iran and Syria, they began to push vigorously for an American invasion.

In short, Israel did not initiate the campaign for war against Iraq. As will become clear, it was the neoconservatives in the United States who conceived that idea and were principally responsible for pushing it forward in the wake of September 11. But Israel did join forces with the neoconservatives to help sell the war to the Bush administration and the American people, well before the president had made the final decision to invade. Indeed, Israeli leaders worried constantly in the months before the war that President Bush might decide not to go to war after all, and they did what they could to ensure Bush did not get cold feet.

The Israelis began their efforts in the spring of 2002, a few months before the Bush administration launched its own campaign to sell the Iraq war to the American public. Former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu came to Washington in mid-April and met with U.S. senators and the editors of the *Washington Post*, among others, to warn them that Saddam was developing nuclear weapons that could be delivered against the American homeland in suitcases or satchels.<sup>20</sup> A few weeks later, Ra'anana Gissen, Sharon's spokesman, told a Cleveland reporter that "if Saddam Hussein is not stopped now, five years from now, six years from now, we will have to deal with an Iraq that is armed with nuclear weapons, with an Iraq that has delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction."<sup>21</sup>

In mid-May, Shimon Peres, the former Israeli prime minister now serving as foreign minister, appeared on CNN, where he said that "Saddam Hussein is as dangerous as bin Laden," and the United States "cannot sit and wait" while he builds a nuclear arsenal. Instead, Peres insisted, it was time to topple the Iraqi leader.<sup>22</sup> A month later, Ehud Barak, another former Israeli prime minister, wrote an op-ed in the *Washington Post* recommending that the Bush administration "should, first of all, focus on Iraq and the removal of Saddam Hussein. Once he is gone there will be a different Arab world."<sup>23</sup>

On August 12, 2002, Sharon told the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Knesset that Iraq "is the greatest danger facing Israel."<sup>24</sup> Then, on August 16, ten days before Vice President Cheney kicked off the cam

paigned for war with a speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Nashville, Tennessee, several newspapers and television and radio networks (including *Ha'aretz*, the *Washington Post*, CNN, and CBS News) reported that Israel was urging the United States not to delay an attack on Iraq. Sharon told the Bush administration that postponing the operation "will not create a more convenient environment for action in the future." Putting off an attack, Ra'anana Gissin said, would "only give him (Saddam) more of an opportunity to accelerate his program of weapons of mass destruction." Foreign Minister Peres told CNN that "the problem today is not if, but when." Postponing an attack would be a grave mistake, he said, because Saddam would be better armed down the road. Deputy Defense Minister Weizman Shiry offered a similar view, warning, "If the Americans do not do this now, it will be harder to do it in the future. In a year or two, Saddam Hussein will be further along in developing weapons of mass destruction." Perhaps CBS best captured what was going on in the headline for its story: "Israel to US: Don't Delay Iraq Attack."<sup>25</sup>

Peres and Sharon both made sure to emphasize that they "did not want to be seen as urging the United States to act and that America should act according to its own judgment."<sup>26</sup> Israeli leaders—and many of their supporters in the United States—were well aware that some American commentators, most notably Patrick Buchanan, had argued that the driving force behind the 1991 Gulf War was "the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States."<sup>27</sup> Denying any responsibility made good political sense, but there is no question—based on their own public comments—that by August 2002 Israel's leaders saw Saddam as a threat to the Jewish state and were encouraging the Bush administration to launch a war to remove him from power.

News stories around the same time also reported that "Israeli intelligence officials have gathered evidence that Iraq is speeding up efforts to produce biological and chemical weapons."<sup>28</sup> Peres told CNN that "we think and know that he [Saddam] is on his way to acquiring a nuclear option."<sup>29</sup> *Ha'aretz* reported that Saddam had given an "order ... to Iraq's Atomic Energy Commission last week to speed up its work."<sup>30</sup> Israel was feeding these alarming reports about Iraq's WMD programs to Washington at a time when, by Sharon's own reckoning, "strategic coordination between Israel and the U.S. has reached unprecedented dimensions."<sup>31</sup> Following the invasion and the revelation that there were no WMD in Iraq, the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Israeli Knesset released separate reports revealing that much of the intelligence Israel gave to the Bush administration was false. As one retired Israeli general put it, "Israeli intelligence was a full partner to the picture presented by American and British intelligence regarding Iraq's non-conventional capabilities."<sup>32</sup>

Of course, Israel is hardly the first state to push another country to take a costly or risky action on its behalf. States facing external dangers often try to pass the buck to others, and the United States has a rich tradition of similar behavior itself.<sup>33</sup> It backed Saddam Hussein in the 1980s in order to help contain the threat from revolutionary Iran, and it armed and backed the Afghan mujahideen following the Soviet invasion of that country in 1979. The United States did not send its own troops to fight these wars; it merely did what it could to help others—who had their own reasons for fighting—do the heavy lifting.

Given their understandable desire to have the United States eliminate a regional rival, it is not surprising that Israeli leaders were distressed when President Bush decided to seek UN Security Council authorization for war in September 2002, and even more worried when Saddam agreed to let UN inspectors back into Iraq. These developments troubled Israel's leaders because they seemed to

reduce the likelihood of war. Foreign Minister Peres told reporters, "The campaign against Saddam Hussein is a must. Inspections and inspectors are good for decent people, but dishonest people can overcome easily inspections and inspectors."<sup>34</sup> On a visit to Moscow in late September, Sharon made it clear to Russian President Vladimir Putin, who was leading the charge for new inspections, that it was too late for them to be effective.<sup>35</sup> Peres became so frustrated with the UN process in the following months that in mid-February 2003 he lashed out at France by questioning its status as a permanent member of the Security Council.<sup>36</sup>

Israel's adamant opposition to inspections put it in a lonely and awkward position, as Marc Perelman made clear in an article in the *Forward* in mid-September 2002: "Saddam Hussein's surprise acceptance of 'unconditional' United Nations weapons inspections put Israel on the hot seat this week, forcing it into the open as the only nation actively supporting the Bush administration's goal of Iraqi regime change."<sup>37</sup>

Pressing ahead in the face of UN diplomacy, Israelis portrayed Saddam in the direst terms, often comparing him to Adolf Hitler. If the West did not stand up to Iraq, they claimed, it would be making the same mistake it made with Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Shlomo Avineri, a prominent Israeli scholar, wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* that "all who condemn the 1930s appeasement of Germany should reflect long and hard on whether a failure to act today against Iraq will one day be viewed the same way."<sup>38</sup>

The implica

tion was unmistakable: anyone who opposed invading Iraq—or, as we have seen, pushed Israel to negotiate with the Palestinians—was an appeaser, just like Neville Chamberlain, and bound to be regarded as such by future generations. The *Jerusalem Post* was especially hawkish, frequently running editorials and op-eds favoring the war and rarely running pieces arguing against it.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, it went so far as to editorialize that "ousting Saddam is the linchpin of the war on terrorism, without which it is impossible to begin in earnest, let alone win."<sup>40</sup>

Other Israeli public figures echoed Peres and Sharon's advocacy for war instead of diplomatic wrangling. Former Prime Minister Ehud Barak wrote a *New York Times* op-ed in early September 2002 claiming that "Saddam Hussein's nuclear-weapons program provides the urgent need for his removal." He went on to warn that "the greatest risk now lies in inaction."<sup>41</sup> His predecessor, Benjamin Netanyahu, published a similar piece a few weeks later in the *Wall Street Journal* titled "The Case for Toppling Saddam." Netanyahu declared, "Today nothing less than dismantling his regime will do," adding that "I believe I speak for the overwhelming majority of Israelis in supporting a pre-emptive strike against Saddam's regime," which he claimed was "feverishly trying to acquire nuclear weapons."<sup>42</sup>

Netanyahu's influence, of course, extended well beyond writing op-eds and appearing on television. Having gone to high school, college, and graduate school in the United States, he speaks fluent English and is not only familiar with how the American political system works but operates skillfully in it. He has close ties with neoconservatives inside and outside of the Bush administration, and he has extensive contacts on Capitol Hill, where he has either spoken or testified on numerous occasions.<sup>43</sup> Barak is also well connected with American policy makers, politicians, security experts, and pundits.

The Israeli government's war fervor did not diminish in the months before the fighting started. *Ha'aretz*, for example, ran a story on February 17, 2003, titled "Enthusiastic IDF Awaits War in Iraq," which said that Israel's "military and political leadership yearns for war in Iraq." Ten days later James Bennet wrote a story in the *New York Times* with the headline "Israel Says War on Iraq Would Benefit the Region." The *Forward* published a piece on March 7, 2003, titled "Jerusalem Frets as U.S. Battles Iraq War Delays," which made it clear that Israel's leaders were hoping for war sooner rather than later.<sup>44</sup>

Given all this activity, it is unsurprising that Bill Clinton recounted in 2006 that "every Israeli politician I knew" believed that Saddam Hussein was so great a threat that he should be removed even if he did not have WMD.<sup>45</sup> Nor was the desire for war confined to Israel's leaders. Apart from Kuwait, which Saddam conquered in 1990, Israel was the only country outside of the United States where a majority of politicians and the public enthusiastically favored war. A poll taken in early 2002 found that 58 percent of Israeli Jews believed that "Israel should encourage the United States to attack Iraq."<sup>46</sup> Another poll taken a year later in February 2003 found that 77.5 percent of Israeli Jews wanted



the United States to invade Iraq.<sup>47</sup> Even in Tony Blair's Britain, a poll taken just before the war revealed that 51 percent of the respondents opposed it, while only 39 percent supported it.<sup>48</sup>

This rather unusual situation prompted Gideon Levy of *Ha'aretz* to ask, "Why is it that in England 50,000 people have demonstrated against the war in Iraq, whereas in Israel no one has? Why is it that in Israel there is no public debate about whether the war is necessary?" He went on to say, "Israel is the only country in the West whose leaders support the war unreservedly and where no alternative opinion is voiced."<sup>49</sup>

Israel's enthusiasm for war eventually led some of its allies in America to tell Israeli officials to damp down their hawkish rhetoric, lest the war look like it was being fought for Israel.<sup>50</sup> In the fall of 2002, for example, a group of American political consultants known as the Israel Project circulated a six-page memorandum to key Israelis and pro-Israel leaders in the United States. The memo was titled "Talking about Iraq" and was intended as a guide for public statements about the war. "If your goal is regime change, you must be much more careful with your language because of the potential backlash. You do not want Americans to believe that the war on Iraq is being waged to protect Israel rather than to protect America."<sup>51</sup>

Reflecting that same concern on the eve of the war, Sharon, according to several reports, told Israeli diplomats and politicians to keep quiet about a possible war in Iraq and certainly not to say anything that made it appear that Israel was pushing the Bush administration to topple Saddam. The Israeli leader was worried by the growing perception that Israel was advocating a U.S. invasion of Iraq. In fact, Israel was; it just did not want its position to be widely known.<sup>52</sup>

## THE LOBBY AND THE IRAQ WAR

The driving force behind the Iraq war was a small band of neoconservatives who had long favored the energetic use of American power to reshape critical areas of the world. They had advocated toppling Saddam since the mid-1990s and believed this step would benefit the United States and Israel alike.<sup>53</sup> This group included prominent officials in the Bush administration such as Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith, the number two and three civilians in the Pentagon; Richard Perle, Kenneth Adelman, and James Woolsey, members of the influential Defense Policy Board; Scooter Libby, the vice president's chief of staff; John Bolton, undersecretary of state for arms control and international security, and his special assistant, David Wurmser; and Elliott Abrams, who is in charge of Middle East policy at the National Security Council. It also included a handful of well-known journalists like Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, William Kristol, and William Satire.

The appointment of a number of neoconservatives to top policy positions was seen by Israelis and their American allies as a very positive development. When Wolfowitz was selected to be deputy defense secretary in January 2001, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that "the Jewish and pro-Israel communities are jumping with joy."<sup>54</sup> In the spring of 2002, the *Forward* pointed out that Wolfowitz is "known as the most hawkishly pro-Israel voice in the Administration," and it selected him later in 2002 as the first among fifty notables who "have consciously pursued Jewish activism."<sup>55</sup> At about the same time, JINSA gave him its Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award for promoting a strong partnership between Israel and the United States, and the *Jerusalem Post*, describing Wolfowitz as "devoutly pro-Israel," named him its "Man of the Year" in 2003.<sup>56</sup>

Feith's role in shaping the case for war should also be understood in the context of his long-standing commitment to Israel and his prior association with hard-line groups there. Feith has close ties with key organizations in the lobby like the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs and the Zionist Organization of America. He wrote articles in the 1990s supporting the settlements and arguing that Israel should retain the Occupied Territories.<sup>57</sup> More important, as we noted in Chapter 4, Feith was a coauthor, along with Perle and Wurmser, of the famous "Clean Break" report in June 1996.<sup>58</sup> Written under the auspices of a right-wing Israeli think tank for incoming Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the report recommended, among other things, that Netanyahu "focus on removing Saddam

Hussein from power in Iraq—an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right." It also called for Israel to take steps to reorder the entire Middle East. Netanyahu did not implement their advice, but Feith, Perle, and Wurmser were soon advocating that the Bush administration pursue those same goals. This situation prompted the *Ha'aretz* columnist Akiva Eldar to warn that Feith and Perle "are walking a fine line between their loyalty to American governments . . . and Israeli interests."<sup>59</sup> As George Packer notes

in *The Assassins' Gate*, "For Feith and Wurmser, the security of Israel was probably the prime mover" behind their support for the war.<sup>60</sup>

John Bolton and Scooter Libby were staunch supporters of Israel as well. As America's ambassador to the UN, Bolton consistently and enthusiastically defended Israel's interests. So much so, in fact, that in May 2006, the Israeli ambassador to the UN jokingly described Bolton as "a secret member of Israel's own team at the United Nations." He went on to say that "the secret is out. We really are not just five diplomats. We are at least six including John Bolton."<sup>61</sup> When Bolton's controversial reappointment to that position became an issue later in 2006, pro-Israel groups weighed in on Bolton's side.<sup>62</sup> Regarding Libby, the *Forward* reported when he left the White House in the fall of 2005 that "Israeli officials liked Libby. They described him as an important contact who was accessible, genuinely interested in Israel-related issues and very sympathetic to their cause."<sup>63</sup>

Neoconservatives outside the Bush administration are every bit as devoted to Israel as are their compatriots in the government. Consider the comments that the columnist Charles Krauthammer made in Jerusalem on June 10, 2002, after receiving the Guardian of Zion Award from Bar-Ilan University.<sup>64</sup> The theme of his talk was characterizing Israel's participation in the Oslo peace process as an example of misguided Jewish messianism. In his remarks, Krauthammer explicitly identified himself with Israel—indeed, as Israeli. At one point he observed that "thirty-five years ago today the Six-Day war ended. It seemed like a new era . . . Jerusalem had been re-united, the Temple Mount was ours, Israel." He went on to say, "My thesis tonight is that many of our troubles today, as a people and as a Jewish state, are rooted precisely in this new Messianic enthusiasm." Krauthammer, like virtually all other neoconservative pundits, was a relentless advocate for war right up until the invasion.

Although many of the prominent neoconservatives were Jewish Americans with strong attachments to Israel, some of the leading members of the prowar party were not. In addition to John Bolton, the signatories of the open letters to Presidents Bush and Clinton sponsored by the Project for the New American Century included gentiles such as former CIA director James Woolsey and former Secretary of Education William Bennett. Woolsey was particularly obsessed with proving that Saddam was responsible for 9/11, and he devoted considerable effort trying to confirm an early report that Mohammed Atta, one of the 9/11 hijackers, had met with an Iraqi intelligence agent in Prague. The story was implausible and is widely believed to be false, but Woolsey and Vice President Dick Cheney both invoked it to bolster the case for war.<sup>65</sup>

The neoconservatives were not the only part of the lobby pushing for war with Iraq. Key leaders of the major pro-Israel organizations lent their voices to the campaign for war. Of course, many of the neoconservatives themselves had close ties to these organizations. In mid-September 2002, when the selling of the war was just getting under way, Michelle Goldberg wrote in *Salon* that "mainstream Jewish groups and leaders are now among the strongest supporters of an American invasion of Baghdad."<sup>66</sup> This same point was made in a *Forward* editorial written well after the fall of Baghdad: "As President Bush attempted to sell the . . . war in Iraq, America's most important Jewish organizations rallied as one to his defense. In statement after statement community leaders stressed the need to rid the world of Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. Some groups went even further, arguing that the removal of the Iraqi leader would represent a significant step toward bringing peace to the Middle East and winning America's war on terrorism." The editorial goes on to say that "concern for Israel's safety rightfully factored into the deliberations of the main Jewish groups."<sup>67</sup>

Although there was hardly any opposition to the war among the major Jewish organizations, there was disagreement about how vocal they should be in backing it. The main concern was the fear that too open support for an invasion would make it look like the war was being fought for Israel's sake.<sup>68</sup>

Nonetheless, the Jewish Council for Public Affairs and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations voted to support the use of force against Iraq ("as a last resort") in the fall of 2002, and some prominent figures in the lobby went further.<sup>69</sup> Among the most outspoken proponents of the invasion was Mortimer Zuckerman, the chairman of the Conference of Presidents, who made frequent public statements promoting the war. In late August 2002, he wrote in *U.S. News & World Report*, where he is editor in chief, "Those who predict dire results if we try to unseat Saddam simply refuse to understand—as President Bush manifestly does—that if we opt to live with a nightmare, it will only get worse. Much worse. The best medicine here, in other words, is preventive medicine."<sup>70</sup>

Jack Rosen, the president of the American Jewish Congress, and Rabbi David Saperstein, the head of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, were also enthusiastic war hawks. Saperstein, who is known for his liberal political views and whom the *Washington Post* called "the quintessential religious lobbyist on Capitol Hill," said in September 2002 that "the Jewish Community would want to see a forceful resolution to the threat that Saddam Hussein poses."<sup>71</sup> *Jewish Week*, an influential newspaper in the greater New York area, backed the war as well. Gary Rosenblatt, its editor and publisher, wrote an editorial in mid-December 2002 in which he emphasized that "Washington's imminent war on Saddam Hussein is not only an opportunity to rid the world of a dangerous tyrant who presents a particularly horrific threat to Israel." He went on to say that "when a despot announces his evil intentions, believe him. That's one of the lessons we should have learned from Hitler and the Holocaust. What's more, the Torah instructs that when your enemy seeks to kill you, kill him first. Self-defense is not permitted; it is commanded."<sup>72</sup> Organizations like AIPAC and the ADL also supported the war, but they did so with minimum fanfare.

Now that the war has turned into a disaster, supporters of Israel sometimes argue that AIPAC, which is the most visible group in the lobby, did not back the invasion.<sup>73</sup> But this claim fails the common sense test, as AIPAC usually supports what Israel wants, and Israel certainly wanted the United States to invade Iraq. Nathan Guttman made this very connection in his reporting on AIPAC's annual conference in the spring of 2003, shortly after the war started: "AIPAC is wont to support whatever is good for Israel, and so long as Israel supports the war, so too do the thousands of AIPAC lobbyists who convened in the American capital."<sup>74</sup> AIPAC executive director Howard Kohr's statement to the *New York Sun* in January 2003 is even more revealing, as he acknowledged that "'quietly' lobbying Congress to approve the use of force in Iraq" was one of "AIPAC's successes over the past year."<sup>75</sup> And in a lengthy *New Yorker* profile of Steven J. Rosen, who was AIPAC's policy director during the run-up to the Iraq war, Jeffrey Goldberg reported that "AIPAC lobbied Congress in favor of the Iraq war."<sup>76</sup>

AIPAC has remained a firm supporter of the U.S. presence in Iraq. In the fall of 2003, when the Bush administration was having difficulty convincing Senate Democrats to allocate more money for the war, Senate Republicans asked AIPAC to lobby their Democratic colleagues to support the funding request. AIPAC representatives talked to some Democratic senators and the money was approved.<sup>77</sup> When Bush gave a speech at AIPAC in May 2004 in which he defended his Iraq policy, he received twenty-three standing ovations.<sup>78</sup> At AIPAC's 2007 conference, by which time American public opinion on the war had soured, Vice President Cheney made the case for staying the course in Iraq. According to David Horowitz of the *Jerusalem Post*, he received "considerable applause."<sup>79</sup> And John Boehner, the House minority leader, received a standing ovation when he said, "Who does not believe that failure in Iraq is not a direct threat to the state of Israel? The consequences of failure in Iraq are so ominous for the United States that you can't even begin to think about it." By contrast, when Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi criticized the Bush administration's "surge" strategy, many in the audience booed.<sup>80</sup>

AIPAC is not the only major group in the lobby to stick with Bush on Iraq, or at least not come out against the war. As the *Forward* reported in March 2007, "Most Jewish organizations have refused to speak out against the war, and at times they displayed support for the administration."<sup>81</sup> This behavior is especially striking given the attitudes of most American Jews toward the war itself. According to a 2007 Gallup Organization study based on the results of thirteen polls taken since 2005, American Jews are significantly more opposed to the Iraq war (77 percent) than the general American public (52

percent).<sup>82</sup> With respect to Iraq, the larger and wealthier pro-Israel organizations are clearly out of step with the broader population of American Jews. A few Jewish organizations, such as the Tikkun Community and Jewish Voice for Peace, opposed the war before it started and continue to do so today. But as noted in Chapter 4, these groups are neither as well funded nor as influential as organizations like AIPAC.

This gap between the political positions taken by key groups in the lobby and the public attitudes of American Jews underscores an essential point that deserves special emphasis. Although prominent Israeli leaders, the neoconservatives, and many of the lobby's leaders were eager for the United States to invade Iraq, the broader American Jewish community was not.<sup>83</sup> In fact, Samuel Freedman, a journalism professor at Columbia University, reported just after the war started that "a compilation of nationwide opinion polls by the Pew Research Center shows that Jews are less supportive of the Iraq war than the population at large, 52% to 62%."<sup>84</sup> It would therefore be a cardinal error to attribute the war in Iraq to "Jewish influence," or to "blame the Jews" for the war. Rather, the war was due in large part to the *lobby's* influence, and especially its neoconservative wing. And the lobby, as we have emphasized before, is not always representative of the larger community for which it often claims to speak.

### **SELLING THE WAR TO A SKEPTICAL AMERICA**

The neoconservatives began their campaign to use military force to topple Saddam well before Bush became president. They caused a stir in early 1998 by organizing two letters to President Clinton calling for Saddam's removal from power. The first letter (January 26, 1998) was written under the auspices of the Project for the New American Century and was signed by Elliott Abrams, John Bolton, Robert Kagan, William Kristol, Richard Perle, Donald Rumsfeld, and Paul Wolfowitz, among others. The second letter (February 19, 1998) was written under the auspices of the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf, the organization set up in 1990 by Perle, Ann Lewis (the former political director of the Democratic National Committee), and former Congressman Stephen J. Solarz (D-NY), to lobby for the first Gulf War. It was signed by the individuals mentioned above who signed the first letter as well as Douglas Feith, Michael Ledeen, Bernard Lewis, Martin Peretz, and David Wurmser, just to name a few.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to these two high-profile letters, the neoconservatives and their allies in the lobby worked assiduously in 1998 to get Congress to pass the Iraq Liberation Act, which mandated that "it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime." The neoconservatives were especially enthusiastic about this legislation not only because it sanctioned regime change in Iraq, but also because it provided \$97 million to fund groups committed to overthrowing Saddam.<sup>86</sup> The main group they had in mind was the Iraqi National Congress (INC), which was headed by their close associate, Ahmed Chalabi. Perle, Wolfowitz, and Woolsey all lobbied hard on behalf of the legislation, as did JINSA.<sup>87</sup> The act passed in the House by a vote of 360-38 and by unanimous consent in the Senate. President Clinton then signed it on October 31, 1998.

Clinton had little use for the Iraq Liberation Act, but he could not afford to veto it because he was facing midterm elections and impeachment.<sup>88</sup> Both he and his key advisers held Chalabi in low regard, and they did little to implement the law. In fact, by the time Clinton left office, he had spent hardly any of the allotted money for opposition groups like the INC. The president did pay lip service to the goal of ousting Saddam but did little to make it happen, and he was certainly not considering using the U.S. military to drive the Iraqi dictator from power.<sup>89</sup> In short, the neoconservatives were unable to sell the idea of war against Iraq during the Clinton years, although they did succeed in making regime change in Baghdad an official goal of the U.S. government.

Nor were they able to generate much enthusiasm for invading Iraq in the early months of the Bush administration, even though a number of prominent neoconservatives held important positions in the new government and had lost none of their enthusiasm for the enterprise. Richard Perle later said that

the advocates for toppling Saddam were losing the arguments inside the administration during this early period.<sup>90</sup> In fact, in March 2001, the *New York Times* reported that "some Republicans" were complaining that Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz "are failing to live up to their pre-election advocacy of stepping up efforts to overthrow President Hussein." At the same time, the *Washington Times* ran an editorial titled "Have Hawks Become Doves?" The text of that editorial was the January 26, 1998, PNAC letter to President Clinton.<sup>91</sup>

Given the publicity and the controversy surrounding two books published in 2004—Richard Clarke's *Against All Enemies* and Ron Suskind's *The Price of Loyalty*—one might think Bush and Cheney were bent on invading Iraq from the moment they assumed office in late January 2001.<sup>92</sup> This interpretation, however, is wrong. They were certainly interested in toppling Saddam, but there is no evidence in the public record showing that Bush and Cheney were seriously contemplating war against Iraq before 9/11. Bush did not advocate using force against Saddam during the 2000 campaign, and he made it clear to Bob Woodward that he was not thinking about going to war against Saddam before 9/11.<sup>93</sup> Interestingly, his main foreign policy adviser in the campaign, Condoleezza Rice, wrote a prominent article in *Foreign Affairs* in early 2000 saying that the United States could live with a nuclear-armed Iraq. Rice declared that Saddam's "conventional military power" had been "severely weakened" and said "there need be no sense of panic" about his regime.<sup>94</sup>

Vice President Cheney maintained throughout the 1990s that conquering Iraq would be a major strategic blunder and he did not sign either of the letters calling for military action against Saddam that the neoconservatives sent to President Clinton in early 1998.<sup>95</sup> In the closing stages of the 2000 campaign, he defended the 1991 decision not to go to Baghdad—in which he played a major role as secretary of defense—and said that "we want to maintain our current posture vis-a-vis Iraq."<sup>96</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that either his thinking or that of the president had changed significantly by early 2001.<sup>97</sup> Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, who had signed both of the 1998 letters to President Clinton, appears to have been the only top-tier Bush administration official who may have favored war with Iraq upon taking office. None of the other groups that are sometimes blamed for the war—such as oil companies, weapons manufacturers, Christian Zionists, or defense contractors like Kellogg Brown & Root—were making noise about invading Iraq at this time. In the beginning, the neoconservatives were largely alone.

Yet as important as the neoconservatives were as the chief architects of the war, they had been unable to persuade either Clinton or Bush to support an invasion. They needed help to achieve their aim, and that help arrived on 9/11. Specifically, the events of that tragic day led Bush and Cheney to reverse course and become strong proponents of a preventive war to topple Saddam. Robert Kagan put the point well in an interview with George Packer: "September 11 is the turning point. Not anything else. This is not what Bush was on September 10." The neoconservatives—most notably Scooter Libby, Paul Wolfowitz, and the Princeton historian Bernard Lewis—played a critical role in persuading the president and vice president to favor war. For them, 9/11 was the new context to sell their old view of American foreign policy. Possibly their greatest advantage was that they had, in Kagan's words, "a ready-made approach to the world" at a time when both the president and the vice president were trying to make sense of an unprecedented disaster that seemed to call for radically new ways of thinking about international politics.<sup>98</sup>

Wolfowitz's behavior is especially revealing. At a key meeting with Bush at Camp David on September 15, 2001, Wolfowitz advocated attacking Iraq before Afghanistan, even though there was no evidence that Saddam was involved in the attacks on the United States and bin Laden was known to be in Afghanistan.<sup>99</sup> Wolfowitz was so insistent on conquering Iraq that five days later Cheney had to tell him to "stop agitating for targeting Saddam."<sup>100</sup> According to one Republican lawmaker, he "was like a parrot bringing [Iraq] up all the time. It was getting on the President's nerves."<sup>101</sup> Bush rejected Wolfowitz's advice and chose to go after Afghanistan instead, but war with Iraq was now regarded as a serious possibility and the president tasked U.S. military planners on November 21, 2001, with developing concrete plans for an invasion.<sup>102</sup>

Other neoconservatives were also hard at work within the corridors of power. Although we do not

have the full story yet, there is considerable evidence that scholars like Bernard Lewis and Fouad Ajami of Johns Hopkins University played an important role in convincing Vice President Cheney to favor war against Iraq.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, Jacob Weisberg, the editor of *Slate*, describes Lewis as "perhaps the most significant intellectual influence behind the invasion of Iraq."<sup>104</sup> Cheney's views were also heavily influenced by neoconservatives on his staff like Eric Edelman and John Hannah. But surely the most important influence on the vice president was his chief of staff, Scooter Libby, who was one of the most powerful individuals in the administration and whose views on Iraq were similar to those of his close friend and longtime mentor, Paul Wolfowitz.<sup>105</sup> Shortly after 9/11, the *New York Times* reported that "some senior administration officials, led by Paul D. Wolfowitz . . . and I. Lewis Libby . . . are pressing for the earliest and broadest military campaign against not only the Osama bin Laden network in Afghanistan, but also against other suspected terrorist bases in Iraq and in Lebanon's Bekka region."<sup>106</sup> Of course, the vice president's position helped convince President Bush by early 2002 that the United States would probably have to take Saddam out.<sup>107</sup>

Two other considerations show how profoundly important the neoconservatives inside the administration were for making the Iraq war happen. First, it is no exaggeration to say that they were not just determined; they were obsessed with removing Saddam from power. As one senior administration figure put it in January 2003, "I do believe certain people have grown theological about this. It's almost a religion—that it will be the end of our society if we don't take action now." A *Washington Post* journalist described Colin Powell returning from White House meetings during the run-up to the Iraq war, "rolling his eyes" and saying, "Jeez, what a fixation about Iraq." Bob Woodward reports that Kenneth Adelman, a member of the Defense Policy Board, "said he had worried to death as time went on and support seemed to wane that there would be no war."<sup>108</sup>

Second, there was little enthusiasm for going to war against Iraq inside the State Department, the intelligence community, or the uniformed military. Although Secretary of State Powell ultimately supported the president's decision for war, he believed that it was a bad idea. The rank and file in his department shared his skepticism. There were two key outliers in the State Department, however—John Bolton and David Wurmser, both prominent neoconservatives who had close ties to the White House. George Tenet, the head of the CIA, also supported the White House on Iraq, but he was not a forceful advocate for war. Indeed, few individuals within the intelligence community found the case for war convincing, which is why, as discussed below, the neoconservatives established their own intelligence units. The military, especially the army, was filled with Iraq skeptics. General Eric Shinseki, the army chief of staff, was severely criticized by Wolfowitz (who dismissed Shinseki's estimate of the necessary troop levels required for the occupation as "wildly off the mark") and later Rumsfeld for expressing doubts about the war plan.<sup>109</sup> The war hawks within the administration were mainly high-level civilians in the White House and the Pentagon, almost all of whom were neoconservatives.

They lost no time making the case that invading Iraq was essential to winning the war on terrorism. Their efforts were partly aimed at keeping pressure on Bush and partly intended to overcome opposition to the war inside and outside of the government. On September 13, 2001, JINSA put out a press release titled "This Goes Beyond Bin Laden," which maintained that "a long investigation to prove Osama Bin Laden's guilt with prosecutorial certainty is entirely unnecessary. He is guilty in word and deed. His history is the source of his culpability. The same holds true for Saddam Hussein. Our actions in the past certainly were not forceful enough, and now we must seize the opportunity to alter this pattern of passivity."<sup>110</sup> One week later, on September 20, a group of prominent neoconservatives and their allies published an open letter to Bush, telling him that "even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the [9/11] attack, any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq."<sup>111</sup> The letter also reminded Bush that "Israel has been and remains America's staunchest ally against international terrorism."

Little more than a week later, on September 28, Charles Krauthammer argued in the *Washington Post* that after we were done with Afghanistan, Syria should be next, followed by Iran and Iraq. "The war on terrorism," he argued, "will conclude in Baghdad," when we finish off "the most dangerous terrorist

regime in the world." Shortly thereafter, in the October 1 issue of the *Weekly Standard*, Robert Kagan and William Kristol called for regime change in Iraq immediately after the Taliban was defeated.<sup>112</sup> Other pundits, like Michael Barone in *U.S. News & World Report*, were arguing even before the dust had settled at the World Trade Center that "evidence is accumulating that Iraq aided or perhaps planned the attack."<sup>113</sup>

Over the next eighteen months, the neoconservatives waged an unrelenting public relations campaign to win support for invading Iraq. On April 3, 2002, they released yet another open letter to Bush, which clearly linked Israel's security with a war to topple Saddam.<sup>114</sup> The letter starts by commending the president for his "strong stance in support of the Israeli government as it engages in the present campaign to fight terrorism." It then argues that "the United States and Israel share a common enemy" and are "fighting the same war." It urges Bush "to accelerate plans for removing Saddam Hussein from power," because otherwise "the damage our Israeli friends and we have suffered until now may someday appear but a prelude to much greater horrors." The letter concludes with the following message: "Israel's fight against terrorism is our fight. Israel's victory is an important part of our victory. For reasons both moral and strategic, we need to stand with Israel in its fight against terrorism."

The basic aim of the letter was to portray Arafat, bin Laden, and Saddam as critical parts of a looming menace that threatened both Israel and the United States. Not only did this depiction of a shared and growing danger justify close relations between America and Israel, it also justified the United States treating these three individuals as mortal enemies and backing Israel's hard-line response to the Second Intifada. As noted in the previous chapter, relations between the Bush administration and the Sharon government were especially contentious in early April 2002, when the letter was written. The signatories included Kenneth Adelman, William Bennett, Linda Chavez, Eliot Cohen, Midge Decter, Frank Gaffney, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Donald Kagan, Robert Kagan, William Kristol, Joshua Muravchik, Martin Peretz, Richard Perle, Daniel Pipes, Norman Podhoretz, and James Woolsey, among others.

Other pro-Israel pundits, who are not normally thought of as neoconservatives, offered a steady drumbeat of prowar advocacy as well. The case for war got a major boost with the publication in 2002 of Kenneth Pollack's ominously titled *The Threatening Storm*, which argued that Saddam was too risk acceptant and irrational to be deterred and concluded that preventive war was the only realistic option. Because Pollack was a former Clinton administration official who had previously called ousting Saddam the "rollback fantasy," his conversion to a prowar position seemed especially telling despite the book's tendentious treatment of evidence.<sup>115</sup> Pollack moved from the Council on Foreign Relations to Brookings's Saban Center for Middle East Policy during this period, where he and Saban Center director Martin Indyk produced a number of op-eds and commentary in the months before the war, warning that Saddam was undeterrable, that UN inspections were no solution, and that however regrettable, force would almost certainly be necessary.<sup>116</sup>

The neoconservatives and their allies deployed the same arguments and almost the same language that the Israelis used to promote the war. The neoconservatives made frequent reference to the 1930s and Munich, comparing Saddam with Hitler and opponents of the war (like Brent Scowcroft and Senator Chuck Hagel) with appeasers like Neville Chamberlain.<sup>117</sup> Israel and the United States, they maintained, were facing a nebulous common enemy, "international terrorism," and Iraq, to quote the *New York Times* columnist William Safire, was "the center of world terror."<sup>118</sup> The war hawks portrayed Saddam as an especially aggressive and reckless leader who would not only use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and Israel but would also pass them on to terrorists.<sup>119</sup> Identifying diplomacy and multilateralism with weakness, neoconservative commentators had nothing but contempt for the UN and its inspectors in Iraq, not to mention France.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, they repeated the old Israeli adage that force has great utility in the Middle East, because it is a region where, to quote Krauthammer, "power, above all, commands respect."<sup>121</sup>

One might argue that this analysis exaggerates the impact that open letters to presidents, newspaper columns, books, and op-eds can have on the policy-making process. After all, relatively few people actually read the various open letters and there were plenty of other articles, editorials, and op-eds

written in U.S. newspapers that had nothing to do with Iraq. This perspective would be wrong, however. The signatories of the various letters written to Presidents Bush and Clinton are powerful individuals who have connections and influence with important policy makers and lawmakers on Capitol Hill, some of whom they had worked closely with in the course of their careers. In fact, a number of the individuals who signed the earlier letters to Clinton—including Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, and Feith—became key policy makers in the Bush administration. Thus, the signatories of the letters written to Bush in the period between 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq were not shouting into a void. The same was true for journalists like Charles Krauthammer and William Safire, who wrote frequently about Iraq for two of the country's leading newspapers, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, respectively. Their views were taken seriously by influential people inside and outside of the U.S. government, as were the articles that appeared in neoconservative magazines like the *Weekly Standard*. Indeed, these writings by outsiders worked to reinforce the arguments made by Bush administration insiders, who shared their views on the need to invade Iraq. The underlying purpose of all these efforts was to define the terms of debate in a way that would facilitate an affirmative decision for war. By making war seem both necessary and beneficial, by portraying potential opponents as "soft" on terror, and by linking America's fate to Israel's through the repetition of familiar moral and strategic arguments, these efforts helped stifle serious discussion about the pros and cons of an invasion and were an important part of the broader campaign for war.<sup>122</sup>

### **FIXING THE INTELLIGENCE ON IRAQ**

A key part of the public relations campaign to win support for invading Iraq was the manipulation of intelligence information in order to make Saddam look like an imminent threat. Scooter Libby was an important player in this endeavor, visiting the CIA several times to pressure analysts to find evidence that would make the case for war. He also helped prepare a detailed briefing on the Iraq threat in early 2003 that was pushed on Colin Powell, who was then preparing his infamous presentation to the UN Security Council.<sup>123</sup> According to Bob Woodward, Powell's deputy, Richard Armitage, "was appalled at what he considered overreaching and hyperbole. Libby was drawing only the worst conclusions from fragments and silky threads."<sup>124</sup> Although Powell discarded Libby's most outlandish claims, his UN presentation was still riddled with errors, as Powell now acknowledges.<sup>125</sup>

The effort to manipulate intelligence, which was then leaked to an alarmist prowar press, also involved two organizations that were created after 9/11 and reported directly to Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith.<sup>126</sup> The Policy Counterterrorism Evaluation Group was tasked to find links between al Qaeda and Iraq that the intelligence community supposedly missed. Its two key members were David Wurmser and Michael Maloof, a Lebanese American who had close ties with Richard Perle. The *New York Times* reporter James Risen writes that "Israeli intelligence played a hidden role in convincing Wolfowitz that he couldn't trust the CIA," and this dissatisfaction helped cause him to rely on Ahmed Chalabi for intelligence and to create the Policy Counterterrorism Evaluation Group.<sup>127</sup>

The Office of Special Plans (OSP) was directed to find evidence that could be used to sell the war against Iraq. It was headed by Abram Shulsky, a neoconservative long associated with Wolfowitz, and its ranks included several recruits from pro-Israel think tanks like Michael Rubin from the American Enterprise Institute, David Schenker from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and Michael Makovsky who had worked for then Prime Minister Shimon Peres after graduating from college.<sup>128</sup> OSP relied heavily on information from Chalabi and other Iraqi exiles and it had close connections to various Israeli sources. Indeed, the *Guardian* reported that it "forged close ties to a parallel, ad hoc intelligence operation inside Ariel Sharon's office in Israel specifically to bypass Mossad and provide the Bush administration with more alarmist reports on Saddam's Iraq than Mossad was prepared to authorize."<sup>129</sup> The Pentagon's inspector general released a report in February 2007 that was critical of OSP for disseminating "alternative intelligence assessments" that "were, in our opinion, inappropriate given that the intelligence assessments were intelligence products and did not clearly show the variance with the



consensus of the Intelligence Community."<sup>130</sup>

The neoconservatives in the Pentagon and the White House not only relied heavily on Chalabi and his fellow exiles for intelligence about Iraq, they also championed him as Iraq's future leader after Saddam was gone. The

CIA and the State Department, on the other hand, considered Chalabi dishonest and unreliable and kept him at arm's length. That severe judgment has now been vindicated, as we know that Chalabi and the INC fed the United States false information, and his relations with the U.S. occupation forces soon deteriorated, with Chalabi later being accused of providing classified information to Iran (a charge that he has denied). The neoconservatives' hopes that he would be the "George Washington of Iraq" fared no better than their other prewar forecasts.<sup>131</sup>

So why did neoconservatives embrace Chalabi? The INC leader had gone to considerable lengths to establish close ties with individuals and groups in the lobby, and he had especially close links with JINSA, where he had been "a frequent guest at board meetings, symposia and other events since 1997."<sup>132</sup> He also cultivated close ties with pro-Israel organizations like AIPAC, AEI, the Hudson Institute, and WINEP. Max Singer, who helped found the Hudson Institute, described Chalabi as a "rare find. He's deep in the Arab world and at the same time he is fundamentally a man of the West."<sup>133</sup> When an embattled Chalabi returned to give his eighth address to the AEI in early November 2005, that think tank's president introduced him as a "very great and very brave Iraqi patriot, liberal and liberator."<sup>134</sup> Another big supporter of Chalabi was Bernard Lewis, who argued that the INC leader should be put in charge of Iraq after Baghdad fell.<sup>135</sup>

In return for the lobby's support, Chalabi pledged to foster good relations with Israel once he gained power. According to Feith's former law partner, L. Marc Zell, Chalabi also promised to rebuild the pipeline that once ran from Haifa in Israel to Mosul in Iraq.<sup>136</sup> This was precisely what pro-Israel proponents of regime change wanted to hear, so they backed Chalabi in return. The journalist Matthew Berger laid out the essence of the bargain in the *Jewish Journal*: "The INC saw improved relations as a way to tap Jewish influence in Washington and Jerusalem and to drum up increased support for its cause. For their part, the Jewish groups saw an opportunity to pave the way for better relations between Israel and Iraq, if and when the INC is involved in replacing Saddam Hussein's regime."<sup>137</sup> Not surprisingly, Nathan Guttman reports that "the American Jewish community and the Iraqi opposition" had for years "taken pains to conceal" the links between them.<sup>138</sup>

The neoconservatives and their allies did not operate in a vacuum, of course, and they did not lead the United States to war by themselves. As emphasized earlier, the war would probably not have occurred absent the September 11 attacks, which forced President Bush and Vice President Cheney to consider adopting a radically new foreign policy. Neoconservatives like Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, who had been urging regime change in Iraq since early 1998, were quick to link Saddam Hussein with 9/11—even though there was no evidence that Saddam was involved—and to portray his overthrow as critical to winning the war on terror. The lobby's actions were a necessary but not sufficient condition for war.

Indeed, Richard Perle made precisely this point to George Packer in a discussion about the role that the neoconservatives played in making the Iraq war happen. "If Bush had staffed his administration with a group of people selected by Brent Scowcroft and Jim Baker," Perle noted, "which might well have happened, then it could have been different, because they would not have carried into it the ideas that the people who wound up in important positions brought to it."<sup>139</sup> The *New York Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman offered a similar appraisal in May 2003, telling Ari Shavit of *Ha'aretz* that Iraq was "the war the neoconservatives wanted . . . the war the neoconservatives marketed . . . I could give you the names of 25 people (all of whom are at the moment within a five-block radius of this office [in Washington, D.C.]), who, if you exiled them to a desert island a year and a half ago, the Iraq war would not have happened." We agree completely with Perle's and Friedman's observations, while recognizing that it was a combination of individuals, ideas, and circumstances that came together to produce the ultimate decision for war.<sup>140</sup>

## WAS IRAQ A WAR FOR OIL?

Some readers might concede that the Israel lobby had some influence over the decision to invade Iraq but argue that its overall weight in the decisionmaking process was minimal. Instead, many American and foreign observers appear to think that oil—not Israel—was the real motivation behind the invasion of Iraq in 2003. In one variant of this story, the Bush administration was determined to control the vast reserves of oil in the Middle East, because that would give the United States enormous geopolitical leverage over potential adversaries. Conquering Iraq, according to this scenario, was seen by the administration as a giant step toward achieving that goal. An alternative version sees the oil-producing states and especially the oil companies as the real culprits behind the Iraq war, driven primarily by a desire for higher prices and greater profits. Even scholars who are often critical of Israel and of the lobby, such as Noam Chomsky, apparently subscribe to this idea, which was popularized in filmmaker Michael Moore's 2004 documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*.<sup>141</sup>

The claim that the conquest of Iraq was mainly about oil has a certain *prima facie* plausibility, given the importance of oil to the world economy.<sup>142</sup> But this explanation faces both logical and empirical difficulties. As emphasized in Chapter 2, U.S. policy makers have long been concerned about who controls Persian Gulf oil; they have been especially concerned about the danger that one state might control all of it. The United States has been involved with various oil-producing countries in the Gulf, but no American government, including the Bush administration, has seriously considered conquering the major oil-producing countries in that region to gain coercive leverage over other countries around the world. The United States might consider invading a major oil-producing state if a revolution or an embargo caused its oil to stop flowing into world markets. But that was not the case with Iraq; Saddam was eager to sell his oil to any customer willing to pay for it. Moreover, if the United States wanted to conquer another country in order to gain control of its oil, Saudi Arabia—with larger reserves and a smaller population—would have been a much more attractive target. Plus, bin Laden was born and raised in Saudi Arabia, and fifteen of the nineteen terrorists who struck the United States on September 11 were Saudis (none were from Iraq). If control of oil were Bush's real objective, 9/11 would have been an ideal pretext to act. Occupying Saudi Arabia would not have been a simple task, but it would almost certainly have been easier than trying to pacify the large, restive, and well-armed population of Iraq.

There is also hardly any evidence that oil interests were actively pushing the Bush administration to invade Iraq in 2002-03. In 1990-91, by contrast, Saudi Arabia's leaders clearly pressed the first Bush administration to use force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. They feared, like many American policy makers at the time, that Saddam might next invade Saudi Arabia, which would place much of the region's oil under his control. Prince Bandar, the Saudi ambassador to the United States, worked closely with pro-Israel groups here to build support for ousting Saddam from Kuwait.<sup>143</sup> But the story was very different in the run-up to the second Gulf War: this time Saudi Arabia publicly opposed using American force against Iraq.<sup>144</sup> Saudi leaders feared that a war would lead to the breakup of Iraq and destabilize the Middle East. And even if Iraq remained intact, the Shia were likely to ascend to power, which worried the Sunnis who ran Saudi Arabia not only for religious reasons but also because it would increase Iran's influence in the region. In addition, the Saudis faced growing anti-Americanism at home, which was likely to get worse if the United States launched a preventive war against Iraq.

Nor were the oil companies, which generally seek to curry favor with big oil producers like Saddam's Iraq or the Islamic Republic of Iran, major players in the decision to conquer Iraq. They did not lobby for the 2003 war, which most of them thought was a foolish idea. As Peter Beinart noted in the *New Republic* in September 2002, "It isn't war that the American oil industry has been lobbying for all these years; it's the end of sanctions."<sup>145</sup> The oil companies, as is almost always the case, wanted to make money, not war.

## DREAMS OF REGIONAL TRANSFORMATION

The Iraq war was not supposed to be a costly quagmire. Rather, it was intended as the first step in a larger plan to reorder the Middle East in ways that would benefit long-term American and Israeli interests. Specifically, the United States was not just going to remove Saddam Hussein from power and go home; the invasion and occupation would, in this dream, quickly turn Iraq into a democracy, which would then serve as an attractive model for people living in the various authoritarian states in the region. The results from Iraq would trigger a cascade of democratic dominoes, although it still might be necessary to use the sword to spread democracy to some countries in the Middle East besides Iraq. But once democracy took hold across the region, regimes friendly to Israel and the United States would be the norm, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians would, in the words of the "Clean Break" study, be "transcended," other regional rivalries would be muted, and the twin problems of terrorism and nuclear proliferation would largely disappear.

Vice President Cheney laid out this ambitious rationale for regional transformation in the speech to the VFW convention on August 26, 2002, opening the administration's campaign to sell the Iraq war. "When the gravest of threats are eliminated," he said, "the freedom-loving peoples of the region will have a chance to promote the values that can bring lasting peace . . . Extremists in the region would have to rethink their strategy of jihad. Moderates throughout the region would take heart. And our ability to advance the Israeli-Palestinian peace process would be enhanced."<sup>146</sup> Cheney would repeat these arguments on several occasions over the next six months.

President Bush spoke with similar enthusiasm about regional transformation as he made the case for war against Iraq. On February 26, 2003, he told an audience at AEI that the United States aims to "cultivate liberty and peace in the Middle East." He emphasized that "the world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life. And there are hopeful signs of a desire for freedom in the Middle East." Furthermore, he claimed, "Success in Iraq could also begin a new stage for Middle Eastern peace, and set in motion progress towards a truly democratic Palestinian peace."<sup>147</sup>

This ambitious strategy, grounded in an almost theological belief in the transformative power of freedom, was a dramatic departure from previous U.S. policy, and there was certainly no indication before 9/11 that either Bush or Cheney would embrace it. Indeed, both men—as well as National Security Adviser Rice—were on record as being opposed to the ambitious kind of nation building that was at the heart of regional transformation, and Bush had sharply criticized the Clinton administration for its emphasis on nation building during the 2000 campaign. So what had produced this shift? According to a March 2003 story in the *Wall Street Journal*, the critical driving forces behind this major change in U.S. Middle East policy were Israel and the neoconservatives in the lobby. The headline says it all: "President's Dream: Changing Not Just Regime but a Region: A Pro-U.S., Democratic Area Is a Goal That Has Israeli and Neoconservative Roots."<sup>148</sup>

Charles Krauthammer says this grand scheme to spread democracy across the Middle East was the brainchild of Natan Sharansky, the Israeli politician whose writings are said to have impressed President Bush.<sup>149</sup> But Sharansky was hardly a lone voice in Israel. In fact, Israelis across the political spectrum maintained that toppling Saddam would alter the Middle East to Israel's advantage. Writing in the *New York Times* in early September 2002, former Prime Minister Ehud Barak argued that "putting an end to Saddam Hussein's regime will change the geopolitical landscape of the Arab world." He claimed that "an Arab world without Saddam Hussein would enable many from this generation [leaders about to come into power] to embrace the gradual democratic opening that some of the Persian Gulf states and Jordan have begun to enjoy." Barak also maintained that toppling Saddam would "create an opening for forward movement on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."<sup>150</sup>

In August 2002, Yuval Steinitz, a Likud party member of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "After Iraq is taken by U.S. troops and we see a new regime installed as in Afghanistan, and Iraqi bases become American bases, it will be very easy to pressure Syria to stop supporting terrorist organizations like Hizbullah and Islamic Jihad, to allow the Lebanese army to dismantle Hizbullah, and maybe to put an end to the

Syrian occupation in Lebanon. If this happens we will really see a new Middle East."<sup>151</sup> Similarly, Aluf Benn reported in *Ha'aretz* in February 2003 that "senior IDF officers and those close to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, such as National Security Advisor Ephraim Halevy, paint a rosy picture of the wonderful future Israel can expect after the war. They envision a domino effect, with the fall of Saddam Hussein followed by that of Israel's other enemies: Arafat, Hassan Nasrallah, Bashar Assad, the ayatollah in Iran and maybe even Muhammad Gaddafi. Along with these leaders will disappear terror and weapons of mass destruction."<sup>152</sup>

The *New York Times* also reported that Halevy gave a speech in Munich in February 2003 where he said, "The shock waves emerging from post-Saddam Baghdad could have wide-ranging effects in Tehran, Damascus, and in Ramallah."<sup>153</sup> The author of the article noted that Israel "is hoping that once Saddam Hussein is dispensed with, the dominoes will start to tumble. According to this hope . . . moderates and reformers throughout the region would be encouraged to put new pressure on their own governments, not excepting the Palestinian Authority of Yasir Arafat." The *Forward* summed up Israeli thinking about regional transformation in an article published just before the war: "Israel's top political, military and economic echelons have come to regard the looming Iraq war as a virtual *deus ex machina* that will turn the political and economic tables and extricate Israel from its current morass."<sup>154</sup>

Some might argue that Israel's leaders are too sophisticated and experienced to believe in a *deus ex machina* and countenance such an ambitious scheme, and too familiar with the complexities of their region to believe it could succeed. But in fact, Israel's leaders have a long history of favoring remarkably ambitious plans to remake the local map. The original Zionist dream of reestablishing a Jewish state where none had existed for nearly two millennia was nothing if not ambitious, and as discussed in Chapter 1, David Ben-Gurion had hoped to seize all of the West Bank, part of Lebanon, and portions of Egypt in the 1956 Suez War. Similarly, Ariel Sharon believed the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 would lead to the creation of a pro-Israel Christian state there and vanquish the PLO once and for all, thereby cementing Israel's control of the Occupied Territories. Given that history, it is perhaps not so surprising that many Israeli leaders held out the hope that the United States might be able to succeed where their earlier plans had failed.

### THE LOBBY'S ROLE IN REMAKING THE MIDDLE EAST

By 2002, many neoconservatives were also heavily invested in the idea that the United States could democratize the Middle East and make it a more friendly environment for America and Israel. They had reached that position over the course of the 1990s as they became increasingly disenchanted with U.S. foreign policy after the Cold War.

Pro-Israel groups—and not only neoconservatives—have long been interested in having the U.S. military directly involved in the Middle East so that it can help protect Israel. They are especially interested in seeing large numbers of American troops permanently stationed there.<sup>155</sup> But they had limited success on this front during the Cold War, because America acted as an offshore balancer in the region. Most U.S. forces designated for the Middle East, like the Rapid Deployment Force, were kept "over the horizon" and out of harm's way. Washington maintained a favorable balance of power by playing local powers against each other, which is why the Reagan administration supported Saddam against revolutionary Iran during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88).

This policy changed after the first Gulf War, when the Clinton administration adopted a strategy of "dual containment." Instead of using Iran and Iraq to balance each other—with the United States shifting sides as needed—the new strategy called for stationing substantial American forces in the region to contain both of them at once. The father of dual containment was Martin Indyk, who first articulated the strategy in May 1993 at WINEP and then implemented it as director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council.<sup>156</sup> As Indyk's Brookings colleague Kenneth Pollack observes, dual containment was a policy adopted largely in response to "Israel's security concerns." Specifically, Israel made it clear to the Clinton administration that it "was willing to move ahead in the peace process only if it felt reasonably secure" from Iran.<sup>157</sup>

There was considerable dissatisfaction with dual containment by the mid-1990s, because it made the United States the mortal enemy of two countries that hated each other, and it forced Washington to bear

the burden of containing both of them. As discussed in Chapter 10, AIPAC and other groups in the lobby not only saved the policy, they persuaded Congress and Clinton to toughen it up. The neoconservatives went even further, however; they were increasingly convinced that dual containment was not working and that Saddam Hussein had to be removed from power and replaced by a democratic government. Their thinking was reflected in the two open letters that they sent to President Clinton in early 1998 as well as their support for the Iraq Liberation Act.

At about the same time, the belief that spreading democracy across the Middle East would pacify the entire area was beginning to take root within neoconservative circles. A few neoconservatives had flirted with this idea in the wake of the Cold War, but it was not widely embraced until the latter part of the 1990s.<sup>158</sup> This line of thinking, of course, was evident in the 1996 "Clean Break" study that a group of neoconservatives had written for Netanyahu. By 2002, when invading Iraq had become a front-burner issue, regional transformation had become an article of faith among neoconservatives, who, in turn, helped make it the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy.<sup>159</sup> Thus, Israeli leaders, neoconservatives, and the Bush administration all saw war with Iraq as the first step in an ambitious campaign to remake the Middle East.

## CONCLUSION

The Bush administration's plans for Iraq and the wider region have been a stunning failure. Not only is the American military stuck in a losing war, but there is little prospect of exporting democracy across the Middle East anytime soon. Iran has been the main beneficiary of this ill-conceived adventure and it seems as determined as ever to acquire a nuclear capability. Syria, like Iran, remains at odds with Washington, and both states have a powerful interest in having the U.S. military bogged down in Iraq. Hamas now dominates Gaza and the Palestinian Authority is badly split—making peace with Israel even more elusive—and Hezbollah is more powerful than ever in Lebanon, after having stood up to Israel in the 2006 war. We may be witnessing the "birth pangs of a new Middle East," to use Secretary of State Rice's regrettable phrase, but it will almost certainly be more unstable and dangerous than the one that existed before the United States invaded Iraq.<sup>160</sup>

The war in Iraq has not been good for Israel either, especially since it has strengthened Iran's hand in the region. Indeed, the *Forward* reported in early 2007 that there is a "growing chorus" of voices in Israel who are saying that the Jewish state "could find itself in more danger" now that Saddam has been removed from power.<sup>161</sup> Amatzia Baram, an Israeli expert on Iraq who argued for Saddam's ouster in prewar interviews in the AIPAC newsletter *Near East Report*, now says, "If I knew then what I know today [January 2007], I would not have recommended going to war, because Saddam was far less dangerous than I thought." Moreover, he admitted that the invasion had produced "much, much more [terrorism] than I expected." Yuval Diskin, the head of Shin Bet, Israel's domestic security service, said in February 2006, "I'm not sure we won't miss Saddam."<sup>162</sup>

As the United States looks for ways to extricate itself from this disastrous situation, pressure has been growing on the Bush administration to talk with Iran and Syria, and to make a concerted effort to settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The neoconservatives and the Israelis, of course, believed that the road to Jerusalem ran through Baghdad. Once the United States won in Iraq, they believed, the Palestinians would make peace on Israel's terms. But the bipartisan Iraq Study Group, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, and many others believe the opposite is true: the road to Baghdad runs through Jerusalem.<sup>163</sup> In other words, creating a viable Palestinian state will help the United States deal with Iraq and other regional problems. Israel and the lobby have vigorously challenged this line of argument, insisting that America's troubles in Iraq have nothing to do with the Palestinians. Indeed, *Ha'aretz* reported in late November 2006, just before the release of the Iraq Study Group report, that Prime Minister Ehud Olmert "hopes the Jewish lobby can rally a Democratic majority in the new Congress to

counter any diversion from the status quo on the Palestinians."<sup>164</sup> Similarly, a number of pro-Israel groups still maintain that the United States should refuse to talk with Iran and Syria until these states agree to all of Washington's demands.<sup>165</sup>

The Bush administration faces growing pressure to pull out of Iraq, but Israeli leaders have encouraged it to stay and finish the job. Why? Because these leaders believe that a U.S. withdrawal would jeopardize Israel's security. Both Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni and Prime Minister Olmert made this point to AIPAC's annual conference in March 2007. Livni said that "in a region where impressions are important, countries must be careful not to demonstrate weakness and surrender to extremists."<sup>166</sup> Olmert was even blunter: "Those who are concerned for Israel's security ... for the stability of the entire Middle East should recognize the need for American success in Iraq and responsible exit." He ended his remarks by saying that "when America succeeds in Iraq, Israel is safer. The friends of Israel know it. The friends who care about Israel know it."<sup>167</sup> Critics castigated Olmert for making these remarks, mainly because his comments provided additional evidence that Israel had backed the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Bradley Burston, who writes for *Ha'aretz*, was especially angry with Olmert for venturing into the American debate on Iraq. He had a simple message for the prime minister: "Stay the hell out of it."<sup>168</sup>

Olmert had actually expressed his support for America's continued presence in Iraq during a visit to the White House in November 2006, saying, "We are very much impressed and encouraged by the stability which the great operation of America in Iraq brought to the Middle East."<sup>169</sup> Even some of Israel's consistent backers were put off by Olmert's prowar remarks, with Congressman Gary Ackerman saying, "I'm shocked. It's a very unrealistic observation. Most of us here understand that our policy has been a thorough and total disaster for the United States."<sup>170</sup>

Given that many Americans now share Ackerman's sentiments about the war, we should not be surprised that some Israelis and their American allies have tried to rewrite the historical record to absolve Israel of any responsibility for the Iraq disaster. In March 2007, the editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, David Horowitz, wrote about "the false notion that Israel encouraged the US to fight the Iraq War."<sup>171</sup> Similarly, Shai Feldman, former head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies and now head of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis, told Glenn Frankel of the *Washington Post* in the summer of 2006, "Look, Israel didn't mobilize anybody over Iraq, and associating Israel with the neocons on this issue is preposterous. Israel didn't see Iraq as a danger, and what's more, it had no interest in pushing the Bush administration's democracy agenda."<sup>172</sup> This view undoubtedly reflects Feldman's beliefs about Israel's interests and the hierarchy of threats it faced, but as we have shown, it is contrary to what Israel's leaders were actually saying and doing in the run-up to the war.

Not to be outdone, Martin Kramer, a research fellow at WINEP, claims that any attempt to link Israel and the lobby with the war in Iraq is "simply a falsehood," arguing that "in the year preceding the Iraq War, Israel time and again disagreed with the United States, arguing that Iran posed the greater threat."<sup>173</sup> But as shown above, Israel's concerns about Iran never led it to undertake a significant effort to halt the march to war. To the contrary, top Israeli officials were doing everything in their power to make sure that the United States went after Saddam and did not get cold feet at the last moment. They considered Iraq a serious threat and were convinced that Bush would deal with Iran after he finished with Iraq. They might have preferred that America focus on Iran before Iraq, but as Kramer admits, Israelis "shed no tears over Saddam's demise." Instead, their leaders took to the American airwaves, wrote op-eds, testified before Congress, and worked closely with the neoconservatives in the Pentagon and the vice president's office to shape the intelligence about Iraq and coordinate the drive to war.

Yossi Alpher, an Israeli strategist at the Jaffe Center, now maintains that former Prime Minister Sharon had serious reservations about invading Iraq and he privately warned Bush against it. Alpher even hints that Sharon might have been able to prevent the war had he spoken out about his concerns. He writes, "Had Sharon made his criticism public, citing the dangers posed to vital Israeli interests, might he have made a difference in the prewar debate in the United States and the world?"<sup>174</sup> This is a convenient alibi now that the occupation of Iraq has gone south, but there is no evidence in the public record that Sharon ever advised Bush not to attack Iraq. In fact, there is considerable evidence that the

Israeli leader and his key advisers strongly endorsed the war and encouraged Bush to begin it sooner rather than later. If Sharon believed the war to be a mistake, why did his own spokesman repeatedly stress the danger of Iraq's WMD and why did Sharon himself warn the Bush administration that putting off the attack "will not create a more convenient environment for action in the future"?<sup>175</sup>

It is possible that Sharon made different arguments behind closed doors than he made in public. This is not likely, however, as word of Sharon's opposition to the war would surely have leaked out before it began, if not in the first year or two after Baghdad fell. Sharon was rarely reticent about expressing his views—even when doing so involved disagreements with the United States—and it is hard to believe that he would have kept silent in public if he thought that the decision to invade Iraq would be harmful to Israel. In short, neither facts nor logic support Alpher's claim.

"Victory has a thousand fathers, but defeat is an orphan." As the various progenitors of the Iraq disaster now seek to deny their paternity, President John F. Kennedy's rueful remark is more appropriate than ever. But Iraq did not always look like the blunder it has turned out to be. For a few short months in the spring of 2003, the United States appeared to have won a stunning victory and there was little need for Israel's defenders to deny responsibility for the war. During this brief window of opportunity, in fact, key Israelis and their American allies began to pressure the Bush administration to bring U.S. power to bear on Syria and Iran, in the hope that these two rogue states would suffer the same fate as Saddam Hussein's regime. Let us now consider how Israel and the lobby influenced U.S. policy on Syria, and then turn to Iran.

## **TAKING AIM AT SYRIA**

America has had a problematic relationship with Syria for nearly fifty years. The Ba'th regime was a key Soviet client during the Cold War, and its authoritarian government has committed serious human rights abuses in the past and still denies basic freedoms to its population. President Bush did not include Syria in his infamous "axis of evil," but it is often depicted as a "rogue state" that threatens important American interests. U.S. policy toward Syria became more hostile after September 11, 2001, and the fall of Baghdad in April 2003 fueled speculation that the United States was going to go after Damascus as well. The deteriorating situation in Iraq has ended such talk for the moment, but relations with Damascus have not improved and confrontation remains the order of the day.

Yet if one looks at Syria with a more detached eye, it is not obvious why it would be in the U.S. national interest to have a strictly adversarial relationship with that Arab country. Washington and Damascus have never been especially friendly, but they have cooperated to their mutual benefit on a number of occasions, and Syria's modest military capabilities pose no serious threat to vital U.S. interests. It is difficult to see—given present circumstances—why Syria should be considered an ideal candidate for regime change while equally odious dictatorships in the Middle East and elsewhere enjoy American patronage.

In fact, the Bush administration's unremitting hostility toward Syria has been strategically unwise. Specifically, it has damaged America's position in the Arab and Islamic world, hindered U.S. efforts to thwart nuclear proliferation, made it more difficult to stabilize Iraq, and made America's terrorism problem worse, not better. Thus, it is not surprising that many voices inside the United States have recently called for President Bush to reverse course and seek a modus vivendi with Damascus. The Iraq Study Group, for example, called in December 2006 for the Bush administration to "actively engage" with Syria in "diplomatic dialogue, without preconditions."<sup>1</sup> That same month, four U.S. senators visited Damascus to talk with Syria's president, Bashar al-Assad, and in

April 2007, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi led a bipartisan delegation of six House members—including Tom Lantos and Henry Waxman, whose pro-Israel credentials are well established—to Syria to speak with Assad about pushing the peace process forward.<sup>2</sup>

Israel and the lobby have played a central role in pushing the Bush administration to pursue an increasingly confrontational policy toward Syria, albeit with some reluctance. The lobby has worked hard to get the United States to isolate and pressure Damascus, even when doing so jeopardized valuable forms of collaboration. In the absence of this pressure, Washington's relationship with Syria would be markedly different and would probably be more consistent with the American national interest. The United States and Syria would hardly be allies if the lobby was less influential, but a pragmatic and mutually beneficial relationship would be much more likely.

## THE SYRIAN THREAT

Syria is not a serious military threat to the United States or to Israel. Its defense budget is less than one-fifth the size of Israel's, and it has an unimpressive army and air force that the Israel Defense Forces would easily defeat if serious fighting ever occurred.<sup>3</sup> The IDF had little difficulty routing Syria's forces during its 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and that war occurred when Syria was still getting a great deal of help from its Soviet patron. Damascus has been on its own since the Soviet Union collapsed, however, while Israel has continued to receive significant U.S. aid every year. A war between Israel and Syria would be a gross mismatch, which is why Syria's leaders go to considerable lengths to avoid provoking Israel.

The American military would have even less trouble defeating the Syrians in a war. Syria's military is much weaker than Iran's or Iraq's under Saddam, and it has not engaged a serious adversary since Israel trounced it in 1982. Unlike Iran today or Iraq under Saddam, Syria lacks the population size and wealth to be a regional hegemon. It can make life more difficult for the United States and for Israel, but it lacks the wherewithal to be a serious threat to either country.

Furthermore, Syria does not have a nuclear weapons program, and there is no reason to think that it will pursue one anytime soon. It does have chemical weapons, which were first acquired from Egypt in 1973, and it may have a biological weapons program.<sup>4</sup> It also has a large inventory of ballistic missiles and thus the capability to deliver its chemical weapons against Israel and other countries in the region, although not the United States. But Israel has never worried much about this threat, because it has its own chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, and it could inflict far greater damage on Syria than Syria could inflict on Israel. In other words, Israel has an effective deterrent against Syria's chemical weapons.<sup>5</sup>

Syria's ability to create trouble rests mostly in its support for a number of terrorist organizations, notably Hezbollah, but also Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Indeed, Hamas leader Khaled Meshal lives in Damascus. All of these groups threaten Israel, but unlike al Qaeda, none of them—including Hezbollah—directly threatens the United States. As Moshe Maoz, an expert on Syria at Hebrew University, notes, "Syria is not a saint—everybody knows that—but Hezbollah is mostly a threat against Israel."<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Syria and al Qaeda are bitter enemies, mainly because bin Laden is a Sunni and an Islamic fundamentalist, while Assad is the Shia leader of a secular state. In fact, al Qaeda is believed to have links to the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamic terrorist group that has battled the secular Bathist government in Syria for more than twenty years.<sup>7</sup> Given that Damascus and Washington share a common enemy in al Qaeda, it is hardly surprising that in the wake of 9/11 Syria began providing the Bush administration with important intelligence about bin Laden's organization. Contrary to the rhetoric about the global war on terror, it would be wrong to argue that Syria supports "international terrorism"—a global network of terrorist groups and states that target America and Israel alike. Rather, Syria supports a particular set of terrorist organizations whose agenda is focused primarily on Israel alone.

One might argue that Syria is a serious threat to the United States, because it supports the



insurgency in Iraq. But there is little hard evidence that Damascus is providing support to the Iraqi insurgents, which is surely why the Bush administration has mainly made that charge against Iran, not Syria. It is probably the case that Syria is turning a blind eye to some of the fighters and weapons that flow across its borders into Iraq. But Washington has pursued a confrontational policy toward Damascus since September 11, which gives the Syrians powerful incentives to keep the U.S. military busy in Iraq. Ultimately, however, Syria is not the source of America's troubles in Iraq, and Damascus would have little interest in undermining the U.S. occupation if President Bush and his lieutenants were not threatening the Assad regime. The bottom line is that Syria is not a serious danger to the United States, and it has little reason to pick a quarrel with the world's most powerful state.

In fact, Damascus has had reasonably good relations with Washington at a number of points in the recent past. Syria fought alongside the United States in the 1991 war against Iraq, and the two countries had cordial if guarded relations during the 1990s, when the United States was attempting to broker a peace deal between Damascus and Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> President Clinton even visited Damascus in October 1994 to meet with President Hafez al-Assad, the first visit to Syria by an American president in twenty years. Afterward, Clinton remarked, "I went there because I was convinced that we needed to add new energy to the talks, and I came away convinced that we have."<sup>9</sup> Later, in the fall of 2002, when Syria was a nonpermanent member of the Security Council, it voted for UN Resolution 1441, which called for the return of UN weapons inspectors to Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And although the Bush administration played a key role in forcing Syria out of Lebanon in 2005, for many years the United States had counted on Syria to shut down Lebanon's civil war (1976-89) and to keep the peace there.<sup>10</sup>

Syrian President Assad is certainly not interested in being America's enemy. Flynt Leverett, a former Bush administration official and one of the West's foremost experts on Syria, notes that "Bashar has repeatedly stated his interest in a better relationship with the United States. Such interest is fully in keeping with father Hafez's script and in line with any realistic assessment of Syria's strategic needs." Leverett also believes improved relations are "critical to his [Assad's] long-term ambitions for internal reform."<sup>11</sup> Seymour Hersh, who visited Assad in his Damascus office in 2003, found him eager to talk because "he wanted to change his image, and the image of his country."<sup>12</sup>

Syria has also been trying to negotiate a peace agreement with Israel since the early 1990s. They came close to reaching a deal in early 2000, but Ehud Barak, the Israeli prime minister at the time, got cold feet at the last moment. Since then, the Syrians have made numerous offers to restart the negotiations and try to settle their differences. But Barak's successors— Ariel Sharon and Ehud Olmert—have refused and instead have pursued confrontational policies toward Syria. Those same Israeli leaders have also pushed the United States to treat Damascus as a dangerous adversary.

### **ISRAEL AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS**

To grasp the essence of the complex dance between Washington, Jerusalem, and Damascus, and the role that the lobby has played, one must first understand why Israel came tantalizingly close to signing a peace agreement with Syria in 2000 but has been unwilling to talk with Assad since then.<sup>13</sup>

The taproot of the present conflict between Israel and Syria involves the Golan Heights. Israel took that territory from Syria in the 1967 war and drove eighty thousand Syrians from their homes. Israeli law was extended over the Golan Heights in 1981, in what was essentially a de facto annexation.<sup>14</sup> There are now about eighteen thousand Jewish settlers living there in thirty-two settlements and one city.<sup>15</sup> Syria is deeply committed to getting this territory back, and toward this end it supports terrorist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah; the Syrian military is too weak to threaten Israel and these groups are its only means of putting pressure on Israel. In 1994, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin agreed in principle to return all of the Golan Heights to Syria in return for full normalization of relations between the two countries. It was widely understood that the "Rabin deposit," as it came to be known, meant that Israel would withdraw to the border that existed on June 4, 1967, and that Syria would then end all support for Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad.<sup>16</sup>

Rabin was assassinated a year later, but his successors—Shimon Peres and Benjamin Netanyahu—

remained committed in principle to withdrawing to the June 4, 1967, borders. Peres's tenure in office was too short to craft a deal, however, and Netanyahu, for various reasons, did not place a sufficiently high priority on it. Netanyahu's successor, Ehud Barak, was also willing to give back virtually all of the Golan Heights to Syria, although he would not commit himself to a full withdrawal to the 1967 border.<sup>17</sup>

Relations between Israel and Syria were not that bad in the latter half of the 1990s, as the two sides maneuvered to reach an agreement. The Clinton administration was deeply involved in the negotiating process, devoted to brokering the final deal, much the way Jimmy Carter pushed forward a deal between Egypt and Israel at Camp David in 1979. And this meant that Syria and the United States had a reasonably good relationship during this period, even though Syria was a one-party dictatorship and the Clinton administration was publicly committed to "expanding democracy." Israel actually welcomed this cordial relationship between Damascus and Washington at the time, because it wanted the United States to help resolve its long-standing feud with Syria. A headline in the *New York Times* after President Clinton

visited Damascus in October 1994 makes this point clear: "Israelis Look to Clinton Trip for Progress with Syrians."<sup>18</sup>

In the fall of 1999, Clinton thought he finally had the makings of a deal between Israel and Syria. At the strong urging of Barak, he gathered the two sides together in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, in early January 2000. But Barak, suddenly aware that Israeli public opinion was cool to giving the Golan Heights back to Syria, became inflexible and tried to show that he was being a tough negotiator by slowing the process. The talks collapsed, with Dennis Ross, Clinton's chief Middle East negotiator, later remarking, "If not for Barak's cold feet, there might have been a deal in January 2000."<sup>19</sup> A subsequent meeting two months later in Geneva between Assad and Clinton went nowhere, mainly because the Syrian leader no longer trusted Barak. Clinton clearly blamed Israel, not Syria, for the collapse of the negotiations.<sup>20</sup>

Sharon replaced Barak as prime minister in February 2001. This development changed Israeli-Syrian relations for the worse, which in turn undermined Syrian-American relations as well. Unlike his four predecessors, Sharon had no intention of giving back the Golan Heights. "What was offered back then," he said, "in my wildest imagination, I would not have considered."<sup>21</sup> Sharon's successor, Ehud Olmert, has also made it clear that "the Golan Heights will remain in our hands forever."<sup>22</sup>

This insistence on keeping that disputed territory as part of Israel enjoys widespread support on the Israeli right. When Javier Solana, the secretary general of the Council of the European Union, said in March 2007 that he would like to help Syria get back the territory it lost in 1967, Yisrael Katz, a Knesset member from Likud, responded, "Israel will never retreat from the Golan Heights; the region is an integral part of Israel and vital for its security and protection."<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Benjamin Netanyahu apparently now believes that Israel must remain in the Golan Heights.<sup>24</sup> Israeli public opinion is clearly in favor of hanging on to the territory as well; a December 2006 survey indicated that 64 percent of the respondents opposed withdrawing from the Golan even if it led to full peace with Syria. By contrast, only 19 percent favored the deal. A previous poll in early October 2006 produced similar results: 70 percent opposed full withdrawal in exchange for peace while 16 percent favored it.<sup>25</sup>

Despite this entrenched resistance to withdrawal, there is substantial support within Israel's governing circles for trying to negotiate a deal with Syria, especially within the military. The IDF chief of staff said in 2004 that Israel was capable of defending itself without the Golan Heights and would be more secure if it signed a peace treaty with Syria.<sup>26</sup> Not only would Israel then have normal relations with a long-standing enemy, but Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad would no longer receive support from Syria, and in the case of Hezbollah, loss of Syrian backing would make it much more difficult for Iran to supply it with weapons. Even more important, Syria could use its considerable influence in Lebanon to rein in Hezbollah. This line of argument took on greater urgency after the 2006 Lebanon war, in which Hezbollah was able to fight the IDF to a standstill. In response, a number of influential Israelis, including a former chief of staff and a former head of Shin Bet, created an organization called the Forum of the Peace Initiative with Syria. Its goal is to persuade the Israeli government to respond to Syrian peace overtures and hopefully reach a peace agreement between Damascus and Jerusalem.<sup>27</sup>

*Ha'aretz* has also been a strong supporter of negotiations with Damascus, as has Olmert's defense minister, Amir Peretz.<sup>28</sup> This approach, however, was firmly rejected by both Sharon and Olmert.

Given that Israel's current leaders do not intend to return the Golan Heights to Syria, they have no interest in reopening peace talks with Damascus.<sup>29</sup> What is there to talk about? To justify their intransigence, they seek to portray Syria as a rogue state that cannot be trusted and that understands only the mailed fist. It is no wonder that the Syrian ambassador to Washington said in early 2004 that "the more we talk about peace, the more we are attacked."<sup>30</sup> Confrontation, not cooperation, is the best policy for dealing with Syria, according to Israel's current leaders, who have an obvious interest in getting the Bush administration to see Syria in a similar light. Thus, in contrast to the late 1990s, when Israel favored cooperation with Syria, since 2001 both Israel and a number of its American backers have worked hard to convince the U.S. government to treat Syria as a hostile and dangerous enemy.

Syria still hopes to get the Golan Heights back, and it has made repeated attempts to reopen talks with Israel and negotiate a peace agreement along the lines of the "Rabin deposit."<sup>31</sup> But Israel's leaders have refused even to countenance a dialogue with Syria. After a Syrian peace offer in early December 2003, the veteran military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff observed in *Ha'aretz* that "the most astonishing thing about the Syrian president's proposal to resume talks with Israel is the response of official Israel . . . Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has remained silent. Not a word has been heard from him ... In the past we always hoped for such proposals."<sup>32</sup>

In a mid-December 2006 interview with the Italian newspaper *La Re-pubblica*, President Assad called on Olmert to negotiate with him: "Talk to Syria, and like many Israelis are saying, 'even if you think it's a bluff you have nothing to lose.'"<sup>33</sup> At the same time, the Syrian foreign minister told the *Washington Post* that Syria would be willing to begin talks with Israel without any preconditions, which appeared to be a significant change in Syria's bargaining position.<sup>34</sup> Olmert rejected the opportunity to start talks and blamed it on President Bush, who, according to the prime minister, had forbidden him to negotiate with Syria.<sup>35</sup> The implication of the prime minister's comments—which have been repeated by many other Israelis—is that he would talk with Assad were it not for his loyalty to Bush.

This argument is unconvincing. Not only did the U.S. ambassador to Israel deny that Washington was preventing Israel from talking with Syria, but Israel is not in the habit of taking orders from any U.S. leader when its vital interests are at stake.<sup>36</sup> Most important, there is hardly any evidence that Olmert is genuinely interested in meaningful peace talks with Syria. A senior Israeli government official told Aluf Benn of *Ha'aretz* that Israel, in Benn's words, "never requested American permission to talk with Syria, as it has not yet decided whether it wishes to do so."<sup>37</sup> The prime minister's refusal to negotiate is unsurprising, because an agreement "comes with a price tag," to quote Defense Minister Peretz, which is giving up the Golan Heights, and Olmert is opposed to making that concession. Olmert grasped "the pretext" provided by Bush, the *Ha'aretz* reporter Gideon Samet writes, "because he will not admit the real reason: He does not want to come down from the Golan Heights."<sup>38</sup>

Further evidence of Syria's interest in making peace with Israel and Israel's unwillingness to seize the opportunity was revealed in January 2007, when the Israeli press reported that Israelis and Syrians had met secretly in Europe between September 2004 and July 2006 for the purpose of coming up with a proposal for an agreement between the two states. The meetings were unofficial and did not involve policy makers in either government. However, both governments were kept informed of the talks and, according to *Ha'aretz*, "The European mediator and the Syrian representative in the discussions held eight separate meetings with senior Syrian officials, including Vice President Farouk Shara, Foreign Minister Walid Muallem, and a Syrian intelligence officer with the rank of 'general.'"<sup>39</sup> The two sides reached an agreement calling for Israel to return to the June 4, 1967, border between the two countries. In return, Syria would stop supporting Hamas and Hezbollah, and even "distance itself from Iran." The talks ended when the Syrians proposed that they be moved from an "academic level" to an "official level," and the Olmert government refused.

Then, in April 2007, Speaker of the House Pelosi visited President Assad in Damascus and told him that Olmert, with whom she had previously met in Israel, "is ready to restart negotiations as well as to

talk peace."<sup>40</sup> Pelosi had misunderstood Olmert's position, however, and the Israeli government let her know in no uncertain terms that he had no interest in talking with Syria, which the official statement denounced as "part of the axis of evil and a force that encourages terror in the entire Middle East."<sup>41</sup>

Olmert's position on the Golan Heights could always change, of course. Indeed, there were press reports in early June 2007 that he might be willing to open negotiations with the Syrians, although Shimon Peres, then vice premier, immediately threw cold water on the idea by claiming that Syria was not ready for serious talks.<sup>42</sup> It is also possible that some future Israeli leader might be willing, as Yitzhak Rabin was, to return the disputed territory in exchange for peace. Our argument is not that Israel will forever refuse to give up the Golan Heights, but instead that Israeli policy toward Damascus, whatever it might be, largely determines U.S. policy toward Syria, not the other way around.

Given Israel's strong opposition to negotiating with Syria since Ariel Sharon came to power in February 2001, it is hardly surprising that the Bush administration, which came to power a month earlier, has gone to considerable lengths during this same time period to isolate and put pressure on the Assad government. Some might say that this analysis misses the crucial point that Syria continues to support terrorist organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah, and thus fully merits being treated as a rogue state by President Bush. But remember: none of those terrorist groups threatens vital U.S. interests, and Damascus backs them mainly because they are the only levers it has to pressure Israel into returning the Golan Heights. Israel could end Syria's ties to Hamas and Hezbollah by agreeing to make peace with Syria, which is why Israeli leaders negotiated with Syria during the 1990s, even though Damascus supported terrorism then as it does now.

As noted, there has been significant resistance inside the U.S. government to treating Syria as an implacable foe. The CIA and the State Department have been especially vocal in making the case that confrontation with Damascus is strategically unwise. Israel and the lobby have taken the opposite position, however, and they have ultimately carried the day with President Bush. Let us look in more detail at the evolution of U.S. policy toward Syria since 9/11.

#### **JERUSALEM AND DAMASCUS AFTER SEPTEMBER 11**

From the outset, Prime Minister Sharon and his lieutenants made it clear to the Bush administration that they viewed Syria as a dangerous threat to the United States as well as Israel.<sup>43</sup> They did not push Washington to focus on Syria before March 2003, however, mainly because they were more concerned about Iran, and they were pushing for war against Iraq and did not want Washington to get distracted by other problems. As soon as Baghdad fell in mid-April 2003, Israeli leaders began urging the United States to concentrate on Damascus and to use its unmatched power to change the regime's behavior, or perhaps the regime itself.<sup>44</sup>

Sharon laid out his demands in a high-profile interview on April 15, 2003. In *Yedioth, Ahronoth*, the prime minister said that Syrian President Assad "is dangerous. His judgment is impaired," and he claimed that Assad had allowed Saddam to move military equipment into Syria just before the Iraq war began. Sharon called for the United States to put "very heavy" pressure on Syria, in order to force Assad to end its support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad, push Iran's Revolutionary Guards out of the Bekka valley in Lebanon, cease cooperating with Iran, remove Hezbollah from the Israeli-Lebanese border and replace it with the Lebanese army, and eliminate Hezbollah's missiles aimed at Israel.<sup>45</sup> On seeing this remarkably bold request, one high-ranking Israeli diplomat warned that Sharon should adopt a lower profile with regard to offering his advice about relations between Damascus and Washington.<sup>46</sup>

But Sharon was not the only high-level Israeli official asking the Bush administration to get tough with Syria. Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz told *Ma'ariv* on April 14, "We have a long list of issues that we are thinking of demanding of the Syrians and it is appropriate that it should be done through the Americans."<sup>47</sup> Specifically, he wanted Syria to stop all assistance to Hamas and Islamic Jihad and to dismantle Hezbollah. Two weeks later, Sharon's national security adviser, Ephraim Halevy came to Washington and encouraged U.S. officials to take what the *Forward* reporter Ori Nir termed "decisive action" against Syria. In addition to warning about Syria's weapons of mass destruction, Halevy reportedly described Assad as "irresponsible" and "brash."<sup>48</sup> Addressing a WINEP conference on May 3, he said Assad was "prone to bad influence" and warned that he "cannot be left to his old tricks." Instead,

Halevy emphasized, "There are many measures short of war that can be employed to draw the fangs of the young, arrogant, and inexperienced president of Syria."<sup>49</sup>

With Saddam gone, Israel was trying to convince the Bush administration that Syria was at least as dangerous as Iraq, maybe even more so. The claim is absurd if one looks even briefly at Syria's capabilities—it is, after all, a country with fewer than nineteen million people and a defense budget that is 1/300th that of the United States. Yet the Israeli strategist Yossi Alpher now warned that, from Israel's perspective, "Syria could do a lot of damage, a lot more than Iraq." The *Washington Post* reported in mid-April 2003 that Sharon and Mofaz were fueling the campaign against Syria by feeding the United States intelligence reports about the actions of Syrian President Assad.<sup>50</sup>

In their efforts to demonize Syria and bait the United States into ratcheting up the pressure, Israel accused Damascus of harboring high-level Iraqis from Saddam's regime and, even worse, of hiding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.<sup>51</sup> In August 2003, when a suicide truck bomber blew up UN headquarters in Baghdad, Israel's ambassador to the UN caused a diplomatic spat by suggesting that Syria had provided the truck, in effect implying that Syria was partly responsible.<sup>52</sup> In much the same vein, Itamar Rabinovich, the former Israeli ambassador to the United States, told Seymour Hersh that he "wondered . . . whether, given the quality of their sources, the Syrians had had advance information about the September 11th plot—and failed to warn the United States."<sup>53</sup> There was little or no evidence to support these alarming charges, but Israel's willingness to make them shows how eager it was to get the United States embroiled with another Arab regime.

### THE LOBBY AND DAMASCUS AFTER 9/11

It is worth recalling that some important figures in the lobby had their sights on Syria well before the Twin Towers fell. Damascus was a prominent target in the 1996 "Clean Break" study written by a handful of neoconservatives for incoming Prime Minister Netanyahu. In addition, Daniel Pipes and Ziad Abdelnour, the head of the U.S. Committee for a Free Lebanon (USCFL), had coauthored a report in May 2000 calling for the United States to use military threats to force Syria to remove its troops from Lebanon, get rid of its WMD, and stop supporting terrorism.<sup>54</sup> The USCFL is a close cousin to the lobby; numerous neoconservatives are among its major activists and supporters, including Elliott Abrams, Douglas Feith, Richard Perle, and David Wurmser. In fact, all of them signed the 2000 report, as did pro-Israel Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY), another core USCFL supporter.<sup>55</sup>

This proposal, and others like it, did not gain much traction in Washington during the Clinton years, mainly because Israel was committed to achieving peace with Syria during that period. Apart from these hard-liners, most groups in the lobby had little incentive to challenge Clinton's policy toward Syria, because the president's approach tended to mirror Israel's. But when Sharon came to power in 2001, Israel's thinking about Syria changed dramatically. Reacting to this shift, a number of groups in the lobby began to press for a more aggressive policy toward Damascus.

In the spring of 2002, when Iraq was becoming the main issue, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee was also promoting legislation to formally place Syria on the "axis of evil" and Congressman Engel introduced the Syria Accountability Act in Congress.<sup>56</sup> It threatened sanctions against Syria if it did not withdraw from Lebanon, give up its WMD, and stop supporting terrorism.<sup>57</sup> The proposed act also called for Syria and Lebanon to take concrete steps to make peace with Israel. This legislation was strongly endorsed by a number of groups in the lobby—especially AIPAC—and "framed," according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, "by some of Israel's best friends in Congress." JTA also reported that its "most avid proponent in the administration" was Elliott Abrams, who, as we have seen, is in frequent contact with Olmert's office.<sup>58</sup>

The Bush administration opposed the Syria Accountability Act in the spring of 2002, in part because it feared that the legislation might undermine efforts to sell the Iraq war, and in part because it might lead Damascus to stop providing Washington with useful intelligence about al Qaeda. Congress agreed to put the legislation on the back burner until matters were settled with Saddam.

But as soon as Baghdad fell in April 2003, the lobby renewed its campaign against Syria. Encouraged by what then looked like a decisive victory in Iraq, some of Israel's backers were no longer interested in simply getting Syria to change its behavior. Instead, they now wanted to topple the regime itself. Paul Wolfowitz declared that "there has got to be regime change in Syria," and Richard Perle told a journalist that "we could deliver a short message, a two-worded message [to other hostile regimes in the Middle East]: 'You're next.'"<sup>59</sup> The hawkish Defense Policy Board, which was headed by Perle and whose members included Kenneth Adelman, Eliot Cohen, and James Woolsey, was also advocating a hard line against Syria.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to Abrams, Perle, and Wolfowitz, the other key insider pushing for regime change in Syria was Assistant Secretary of State (and later UN Ambassador) John Bolton. He had told Israeli leaders a month before the Iraq war that President Bush would deal with Syria, as well as Iran and North Korea, right after Saddam fell from power.<sup>61</sup> Toward that end, Bolton reportedly prepared to tell Congress in mid-July that Syria's WMD programs had reached the point where they were a serious threat to stability in the Middle East and had to be dealt with sooner rather than later. The CIA and other government agencies objected, however, and claimed that Bolton was inflating the danger. Consequently, the administration did not allow Bolton to give his testimony on Syria at that time.<sup>62</sup> Yet Bolton was not put off for long. He appeared before Congress in September 2003 and described Syria as a growing threat to U.S. interests in the Middle East.<sup>63</sup>

In early April, WINEP released a bipartisan report stating that Syria "should not miss the message that countries that pursue Saddam's reckless, irresponsible and defiant behavior could end up sharing his fate."<sup>64</sup> On April 15, the Israeli-American journalist Yossi Klein Halevi wrote a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* titled "Next, Turn the Screws on Syria," while that same day neoconservative Frank Gaffney, the head of the Center for Security Policy, wrote in the *Washington Times* that the Bush administration should use "whatever techniques are necessary—including military force—to effect behavior modification and/or regime change in Damascus."<sup>65</sup> The next day Zev Chafets, an Israeli-American journalist and former head of the Israeli government press office, wrote an article for the *New York Daily News* titled "Terror-Friendly Syria Needs a Change, Too." Not to be outdone, Lawrence Kaplan wrote in the *New Republic* on April 21 that Syrian leader Assad was a serious threat to America.<sup>66</sup>

The charges leveled against Syria were remarkably similar to those previously made against Saddam. Writing in *National Review Online*, conservative commentator Jed Babbin maintained that even though Assad's army was a paper tiger, he is still "an exceedingly dangerous man." The basis for that claim was an "Israeli source" who had told Babbin that "Israel's military and intelligence arms are convinced that Assad will take risks a prudent leader wouldn't" and, therefore, "Assad's unpredictability is itself a great danger."<sup>67</sup> Marc Ginsberg, former U.S. ambassador to Morocco, warned of "Syria's secret production of weapons of mass destruction and its weaponization of missile batteries and rockets."<sup>68</sup> And like their Israeli counterparts, American supporters of Israel suggested that Syria was hiding Saddam's WMD. "It wouldn't surprise me," Congressman Engel remarked, "if those weapons of mass destruction that we cannot find in Iraq wound up and are today in Syria."<sup>69</sup>

Back on Capitol Hill, Engel reintroduced the Syria Accountability Act on April 12.<sup>70</sup> Three days later, Richard Perle called for Congress to pass it.<sup>71</sup> But the Bush administration still had little enthusiasm for the legislation and was able to stall it again. In mid-August, Engel and a group of politicians and Jewish leaders from New York traveled to Israel and met for ninety minutes with Ariel Sharon in his Jerusalem office. The Israeli leader complained to his visitors that the United States was not putting enough pressure on Syria, although he specifically thanked Engel for sponsoring the Syria Accountability Act and made it clear that he strongly favored continued efforts to push the legislation on Capitol Hill.<sup>72</sup> The following month, Engel, who announced he was "fed up with the . . . administration's maneuvering on Syria," began pushing the bill again. With AIPAC's full support, Engel began rounding up votes on Capitol Hill.<sup>73</sup> Bush could no longer hold Congress back in the face of this full-court press from the lobby, and the anti-Syrian act passed by overwhelming margins (398—4 in the

House; 89—4 in the Senate). Bush signed it into law on December 12, 2003.<sup>74</sup>

### WHY DID BUSH WAVER?

Although Congress had voted overwhelmingly to turn the screws on Syria, the Bush administration was deeply divided about the wisdom of this policy. While neoconservatives like Perle, Bolton, and Wolfowitz were eager to pick a fight with Damascus, there was widespread opposition to that approach inside the State Department and the CIA.<sup>75</sup> Even the president had little enthusiasm for directly confronting Syria, as reflected in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's description of his signing of the Syria Accountability Act: "Bush signed the act on a Friday night, the time the administration reserves for activities it would rather not share with the public, and the White House statement on the subject was about as 'I've gotta do this but I don't wanna' as it gets."<sup>76</sup> Even after signing the law, Bush emphasized that he would go slowly in implementing it.<sup>77</sup>

Bush had good reasons to be ambivalent. As noted, the Syrian government had provided the United States with important intelligence about al Qaeda since 9/11, and it had also warned Washington about a planned terrorist attack in the Gulf.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, Syria gave CIA interrogators access to Mohammed Zammar, the alleged recruiter of some of the 9/11 hijackers. Flynt Leverett, who worked for Bush in the White House at the time, writes that the president, "in his communications with Bashar, whether by letter or phone, always acknowledged Syria's cooperation with the United States against al-Qaeda."<sup>79</sup> Targeting the Assad regime would jeopardize these valuable connections and undermine the campaign against international terrorism in general and al Qaeda in particular. The president recognized that a confrontational policy toward Syria could put America at risk.

Bush also understood that Syria was not a threat to the United States, even taking into account its possible role in helping the Iraqi insurgency. Assad was actually eager to cooperate with Washington; according to Seymour Hersh, his chief of military intelligence told the administration that Syria would even be willing to work through back channels to discuss ways of restricting the military and political activities of Hezbollah.<sup>80</sup> Playing hardball with Assad would make the United States look like a bully with an insatiable appetite for beating up Arab states. And putting Syria on the American hit list would give Damascus compelling reasons to cause trouble in Iraq and keep the U.S. military pinned down there, so that it could not strike Syria. Even if the president wanted to pressure Syria, it made good sense to finish the job in Iraq first.

The neoconservatives in the administration were naturally opposed to cooperating with Syria. They were even unhappy with the intelligence channel that was providing Washington with important information about al Qaeda. "Neoconservatives in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Office of the Vice President," Leverett writes, "opposed accepting Syrian help, arguing that it might create a sense of indebtedness to Damascus and inhibit an appropriate American response to a state sponsor of terrorism."<sup>81</sup> President Bush, however, has shown little interest in this kind of "appropriate response." Indeed, he instructed the Pentagon not to plan for war against Syria in mid-April 2003, when the United States appeared to have just won a dramatic victory in Iraq and when talk about striking Syria was beginning to fill the air.<sup>82</sup> He certainly has not changed his mind on this matter in light of what has happened in Iraq since those heady days. The president has also been slow to implement the Syria Accountability Act, as he promised when he signed it, much to the irritation of pro-Israel hard-liners in the United States. By the spring of 2004, Congressman Engel and some of his colleagues were so frustrated with Bush over his foot dragging that they threatened to introduce a new and tougher version of the legislation.<sup>83</sup>

Contrary to Olmert's claims, there have even been scattered reports in the media over the past few years that the Bush administration might react positively if Israel accepted Assad's offer to reopen peace talks. Ze'ev Schiff, for example, wrote in December 2003 that "in the opinion of American sources familiar with the thinking in the administration, it would have responded positively to an Israeli acceptance of Assad's proposal. The United States is not

looking in principle for a military confrontation with Damascus and is ready to let Assad get onto a positive track."<sup>84</sup> A month later, Aluf Benn wrote in *Ha'aretz* that "senior American officials" had told the Israelis that the United States "will not object, should Israel choose to take up Syrian President Bashar Assad's offer to resume negotiations." Benn noted, however, that "Israel has received contradictory advice from lower-level administration officials."<sup>85</sup> There have also been other reports saying that Washington was opposed to Israel talking with Syria.<sup>86</sup> The Bush administration's bottom line is difficult to discern, due to the continuing tug-of-war among policy makers over how best to deal with Damascus and a recognition of competing interests.

Although Bush has not taken serious measures to topple Assad, the lobby has pushed him to take a more confrontational line toward Syria than he would probably have adopted on his own.<sup>87</sup> The president and his key advisers have consistently used harsh rhetoric or made veiled threats when talking about Damascus, and they have repeatedly charged Syria with supporting the insurgents in Iraq. They have also been quick to blame Syria anytime there is trouble in Lebanon, and Bush has made no attempt to forge a pragmatic relationship with Syria or to mend fences with it. Neoconservatives inside and outside the administration have continued to call for using military force against Assad's regime. Such calls were especially evident during the Lebanon war in the summer of 2006.<sup>88</sup> Meyrav Wurmser, who runs the Center for Middle East Policy at the Hudson Institute, commented after the war that there was much anger toward Israel among her neoconservative colleagues "over the fact that Israel did not fight against the Syrians. Instead of Israel fighting against Hizbullah, many parts of the American administration believe that Israel should have fought against the real enemy, which is Syria and not Hizbullah."<sup>89</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, Washington's confrontational approach toward Damascus has produced nothing but negative consequences for the United States and undermined Israel's long-term interests too. To begin with, Syria has stopped providing Washington with intelligence about al Qaeda.<sup>90</sup> Assad has done little to help the United States shut down the insurgency in Iraq and may be trying to protect his own position by helping to keep it going.<sup>91</sup> After all, keeping the United States bogged down in Baghdad makes it less likely that the United States will be free to go after Syria. Damascus also has continued to support

Hezbollah in Lebanon and has formed a tacit alliance with Iran, which makes it harder to maintain peace in Lebanon and to discourage Iran from pursuing nuclear weapons. Although these developments are not good for the United States, hard-liners in the lobby remain committed to a policy of confrontation and are quick to criticize anyone who suggests a different course.

Yet in the wake of Israel's debacle in Lebanon last summer, and especially given the disastrous situation facing the United States in Iraq, significant pressure is now being put on President Bush to extend an olive branch to Syria.<sup>92</sup> The hope is that Damascus might help stabilize the situation in Iraq, allow American troops to be withdrawn, and establish some semblance of order there. It also might be possible to peel Syria away from its alliance with Iran and weaken Hezbollah in the process. As noted, a number of senators and representatives—including Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi—have defied the Bush administration and traveled to Damascus to meet with President Assad. Their aim is to improve relations between Syria and the United States, as recommended by the bipartisan Iraq Study Group, which would make it easier to address a number of regional security issues.

But Israeli leaders—who appear determined to hold on to the Golan Heights—have no interest in seeing the United States establish cooperative relations with Syria.<sup>93</sup> The most powerful groups in the lobby share Israel's perspective, and they have worked hard—and thus far successfully—to keep the Bush administration from pursuing a more cooperative relationship with the Assad regime. The result is that the United States continues to pursue a strategically foolish policy toward Syria and will in all likelihood continue to do so until Israel gets a prime minister like Yitzhak Rabin, who understood that



exchanging the Golan Heights for peace with Syria would leave Israel in a substantially better strategic position.

The story here is a simple one: without the lobby's influence, there would have been no Syria Accountability Act and U.S. policy toward Damascus would have been more in line with the American national interest. One could add that a different U.S. policy might well have produced a Syrian-Israeli peace treaty by now, a treaty that would have further enshrined Israel's legitimacy and regional supremacy and reduced international support for its most determined, recalcitrant, and violent foes: Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad.

America's misguided approach to Syria is not the only case where the lobby has insisted on a counterproductive policy of confrontation, to the detriment of the United States and Israel alike. One sees much the same story in recent U.S. policy toward Iran, which is the subject of the next chapter.

## **IRAN IN THE CROSSHAIRS**

The United States and Iran have had an adversarial relationship ever since the 1979 revolution established the Islamic Republic. Given past U.S. interference in Iran—most notably the 1953 coup that restored Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi to power—and the new regime's support for various radical groups, it is hardly surprising that the two states have remained suspicious of one another and only occasionally engaged in limited acts of cooperation.

Iran is a more serious strategic challenge for the United States and Israel than is Syria. Both Damascus and Tehran support Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad, and both are enemies of al Qaeda. Each has chemical weapons and might have biological weapons, although the evidence for the latter is not conclusive. But there are three fundamental differences between Iran and Syria.

First, Iran is seeking to master the full nuclear fuel cycle, which would allow it to build nuclear weapons if it so chose. It is also developing missiles that could deliver nuclear warheads against its neighbors, including Israel.<sup>1</sup> This is why Israelis often refer to Iran as an "existential" threat. Iran will not be able to strike the American homeland with nuclear missiles anytime soon, but any weapons it might develop could be used against U.S. forces stationed in the Middle East, or against European countries.

Second, some Iranian leaders—and especially current President Mah-moud Ahmadinejad—have made deeply disturbing remarks questioning both the occurrence of the Holocaust and Israel's right to exist. Although Ahmadinejad's call for Israel to "vanish from the page of time" (or to be "erased from the pages of history") is often mistranslated as a call for Israel's physical destruction (i.e., to "wipe Israel off the map"), it was still an out

rageous assertion that was bound to be profoundly troubling to Israelis and many others.<sup>2</sup> Iran's sponsorship of a conference on the Holocaust in December 2006, which featured prominent Holocaust deniers and other discredited extremists, merely reinforced global concerns about Iran's intentions.

Third, Iran is the most powerful Islamic state in the Persian Gulf and has the potential to dominate that oil-rich area.<sup>3</sup> This is especially true in light of what has happened to Iraq since America invaded in March 2003. Iraq had been Iran's principal rival in the region, but it is now a divided and wartorn society and is in no position to check Iran. Iran has links to several of the dominant Shia factions in Iraq, giving it far more influence over Iraq's evolution than it possessed when Saddam Hussein ruled in Baghdad. This dramatic shift in the regional balance of power explains why some believe that "Iran looks like the winner of the Iraq War."<sup>4</sup> Of course, Iran's power advantage over its neighbors would be even more pronounced if it acquired a nuclear arsenal.

Iran's growing power is not good for the United States, which has long sought to prevent any one

country from establishing hegemony in the Persian Gulf. This basic principle explains why the Reagan administration backed Saddam in the 1980s, when it looked like Iran might defeat Iraq in their bloody war. The United States also has strong incentives to prevent Iran from getting nuclear weapons. Israel is equally averse to seeing Iran dominate the Gulf, because a regional powerhouse of that sort could be a long-term strategic threat. The prospect of a nuclear Iran is even more worrisome for Israeli leaders, who tend to view it as the ultimate nightmare scenario.

But Israel is not the only Middle East country that is now worried about Iran. Many of Iran's Arab neighbors are also concerned about its nuclear ambitions as well as its growing influence in the region. They fear that an especially powerful Iran might someday try to coerce them or even invade their country, as Saddam invaded Kuwait in August 1990. They are also somewhat suspicious of Iran because it is a Persian rather than an Arab state, and because they care about the balance of power within Islam between Shia and Sunnis. Iran is governed by deeply committed Shia, which alarms the leaders of Sunni-dominated states like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, who see Shia influence growing in the Arab world. For the first time, Shia govern Iraq, and Hezbollah, a Shia organization, has gained greater influence in Lebanon in the wake of its 2006 war with Israel. To make matters worse, Tehran has close ties with some Iraqi leaders and is a longtime supporter of Hezbollah.

The United States, Israel, and Iran's Arab neighbors, including many of America's Gulf allies, have an independent interest in keeping Iran non-nuclear and preventing it from becoming a regional hegemon. Washington would be committed to keeping Iran in check even if Israel did not exist, so as to prevent the other Gulf states from being conquered or cowed by Tehran. Unqualified support from the Arab world would make it easier for the United States to preserve the balance of power in the Gulf, and obtaining that support requires an effective strategy.

Over the past fifteen years, Israel and the lobby have pushed the United States to pursue a strategically unwise policy toward Iran. In particular, they are the central forces today behind all the talk in the Bush administration and on Capitol Hill about using military force to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities. Unfortunately, such rhetoric makes it harder, not easier, to stop Iran from going nuclear. During the 1990s, Israel and its American supporters encouraged the Clinton administration to pursue a confrontational policy toward Iran, even though Iran was interested in improving relations between the two countries. That same pattern was at play again in the early years of the Bush administration, as well as in December 2006, when Israel and the lobby made a concerted effort to undermine the Iraq Study Group's recommendation that President Bush negotiate with Iran. Were it not for the lobby, the United States would almost certainly have a different and more effective Iran policy.

U.S. efforts to deal with Iran are further undermined by Israel's repressive policies in the Occupied Territories, which make it harder for the United States to gain the cooperation of Arab countries. Indeed, one of the main reasons that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice finally began pushing forward the Arab-Israeli peace process in late 2006 was Saudi Arabia's insistence that it could not fashion an effective Iran policy with Washington as long as there was so much anger toward the United States in the Arab world over the Palestinian issue. As discussed in Chapter 7, Rice's efforts are likely to fail, because Israel's current leaders do not want to create a viable Palestinian state and the lobby will make it very difficult for President Bush or any other president to get Israel to change its approach to this issue. In short, thanks in good part to Israel and its American backers, the United States has pursued a counterproductive policy toward Iran since the early 1990s and is having difficulty getting support from states that have their own reasons to help Washington deal with Iran and would otherwise be inclined to do so.

### **CONFRONTATION OR CONCILIATION?**

The United States had excellent relations with Iran from 1953 until 1979, when the American-backed shah was toppled and Ayatollah Khomeini and his Islamic theocracy came to power. Since then, relations between the two countries have been almost entirely adversarial. Israel has also had hostile relations with Tehran since the shah's overthrow. During the 1980s, however, neither the United States nor Israel was seriously threatened by Iran, mainly because it was involved in a lengthy war with Iraq, which pinned it down and sapped its strength. To preserve the regional balance of power, the United

States simply had to make sure that the war ended in a stalemate. It accomplished this objective by helping Saddam Hussein's forces stymie Iran's army on the battlefield. Iran was exhausted when the war ended in 1988, and it was in no position to cause trouble in the region for at least a few years. Furthermore, Iran's nuclear program was put on the back burner during the 1980s, possibly because of the war.

Israel's perception of the Iranian threat underwent a fundamental change in the early 1990s, as evidence of Tehran's nuclear ambitions began to accumulate. Israeli leaders began warning Washington in 1993 that Iran was a grave threat not only to Israel but to the United States as well. There has been no letup in that alarmist and aggressive rhetoric since then, largely because Iran has continued to move ahead on the nuclear front. Today, many experts believe the Iranians will eventually build nuclear weapons unless something is done to topple the clerical regime, alter its ambitions, or deny it the capacity. The lobby has followed Israel's lead and echoed its warnings about the dangers of allowing Iran to become a nuclear power.

Israel and the lobby are also troubled by Iran's support for Hezbollah, by its endorsement of the Palestinian cause, and by its refusal to accept Israel's right to exist. Needless to say, statements like President Ahmadinejad's reinforce these concerns. Israel and its supporters tend to see Iran's policies as a reflection of deep ideological antipathy to the Jewish state, but they are more accurately seen as tactical measures intended to improve Iran's overall position in the region. In particular, endorsing the Palestinian cause (and helping groups like Hezbollah) wins sympathy in the Arab world and helps discourage an Arab alliance against Persian Iran. As the Iran expert Trita Parsi convincingly shows, Iran's commitment to Hezbollah and to the Palestinians has varied considerably over time, usually in response to the overall threat environment. Relations between the clerical regime in Iran and the largely secular PLO were not warm during the 1980s, and Iran began backing hardline Palestinian groups like Islamic Jihad only after its exclusion from the 1991 Madrid Conference and the onset of the Oslo peace process. These events led Tehran to resist what it correctly saw as a broad U.S. effort to isolate it and deny it a significant regional role, and it did so by backing extremist groups that also opposed Oslo. As Martin Indyk, who played a key role in formulating U.S. policy at the time, later recalled, Iran "had an incentive to do us in on the peace process in order to defeat our policy of containment and isolation. And therefore, they took aim at the peace process."<sup>5</sup>

There are two broad alternatives for dealing with Iran's nuclear program and its regional ambitions. One approach, which is favored by the Israeli government and its key American supporters, proceeds from the belief that Iran cannot be contained once it acquires nuclear weapons. This view assumes that Tehran is likely to use its nuclear weapons against Israel, because Iranian leaders, with their apocalyptic vision of history, would not fear Israeli retaliation.<sup>6</sup> They might give nuclear weapons to terrorists or use them against the United States themselves, even if doing so invited automatic and massive retaliation. Therefore, Iran cannot be allowed to acquire a nuclear arsenal. Israel would like Washington to solve this problem, but Israeli leaders do not rule out the possibility that the Israel Defense Forces might try to do the job if the Americans get cold feet.

This approach also assumes that conciliatory diplomacy and positive incentives will not convince Iran to abandon its nuclear program. In concrete terms, this means that the United States has to impose sanctions on Iran— and maybe even conduct a preventive war—if it continues down the nuclear road. To facilitate putting serious pressure on Iran, Israelis and the lobby want the United States to maintain a substantial American military presence in the Middle East, in contrast to America's pre-1990 strategy of acting as an offshore balancer and keeping its military forces over the horizon.

For the past fifteen years, this confrontational formula for dealing with Iran's nuclear program has vied with a second strategy, one more consistent with the American national interest. This alternative approach asserts that while it would be better for the United States if Iran did not acquire nuclear weapons, there is good reason to think a nuclear Iran could be contained and deterred, just as the Soviet Union was contained during the Cold War.<sup>7</sup> It also argues that the best way to stop Iran from building nuclear weapons is to engage it diplomatically and attempt to normalize its relationship with the United States. This strategy requires taking the threat of preventive war off the table, because

threatening Iran with regime change simply gives its leaders even more reason to want a nuclear deterrent of their own. The Iranians, like the Americans and the Israelis, recognize that nuclear weapons are the best protection available for a state that is on another state's hit list. As the Iran expert Ray Takeyh of the Council on Foreign Relations has written, "Iran's nuclear calculations are not derived from an irrational ideology, but rather from a judicious attempt to craft a viable deterrent capability against an evolving range of threats . . . Iran's leadership clearly sees itself as being in Washington's cross hairs, and it is precisely this perception that is driving its accelerated nuclear program."<sup>8</sup>

The case for engagement is buttressed by the fact that preventive war looks like a very unattractive alternative. Even if the United States could eliminate Iran's nuclear facilities, Tehran would almost certainly rebuild them, and this time the Iranians would go to even greater lengths to disperse, hide, and harden them against an attack.<sup>9</sup> Also, if Washington launched a preventive strike against Iran, Tehran would be bound to retaliate wherever and whenever it could, including going after oil shipments in the Persian Gulf and using its considerable influence to make matters worse for the United States in Iraq. Additionally, Iran would be likely to establish closer ties with China and Russia, which is not in America's interest. By contrast, if the United States were to remove the threat of war and engage Iran, then Tehran would be more inclined to help Washington deal with al Qaeda, tamp down the war inside Iraq, and stabilize Afghanistan. It would also be less likely to align with China and Russia.<sup>10</sup>

Given the history of poisonous relations between America and Iran, there is no guarantee that engagement would produce a "grand bargain" that would halt Iran's nuclear program. After all, there is little chance that Israel will give up its own nuclear weapons, and Iranian leaders might believe that if Israel has a nuclear deterrent, then so must Iran. Nonetheless, this approach is more likely to work than threatening preventive war, and if it does fail, the United States can always fall back on deterrence.

One might have expected the United States to have adopted some variation on the engagement strategy by this time, especially given that a decade and a half of confrontation has not borne fruit. Engagement enjoys substantial support in the CIA, the State Department, and even the U.S. military, which has shown little enthusiasm for bombing Iran's nuclear facilities. London's *Sunday Times* reported in late February 2007 that "some of America's most senior military commanders are prepared to resign if the White House orders a military strike against Iran, according to highly placed defense and intelligence sources."<sup>11</sup> In fact, Iran has repeatedly signaled an interest in engagement: its leaders have reached out to the United States on a number of occasions over the past fifteen years, hoping to improve relations between the two countries. Remarkably, Iran has even offered to put its nuclear program up for negotiation and offered to work out a modus vivendi with Israel.

Yet despite these promising opportunities, Israel and the lobby have worked overtime to prevent both the Clinton and Bush administrations from engaging Iran, and they have prevailed at almost every turn. Unfortunately, but predictably, this hard-line approach has not worked as advertised and has left the United States worse off than if it had pursued a strategy of engagement. In response to this failed strategy, there is a growing chorus of voices inside and outside of Washington calling for a new opening toward Iran. Equally unsurprising, Israel and the lobby are fighting to prevent the United States from reversing course and seeking a rapprochement with Tehran. They continue to promote an increasingly confrontational and counterproductive policy instead.

## **THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION AND DUAL CONTAINMENT**

In early 1993, just as the Clinton administration was coming to power, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and his foreign minister, Shimon Peres, started claiming that Iran was a growing threat to both Israel and the United States. Israeli leaders portrayed Iran as a dangerous adversary in part because they saw it as a way of fostering closer relations between Jerusalem and Washington now that the Soviet threat had disappeared. The hope was that the United States would see Israel as a bulwark

against Iranian expansionism, much the way Israel had been treated as a bulwark against Soviet influence in the Middle East. Israel was also justifiably concerned about Iran's renewed interest in developing a sophisticated nuclear program.<sup>12</sup> The *Washington Post* reported in mid-March 1993 that "across the Israeli political spectrum, there is a conviction that American public opinion and political leaders need to be further convinced of the urgency of restraining Iran, and that the United States is the only global power capable of doing so."<sup>13</sup>

The Clinton administration responded to Israel's entreaties by adopting the policy of dual containment, as we have discussed. Not only was the policy first enunciated at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy by Martin Indyk, but Robert Pelletreau, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs at the time, told Trita Parsi that the policy was essentially a copy of an Israeli proposal.<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Pollack of Brookings's Saban Center also notes that "Jerusalem was one of the few places on Earth where dual containment was not regularly misunderstood."<sup>15</sup> The new policy called for the United States to abandon its traditional strategy of acting as an offshore balancer in the Persian Gulf and instead station a substantial number of troops in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia for the purpose of containing both Iran and Iraq. In fact, the policy was designed to do more than just contain Iran; it also aimed to cause "dramatic changes in Iran's behavior." Among its goals was forcing Iran to stop supporting terrorists and to abandon its nuclear program.<sup>16</sup>

Israel's concerns notwithstanding, there was no good reason for the United States to adopt a hard-line policy toward Iran in the early 1990s. If anything, just the opposite was the case. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who became Iran's president in 1989, was committed to improving relations with Washington, and Iran, which had recently suffered through a devastating war with Iraq, was hardly a military threat to the United States. In the early 1990s, in fact, American leaders were much more concerned about Saddam Hussein, against whom the United States had just fought a war.<sup>17</sup> Plus, Iran's nuclear program had barely gotten off the ground in 1993. Few voices in Washington were calling for tougher policies against Iran before Israel began clamoring for a more confrontational policy, and dual containment was widely criticized when it was first announced.<sup>18</sup>

By the mid-1990s, there was growing dissatisfaction with dual containment, because it forced the United States to maintain hostile relations with two countries that disliked each other intensely, and it left Washington pretty much alone to handle the demanding task of keeping them in line. Consequently, pressure began to build in the United States to think about engaging Iran rather than confronting it.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, however, Rabin was under pressure in Israel to get the Clinton administration to toughen up the policy.<sup>20</sup> Rabin's critics felt that dual containment had no real teeth because it had done little to stop the substantial economic intercourse between Iran and the United States. Israel and the lobby, especially the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, mobilized to save dual containment and to close the loopholes that allowed American companies to trade and invest in Iran. In mid-1994, Parsi reports, "At the behest of the Israeli government, AIPAC drafted and circulated a 74-page paper in Washington arguing that Iran was not only a threat to Israel, but also to the United States and the West."<sup>21</sup> According to Pollack, "The right, AIPAC, the Israelis were all screaming for new sanctions [on Iran]."<sup>22</sup> The Clinton administration was willing to go along, largely because it was focusing on the Oslo peace process and wanted to make sure that Israel felt secure and that Iran, a potential spoiler, did not derail the process.

AIPAC laid out its basic game plan in April 1995, when it issued a report titled "Comprehensive U.S. Sanctions Against Iran: A Plan for Action."<sup>23</sup> By that point, however, steps were already being taken to tighten the economic noose around Iran's neck. Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)—with, according to Pollack, "some help from the Israelis"—introduced legislation in January 1995 to end all economic links between the United States and Iran.<sup>24</sup> The Clinton administration opposed the legislation at first and it stalled in Congress.

But two months later, groups in the lobby achieved their first success after Iran chose Conoco, an American oil company, to develop the Sirri oil fields.<sup>25</sup> Iran deliberately selected Conoco over several other foreign bidders in order to signal its interest in improving relations with the United States. But

this friendly overture went nowhere, because Clinton killed the deal on March 14. One day later, he issued an executive order banning American companies from helping Iran develop its oil fields. Clinton later said that "one of the most effective opponents" of the Conoco deal was Edgar Bronfman Sr., the powerful former head of the World Jewish Congress.<sup>26</sup> AIPAC also played a key role in scuttling that deal.<sup>27</sup>

On May 6, the president issued a second executive order banning all trade and financial investments with Iran, which he labeled an "unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States."<sup>28</sup> Clinton had actually announced that he was going to take that step one week earlier in a speech to the World Jewish Congress.<sup>29</sup> His decision to nix the Conoco deal and issue those two executive orders was, notes Pollack, "a major demonstration of our support for Israel."<sup>30</sup> Ironically, although Israel lay behind the American decision to cut economic ties to Iran, Israel did not pass any laws barring Israeli-Iranian trade and Israelis continued to purchase Iranian goods through third parties.<sup>31</sup>

But those executive orders were not enough for the lobby, because executive orders could be quickly reversed if Clinton ever changed his mind. A. M. Rosenthal, a strong defender of Israel, made this point in a *New York Times* column in which he criticized the Conoco deal: "The only problem [with executive orders] is that what the President giveth he can cancel-eth."<sup>32</sup> In response to this potential problem, Trita Parsi reports that "on its own initiative, AIPAC revised" the bill that Senator D'Amato had introduced in January 1995 "and convinced the New York Senator to reintroduce it in 1996—with AIPAC's proposed changes."<sup>33</sup> The new bill, which eventually became the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, imposed sanctions on any foreign companies investing more than \$40 million to develop petroleum resources in Iran or Libya. Although the proposed legislation infuriated America's European allies, the House passed it by a vote of 415-0 on June 19, 1996, and the Senate passed it by unanimous consent one month later. Clinton signed the bill on August 5, even though there was significant opposition to the new legislation throughout the administration. Indeed, Kenneth Pollack writes that "much of the executive branch hated the D'Amato bill. In fact, for many, 'hated' was too mild a word." However, "many of President Clinton's domestic policy advisors thought it would be sheer stupidity for the White House not to endorse the bill."<sup>34</sup>

Since Clinton was up for reelection in three months, they were probably right. As Ze'ev Schiff, the military correspondent for *Ha'aretz*, noted at the time, "Israel is but a tiny element in the big scheme, but one should not conclude that it cannot influence those within the beltway."<sup>35</sup> Similarly, James Schlesinger, who has held a number of cabinet-level positions in different administrations, remarked in the wake of these sanctions, "It is scarcely possible to overstate the influence of Israel's supporters on our policies in the Middle East."<sup>36</sup>

The Conoco episode casts further doubt on the oft-repeated claim that the "oil lobby" is the real hidden hand behind U.S. Middle East policy. In this case, an American oil company wanted to deal with Iran, and Iran wanted to do business with it. The oil industry was opposed to overturning the Conoco deal, and it also opposed the legislation to impose sanctions on Iran.<sup>37</sup> As noted in Chapter 4, Dick Cheney, a prominent advocate of confronting Iran today, publicly opposed the U.S. sanctions program when he was president of the oil-services company Halliburton in the 1990s. But oil interests were steamrolled by AIPAC on every decision. These outcomes provide more evidence of how little influence the oil companies have on U.S. Middle East policy, when compared with Israel and the lobby.

The American posture continued to harden even as new opportunities for engagement became apparent. On May 23, 1997, Mohammad Khatami was elected president of Iran. He was even more enthusiastic than his predecessor about improving relations with the West, and the United States in particular. He made conciliatory remarks in his inaugural speech on August 4 and in his first press conference on December 14. Most important, he went out of his way in a lengthy CNN interview on January 7, 1998, to express his respect for "the great American people" and "their great civilization." He also made it clear that Iran did not "aim ... to destroy or undermine the American government" and that he regretted the infamous takeover of the U.S. embassy in 1979. Recognizing the existing hostility between Tehran and Washington, he called for "a crack in this wall of mistrust to

prepare for a change and create an opportunity to study a new situation."<sup>38</sup>

Furthermore, Khatami did not rule out the possibility of an Israeli state in historic Palestine and declared that "terrorism should be condemned in all its forms and manifestations." He also denounced terrorism against Israelis, while noting that "supporting peoples who fight for the liberation of their land is not, in my opinion, supporting terrorism." This caveat notwithstanding, Khatami's remarks were still a marked shift in Iran's position, and other Iranian spokesmen soon echoed Iran's willingness to accept Israel if it reached an agreement with the Palestinians.<sup>39</sup>

In the wake of Khatami's conciliatory comments, the Clinton administration—after checking with Israel and key figures in Congress—made a number of small gestures to improve relations between Iran and the United States.<sup>40</sup> Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright made contrite remarks about past Western conduct, and the United States eased visa restrictions on travel between the two countries. Even Martin Indyk, the architect of dual containment who was then serving as U.S. ambassador to Israel, told reporters that "the United States has made it clear repeatedly that we have nothing against an Islamic government in Iran . . . We are ready for a dialogue."<sup>41</sup> But the commercial restrictions remained in force and dual containment continued for the rest of Clinton's second term. This failure to alter course was partly due to hard-liners inside Iran, who were strongly opposed to Khatami's plans to engage with the "great Satan."<sup>42</sup> But Israel and its supporters in the United States also played an important role in discouraging an American-Iranian rapprochement.

For starters, the lobby had been largely responsible for developing and sustaining dual containment in the years before Khatami came to power in 1997. That policy, of course, helped poison relations between Tehran and Washington, which, in turn, increased the political power of the Iranian politicians who opposed Iran's new and more moderate leader. Furthermore, as soon as it became clear in mid-December 1997 that Khatami was calling for better relations with America, Israeli officials moved to thwart his initiative. *Ha'aretz* reported that "Israel has expressed its concern to Washington at reports of an impending change of policy by the United States towards Iran," adding that Prime Minister Netanyahu "has asked AIPAC . . . to act vigorously in Congress to prevent such a policy shift."<sup>43</sup>

AIPAC did as Netanyahu asked. According to Gary Sick, one of America's leading experts on Iran, "The gradual improvement of U.S.-Iran relations after the election of Khatami was not reflected in AIPAC's positions. In fact, by early 1999 only AIPAC, the Iranian monarchists in exile and the terrorist Mojahedin-e Khalq persisted in their relentless insistence that little or nothing had changed in Iran."<sup>44</sup> Even after the Israeli ambassador to the United States had said in the spring of 2000 that it would be acceptable for Clinton to allow certain food and medical supplies to be exported to Iran, AIPAC still campaigned against the legislation. AIPAC did not oppose Clinton's decision to lift the ban on caviar, Persian rugs, and pistachios imported from Iran, but the Anti-Defamation League and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations did.<sup>45</sup> Clinton ultimately got his way in both cases, mainly because each involved small amounts of trade and little controversy. But the United States did not make a serious effort to grasp the hand that Khatami had tentatively extended.

It made good sense for the United States to engage Iran during the 1990s and attempt to improve relations between the two countries. Dual containment, as Brent Scowcroft observed, "was a nutty idea."<sup>46</sup> Israeli leaders, however, believed that it was in Israel's interest to prevent President Clinton from pursuing engagement, even if that more aggressive policy was not in America's national interest. Ephraim Sneh, one of Israel's leading hawks on Iran, put the point succinctly: "We were against it [United States-Iran dialogue] . . . because the interest of the US did not coincide with ours."<sup>47</sup> The lobby followed Israel's lead.

## THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND REGIME CHANGE

As discussed in Chapter 8, the attacks on September 11, 2001, led President Bush to abandon dual containment and pursue the even more ambitious strategy of regional transformation. The American

military would now be used to topple hostile regimes across the Middle East. From Israel's perspective, Iran was ideally suited to be the first target on the Bush administration's hit list. Since the early 1990s, Israeli leaders have tended to portray Iran as their most dangerous enemy because it is the adversary most likely to acquire nuclear weapons. As Israeli Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer remarked one year before the Iraq war, "Iraq is a problem . . . But you should understand, if you ask me, today Iran is more dangerous than Iraq."<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, Sharon and his lieutenants recognized by early 2002 that the United States was determined to confront Iraq first and deal with Iran after Saddam had been removed from power. They raised no serious objections to this ordering of the agenda, although they kept reminding the Bush administration that it had to deal with Iran as soon as it finished the job in Baghdad. Sharon began publicly pushing the United States to confront Iran in November 2002, in an interview with the *Times* of London.<sup>49</sup> Describing Iran as the "center of world terror" and bent on acquiring nuclear weapons, he declared that the Bush administration should put the strong arm on Iran "the day after" it conquered Iraq.

In late April 2003, after the fall of Baghdad, *Ha'aretz* reported that the Israeli ambassador in Washington was now calling for regime change in Iran. The overthrow of Saddam, he noted, was "not enough." In his words, America "has to follow through. We still have great threats of that magnitude coming from Syria, coming from Iran."<sup>50</sup> Ten days later, the *New York Times* reported that Washington was growing increasingly concerned about Iran's nuclear ambitions and that there is "a lot of hammering from the Israelis for us to take this problem seriously."<sup>51</sup> Shimon Peres then published an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* on June 25 titled "We Must Unite to Prevent an Ayatollah Nuke." His description of the Iranian threat sounded just like his earlier description of the threat from Saddam, even including a ritual reference to the lessons of appeasement in the 1930s. Iran, he emphasized, must be told in no uncertain terms that the United States and Israel will not tolerate it going nuclear.<sup>52</sup>

The neoconservatives also lost no time in making the case for regime change in Tehran. In late May 2003, Inter Press Service reported that "the neo-cons' efforts to now focus US attention on 'regime change' in Iran have become much more intense since early May and [have] already borne substantial fruit."<sup>53</sup> In early June, according to the *Forward*, "Neoconservatives inside and outside the administration have been urging an active effort to promote regime change in Tehran. Reports of possible covert actions have surfaced in recent weeks."<sup>54</sup>

As usual, there was a bevy of articles by prominent neoconservatives—essentially the same people who had helped push the war in Iraq—making the case for going after Iran. William Kristol wrote in the *Weekly Standard* on May 12 that "the liberation of Iraq was the first great battle for the future of the Middle East . . . But the next great battle—not, we hope, a military battle—will be for Iran."<sup>55</sup> Michael Ledeen, one of the leading hawks on Iran, wrote in the *National Review Online* on April 4, "There is no more time for diplomatic 'solutions.' We will have to deal with the terror masters, here and now. Iran, at least, offers us the possibility of a memorable victory, because the Iranian people openly loath the regime, and will enthusiastically combat it, if only the United States supports them in their just struggle."<sup>56</sup>

Other pundits offering similar views at this time include Daniel Pipes of the Middle East Forum and WINEP's Patrick Clawson, who published a piece in the *Jerusalem Post* on May 20 titled "Turn Up the Pressure on Iran." They called for the Bush administration to support the Mojahedin-e Khalq, a group based in Iraq that is bent on overthrowing the regime in Tehran but that the U.S. government has designated a terrorist organization. Lawrence Kaplan argued in the *New Republic* on June 9 that the United States needed to get tougher with Iran over its nuclear programs, which he feared were further along than most American policy makers recognized.<sup>57</sup>

On May 6, the American Enterprise Institute cosponsored an all-day conference on the future of Iran with two other pro-Israel organizations, the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and the Hudson Institute.<sup>58</sup> The speakers were all strong supporters of Israel like Bernard Lewis, Senator Sam Brownback, Uri Lubrani (senior adviser to the IDF and former Israeli government coordinator for southern Lebanon), Morris Amitay from the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (and former



executive director of AIPAC), Michael Ledeen, Reuel Marc Gerecht from the AEI, and Meyrav Wurmser from the Hudson Institute. The main question on the table was the obvious one: "What steps can the United States take to promote democratization and regime change in Iran?" The answer was predictable: each of the speakers called for the United States to do much more to bring down the Islamic Republic and replace it with a democratic state.

Toward this end, the lobby has struck up a close relationship with Reza Pahlavi, the son of the late shah of Iran. He is believed to have had personal meetings with both Sharon and Netanyahu, and he has extensive contacts with pro-Israel groups and individuals in the United States. The evolving relationship is much like the one that influential groups in the lobby had previously cultivated with Iraqi exile Ahmed Chalabi. Seemingly unaware that Pahlavi (like Chalabi) has little legitimacy in his homeland, pro-Israel groups have promoted his cause. In return, he makes it clear that if he were to come to power in Iran, he would make sure that his country has friendly relations with Israel.<sup>59</sup>

On May 19, 2003, Senator Sam Brownback announced that he planned to introduce legislation to fund opposition groups and promote democracy in Iran. The so-called Iran Democracy Act was backed not only by Iranian exiles but also by AIPAC, JINSA, and the Coalition for Democracy in Iran, whose founders included Morris Amitay of JINSA and Michael Ledeen of AEI. The bill was introduced in the House by Brad Sherman (D-CA), another dedicated supporter of Israel, and by late July it had been passed by both houses of Congress, although the funding was removed from the final legislation.<sup>60</sup>

The groups backing this legislation have emphasized that Iran is a major menace because it supports terrorism and is close to becoming a nuclear power. But they also have tried to blame Iran for some of the other problems that the United States has faced since the fall of Baghdad. Neoconservatives in the Pentagon suggested that Iran was harboring some of the al Qaeda operatives who had attacked U.S. and other targets in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on May 12, 2003. The Iranians denied this charge, and both the CIA and the State Department viewed the neoconservatives' accusations with considerable skepticism.<sup>61</sup> The neoconservatives have also been among the most forceful proponents of the claim that Iran has been supporting attacks against American troops in Iraq. As Michael Ledeen wrote in April 2004, "Iraq cannot be peaceful and secure so long as Tehran sends its terrorist cadres across the border."<sup>62</sup>

If Iran is contributing to militias in Iraq, it hardly proves that U.S. and Iranian interests are irreconcilable. Iran is not the main source of America's problems in Iraq, and the United States would be in deep trouble there even if Iran were doing nothing. Nor would it be surprising if Iran were acting in this way. After all, the world's most powerful country has invaded two of Iran's neighbors while simultaneously declaring that Tehran is part of the "axis of evil." The U.S. Congress has passed a law calling for regime change in Iran, and the Bush administration has funded Iranian exile groups and hinted on several occasions that it might strike Iran with military force. Wouldn't any country facing this sort of threat do whatever it could to protect itself, including using its influence with different Iraqi factions and possibly sending them various forms of aid? If a hostile power conquered Canada or Mexico and tried to set up a sympathetic government there, wouldn't the United States try to complicate that hostile power's efforts and ensure an outcome more favorable to U.S. interests? Americans have good reason to resent Iran's influence in Iraq, but they should hardly be surprised by it or see it as evidence of unrelenting Iranian hostility. It is also worth noting that deep antipathy did not prevent the U.S. government from engaging Soviet leaders throughout the Cold War, even when Moscow was providing millions of dollars' worth of military aid to North Vietnam, which used this assistance to kill thousands of American soldiers.

### **RIISING TO ISRAEL'S DEFENSE**

Israel and the lobby have been remarkably successful at convincing Bush and other leading American politicians that a nuclear-armed Iran is an unacceptable threat to Israel and that it is the responsibility of the United States to prevent that threat from increasing. In fact, there is some evidence that some individuals in the lobby think they have been too successful for Israel's own good.

The president's current rhetoric clearly reflects Israel's preferred approach toward Iran, as is

apparent from a speech he gave in Cleveland on March 20, 2006. "The threat from Iran," he said, "is, of course, their stated objective to destroy our strong ally Israel. That's a threat, a serious threat. . . I made it clear, I'll make it clear again, that we will use military might to protect our ally, Israel."<sup>63</sup> Bush's comments were consistent with his previous statements. He said a month earlier in an interview with Reuters that "we will rise to Israel's defense, if need be."<sup>64</sup> Moreover, most of the 2008 presidential candidates, Democrats and Republicans alike, appear to agree with the president. In April 2007, for example, Senator John McCain said explicitly that he agreed with Bush that the United States had a responsibility to protect Israel from Iran and to make sure that Iran did not get nuclear weapons that might threaten Israel.<sup>65</sup> He reiterated that claim in a May 2007 interview with the *Jerusalem Post*, and fellow candidates Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, Bill Richardson, and Sam Brownback offered similar comments as well.<sup>66</sup>

Bush's enthusiasm for defining Iran as a mortal threat to Israel but not the United States, coupled with his stated commitment to go to war against Iran for Israel's benefit, has set off alarm bells in various parts of the lobby. In the spring of 2006, the *Forward* reported, "Jewish community leaders have urged the White House to refrain from publicly pledging to defend Israel against possible Iranian hostilities." The point is not that these leaders oppose the use of American power to protect Israel, but rather that they fear that Bush's public statements "create an impression that the United States is considering a military option against Iran for the sake of Israel—and could lead to American Jews being blamed for any negative consequences of an American strike against Iran."<sup>67</sup> As Malcolm Hoenlein, executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents, put it in April 2006, "As much as we appreciate it, the question is whether it's beneficial to tie this to Israel."<sup>68</sup>

Israeli leaders share the same concern, as reflected in Prime Minister Olmert's comment later that spring that he hoped pro-Israel groups would maintain a low profile regarding Iran. "We don't want it to be about Israel," he said, which was just the opposite of what the president was saying.<sup>69</sup>

Rhetoric aside, the Bush administration has worked assiduously to shut down Iran's nuclear program and has in general taken a more aggressive posture. It has imposed economic sanctions and threatened military strikes if Iran continues down the nuclear road. "No option," American leaders are fond of saying, "is off the table."<sup>70</sup> James Bamford and Seymour Hersh have separately described how many of the same individuals who planned the Iraq war have devised the Pentagon's plans for a military campaign against Iran. For example, Douglas Feith, the undersecretary of defense for policy until August 2005, played a central role in developing the plans for striking the Islamic Republic. "There has also been close, and largely unacknowledged, cooperation with Israel," noted Hersh in early 2005. "Defense Department civilians, under the leadership of Douglas Feith, have been working with Israeli planners and consultants to develop and refine potential nuclear, chemical-weapons, and missile targets inside Iran." The Pentagon has also been conducting intelligence-gathering operations inside of Iran and it has updated its "contingency plans for a broader invasion of Iran."<sup>71</sup>

In January 2007, the Bush administration ratcheted up the military pressure on Iran in a number of ways. It arrested five Iranian officials in the Iraqi city of Erbil, who were in a building that the local Kurds and the Iranians considered a consular facility. The president then announced that he was sending an additional carrier battle group to the Persian Gulf as well as Patriot antimissile defense systems to defend the states in the Gulf Cooperation Council. At the same time, U.S. military officials in Baghdad were claiming that Iran was shipping key components of especially deadly roadside bombs into Iraq to be used against American troops. Both Stephen Hadley the president's national security adviser, and Secretary of State Con-doleezza Rice made it clear that the administration had not ruled out the possibility that U.S. forces might cross into Iran in pursuit of Iranians trafficking in roadside bombs and other weapons.<sup>72</sup>

These confrontational moves notwithstanding, David Wurmser, who advises Vice President Cheney on Middle East affairs, apparently felt that Rice and Hadley were too interested in negotiating with Iran—even if the diplomacy was backed up by threats—and not sufficiently committed to the military option. In spring 2007, Wurmser gave a series of talks at the American Enterprise Institute and other

conservative Washington think tanks in which he said that the vice president was unhappy with the secretary of state—as well as with President Bush—for pursuing diplomacy at all, and that Cheney was interested in working with Israel to come up with a military strategy to eliminate Iran's nuclear program that he could sell to the president. When Wurmser's activities became public knowledge, Rice denied that there were differences within the administration on Iran, and emphasized that the vice president fully supported the president's policy.<sup>73</sup>

While Washington has relied primarily on threats rather than negotiations in its dealings with Iran, the European Union has worked in the opposite direction and has attempted to find a diplomatic solution to the crisis. The EU-3 (Britain, France, and Germany) initiated negotiations with Tehran in early August 2003, and on October 21, Iran agreed to suspend its enrichment and reprocessing programs and to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency to conduct especially intrusive inspections. A year later, on November 15, 2004, Iran agreed "to continue and extend its suspension to include all enrichment related and reprocessing activities" and "to begin negotiations, with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement on long term arrangements."<sup>74</sup> Efforts to reach a satisfactory deal failed, however, and Iran announced in August 2005 that it would resume enriching its uranium. The EU-3 has continued talking with Iran, but to little avail.

Although the United States was willing to allow the EU-3 to try to halt Iran's nuclear program through negotiations, it had little enthusiasm for that bargaining process and was never strongly committed to making it work.<sup>75</sup> In fact, by constantly threatening Iran and pushing the European negotiators to be as tough as possible with their Iranian counterparts, the Bush administration virtually guaranteed that the negotiations would lead nowhere. If there was any hope that diplomacy would succeed, the military threat had to be taken off the table.

After diplomacy backed by threats failed to resolve the problem, the Bush administration began pushing hard in the fall of 2005 to get the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Iran. It finally succeeded in late December 2006, when China and Russia agreed, after much foot dragging, to a package of limited sanctions.<sup>76</sup> In late March 2007, the Security Council approved a second set of sanctions on Iran over its refusal to shut down its nuclear enrichment facilities. These new sanctions, which were also limited in scope, included a ban on Iranian arms exports, travel restrictions on individuals associated with Iran's nuclear program, and freezing the assets of some individuals and organizations untouched by the first set of UN sanctions.<sup>77</sup> Few experts believe that these measures will cause Iran to abandon its nuclear program, and few believe that the United States will be able to convince the Security Council to go along with the kind of tough sanctions that might work. But if UN sanctions are not the answer, what is?

## THE ALTERNATIVES

The Bush administration has three options left for halting Iran's nuclear program: it can try to coerce Tehran by markedly increasing the pressure on it with military measures short of war, tougher U.S. sanctions, and an anti-Iran coalition that includes Israel and the Arab states; it can try to eliminate it with military force; or it can make a serious attempt to strike a grand bargain that keeps Iran from developing nuclear weapons. Israel and most of the key organizations in the lobby, especially the neoconservatives, favor the second option. But Israeli leaders and their American supporters are well aware that there is widespread opposition to attacking Iran inside and outside of the U.S. government, as well as in the international community, especially given the dire situation in Iraq. Moreover, it is clear that despite the rhetoric, President Bush has shown little enthusiasm for the military option, which is not to say he would never strike Iran.

Bush's plan for 2007 appears to call for ramping up the pressure on Iran in the hopes that it will cave in to U.S. demands to stop enriching uranium.<sup>78</sup> As noted, the administration made a number of

confrontational military moves in January that were aimed directly at Iran. And the president and Secretary of State Rice have also begun making a concerted effort to get the Arab states in the Middle East to line up with the United States and Israel against Iran. Against this backdrop, key groups in the lobby, which have been going along with Bush's policy for now, are mobilizing. The *Forward* reported on the eve of the March 2007 AIPAC conference that "the pro-Israel lobby is backing new congressional legislation that would toughen sanctions against Iran and target foreign entities doing business with the Islamic Republic."<sup>79</sup>

So far this strategy has failed to produce results. The United States was heavily criticized by many Iraqis and even by the Kurds for arresting the five Iranians. And then in March, the Iranians proved that two can play the game when they detained fifteen British naval troops in the Persian Gulf, accusing them of trespassing in Iranian territorial waters.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile, Iran continues to develop its nuclear program and support Shia groups in Iraq. There is no evidence that sending additional carrier battle groups to the Gulf has had any effect on Tehran's behavior. Congress may enact much tougher sanctions, but the fact is that the administration is only mildly enthusiastic about taking that route, because this policy ends up imposing sanctions on allies that do business with Iran. It is a policy certain to strain U.S. relations with those allies, possibly undermining their willingness to help Washington put additional pressure on Iran.<sup>81</sup>

The administration's attempt to work closely with Arab states has made little progress, in good part because of America's continuing support of Israel over the Palestinians. In March, King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia not only invited Iranian President Ahmadinejad to visit Riyadh but also canceled a visit to the White House and condemned the U.S. occupation of Iraq as "illegal." The director of the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan said that Abdullah was "telling the U.S. they need to listen to their allies rather than imposing decisions on them and always taking Israel's side." As discussed in Chapter 7, Saudi Arabia was then pushing the Arab League to reissue its 2002 peace initiative for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; the United States, however, was pressuring the Saudis to change the proposal because Israel was unhappy with it. Secretary Rice condescendingly asked Arab countries to "begin reaching out to Israel." This admonition angered the Saudis, especially Abdullah, who responded by lashing out at the American presence in Iraq.<sup>82</sup>

Coercion is unlikely to alter Tehran's calculations. This point is not lost on Israeli leaders and their allies in the United States, most of whom see a nuclear Iran as a mortal threat to Israel. For that reason, many have lobbied relentlessly not only to keep the military option on the table but also to make the case that Iran is so dangerous that if it does not capitulate to Washington's demands, it will be necessary to use force. Consider what Prime Minister Ehud Olmert told a joint session of Congress on May 24, 2006. He likened Iran with nuclear weapons to "the savagery of slavery, to the horrors of World War II, to the gulags of the communist bloc." He emphasized that a nuclear-armed Iran was not just a threat to Israel but would put "the security of the entire world ... in jeopardy." He made it clear that he expected the United States to play the key role in preventing this "dark and gathering storm [from] casting its shadow over the world."<sup>83</sup>

A few months later, in November 2006, Olmert told a *Newsweek* interviewer that he did not believe that Iran would accept a "compromise unless they have good reason to fear the consequences of not reaching a compromise. In other words, Iran must start to fear."<sup>84</sup> By the spring of 2007, Olmert was intensifying the campaign to sell the military option. He told Germany's *Focus* magazine in late April, "It is impossible perhaps to destroy the entire nuclear program but it would be possible to damage it in such a way that it would be set back years." Olmert estimated that "it would take 10 days and would involve the firing of 1,000 Tomahawk cruise missiles."<sup>85</sup> One Israeli general, however, questioned whether Bush had sufficient "political power to attack Iran" and suggested instead that Israel "help him pave the way by lobbying the Democratic Party . . . and US newspaper editors . . . to turn the Iranian issue into a bipartisan one."<sup>86</sup>

Israeli officials also warn they may take preemptive action themselves should Iran continue down the nuclear road. Besides sending a signal to Iran, these threats keep the pressure on Washington to solve the problem, because the United States does not want Israel to act on its own. Prime Minister

Ariel Sharon warned in late 2005 that "Israel—and not only Israel—cannot accept a nuclear Iran. We have the ability to deal with this and we're making all the necessary preparations to be ready for such a situation." London's *Sunday Times* reported in January 2007 that Israeli pilots were rehearsing a tactical nuclear strike against Iran's facilities; although Israel officially denied the report, it did serve as a powerful reminder of the importance Israel attaches to this issue. As one Israeli defense analyst told the Associated Press, "It is possible that this was a leak done on purpose, as deterrence, to say 'someone better hold us back, before we do something crazy.'"<sup>87</sup> Just in case this message was not getting through, Avigdor Lieberman, the deputy prime minister, told *Der Spiegel* in February 2007 that if the international community does not solve the problem, "Israel may have to act alone."<sup>88</sup>

Some in the lobby have moved beyond vague calls for "regime change" and begun to make the case that a nuclear-armed Iran is intolerable and the United States must be prepared to use force to deal with the problem.<sup>89</sup> Neoconservative pundits have been especially outspoken about the threat from Iran and the need to use force, or at least threaten it, to bring Iran to heel. The essence of their perspective is captured in the headline of an op-ed that Michael Rubin of the American Enterprise Institute published in the *New York Daily News* on October 3, 2006: "To End Iran Standoff, Plan for War." Joshua Muravchik, who is also at the AEI, declared a month later that "President Bush will need to bomb Iran's nuclear facilities before leaving office. It is all but inconceivable that Iran will accept any peaceful inducements to abandon its drive for the bomb."<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Richard Perle said approvingly in January 2007 that "I have no doubt that if it becomes apparent to President Bush that during his term Iran will achieve nuclear weapons, he will not hesitate to order a strike."<sup>91</sup> Finally, Norman Podhoretz published a widely discussed article on May 30, 2007, in the online version of the *Wall Street Journal* titled "The Case for Bombing Iran: I Hope and Pray That Bush Will Do It."

AIPAC has also played a central role in publicizing the threat from Iran and pushing forward the military option. Its annual conference for the past two years has put the Iran issue up in bright lights and emphasized the imperative of ending its nuclear program.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, John Hagee, who heads Christians United for Israel, was invited to address the 2007 conference. Hagee had told the *Jerusalem Post* in 2006 that "I would hope the United States would join Israel in a military pre-emptive strike to take out the nuclear capability of Iran for the salvation of Western civilization."<sup>93</sup> He did not disappoint the attendees at the March 2007 conference, telling them, "It is 1938; Iran is Germany, and Ahmadinejad is the new Hitler. We must stop Iran's nuclear threat and stand boldly with Israel." He received multiple standing ovations.<sup>94</sup> By contrast, the *New York Post* reports that Senator Hillary Clinton "drew grumbles" the previous month when she suggested to an AIPAC audience that it might make sense to engage with Iran before employing stronger measures.<sup>95</sup>

Perhaps the best evidence of AIPAC's influence on U.S. policy toward Iran was revealed in mid-March 2007, when Congress was attempting to attach a provision to a Pentagon spending bill that would have required President Bush to get its approval before attacking Iran. In light of what has happened in the Iraq war, this was a popular measure on Capitol Hill and appeared likely to gain approval. It was also consistent with Congress's constitutional authority. But AIPAC was firmly opposed, because it saw the legislation as effectively taking the military option against Iran off the table. It went to work in the halls of Congress, and with the help of a handful of pro-Israel representatives—Gary Ackerman, Eliot Engel, and Shelley Berkley (D-NV)—the provision was removed from the spending bill.<sup>96</sup> One month later, when Congressman Michael Capuano (D-MA) was asked why the language on Iran was stripped out of the bill, he answered with one word: "AIPAC." Congressman Dennis Kucinich (D-OH) offered the same assessment.<sup>97</sup>

Despite the commitment that Israel and some in the lobby have to pushing the military option against Iran, it is widely recognized that threatening to use force against Iran is counterproductive and actually attacking that country's nuclear facilities would have disastrous consequences.<sup>98</sup> It would further destabilize the Middle East and cause Iran to lash out at the United States and its allies. The last thing that Washington needs at this point is another war against an Islamic country. The American military is already bogged down in Baghdad, and Iran has substantially more territory and people than Iraq. Furthermore, Iran would almost certainly not give up its nuclear program but would redouble its

efforts to rebuild it, as Iraq did after Israel destroyed its incipient nuclear capability in 1981. It is unsurprising that Charles Kupchan, an expert on European security issues, says, "I have yet to find a European policymaker who thinks war is preferable to a nuclear Iran."<sup>99</sup>

In fact, Israel is the only country in the world where a substantial number of people advocate the military option against Iran if it does not end its nuclear program—perhaps as much as 71 percent of the Israeli population, according to a May 2007 poll.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, the core organizations in the lobby are the only significant groups in the United States that favor going to war against the Islamic Republic. In early 2007, when retired General Wesley Clark was asked why the Bush administration seemed headed for war with Iran, he answered, "You just have to read what's in the Israeli press. The Jewish community is divided but there is so much pressure being channeled from the New York money people to the office seekers." Clark was immediately smeared as an anti-Semite for suggesting that Israel and some American Jews were pushing the United States toward war with Iran, but as the journalist Matthew Yglesias pointed out, "Everything Clark said is true. What's more, everybody *knows* it's true."<sup>101</sup> Even more pointedly, former UN weapons inspector turned author Scott Ritter said in his 2006 book *Target Iran*, "Let there be no doubt: If there is an American war with Iran, it is a war that was made in Israel and nowhere else."<sup>102</sup> In short, if Israel and the lobby were not pressing this case, there would be little serious discussion inside or outside the Beltway about attacking Iran.

### THE LEAST BAD OPTION

As noted earlier, the best option available to the Bush administration is to remove the threat of force and attempt to reach a comprehensive agreement with Iran.<sup>103</sup> It is difficult to say whether this strategy would work, but there is good reason to think that it might have worked in the past and might even work in the future. Iran signaled on two separate occasions since 9/11 that it was seriously interested in reaching a negotiated settlement with the United States.<sup>104</sup> Iran helped the United States topple the Taliban in the fall of 2001 by providing advice on targets to strike in Afghanistan, facilitating U.S. cooperation with the Northern Alliance, and helping with search-and-rescue missions. After the war, Tehran helped Washington put a friendly government in place in Kabul. At the same time, Iran's President Khatami made it clear once again that he wanted to improve relations with the United States and saw events in Afghanistan as a major step in that direction.

As was the case in the 1990s, there was substantial support within the CIA and the State Department for taking Khatami at his word and attempting to normalize relations with Tehran. The neoconservatives inside and outside of the administration, however, vehemently opposed that idea; they favored getting tough with Iran, and they carried the day with Bush and Cheney. In his State of the Union address in late January 2002, the president rewarded Iran for its cooperation in Afghanistan by including it in the infamous "axis of evil." Moreover, Bush made it clear in the following months that although he was preoccupied with regime change in Iraq, he would eventually turn to Iran and try to topple that government as well.

Despite America's hostility, Iran tried again in the spring of 2003, as it had in 1997 during the Clinton administration, to reach out to the United States. Khatami said he was willing to negotiate on Iran's nuclear program, so that it would be readily transparent that "there are no Iranian endeavors to develop or possess WMD." Regarding terrorism, he said that Iran would end "any material support to Palestinian opposition groups ( Hamas, Jihad, etc.)" and put "pressure on these organizations to stop violent action against civilians" within Israel's 1967 borders. On Hezbollah, Iran's goal would be to make it "a mere political organization within Lebanon." Khatami also indicated "acceptance" of the 2002 Saudi peace initiative, which he made clear meant acceptance of a two-state solution. Plus, Iran would help stabilize Iraq. In return, Khatami wanted the United States to remove Iran from the axis of evil and take away the threat to use military force against his country. Sanctions also had to go, and Iran wanted "full access to peaceful nuclear technology." In essence, Khatami was pushing forward a solution that

had all the ingredients of a grand bargain.<sup>105</sup>

Iran's offer was presented in May 2003, just after the United States appeared to have scored a stunning victory in Iraq, on the heels of what seemed to be a stunning victory in Afghanistan. At that point, many people believed that the United States might actually be able to reorder the entire Middle East. It was, in fact, an ideal time to push Tehran to cut a deal, because U.S. prestige and leverage were at their peak and Iran's sense of vulnerability was acute. Unfortunately, America's favorable position made Bush more inclined to dictate rather than deal. Not only was Israel pressing the Bush administration hard at that point to take aim at Iran, but so were the neoconservatives and others in the lobby. Bush paid hardly any attention to Khatami's offer to negotiate a comprehensive settlement between Iran and the United States, and U.S. officials were ordered not to pursue it.

One cannot know whether a grand bargain would have been struck had the Bush administration pursued these opportunities. There were still plenty of Iranian hard-liners who would have resisted making any kind of deal with the "great Satan." Nevertheless, Bush was foolish not to try to reach an agreement with Khatami, if only because that approach was the least bad option. Trying to cut a deal might well have prevented the election of President Ahmadinejad, whose irresponsible statements and bellicose attitude have made a difficult situation worse. And if engagement had failed and Iran ultimately acquired nuclear weapons, the United States could still fall back on a strategy of deterrence.

It may not be too late to strike a deal with Iran, although the chances of achieving success are less likely now than in either 2001 or 2003. Not only has America's bargaining position been eroded by events in Iraq, but Iranian leaders have more reason than ever not to trust Bush. Furthermore, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has replaced Khatami as Iran's president, and he has shown little interest in reaching out to the Bush administration. Nonetheless, there are still compelling reasons to pursue a grand bargain. Not only is it still the best strategy for stopping Iran from acquiring a nuclear arsenal, but the United States needs Iran's help to rescue the situation in Afghanistan as well as Iraq. This is why the Iraq Study Group recommended in December 2006 that President Bush negotiate with Iran rather than confront it.<sup>106</sup> Its members understood that confronting Iran—as the Bush administration has done in the past—gives it powerful incentives to meddle in Afghanistan and Iraq, which is definitely not in America's interest.<sup>107</sup>

There is actually substantial support within the United States for engaging Iran in serious negotiations.<sup>108</sup> As noted, many in the CIA, the State Department, and the military would back the idea. A poll taken in late November 2006, just before the Iraq Study Group released its report, found that 75 percent of Americans believe that the United States "should deal with the government of Iran primarily by trying to build better relations." Only 22 percent favor "pressuring it with implied threats that the US may use military force."<sup>109</sup> The recommendation to engage Iran from the Iraq Study Group—a bipartisan committee of prominent individuals—is another indicator of the breadth of support for negotiations. Even Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times*, who is usually attuned to Israel's concerns, remarked in early 2007 that Iran is a "natural ally" of the United States.<sup>110</sup>

Although it makes good strategic sense for the United States to pursue a grand bargain with Iran, and although there is plenty of support for that policy inside and outside of America, it is unlikely to happen anytime soon. Israel and the lobby will almost certainly try to thwart any efforts to seriously engage Iran before they get started, as they have consistently done since 1993. Indeed, the lobby has gone out of its way to undermine the Iraq Study Group's recommendation that the Bush administration negotiate with Iran. The release of the report, according to the *Forward*, "has produced an outpouring of protest from Jewish groups opposing its call for talks with Iran, Syria and the Palestinians." Nevertheless, "insiders say that the real target of Israel's anxiety is neither Syria nor the Palestinians, but Iran and its nuclear program."<sup>111</sup>

The lobby is also likely to try to make sure that the United States continues to threaten Iran with military strikes unless it abandons its nuclear enrichment program. Given that this threat has not worked in the past and is unlikely to work in the future, some of Israel's American backers, especially the neoconservatives, will continue to call for the United States to carry out the threat. Although there is

still some chance that President Bush will decide to attack Iran before he leaves office, it is impossible to know for sure. There is also some possibility, given the inflexible rhetoric of the presidential candidates, that his successor will do so, particularly if Iran gets closer to developing weapons and if hard-liners there continue to predominate. If the United States does launch such an attack, it will be doing so in part on Israel's behalf, and the lobby would bear significant responsibility for having pushed this dangerous policy. And it would not be in America's national interest.

## **CONCLUSION**

As with U.S. policy toward the Palestinians, the tragic decision to invade Iraq, and the confrontational approach to Syria, the Israel lobby's influence on American policy toward Iran has been harmful to the national interest. By opposing any detente between Iran and the United States, much less cooperation, the lobby has also strengthened Iran's hard-liners, thereby making Israel's security problems worse. But its negative impact does not stop there. The lobby's influence during the 2006 war in Lebanon also did considerable harm to both the United States and to Israel, as the next chapter will show.

# **THE LOBBY AND THE SECOND LEBANON WAR**

In the summer of 2006, Israel fought a thirty-four-day war against Lebanon. On July 12, Hezbollah, the Shia organization that controls the southern part of Lebanon, made a cross-border raid that killed and captured several Israeli soldiers. In response, the Israel Defense Forces launched a major air campaign in Lebanon, which killed more than eleven hundred Lebanese, most of whom were civilians and roughly a third of whom were children. It also did extensive damage to Lebanon's infrastructure, including roads, bridges, office buildings, apartment buildings, gas stations, factories, water-pumping stations, airport runways, homes, and supermarkets.<sup>1</sup> Although virtually no one challenged Israel's right to respond to the raid, or to defend itself, its excessive response was widely condemned around the globe.

Despite strong support from the United States, Israel failed to achieve its military or political objectives and Hezbollah emerged from the war with its popularity and prestige significantly enhanced. The IDF's chief of staff, Lieutenant General Dan Halutz, resigned a few months later, and an official Israeli government investigation chaired by former Supreme Court Justice Eliyahu Winograd subsequently issued a scathing assessment of Israel's planning and handling of the war. In particular, the Winograd Commission found that Israel's leaders had failed to "consider the whole range of options," "failed to adapt the military way of operations and its goals to the reality on the ground," and pursued goals that were "not clear and could not be achieved."<sup>2</sup>

The war was also a major setback for the United States. It weakened the Siniora government in Beirut, whose election after the "Cedar Revolution" of 2005 had been one of the few successes in the Bush administration's Middle East policy. The war also solidified the informal alliance among Hezbollah, Syria, and Iran, and intensified anti-American attitudes throughout the region, thereby undermining the war on terror and complicating U.S. efforts to forge a regional consensus on Iraq and Iran.

How did this happen? Although primary responsibility for mishandling the war lies with Israel's leaders, the United States encouraged their mistakes by offering them unconditional support before and



during the war. Israel had briefed the Bush administration on its plans to go after Hezbollah well before the war began on July 12 and was given a tacit green light by Washington. Unlike the rest of the world, including virtually all the major democracies, the United States did not criticize Israel's actions during the war and gave it valuable diplomatic and military backing instead. The Israel lobby worked throughout the war to keep the United States in Israel's corner.

It did not make strategic sense for the Bush administration to back Israel's disproportionate response to Hezbollah's provocations, and there was also no compelling moral case for supporting Israel's conduct. America's uncritical backing was not in Israel's interest either. As the Winograd report suggests, Israel would have been much better off if its leaders had examined "the whole range of options." In other words, the United States would have been a better ally if it had urged a different course of action when Israel first outlined its plan to attack Lebanon. Had the United States done so, Israel would have been forced to come up with a smarter response and might have avoided the debacle that subsequently befell it in Lebanon.

Israelis and many of their American supporters do not want to admit that the lobby heavily influenced U.S. policy both before and during the second Lebanon war, and they offer several alternative explanations designed to counter this charge. As is the case in other contexts, some defenders argue that the U.S. government's unflinching support for Israel's assault reflects the American public's deep commitment to the Jewish state. The American people, in this view, wanted U.S. leaders to back Israel to the hilt, and so President Bush and the Congress were simply bowing to the will of the people. Others claim that Israel was acting as America's client state in its war with Hezbollah. According to this version of events, the Bush administration was the driving force behind the war and it got its loyal Israeli client to do its bidding. These alternative explanations might seem intuitively plausible to some observers, but neither is consistent with the available evidence.

### **PREWAR PLANNING**

Israel has launched a number of major military strikes against Lebanon over the past forty years, but it previously had fought only one genuine war on Lebanese territory. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982. It was eighteen years before the IDF finally left Lebanon, and it was Hezbollah that drove them out. Israel and Hezbollah remained bitter enemies even after Israel withdrew, and occasional skirmishes continued to take place along the Israeli-Lebanese border. It was just such a skirmish on July 12, 2006, that erupted into Israel's second war in Lebanon.

Concerned about the huge stockpile of missiles and rockets that Hezbollah had acquired from Syria and especially Iran, Israel had been planning to strike at Hezbollah for months before the July 12 abductions. Gerald Steinberg, a well-connected Israeli strategist, made these points during the war: "Of all of Israel's wars since 1948, this was the one for which Israel was most prepared. In a sense, the preparation began in May 2000, immediately after the Israeli withdrawal, when it became clear the international community was not going to prevent Hezbollah from stockpiling missiles and attacking Israel. By 2004, the military campaign scheduled to last about three weeks that we're seeing now had already been blocked out and, in the last year or two, it's been simulated and rehearsed across the board."<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, Seymour Hersh reported, "Several current and former officials involved in the Middle East told me that Israel viewed the soldiers' kidnapping as the opportune moment to begin its planned military campaign against Hezbollah. 'Hezbollah, like clockwork, was instigating something small every month or two,' the U.S. government consultant with ties to Israel said."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert told the Winograd Commission that "his decision to respond to the abduction of soldiers with a broad military operation was made as early as March 2006," which was four months before the conflict started. At that time, he asked to see the existing "operational plans" for war with Lebanon, because "he did not want to make a snap decision in the case of an abduction." Olmert also said that in November 2005, his predecessor, Ariel Sharon, "ordered the army to prepare a 'list of targets' for a military response in Lebanon" after a failed Hezbollah attempt to capture IDF troops in a border village. Olmert held his first meeting on Lebanon in early January 2006, four days after he was

appointed to replace the incapacitated Sharon, and he subsequently "held more meetings on the situation in Lebanon than any of his recent predecessors."<sup>5</sup>

Israeli officials reportedly briefed key individuals inside and outside of the Bush administration about their intentions well before July 12. Hersh writes, "According to a Middle East expert with knowledge of the current thinking of both the Israeli and the U.S. governments, Israel had devised a plan for attacking Hezbollah—and shared it with Bush Administration officials—well before the July 12th kidnappings." Likewise, Matthew Kalman reports in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that "more than a year ago, a senior Israeli army officer began giving PowerPoint presentations, on an off-the-record basis, to U.S. and other diplomats, journalists and think tanks, setting out the plan for the current operation in revealing detail. Under the ground rules of the briefings, the officer could not be identified."<sup>6</sup>

The available evidence indicates that the Bush administration endorsed Israel's plans for war in Lebanon. According to Hersh, "Earlier this summer, before the Hezbollah kidnappings, the U.S. government consultant said, several Israeli officials visited Washington, separately, 'to get a green light for the bombing operation and to find out how much the United States would bear.' The consultant added, 'Israel began with Cheney. It wanted to be sure that it had his support and the support of his office and the Middle East desk of the National Security Council.' After that, 'persuading Bush was never a problem, and Condi Rice was on board,' the consultant said."<sup>7</sup>

There is not much information in the public record about the decisionmaking process that led President Bush to back Olmert's plan to attack Lebanon at an opportune moment. Nevertheless, there is reason to think that the neoconservatives played a key role in that process. Not only had the neoconservatives been angling to smash Hezbollah since September 11, but the two most influential advisers on Middle East affairs in the White House in the months before and during the Lebanon war were dedicated supporters of Israel and its hard-line policies toward its adversaries, including Hezbollah.<sup>8</sup> Elliott Abrams was the key person on the National Security Council dealing with Middle East policy. The *New York Times* reported during the war that he "has pushed the administration to throw its support behind Israel."<sup>9</sup>

The other key figure was David Wurmser, Vice President Cheney's adviser on Middle East affairs.<sup>10</sup> He was one of the authors of the 1996 "Clean Break" study, which advocated that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu end the Oslo peace process and use military force to change the political landscape in the Middle East. In particular, it called for "securing" Israel's northern border "by engaging Hizballah, Syria, and Iran, as the principal agents of aggression in Lebanon."<sup>11</sup> Wurmser was, as Adam Shatz

wrote in the *New York Review of Books* well before the second Lebanon war, "an open advocate of preemptive war against Syria and Hezbollah, a position favored by neoconservatives in and close to the Bush administration."<sup>12</sup> When Seymour Hersh reports, as quoted above, that Israel was interested in getting "the support of [Cheney's] office and the Middle East desk of the National Security Council," he is effectively saying that Olmert wanted the approval of Abrams and Wurmser, which he surely got. Beyond that basic fact, which is neither surprising nor controversial, little is known about the Bush administration's planning role in the months before the second Lebanon war.

Nothing in this account suggests that either Israel or the United States was conspiring to provoke a war in Lebanon. Given the simmering tensions along the border and Israel's legitimate concerns about Hezbollah's missiles and rockets, it made perfect sense for the IDF to formulate plans for addressing this threat. After all, every competent military leadership plans for contingencies that may never arise. It also made perfect sense for Israel to consult with its American patron about its plans, to make sure it was not preparing for a course of action that Washington might oppose.

### **"THE MIGHTY EDIFICE OF SUPPORT"<sup>13</sup>**

Once the war began and Israel came in for severe criticism from all corners of the globe, the Bush

administration provided Israel with extraordinary diplomatic protection. Its UN ambassador, John Bolton, whom Israel's UN ambassador once jokingly described as a sixth member of the Israeli delegation, vetoed a Security Council resolution that criticized Israel and worked assiduously for about a month to prevent the UN from imposing a cease-fire, so that Israel could try to finish the job with Hezbollah.<sup>14</sup> Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice downplayed the violence at a press conference, at one point dismissing it as the "birth pangs of a new Middle East."<sup>15</sup> Only when it became apparent that the IDF was not going to win a decisive victory did the Bush administration—and Israel—recognize the need for a ceasefire. During the ensuing negotiations that led to UN Resolution 1701, the United States went to great lengths to protect Israel's interests. In fact, as the resolution was being finalized, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert called President Bush on August 11 and thanked him for "safeguarding Israel's interests in the Security Council."<sup>16</sup>

The president frequently defended Israel's actions in public and never uttered a critical word. UN Ambassador Bolton told the Security Council that Hezbollah's goal was "to deliberately target innocent civilians, to desire their death," while the disproportionate numbers of Lebanese civilians killed by Israel were "the sad and highly unfortunate consequences of self-defense."<sup>17</sup> In addition to this diplomatic support, the administration provided Israel with military intelligence during the conflict, and when Israel started running low on precision-guided bombs, the president quickly agreed to send replacements.<sup>18</sup> During the height of the war, it successfully pressed Turkey and Iraq to deny permission to a plane loaded with missiles for Hezbollah to cross Turkish and Iraqi airspace on its way from Iran to Damascus.<sup>19</sup> As Shai Feldman, a well-connected Israeli scholar, noted during the latter stages of the war, "There is huge, huge appreciation here for the president."<sup>20</sup>

As we have seen in other contexts, Israel usually finds its strongest support in the U.S. Congress, and congressional behavior during the Lebanon conflict unequivocally confirmed this tendency. Democrats and Republicans competed to show that their party, not the rival one, was Israel's best friend. One Jewish activist said he thought that "it's a good thing to have members of Congress outdo their colleagues by showing that their pro-Israeli credentials are stronger than the next guy's."<sup>21</sup> In the end, there was virtually no daylight between the two parties regarding Israel's actions in Lebanon, which is remarkable when you think of the sharp differences between Democrats and Republicans on most other foreign policy issues, like Iraq, for example. Abraham Foxman, the head of the ADL, made this clear when he said, "The Democrats who are opposed to the president on 99 percent of things are closing ranks on Israel."<sup>22</sup>

Reflecting this bipartisan consensus, on July 20, 2006, the House of Representatives passed a strongly worded resolution condemning Hezbollah and supporting Israeli policy in Lebanon. The vote was 410-8. The Senate followed suit with a similar resolution, sponsored by sixty-two senators, including the leaders of both parties. A number of prominent Democrats, including the party's leaders in both the House and the Senate, tried to prevent Iraq's prime minister, Nuri al-Maliki, from addressing Congress, because he had criticized Israeli policy in Lebanon.<sup>23</sup> Howard Dean, the chairman of the Democratic party, who had been targeted by the lobby in the past, went so far as to call the Iraqi prime minister an anti-Semite.<sup>24</sup> Support in Congress for Israel was so overwhelming that it left Arab-American leaders stunned. Nick J. Rahall, a Democratic congressman of Lebanese descent, said that the House resolution made him "just sick in the stomach, to put it mildly." James Zogby, who heads the Arab American Institute, said, "This is so devastating. I thought that we'd come further than this."<sup>25</sup>

Potential presidential candidates for 2008—like Senators Hillary Clinton, John McCain, and Joe Biden (D-DE)—as well as former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, went to especially great lengths to convey their support for Israel.<sup>26</sup> The only exception was Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE), who expressed mild reservations about Israel's response and America's support for it. Hagel's comments were largely ignored by his congressional colleagues as well as the lobby, although they undoubtedly did nothing to further his own presidential ambitions.<sup>27</sup>

The mainstream media also stood firmly behind Israel. *Editor & Publisher*, a distinguished journal that covers the newspaper industry, surveyed dozens of newspapers about a week after the war began and found that "almost none of them have condemned the Israeli attack on civilian areas and the

infrastructure of Lebanon."<sup>28</sup> The twenty-four-hour cable news stations were filled with reports and commentary that portrayed the Jewish state as a beleaguered combatant that could do no wrong.

Israel did not fare as well on the front pages of newspapers and in the straight-out news coverage in the media. A Harvard study claims that "on the front pages of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, Israel was portrayed as the aggressor nearly twice as often in the headlines and exactly three times as often in the photos."<sup>29</sup> This news coverage was largely unavoidable, however, because Israel was causing much greater destruction in Lebanon than Hezbollah was causing in northern Israel. By the end of the fighting, Hezbollah had killed 43 Israeli civilians and damaged or destroyed about 300 buildings in Israel. The IDF, by contrast, had killed as many as 750 Lebanese civilians and damaged or destroyed roughly 16,000 Lebanese buildings.<sup>30</sup> Given those numbers, the camera quickly became Israel's enemy. Media coverage was also shaped by the fact that both Hezbollah and the Siniora government in Beirut favored a cease-fire almost as soon as the fighting started, while Israel wanted to prolong the war until its leaders realized that their war aims could not be achieved.

Editorial commentary remained relentlessly pro-Israel throughout the conflict, however, and it often crept into the news coverage, thus ensuring that the overall portrayal of Israel in the American media was very favorable. The situation in the mainstream media was nicely summed up in an article in the British newspaper the *Independent*: "There are two sides to every conflict—unless you rely on the US media for information about the battle in Lebanon. Viewers have been fed a diet of partisan coverage which treats Israel as the good guys and their Hezbollah enemy as the incarnation of evil . . . Not only is there next to no debate, but debate itself is considered unnecessary and suspect."<sup>31</sup>

What makes America's overwhelming support for Israel so remarkable is that the United States was the only country that enthusiastically supported Israel's actions in Lebanon. Almost every other country in the world, as well as the UN leadership, criticized Israel's reaction as well as Washington's unyielding support for it. These circumstances raise the obvious question: why was the United States so out of step with the rest of the world?

## STRATEGIC FOLLY

One possible answer is that supporting Israel made eminently good strategic sense for the United States. But that is not the case. Israel's strategy for waging the war was guaranteed to fail because, as the Winograd Commission notes, "The assumptions and expectations of Israel's actions were not realistic." Israel's response reflected "weakness in strategic thinking," so the Bush administration was backing a losing strategy from the outset.<sup>32</sup>

Israel's main goal in the second Lebanon war was to deal a massive blow to Hezbollah's effectiveness as a fighting force. In particular, the Israelis were determined to eliminate the thousands of missiles and rockets that could strike northern Israel. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert drove this point home when he said, "The threat will not be what it was. Never will they be able to threaten this people they fired missiles at."<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the Israeli ambassador in Washington said, "We will not go part way and be held hostage again. We'll have to go for the kill—Hezbollah neutralization."<sup>34</sup> Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu proclaimed that Israel's goal was straightforward: "Remove the missiles. Or destroy them."<sup>35</sup>

Israel had two different but complementary ways to try to neutralize Hezbollah's missiles and rockets. Israeli leaders were confident that they could use airpower to strike directly at those weapons and take almost all of them out.<sup>36</sup> They also had a more indirect approach for dealing with the problem. Specifically, they planned a classic punishment campaign, whereby the IDF would inflict massive pain on Lebanon's civilian population by destroying residences and infrastructure and forcing hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes. Such a campaign would inevitably kill a significant number of civilians in the process. Olmert made this point clearly at a press conference right after the kidnapping, when he promised a "very painful and far-reaching" response.<sup>37</sup> The aim of the

punishment campaign was to send a message to Lebanon's leadership that it was ultimately responsible for Hezbollah's actions, and therefore the country as a whole would pay a great price anytime Hezbollah attacked Israel. The prime minister was clear on this point as well: "The Lebanese government, of which Hezbollah is a member, is trying to undermine regional stability. Lebanon is responsible and Lebanon will bear the consequences of its actions."<sup>38</sup>

Both elements of this strategy were destined to fail from the start. Trying to disarm Hezbollah from the air was simply not feasible; even with an ample supply of smart bombs, there was no way the Israeli Air Force was going to eliminate Hezbollah's ten thousand to sixteen thousand rockets and missiles.<sup>39</sup> Most of those weapons were widely dispersed and located in caves, homes, mosques, and other hiding places. Moreover, even if the IDF managed to destroy a large portion of Hezbollah's inventory, Iran and Syria would have sent in replacements. Not surprisingly, it quickly became apparent that airpower was not having the advertised effect, as missiles and rockets continued to reach northern Israel daily. In fact, Hezbollah launched more missiles at Israel on August 13—one day before the cease-fire took effect—than on any other day of the war.<sup>40</sup>

In late July, the Olmert government decided to rectify the problem by sending large numbers of ground troops into Lebanon, claiming that Israel would need a few more weeks to defeat Hezbollah once and for all.<sup>41</sup> But this was another fool's errand. After all, the IDF had fought Hezbollah in Lebanon between 1982 and 2000, and Hezbollah had not only survived, it eventually forced Israel to withdraw in 2000. How was Israel now going to achieve in a few weeks what it could not accomplish in eighteen years? The ground offensive failed to produce decisive results and Israel had no choice but to accept a cease-fire on August 14.<sup>42</sup> Israel suffered its highest single day of casualties two days before the cease-fire went into effect.<sup>43</sup>

The second element of Israel's strategy—its attempt to punish Lebanon for allowing Hezbollah to operate freely—was also certain to backfire. A wealth of historical evidence and scholarly literature makes clear that inflicting pain on an adversary's civilian population rarely causes a rival government to throw up its hands and surrender to the attacker's demands.<sup>44</sup> On the contrary, the victims usually direct their anger at the attacker and, if anything, become more supportive of their own government. Indeed, Israel had twice before launched large-scale bombing campaigns against Lebanon—Operation Accountability in 1993 and Operation Grapes of Wrath in 1996—and both failed to damage Hezbollah in any meaningful way or undermine its popular support.<sup>45</sup>

History repeated itself in 2006: in the wake of Israel's punishment campaign, Hezbollah's popularity surged in Lebanon (and across the Arab and Islamic world), and most Lebanese vented their rage at Israel and the United States rather than at Hezbollah or the government in Beirut.<sup>46</sup> But even if this case had turned out to be an anomaly and Israel's bombs had convinced Lebanon's leadership that it was now time to disarm Hezbollah, it did not have the capability to do that. Hezbollah was too powerful and the government was too weak.

After about two weeks of fighting, with Hezbollah still lobbing missiles and rockets at northern Israel and the punishment campaign backfiring, Israel began to define victory downward. Its leaders began emphasizing goals like eliminating Hezbollah's forward positions and deploying an international force to protect Israel against Hezbollah attacks.<sup>47</sup> Back in the United States, the *Forward* reported that "sources close to the White House and the Pentagon said [that] administration hawks have expressed disappointment and frustration about Israel's inability to deal a swift and decisive blow to Hezbollah." Some of Israel's more hawkish supporters began saying out loud that Israel was in danger of losing the war, and a few even questioned whether Israel was still a strategic asset for the United States. Charles Krauthammer wrote in the *Washington Post* on August 4 that the war gave Israel "an extraordinary opportunity" to make "a major contribution to America's war on terrorism." The United States, however, "has been disappointed" in Israel's performance, which "has jeopardized not just the Lebanon operation but America's confidence in Israel as well."<sup>48</sup>

When the war finally ended on August 14, both sides declared victory.<sup>49</sup> It was clear to most independent experts, however, that Hezbollah had come out ahead in the fight.<sup>50</sup> By virtually all accounts it performed well on the battlefield, and it was standing tall when the shooting stopped. It also

retained thousands of missiles and rockets that threatened Israel, and its political position in Lebanon and the Islamic world was much improved by the war. Israel, on the other hand, failed to achieve its initial goals and the IDF had stumbled badly when it engaged Hezbollah. It has become manifestly clear with the passage of time—especially in Israel—that Hezbollah was the winner and Israel the loser. The Winograd Commission "was appointed due to a strong sense of a crisis and deep disappointment with the consequences of the campaign and the way it was conducted."<sup>51</sup> Its main findings are an unequivocal indictment of the three main architects of the war: Prime Minister Olmert, Defense Minister Amir Peretz, and General Dan Halutz, the IDF chief of staff.

## **DAMAGE TO U.S. INTERESTS**

Leaving aside the issue of whether Israel or Hezbollah won the second Lebanon war, there is no question that U.S. interests suffered from its outright support for Israel's actions. As we have made clear, the United States currently faces three major problems in this region. The first problem is terrorism, which is mainly about vanquishing al Qaeda, although the United States also wants to neutralize Hamas and Hezbollah. The second concern is the remaining rogue states in the area, Iran and Syria. Both support terrorism, and Iran seems determined to master the full nuclear fuel cycle, which would put it a short step away from nuclear weapons. The third problem is the Iraq war, which the United States is in serious danger of losing. The Bush administration's unyielding support for Israel during the second Lebanon war has complicated Washington's ability to deal with each of these problems.

The conflict in Lebanon has complicated America's terrorism problem in two ways. It has reinforced anti-Americanism in the Arab and Islamic world, with Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah describing Israel during the fighting as having been "armed with an American decision, with American weapons, and American missiles."<sup>52</sup> This perception surely will help al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations find new recruits who want to attack the United States or its allies. For example, in a poll taken in Lebanon in late August 2006, just after the fighting had ended, 69 percent of the respondents said that they considered America an "enemy of Lebanon." Less than a year earlier, in September 2005, the number was 26 percent.<sup>53</sup> In another poll taken in Lebanon in late August 2006, 64 percent of the respondents said that their opinion of the United States was worse after the fighting than before it. Nearly half of the respondents said that their opinion of America was "much worse" in the aftermath of the war.<sup>54</sup> A Zogby poll taken in the fall of 2006 in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Lebanon found that "in all five countries, attitudes towards the U.S. have worsened in the last year." U.S. policy in Lebanon contributed to that negative shift in attitudes, although the war in Iraq and Washington's policy toward the Palestinians were more important factors.<sup>55</sup> This increased hostility toward the United States will generate more public support for terrorists in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Furthermore, the conflict has increased Hezbollah's influence in Lebanon. This is partly due to its impressive performance against the IDF, which has normally defeated its Arab opponents decisively but failed to do so in this case. Israel's bombing campaign was also a major reason for Hezbollah's soaring popularity. When the war first began, many Lebanese were angry with Hezbollah for precipitating the conflict, especially because a "banner tourist season . . . was underway in Lebanon."<sup>56</sup> There was also much goodwill toward the United States among the Lebanese people at the beginning of the conflict, mainly because the Bush administration had played the key role in pushing Syria out of Lebanon in 2005. However, that goodwill toward the United States turned to outrage when Washington backed Israel's offensive; correspondingly, Hezbollah's standing in Lebanon rose dramatically.

One poll conducted in Lebanon after the war found that 79 percent of the respondents rated the performance of Hezbollah leader Nasrallah as either "good" or "great," while another poll found that 40 percent of Lebanese had a more positive attitude toward Hezbollah after the war, while just under 30 percent had a more negative view.<sup>57</sup> Although Hezbollah does not directly threaten the United States, it does threaten Israel and it is aiming to reverse the Cedar Revolution completely, which President Bush

supported and which he extols as a successful case of democracy promotion. By the late fall of 2006, Hezbollah was throwing its increased weight around and threatening to bring down the pro-American government in Beirut headed by Fouad Siniora.<sup>58</sup> More worrisome is the real possibility that Hezbollah's actions will plunge Lebanon into another civil war. The United States has worked hard with its allies to prevent this outcome and has been successful so far. But in all likelihood the problem would not have arisen if Hezbollah had not been emboldened by its success and widespread support.

The conflict in Lebanon has also made it more difficult to deal with Iran and Syria. While there is no question that both countries support Hezbollah, the United States has a powerful interest in weakening or breaking those links, as well as the link between Damascus and Tehran.<sup>59</sup> Driving a wedge between Iran and Syria should not be difficult as they are not natural allies; Iran is theocratic and Persian, while Syria is secular and Arab. Instead, the Bush administration blindly supported Israel during the war and treated Hezbollah, Iran, and Syria as part of a seamless web of evil, pushing them closer together.<sup>60</sup>

On top of that, many neoconservatives called for Israel or the United States to attack Syria and Iran in the midst of the conflict.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, Meyrav Wurmser of the Hudson Institute said after the war that "many parts of the American administration"—and almost certainly her husband, David Wurmser, and Elliott Abrams—were deeply upset with Israel for not having struck Syria as well as Hezbollah.<sup>62</sup> The result? This policy gave Iran even more reason to acquire nuclear weapons, so that it can deter an Israeli or U.S. attack on its homeland. And Iran and Syria have continued to arm and support Hezbollah, while helping to keep the United States bogged down in Iraq, so that it cannot attack either of them.<sup>63</sup>

The blowback had other consequences in Iraq: what happened in Lebanon also angered the Iraqis themselves, especially the Iraqi Shia, who feel a loose sense of allegiance to Hezbollah (which is also Shia). Indeed, the Shia rally for Hezbollah that took place in Baghdad on August 4 was reported to be the largest of its kind in the Middle East.<sup>64</sup> There have even been reports in the aftermath of the Lebanon war that Hezbollah is training the Iraqi militia of Moqtada al-Sadr, who is a bitter enemy of the United States.<sup>65</sup> The United States is in deep trouble in Iraq and cannot afford to further alienate the local population.

In order to confront these three issues—terrorism, rogue states, and Iraq—in the most effective way, Washington needs broad support from friendly regimes in the region like Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. These regimes have no love for Hezbollah, and they might have supported the United States (and tacitly, Israel) had the American and Israeli response been more restrained. Indeed, in the first days of the conflict, the leaders of those countries were critical of Hezbollah for provoking it. But once Israel's disproportionate response was clear and the Bush administration firmly endorsed it, these leaders began to criticize Washington and to condemn Israel. The main reason that they turned against the United States and Israel was to protect themselves from their enraged publics.<sup>66</sup> American policy also angered allies in Europe as well as the Middle East, leaving the United States (and Israel) isolated and short of political clout, and raising doubts about whether President Bush is a reliable ally for dealing with the terrorist and proliferation threats.<sup>67</sup>

One might think that the sharp cleavage that developed between Arab leaders and their publics during the Lebanon war quickly dissipated when the shooting stopped and thus has had no serious long-term effects. But that would be wrong, as Arab public opinion remains deeply hostile to the United States, making it difficult for Arab regimes to help the Bush administration contain Iran's ambitions. The root of the problem is that the so-called Arab street fears the United States much more than it fears Iran. A Zogby poll released in February 2007 found that 72 percent of the respondents in six Arab countries identified the United States as their biggest threat, while only 11 percent identified Iran. Furthermore, 61 percent of the respondents said that Iran has the right to develop a nuclear capability, even though more than half of them think Iran is likely to go the next step and build nuclear weapons.<sup>68</sup>

It is also worth noting that the IDF's poor performance in Lebanon suggests that it will not be of great value to the United States in dealing with the threat environment that its actions helped create. As we argued in Chapter 2, Israel's policies nurture and inspire terrorist groups and complicate U.S. efforts

to deal with rogue states like Syria and Iran, but Israel is not much of an asset for dealing with them.

Backing Israel's strategy in its war with Lebanon was not in America's strategic interest. It is hard to disagree with former State Department official Aaron Miller's observation in the middle of the conflict: "There is a danger in a policy in which there is no daylight whatsoever between the government of Israel and the government of the United States."<sup>69</sup>

## **BREAKING THE LAWS OF WAR**

But what about the moral dimension? One might concede that U.S. support for Israel had significant strategic costs but argue that the United States has a moral obligation to back Israel's efforts to defend itself. Israel was attacked, so the argument runs, and it responded in a way that conformed to the laws of war. Indeed, some of Israel's supporters claim that its poor performance in Lebanon was due mainly to its strict adherence to these legal and moral principles. For example, Thomas Neumann, the executive director of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, maintains that "it wasn't Hezbollah that tied Israel down as much as it was Israel's own sense of morality."<sup>70</sup>

On close inspection, however, this line of argument is not convincing. Israel clearly has the right to defend itself, and that right includes retaliating against Hezbollah with military force. Hardly anyone contests that basic point, and many of the governments and individuals who have criticized Israel's conduct never questioned its right to respond to Hezbollah's raid. But having the right to defend oneself does not mean that any and all measures are legally or morally permissible. The critical issue is whether Israel's actions in Lebanon during the summer of 2006 were consistent with the laws of war and with established standards of morality.

As discussed above, Israel's strategy explicitly and deliberately sought to inflict punishment on Lebanon's civilian population. One might easily get the impression that Israel initiated this punitive campaign in response to Hezbollah's own missile and rocket attacks against Israeli civilians, but that is not how the war actually evolved. It began on July 12, when Hezbollah fighters crossed into Israeli territory, killed three Israeli soldiers, and captured two more. As part of that operation, Hezbollah launched a few dozen rockets at some Israeli towns for the purpose of diverting the IDF's attention away from the abduction site. No Israeli civilians were killed in those diversionary attacks.<sup>71</sup> Nasrallah said immediately afterward at a news conference in Beirut, "We don't want an escalation in the south, not war."<sup>72</sup> Though unjustifiable, the Hezbollah raid was not an unusually provocative act, as both Israel and Hezbollah had been conducting violent—and sometimes lethal—incursions into each other's territory since Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon in May 2000.<sup>73</sup> Nasrallah had even made it clear months in advance that he was determined to kidnap some Israeli soldiers.<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, Israel responded to the abductions by launching a massive bombing campaign against Lebanon, which in turn led Hezbollah to follow suit and unleash its rockets and missiles at towns and cities across northern Israel. Specifically, the IDF struck Beirut International Airport among other targets on July 13, the day after Hezbollah struck across Israel's border. The IDF continued to pound Lebanon from the air on the 14th, striking at bridges and roads, as well as Nasrallah's office in Beirut. At this point, with more than fifty Lebanese civilians dead and damage to Lebanon's infrastructure mounting, Nasrallah promised "open war" against Israel, which meant extensive missile and rocket attacks.<sup>75</sup> Thus, although Hezbollah clearly precipitated the war by killing or capturing IDF soldiers on June 12, Israel initiated the large-scale attacks against civilians.

Israeli leaders emphasized from the start that all of Lebanon would pay a severe price in the war and this punishment would be the result of a deliberate Israeli policy, not merely "collateral damage." IDF Chief of Staff Halutz said at the beginning of the conflict that he intended to "turn back the clock in Lebanon by 20 years."<sup>76</sup> He also said at one point that "nothing is safe" in Lebanon.<sup>77</sup> He was true to his word. In a report issued in August 2006, just after the fighting ended, Amnesty International provided a detailed assessment of what the IDF wrought in Lebanon, which is worth quoting at length:



During more than four weeks of ground and aerial bombardment of Lebanon by the Israeli armed forces, the country's infrastructure suffered destruction on a catastrophic scale. Israeli forces pounded

buildings into the ground, reducing entire neighborhoods to rubble and turning villages and towns into ghost towns, as their inhabitants fled the bombardments. Main roads, bridges and petrol stations were blown to bits. Entire families were killed in air strikes on their homes or in their vehicles while fleeing the aerial assaults on their villages. Scores lay buried beneath the rubble of their houses for weeks, as the Red Cross and other rescue workers were prevented from accessing the areas by continuing Israeli strikes. The hundreds of thousands of Lebanese who fled the bombardment now face the danger of unexploded munitions as they head home.

The Israeli Air Force launched more than 7,000 air attacks on about 7,000 targets in Lebanon between 12 July and 14 August, while the Navy conducted an additional 2,500 bombardments. The attacks, though widespread, particularly concentrated on certain areas. In addition to the human toll—an estimated 1,183 fatalities, about one third of whom have been children, 4,054 people injured and 970,000 Lebanese people displaced—the civilian infrastructure was severely damaged. The Lebanese government estimates that 31 "vital points" (such as airports, ports, water and sewage treatment plants, electrical facilities) have been completely or partially destroyed, as have around 80 bridges and 94 roads. More than 25 fuel stations and around 900 commercial enterprises were hit. The number of residential properties, offices and shops completely destroyed exceeds 30,000. Two government hospitals—in Bint Jbeil and in Meis al-Jebel—were completely destroyed in Israeli attacks and three others were seriously damaged.

In a country of fewer than four million inhabitants, more than 25 per cent of them took to the roads as displaced persons. An estimated 500,000 people sought shelter in Beirut alone, many of them in parks and public spaces, without water or washing facilities.

Amnesty International delegates in south Lebanon reported that in village after village the pattern was similar: the streets, especially main streets, were scarred with artillery craters along their length. In some cases cluster bomb impacts were identified. Houses were singled out for precision-guided missile attack and were destroyed, totally or partially, as a result. Business premises such as supermarkets or food stores and auto service stations and petrol stations were targeted, often with precision-guided munitions and artillery that started fires and destroyed their contents. With the electricity cut off and food and

other supplies not coming into the villages, the destruction of supermarkets and petrol stations played a crucial role in forcing local residents to leave. The lack of fuel also stopped residents from getting water, as water pumps require electricity or fuel-fed generators.<sup>78</sup>

Amnesty International is not alone in its assessment of the damage that the IDF inflicted in Lebanon. William Arkin, an American expert on military affairs and a self-proclaimed "fan of airpower," wrote in his *Washington Post* weblog that "in carrying out its punishment campaign, Israel has left behind a shocking level of destruction outside the direct battle zone. I hesitate to use the words 'laid to waste' and 'moonscape' in describing the conditions in urban Lebanon because the same kinds of words are thrown around so promiscuously in describing U.S. air strikes. But what Israel has wrought is far more ruinous than anything the U.S. military—specifically the U.S. Air Force—has undertaken in the era of precision warfare."<sup>79</sup>

One of the more devastating punitive tactics was Israel's use of cluster bombs, which spray large numbers of bomblets over a wide area. These bomblets are not only highly inaccurate; many of them do not explode, which effectively means that they become deadly land mines that continue to be a threat long after the end of hostilities. Given how lethal these weapons can be when used in civilian areas, the United States has always insisted that Israel use them against clearly defined military targets.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, as noted, the Reagan administration banned the sale of cluster bombs to Israel for six years during the 1980s, after it discovered that the IDF had used them against civilian areas in its 1982 invasion of

Lebanon.<sup>81</sup>

In the last three days of the recent Lebanon war, when a cease-fire was known to be imminent, the IDF fired over one million bomblets into southern Lebanon, which has a population of 650,000.<sup>82</sup> The aim was to "saturate the area" with these small but deadly bombs. One Israeli soldier in an artillery battalion said, "In the last 72 hours we fired all the munitions we had, all at the same spot. We didn't even alter the direction of the gun. Friends of mine in the battalion told me they also fired everything in the last three days— ordinary shells, clusters, whatever they had."<sup>83</sup> Over the course of the entire war, the IDF is estimated to have fired roughly four million bomblets into Lebanon. When the fighting finally stopped in mid-August, UN officials estimated that there were about one million unexploded bomblets in the southern part of the country. Researchers from Human Rights Watch said that "the density of cluster bombs in southern Lebanon was higher than in any place they had seen."<sup>84</sup> One Israeli soldier who helped "flood" the area with cluster bombs said, "What we did was insane and monstrous, we covered entire towns in cluster bombs."<sup>85</sup> Jan Egeland, the UN's under-secretary-general for humanitarian affairs, labeled Israel's actions "shocking" and "completely immoral."<sup>86</sup> In the first eight months after the war, 29 Lebanese were killed by cluster bombs and another 215 were injured, 90 of them children.<sup>87</sup>

It seems intuitively clear that Israel's destructive campaign in Lebanon violated the laws of war. Still, that is not enough; it is important to understand what those laws are and exactly how Israel violated them.

The bedrock distinction that underpins the laws of war—as well as modern just war theory—is between civilian and military targets.<sup>88</sup> There is no question that states have the right to defend themselves by attacking each other's military assets. However, states are not supposed to attack civilian targets in another country unless they are transformed into military targets in the course of the war. If troops occupy a school or a church during a battle, for example, and use it as a base of operations, then it is permissible to attack them there. Furthermore, when attacking an adversary's military targets, states must make a determined effort to minimize collateral damage. This is where the well-known concept of proportionality comes into play. Specifically, states striking at military targets must make sure that there is not excessive collateral damage, given the particular value of those military targets. In short, states cannot attack enemy civilian targets on purpose or indiscriminately, and they must take great care to avoid collateral damage when striking at military targets.

Israel failed to observe both of these distinctions in the second Lebanon war. There is no question that Israel deliberately attacked a wide array of civilian targets in Lebanon, just as General Halutz said that they would. The description of the devastation in the Amnesty International report makes this clear. Remember, it concluded that Lebanon's "infrastructure suffered destruction on a catastrophic scale." That same report says at another point that Israel's bombing campaign resulted in "massive destruction of civilian infrastructure." Amnesty International issued another report in November 2006, which reinforced the findings in its August report. For example, it found that "in southern Lebanon, some 7,500 homes were destroyed and 20,000 damaged" and that in "the overwhelming majority of destroyed or damaged buildings it examined," there was "no evidence to indicate that the buildings were being used by Hizbullah fighters as hide-outs or to store weapons." Indeed, it "noted a pattern of destruction by Israeli attacks that indicated that Israeli forces had targeted objects that are indispensable to the survival of the civilian population."<sup>89</sup> In a separate study of Israel's offensive in Lebanon, Human Rights Watch (HRW) concluded that "Israel has violated one of the most fundamental tenets of the laws of war: the duty to carry out attacks on only military targets."<sup>90</sup>

It is also clear that Israel did not exercise sufficient care to avoid collateral damage when striking targets that it considered military in nature. HRW concluded that despite Israel's claims that it was "taking all possible measures to minimize civilian harm," there was, in fact, "a systematic failure by the IDF to distinguish between combatants and civilians."<sup>91</sup> Consider what happened in southern Lebanon, which the Israelis effectively turned into a "free-fire zone," where any person left in the area was considered a legitimate target. After warning the residents of that area to leave, Minister of Justice Haim Ramon—who had said that "we must reduce to dust the villages of the south"—announced on July 27

that "all those now in south Lebanon are terrorists who are related in some way to Hizbullah."<sup>92</sup> However, many residents had not left, and many of the people who remained were neither combatants nor members of Hezbollah. Amnesty International estimates that about 120,000 people remained throughout the conflict, many of them civilians. On August 7, the IDF spread leaflets over southern Lebanon warning that "any vehicle of any kind traveling south of the Litani River will be bombarded, on suspicion of transporting rockets, military equipment and terrorists."<sup>93</sup>

In light of these actions, Amnesty International concluded in its November report that "Israeli forces committed serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, including war crimes. In particular, Amnesty International has found that Israeli forces carried out indiscriminate and disproportionate attacks on a large scale."<sup>94</sup> Similarly, the HRW report finds that "the IDF consistently tolerated a high level of civilian casualties for questionable military gain."<sup>95</sup> At least one Israeli leader made no bones about the fact that Israel was violating the proportionality principle. Dan Gillerman, Israel's ambassador to the UN, said one week after the war started, "To those countries who claim that we are using disproportionate force, I have only this to say: You're damn right we are. Because if your cities were shelled the way ours were, if your citizens were terrorized the way ours are, you would use much more force than we are using."<sup>96</sup>

Gillerman's telling admission was an exception, however. Most Israelis and their American supporters respond to the charge that Israel engaged in disproportionate attacks by acknowledging that Israel may have killed a large number of innocent Lebanese, but they insist that it was because Hezbollah used them as human shields.<sup>97</sup> The evidence in Amnesty International's November report and in the HRW study contradicts that line of defense. One part of Israel's defense is the claim that Hezbollah prevented civilians from leaving southern Lebanon because it wanted to hide behind them. Amnesty International investigated this matter and found that the available evidence "does not substantiate the allegations that Hizbullah prevented civilians from fleeing, and in several cases points to the contrary."<sup>98</sup> Also, there is good reason to believe that Hezbollah fighters purposely avoided contact with civilians for fear that "they will sooner or later be betrayed by collaborators."

But even more important, the available evidence, as the HRW study makes clear, does not support the claim that Israel ended up killing large numbers of civilians because Hezbollah used the civilians who remained in southern Lebanon as shields. To be clear, HRW does acknowledge that "Hezbollah occasionally did store weapons in or near civilian homes and fighters placed rocket launchers within populated areas or near U.N. observers," both of which "are serious violations of the laws of war."<sup>100</sup> In other words, there is some evidence that Hezbollah used civilians to protect its fighters and weapons. Nevertheless, those cases were clearly the exception, not the rule. "The vast majority killed," according to Kenneth Roth, HRW's executive director, "were civilians, with no Hezbollah military presence nearby."<sup>101</sup> Specifically, HRW examined twenty-four cases in detail, which included about one-third of the civilians killed in Lebanon at the time of the report.<sup>102</sup> It found no evidence in any of those cases that "Hezbollah deliberately used civilians as shields to protect them from retaliatory IDF attack."<sup>103</sup>

One could accept this finding and offer a different defense, claiming that although Hezbollah may not have deliberately used civilians as shields, it did fight from populated areas, especially when its fighters were defending their home village or town. In such cases, Hezbollah would not be violating the laws of war by "hiding behind civilians"; it would simply be defending its own territory. If this were the case, some may argue, Israel could not help but kill civilians in the process of targeting Hezbollah. Although Hezbollah often fought in and around towns and villages, this line of defense does not work either. In only one of the twenty-four cases researched by HRW "is there evidence to suggest that Hezbollah forces or weapons were in or near the area that the IDF targeted during or just prior to the attack."<sup>104</sup> In short, both Amnesty International's November report and the HRW study provide substantial evidence that contradicts Israel's claims about Hezbollah and its human shields.

Furthermore, the IDF clearly failed to distinguish between civilian and military targets when it saturated southern Lebanon with cluster bombs just before the cease-fire took effect. As one artilleryman put it, "We fired like madmen."<sup>105</sup> This particularly cruel action—which is hard not to see

as an

act of long-term vengeance—cannot be excused by either of the counterarguments noted above. Nor can it be justified on the grounds that Hezbollah also committed war crimes when it fired missiles and rockets indiscriminately into northern Israel, killing Israeli civilians.

Given this overwhelming evidence, it is impossible to make the case that the United States supported Israel during the second Lebanon war because it was the morally correct policy choice. If morality were the issue, the Bush administration would have condemned both Israel's and Hezbollah's actions in Lebanon from the start.

## THE LOBBY IN OVERDRIVE

AIPAC and other pro-Israel organizations worked overtime from the start to the finish of the war to make sure that America fully backed Israel. Four days after the war began, Nathan Guttman reported in the *Jerusalem Post* that "the American Jewish community has been demonstrating wall-to-wall support for Israel as it fights on two fronts."<sup>106</sup> The lobby raised money for the Jewish state, took out advertisements in newspapers, closely monitored the media, and sent its representatives to meet with legislators and staff in Congress, policy makers in the Bush administration, and influential media figures. Moreover, since the fighting ended, pro-Israel organizations have been hard at work dealing with the fallout from the war.

To see the lobby's impact, consider the following six incidents.

First, at the beginning of the war, there was a bipartisan effort to temper the House resolution supporting Israel by inserting language urging "all sides to protect civilian life and infrastructure." Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi (then House minority leader) and Senator John Warner (R-VA; then chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee), among others, favored this change in the legislation, considering the moral issues at stake. One would think that such language would be unobjectionable, if not welcome. But AIPAC, which wrote the original resolution and was the main driving force behind it, strongly objected to this particular clause. John Boehner, the House majority leader, kept the proposed new language out of the resolution, which still passed 410-8.<sup>107</sup>

Second, Congressman Christopher Van Hollen (D-MD) wrote a letter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on July 30, urging her "to call for an immediate cease-fire to be followed by the rapid deployment of an international force in southern Lebanon." He also wrote:

The Israeli response . . . has now gone beyond the destruction of Hezbollah's military assets. It has caused huge damage to Lebanon's civilian infrastructure, resulted in the large loss of civilian life, and produced over 750,000 refugees. Hezbollah is undeniably the culprit, but it is the Lebanese people—not Hezbollah—who are increasingly the victims of the violence. As a result, the Israeli bombing campaign, supported by the United States, has transformed Lebanese anger at Hezbollah into growing hostility toward Israel and the United States. The result has been a surge in the political strength and popularity of Hezbollah and its leader, Hasan Nasrallah, and the weakening of the already fragile Lebanese government . . . We have squandered an opportunity to isolate Hezbollah and strengthen our credibility and negotiating leverage in the region.<sup>108</sup>

Although Van Hollen's letter focused primarily on U.S. interests and supported Israel's right to defend itself, the lobby was furious with him for daring to criticize Israel and quickly moved to make it manifestly clear that he should have never written that letter.<sup>109</sup> Van Hollen met with various representatives from major Jewish organizations, including AIPAC, and the congressman immediately apologized, saying, "I am sorry if my strong criticism of the Bush Administration's failures has been interpreted as a criticism of Israel's conduct in the current crisis. That was certainly not my intention."<sup>110</sup> He emphasized that he would continue to be a strong advocate for Israel and shortly thereafter went on a five-day visit to Israel (sponsored by an AIPAC affiliate, the American Israel Education Foundation), accompanied by three pro-Israel activists from his district and a staffer from AIPAC itself.

Despite his apology, the leader of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Washington told a reporter that Van Hollen "needs to continue to reach out to the Jewish community ... to reassure the Jewish community he is going to be there" for Israel. The ADL's regional director for Washington said that as far as he was concerned, Van Hollen's response "doesn't undo the damage of the first letter."<sup>111</sup> The goal, of course, was not merely to chastise Van Hollen but also to remind other members of Congress of the costs of getting out of line on this issue.

Third, early in the war, President Bush gently encouraged Israel to be careful not to topple the democratically elected government in Lebanon, which he had helped put in power. "The concern," he said, "is that any activities by Israel to protect herself will weaken [the Lebanese] government, or topple that government."<sup>112</sup> Bush made it clear that he and his lieutenants had conveyed their views to Israeli leaders.

The lobby took issue with Bush and made it clear that his position was unacceptable. The *Forward* reported on July 14 that "the Bush administration is being criticized by some Israeli and Jewish communal officials for calling on Jerusalem not to undermine the democratically elected Lebanese government." Abraham Foxman of the ADL said, "The administration and Western countries want to shore up the Lebanese government but it is a misguided policy to do so and the same holds true for Abu Mazen . . . They feel it's better than a vacuum, but you should not support what's meaningless. And we knew from day one that Abu Mazen would go nowhere and that the Lebanese government would be ineffective."<sup>113</sup> In the wake of this criticism, Bush stopped warning Israel about the need to protect the American-backed government in Beirut.

Fourth, Tom Ricks, the well-known *Washington Post* journalist, said on CNN during the war that "some U.S. military analysts" had told him that "Israel purposefully has left pockets of Hezbollah rockets in Lebanon, because as long as they're being rocketed, they can continue to have a sort of moral equivalency in their operations in Lebanon."<sup>114</sup> In response, the Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America condemned Ricks's remarks, and Ed Koch, the former mayor of New York City, wrote to Leonard Downie Jr., the executive editor of the *Post*, complaining about Ricks's comments. Koch said that they "are comparable to the age-old blood libel used by anti-Semites to incite pogroms in Europe." Downie wrote back to Koch, saying, "I have made clear to Tom Ricks that he should not have made those statements."<sup>115</sup> Why? Downie did not say. For his part, Ricks said, "The comments were accurate: that I said I had been told this by people. I wish I hadn't said them, and I intend from now on to keep my mouth shut about it."<sup>116</sup>

Fifth, pro-Israel groups conducted a large-scale campaign to smear Amnesty International and especially Human Rights Watch for their critical reports on Israel's bombing campaign. According to Alan Dershowitz, "Virtually every component of the organized Jewish community, from secular to religious, liberal to conservative, has condemned Human Rights Watch for its bias."<sup>117</sup> Both human rights organizations were unfairly accused of singling out Israel while largely ignoring Hezbollah and of misrepresenting important aspects of what was happening on the ground in Lebanon. At the same time, AIPAC sent out press releases designed to convey the message that the IDF was conducting surgical strikes against terrorists and avoiding civilians.<sup>118</sup>

Charges of anti-Semitism were quickly leveled at both human rights groups. Kenneth Roth, the executive director of HRW, took the brunt of those attacks, even though he is Jewish and his father was a refugee from Nazi Germany. The *Jerusalem Post*, for example, ran an op-ed by Gerald Steinberg titled "Ken Roth's Blood Libel." The *New York Sun* asserted in an editorial that Roth was partaking in the "de-legitimization of Judaism," because he criticized the IDF's strategy in Lebanon as an "eye for an eye—or more accurately in this case twenty eyes for an eye—[which] may have been the morality of some more primitive moment." Abraham Foxman reacted in a similar way to Roth's language, accusing him of employing "a classic anti-Semitic stereotype about Jews."<sup>119</sup>

Responding to such charges, the Georgetown law professor and columnist Rosa Brooks only slightly overstated the case when she wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* that "anyone familiar with Human Rights Watch—or with Roth—knows this to be lunacy. Human Rights Watch is non-partisan—it doesn't 'take sides' in conflicts. And the notion that Roth is anti-Semitic verges on the insane." Brooks went on to say,

"But what's most troubling about the vitriol directed at Roth and his organization isn't that it's savage, unfounded and fantastical. What's most troubling is that it's typical. Typical, that is, of what *anyone* rash enough to criticize Israel can expect to encounter. In the United States today, it just isn't possible to have a civil debate about Israel, because any serious criticism of its policies is instantly countered with charges of anti-Semitism."<sup>120</sup>

Sixth, the lobby went to work to limit the damage from the cluster bomb controversy. On August 31, B'nai B'rith International sent a letter to Jan Ege-land, the UN leader who had criticized Israel's use of cluster bombs, accusing him of acting "as an un-appointed moral arbiter with regard to disputed, un-proven facts on the ground and the interpretation of international humanitarian law."<sup>121</sup> A week later, the Senate was debating legislation that would ban the use of cluster bombs in civilian areas and prohibit the transfer of those deadly weapons to countries that refused to accept that ban. AIPAC lobbied hard against the legislation, which went down to defeat by a vote of 70-30.<sup>122</sup>

Key organizations in the lobby have been open and candid in discussing their influence on U.S. policy in Lebanon. For example, AIPAC's president, Howard Friedman, wrote a letter to friends and supporters of his organization on July 30, which he began by saying, "Look what you've done!" He then wrote, "Only ONE nation in the world came out and flatly declared: Let Israel finish the job. That nation is the United States of America—and the reason it had such a clear, unambiguous view of the situation is YOU and the rest of American Jewry."<sup>123</sup> It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Israeli Prime Minister Olmert said during the war, "Thank God we have AIPAC, the greatest supporter and friend we have in the whole world."<sup>124</sup>

Organizations like AIPAC and the ADL were not the only players in the lobby that were hard at work during the recent conflict. Journalists like Charles Krauthammer and William Kristol made the case, to use Kristol's words, that Israel's war is "our war, too."<sup>125</sup> Many Christian Zionists also rallied behind Israel. For example, the televangelist Pat Robertson made a three-day visit to Israel during the war "to offer," according to the *Jerusalem Post*, "his support for a country whose very existence he believes is threatened by Hizbullah." Robertson told the *Post*, "The Jews are God's chosen people. Israel is a special nation that has a special place in God's heart. He will defend this nation. So Evangelical Christians stand with Israel. That is one of the reasons I am here."<sup>126</sup> John Hagee's organization, Christians United for Israel, held a two-day Washington/Israel Summit in the capital in mid-July. It attracted thirty-five hundred people, and participants were encouraged to express their support for Israel to their senators and representatives.<sup>127</sup> The executive director of the Christian Friends of Israel offered a rather un-Christian insight: "This was certainly an unprovoked attack and Israel has every right to go in and pound them."<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, Israel did "go in and pound them" with the unconditional backing of the U.S. government and many in the lobby.

## THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND LEBANON

Was Washington's steadfast support for Israel's actions in Lebanon the result of the lobby's influence, or did it simply demonstrate that the American people are deeply committed to Israel? Perhaps Israel received unconditional support because U.S. public opinion demanded it. Jennifer Cannata, an AIPAC spokeswoman, made this familiar argument during the war. After denying that the lobby had any influence, she proclaimed that "the American people overwhelmingly support Israel's war on terrorism and understand that we must stand by our closest ally in this time of crisis."<sup>129</sup>

This line of argument is not convincing. What happened during the Lebanon war fits the pattern we have already seen: U.S. policy did not reflect the views of the American public. This point is clearly revealed in a wide array of survey results on six critical issues involving Lebanon. On the question of who is to blame for starting the conflict, an ABC News—*Washington Post* poll conducted August 3-6, 2006, found that 46 percent of the respondents said that Israel and Hezbollah were equally to blame.<sup>130</sup> Another 7 percent blamed Israel alone. A

CBS News-New York Times poll conducted July 21-25, 2006, also found that 46 percent of the respondents blamed "both sides equally," while 5 percent blamed "mostly Israel."

Regarding the question of whether Israel had gone too far in its attacks, a USA Today-GaWup poll conducted July 21-23, 2006, found that 38 percent of the respondents said they "disapprove of the military action Israel has taken in Lebanon." In the ABC News-Washington Post poll, 32 percent of the respondents said they thought that Israel was using "too much force," while 48 percent said that Israel was "not justified in bombing Hezbollah targets located in areas where civilians may be killed or wounded." Fifty-four percent said that Israel "should do more" to avoid civilian casualties.

On whether the United States should support Israel or remain neutral in the conflict, the USA Today-GaWup poll found that 65 percent of the respondents said that the United States should take "neither side" in the conflict. In a Zogby poll taken August 11-15, 2006, 52 percent of the respondents said that the United States should remain neutral in the conflict.<sup>131</sup> In the CBS News-New York Times poll, 40 percent of the respondents said that the United States should not publicly support either Israel or Hezbollah and should "say or do nothing." Seven percent favored criticizing Israel, and 14 percent were unsure what to do. Thirty-nine percent favored supporting Israel. In an NBC News-Waft Street Journal poll taken July 21-24, 2006, 40 percent of the respondents opposed "U.S. military involvement in support of Israel" if the Lebanon war expanded to the point "where Israel is fighting several other nations in the region."

As to whether the United States and Israel should agree to an immediate cease-fire, a CNN poll conducted on July 19, 2006, found that 43 percent of the respondents thought that "Israel should agree to a cease-fire as soon as possible." In the ABC News-Washington Post poll, 35 percent of the respondents said that "Israel should agree to an immediate, unconditional cease-fire in Lebanon."

With respect to the consequences of the Lebanon war for America's terrorism problem, 44 percent of the respondents in the USA Today-GaWup poll said that they were "very concerned" that events in Lebanon "will increase the likelihood of terrorism against the United States." Thirty-one percent were "somewhat concerned" that the Lebanon war would worsen America's problem with terrorism. Finally, 35 percent of the respondents in the ABC News-Washington Post poll said that the Lebanon war would "hurt the situation for the United States in Iraq."

In short, there was a sizable gap between how Americans thought about Israel and the Lebanon war and how their leaders in Washington talked and behaved during that conflict. Mass opinion cannot explain why the Bush administration and Congress acted as they did in the summer of 2006.

### **DOING AMERICA'S BIDDING?**

Another way to absolve the lobby of responsibility for American policy in Lebanon is to claim that the United States was the real driving force behind the war and that Israel was merely an obedient client state. Israel, in other words, was acting as a loyal ally and serving the Bush administration's interests in the Middle East. "The Second Lebanon War," the Israeli journalist Uri Avnery writes, "is considered by many as a 'War by Proxy.' That's to say: Hizbullah is the Dobermann of Iran, we are the Rottweiler of America. Hizbullah gets money, rockets and support from the Islamic Republic, we get money, cluster bombs and support from the United States of America."<sup>132</sup> Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah apparently agrees, telling an Iranian television station that "the United States ordered the Zionist regime to invade Lebanon" and that Israel did so in order to "serve American ambitions in the Middle East."<sup>133</sup>

Although many U.S. officials regard Hezbollah as an enemy and were not sorry when Israel went after it, there are four good reasons to doubt the claim that Israel was simply doing Washington's bidding when it escalated the conflict with Hezbollah. If Israel were acting on America's behalf, its bombing campaign would have been confined to southern Lebanon and great care would have been taken to protect and strengthen the Lebanese government. After all, President Bush made it clear at the start of the crisis that he did not want to endanger the government in Beirut, which he had worked hard to install. More generally, the United States almost certainly would not have wanted to "turn the clock

back in Lebanon by twenty years," as called for by the IDF's chief of staff.

There is also little evidence that the Bush administration planned the offensive and then pushed Israel to execute it. As discussed above, the available evidence about the planning process suggests that Israel had planned the Lebanon campaign in the months before the kidnapping on July 12, which it used as a pretext for launching it. Israel undoubtedly briefed the United States about the plan and got the administration's endorsement, but

giving Israel the green light is not the same as using Israel as a client state and telling it what to do.

One sometimes hears the argument that the Bush administration encouraged Israel to bomb Lebanon because it would be an opportunity to test the weapons and strategy that the U.S. military might use in an air war against Iran's nuclear facilities. As one U.S. government consultant told Seymour Hersh, "Why oppose it? We'll be able to hunt down and bomb missiles, tunnels, and bunkers from the air. It would be a demo for Iran."<sup>134</sup> Aside from the fact that not opposing Israel's plan is different from pushing Israel to strike Hezbollah, the claim that American policy makers saw Lebanon as a dry run for Iran makes little sense, as the assigned tasks in these two scenarios have little in common. Attacking small groups of guerrillas armed with missiles and rockets who are hiding in the Lebanese countryside is a fundamentally different mission from bombing a handful of identifiable and firmly fixed nuclear installations in Iran. It is not clear what important lessons would be learned from an air war against Hezbollah that would help make a U.S. offensive war against Iran more effective.

Furthermore, there is evidence that in the spring of 2003, around the time of the fall of Saddam, Israel was urging the United States to attack Hezbollah, not the other way around. According to the *Forward*, the Israelis were warning American policy makers that "the militant Shiite organization threatens the stability of the Middle East and the security of the United States worldwide."<sup>135</sup> There is no evidence—at least in the public record—that the Bush administration was tempted to go after Hezbollah or that it encouraged Israel to handle that task itself.

Finally, Israel's history is at odds with this depiction of it as a tame client state for any country, the United States included. Israel has always been a tough-minded and self-interested actor on the international stage, which makes sense given the challenging regional environment it has faced since independence. Shabtai Shavit, the head of the Mossad from 1989 to 1996, made this point emphatically: "We do what we think is best for us, and if it happens to meet America's requirements, that's just part of a relationship between two friends." Regarding the Lebanon war, he added, "Hezbollah is armed to the teeth and trained in the most advanced technology of guerrilla warfare. It was just a matter of time. We had to address it."<sup>136</sup> These are not the words of a compliant proxy. Or as Moshe Dayan once remarked, "Our American friends offer us money, arms, and advice. We take the money, we take the arms, and we decline the advice."<sup>137</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Ultimately, none of the alternative explanations can adequately account for American policy during the second Lebanon war. Nor can one find a compelling strategic or moral rationale that explains why the United States provided Israel with unyielding support while the rest of the world harshly criticized Israeli behavior. In fact, the lobby played the critical role in keeping the United States firmly aligned with Israel during the conflict, despite the strategic costs and dubious moral position this entailed.

The war in Lebanon has been a disaster for the Lebanese people, as well as a major setback for the United States and for Israel. The lobby enabled Israel's counterproductive response by discouraging the Bush administration from exercising independent judgment and influence either before or during the war. In this case, as in so many others, the lobby's influence has been harmful to U.S. as well as Israeli interests.

Until the lobby begins to favor a different approach, or until its influence is weakened, American policy in the region will continue to be hamstrung, to the detriment of all concerned. In the final chapter, we identify what U.S. policy ought to be, and we discuss how the lobby's negative impact might be mitigated or modified.



# CONCLUSION: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In Part I of this book, we argued that strategic and moral considerations could neither explain nor justify the current level of U.S. support for Israel. Nor could they account for the largely unconditional nature of that support, or for America's willingness to conduct its foreign policy in ways that are intended to safeguard Israel. The main explanation for this anomalous situation, we suggested, is the influence of the Israel lobby. Like other special interest groups, the individuals and organizations that make up the lobby engage in a number of legitimate political activities, in their case intended to push U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. Some parts of the lobby also employ more objectionable tactics, such as attempting to silence or smear anyone who challenges the lobby's role or criticizes Israel's actions. Although the lobby does not get everything it wants, it has been remarkably successful in achieving its basic aims.

In Part II, we traced the lobby's impact on U.S. Middle East policy and argued that its influence has been unintentionally harmful to the United States and Israel alike. Washington's reflexive support for Israel has fueled anti-Americanism throughout the Arab and Islamic world and undermined the U.S. image in many other countries as well. The lobby has made it difficult for U.S. leaders to pressure Israel, thereby prolonging the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This situation gives Islamic terrorists a powerful recruiting tool and contributes to the growth of Islamic radicalism. Turning a blind eye to Israel's nuclear programs and human rights abuses has made the United States look hypocritical when it criticizes other countries on these grounds, and it has undermined American efforts to encourage political reform throughout the Arab and Islamic world.

The lobby's influence helped lead the United States into a disastrous war in Iraq and has hamstrung efforts to deal with Syria and Iran. It also encouraged the United States to back Israel's ill-conceived assault on Lebanon, a campaign that strengthened Hezbollah, drove Syria and Iran closer together, and further tarnished America's global image. The lobby bears considerable, though not complete, responsibility for each of these developments, and none of them was good for the United States. The bottom line is hard to escape: although America's problems in the Middle East would not disappear if the lobby were less influential, U.S. leaders would find it easier to explore alternative approaches and be more likely to adopt policies more in line with American interests.

The lobby's influence has not helped Israel either, especially in recent years. U.S. aid has indirectly subsidized Israel's prolonged and costly effort to colonize the Occupied Territories, and the lobby has made it impossible for Washington to convince Israel to abandon this counterproductive policy. Its ability to persuade Washington to support this expansionist agenda has also discouraged Jerusalem from seizing opportunities—such as a peace treaty with Syria or full and prompt implementation of the Oslo Accords—that would have saved Israeli lives, divided Israel's adversaries, and shrunk the ranks of Palestinian extremists. Enabling Israel's refusal to recognize the Palestinians' legitimate aspirations has not made Israel safer. The long campaign to kill, imprison, or marginalize a generation of Palestinian leaders has helped bring groups like Hamas to power and reduced the number of Palestinian leaders who would welcome a negotiated settlement and be able to make it work. The U.S. invasion of Iraq—which Israel and the lobby both encouraged—turned out to be a major boon for Iran, the country many Israelis fear most. And by pressing U.S. officials to back Israel's assault on Lebanon, groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Christians United for Israel, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations did

further damage to the country they thought they were protecting. In all these cases, the lobby's actions were directly harmful to Israel.

What is to be done? To reverse the damage that recent U.S. policies have inflicted, a new strategy is clearly needed. But developing and implementing a different approach means finding ways to address the power of the lobby. Charting a fresh course will therefore require

- Identifying U.S. interests in the Middle East
- Outlining a strategy to protect those interests
- Developing a new relationship with Israel
- Ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a two-state solution
- Transforming the lobby into a constructive force

Let us consider each of these steps.

### **WHAT ARE U.S. INTERESTS?**

The overriding goal of U.S. foreign policy is to ensure the safety and prosperity of the American people. In pursuit of that end, the United States has always considered the security of the Western Hemisphere to be of paramount importance. In recent decades, policy makers have also considered three other regions of the world to contain strategic interests important enough to fight and die for: Europe, Northeast Asia, and the Persian Gulf.<sup>1</sup> These regions are important because they contain either concentrations of power or critical natural resources, and who controls them has profound effects on the global balance of power.

The United States has three distinct strategic interests in the Middle East. Because this region contains a large percentage of global energy supplies, the most important interest is maintaining access to the oil and natural gas located in the Persian Gulf. This objective does not require the United States to control the region itself; it merely needs to ensure that no other country is in a position to keep Middle East oil from reaching the world market. To do this, the United States has long sought to prevent any local power from establishing hegemony in the Gulf and to deter outside powers from establishing control of the region.

A second strategic interest is discouraging Middle Eastern states from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. As discussed in Chapter 2, the risk here is not the remote possibility of deliberate nuclear attack, nuclear blackmail, or a deliberate "nuclear handoff" to terrorists, because such threats are not credible in light of America's own nuclear deterrent. Rather, the United States opposes the spread of WMD in the region because it would make it more difficult to project power into the region and thus might complicate U.S. efforts to keep Middle East oil flowing. WMD proliferation also increases the dangers of accidental or unauthorized nuclear use. Given the potential for instability in some countries in the area, it also raises the risk that nuclear weapons or other WMD might fall into the wrong hands in the event of a coup or revolt, or be stolen by terrorists from poorly guarded facilities. For all these reasons, inhibiting the spread of WMD in the region is an important U.S. objective.

Third, the United States has an obvious interest in reducing anti-American terrorism. This goal requires dismantling existing terrorist networks that threaten the United States and preventing new terror groups from emerging. Both objectives are furthered by cooperating extensively and effectively with countries in the region, mostly in terms of intelligence sharing and other law enforcement activities. It is also imperative that the United States take all feasible steps to prevent groups like al Qaeda from gaining access to any form of WMD. Terrorists armed with WMD would be more difficult to deter than states with WMD, and they are likely to use them against America or its allies. Encouraging political reform and greater democratic participation can assist this goal as well—which in turn requires good relations with key regional powers—although the United States should be wary of rapid transformation and certainly should not try to spread democracy at the point of a gun.

Although we believe that America should support Israel's existence, Israel's security is ultimately not of critical strategic importance to the United States.<sup>2</sup> In the event that Israel was conquered—which is extremely unlikely given its considerable military power and its robust nuclear deterrent—neither America's territorial integrity, its military power, its economic prosperity, nor its core political values would be jeopardized. By contrast, if oil exports from the Persian Gulf oil were significantly reduced, the effects on America's well-being would be profound. The United States does not support Israel's existence because it makes Americans more secure, but rather because Americans recognize the long history of Jewish suffering and believe that it is desirable for the Jewish people to have their own state. As we have noted repeatedly, there is a strong moral case for supporting Israel's existence, and we believe the United States should remain committed to coming to Israel's aid if its survival were in jeopardy. But Americans should do this because they think it is morally appropriate, not because it is vital to their own security.

### **A DIFFERENT STRATEGY: THE CASE FOR "OFFSHORE BALANCING"**

Since 9/11, the United States has pursued a policy of regional transformation in the Middle East. In pursuit of this remarkably ambitious strategy, the Bush administration has kept large numbers of American troops in the region, something the United States never did during the Cold War. This misguided policy has helped fuel America's terrorism problem and led to the ongoing debacle in Iraq. It has also done serious damage to the United States' reputation around the world, including its relationship with European and Arab allies.

America would be best served if it abandoned regional transformation and adopted a strategy of offshore balancing. This strategy would be less ambitious in scope but much more effective at protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East. In this strategy, the United States would deploy its military power—especially its ground forces—abroad only when there are direct threats to vital U.S. interests and only when local actors cannot handle these threats on their own.<sup>3</sup> Washington would remain diplomatically engaged under this approach, relying on air and naval power to signal its continued commitment to the region and to provide the capacity to respond quickly to unexpected threats. It would also maintain a robust intervention capability, along the lines of the original Rapid Deployment Force, whose units were stationed over the horizon or in the United States.

Offshore balancing is America's traditional grand strategy and was a key component of U.S. Middle East policy for much of the Cold War. The United States did not try to garrison the region and never attempted to transform it along democratic lines. Instead, it sought to maintain a regional balance of power by backing various local allies and by developing the capacity to intervene directly if the local balance of power broke down. The United States built the Rapid Deployment Force to deter or defeat a Soviet attempt to seize the oil-rich Persian Gulf, and Washington tilted toward Iraq in the 1980s to help contain revolutionary Iran. But when Iraq's conquest of Kuwait in 1990 threatened to tilt the local balance of power in Saddam's favor, the United States assembled a multinational coalition and sent a large army to smash Saddam's military machine and liberate Kuwait.

Offshore balancing is the right strategy for at least three reasons. First, it markedly reduces, but does not eliminate, the chances that the United States will get involved in bloody and costly wars like Iraq. Not only does this strategy categorically reject using military force to reshape the Middle East, it also recognizes that the United States does not need to control this vitally important region; it merely needs to ensure that no other country does. Toward that end, the strategy calls for husbanding U.S. resources and relying primarily on local allies to contain their dangerous neighbors. As an offshore balancer, the United States intervenes only as a matter of last resort. And when it does, it finishes the job as quickly as possible and then moves back offshore.

Second, offshore balancing will ameliorate America's terrorism problem. One of the key lessons of the twentieth century is that nationalism and other forms of local identity remain intensely powerful political forces, and foreign occupiers invariably generate fierce resistance.<sup>4</sup>

By keeping U.S. military forces over the horizon until they are needed, offshore balancing minimizes the resentment created when American troops are permanently stationed on Arab soil. This resentment often manifests itself in terrorism or even large-scale insurgencies directed at the United States.

Third, unlike regional transformation, offshore balancing gives states like Iran and Syria less reason to worry about an American attack and thus less reason to acquire WMD. The need to deter U.S. intervention is one reason Iran has sought a nuclear capability, and convincing Tehran to reverse course will require Washington to address Iran's legitimate security concerns and to refrain from issuing overt threats. The United States cannot afford to disengage completely from the Middle East, but a strategy of offshore balancing will make American involvement less threatening to states in the region and might even encourage some of our current adversaries to seek our help. Instead of lumping potential foes together in an "axis of evil" and encouraging them to join forces against us, offshore balancing facilitates a strategy of divide and conquer. Because U.S. interests are served so long as no hostile state or coalition is able to threaten a vital region such as the Persian Gulf, this basic approach makes good strategic sense.

In effect, a strategy of offshore balancing would reverse virtually all of America's current regional policies. Instead of continuing the fruitless effort to transform Iraq into a multiethnic and multisectarian democracy, the United States would withdraw as soon as possible and focus on containing the regional consequences of its foolhardy decision to invade. Instead of trying to topple the Assad regime in Syria, the United States would push Israel to give up the Golan Heights in exchange for a formal peace treaty. Not only would this bring Syria into the ranks of Arab countries that have formally accepted Israel's existence, but it would isolate Hezbollah in Lebanon, drive a wedge between Syria and Iran, and reduce Iran's ability to aid Hezbollah, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. It would also encourage Damascus to help the United States deal with al Qaeda and other terrorist groups.

Finally, instead of threatening Iran with preventive war—an approach that fuels Iran's desire for WMD and allows President Ahmadinejad to use nationalist sentiment to deflect popular discontent—the United States would try to cut a deal on Iran's nuclear ambitions and put its hard-line leaders on the defensive. This approach would not eliminate all of the problems that the United States currently faces in the region, but it would be better for America and Israel than the policies endorsed by most groups in the lobby. We have tried their approach, and its failure is plain to see.

### **A NEW RELATIONSHIP: TREAT ISRAEL AS A NORMAL STATE**

But what about Israel? What does offshore balancing say about U.S. relations with Israel, especially since it is of little strategic value for America?

The Jewish state is nearly sixty years old, and its existence is now recognized and accepted by almost all countries in the world. Its economy is developing rapidly and most Israelis are increasingly prosperous, even though its political system currently seems paralyzed by internal divisions, troubled by corruption, and rocked by repeated scandals. It is time for the United States to treat Israel not as a special case but as a normal state, and to deal with it much as it deals with any other country. In other words, the United States should support Israel's continued existence—just as it supports the existence of France, Thailand, or Mexico—and Washington should be prepared to intervene if Israel's survival were ever threatened.

Treating Israel as a normal state means no longer pretending that Israel's and America's interests are identical, or acting as if Israel deserves steadfast U.S. support no matter what it does. When Israel acts in ways that the United States deems desirable, it should have American backing. When it does not, Israel should expect to face U.S. opposition, just as other states do. It also implies that the United States should gradually wean Israel from the economic and military aid that it currently provides. Israel is now an advanced economy, and it will become even more so once it achieves full peace with its neighbors and reaches a final settlement with the Palestinians.

The United States would continue to trade with Israel, of course, and American and Israeli investors would undoubtedly continue to finance enterprises in each other's countries. Cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges would continue as they do today, and for the same reasons that the United States has extensive social connections with many other countries. The special personal and family connections between Israelis and Americans would remain intact as well. U.S. arms manufacturers would still be able to sell arms to Israel (as they do to other states in the region, subject to the relevant U.S. laws), and Washington and Jerusalem would undoubtedly share intelligence information and maintain other mutually beneficial forms of security cooperation. But there is little reason to continue the handouts that American taxpayers have provided since the early 1970s, especially when there are many countries that have greater needs. Ultimately, U.S. aid is indirectly subsidizing activities that are not in its national interest. Although the United States may have to offer some additional support in order to persuade Israel to grant the Palestinians a viable state, treating Israel as a normal country should eventually lead to a dramatic reduction in U.S. assistance.

### **ENDING THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT**

Above all, the United States should use its considerable leverage to bring the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to an end. As the bipartisan Iraq Study Group noted in December 2006, "There must be a renewed and sustained commitment by the United States to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace on all fronts: Lebanon, Syria, and President Bush's June 2002 commitment to a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine . . . The United States does its ally Israel no favors in avoiding direct involvement to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict."<sup>5</sup>

U.S. leaders have been engaged in virtually every aspect of the peace process, but they have never used the full leverage at their disposal to push the process forward. While reaffirming its commitment to Israel's security within its pre-1967 borders, the United States should make it clear that it is dead set against Israel's expansionist settlements policy—including the land-grabbing "security fence"—and that it believes this policy is not in America's or Israel's long-term interests.

This approach means abandoning the Bush administration's moribund Road Map (which emphasized a timetable for negotiations) and instead laying out America's own vision for what a just peace would entail. In particular, the United States should make it clear that Israel must withdraw from almost all of the territories it occupied in June 1967 in exchange for full peace. Israel and the Palestinians will also have to reach agreement on the rights of displaced Palestinians to return to the lands they fled in 1948. Allowing this "right" to be exercised in full would threaten Israel's identity and is clearly infeasible. But the basic principle is both an essential issue of justice and an issue on which the Palestinians will not compromise save in the context of a final settlement. To resolve this dilemma, Israel will have to acknowledge a "right" of return—in effect acknowledging that Israel's creation involved the violation of Palestinian rights—and the Palestinians will have to agree to renounce this right in perpetuity in exchange for an appropriate level of compensation. The United States and the European Union could organize and finance a generous program of reconstruction aid to compensate the Palestinians, which would terminate all claims for their actual return into what is now and will forever remain Israeli territory.

It is sometimes said that Israel cannot make such concessions, because it is small and vulnerable and would be even more so were it to grant the Palestinians a viable state. But this familiar argument ignores how much Israel's strategic situation has changed since its early years (when, we should not forget, it still managed to defeat its various adversaries, and with little assistance from the United States). Israel is far more secure now than it was when it first occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in June 1967. Israel's defense spending in that year was less than half the combined defense expenditures of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria; today, Israel has signed peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan, Iraq is occupied by the United States and has little or no military power of its own, and Israel's

defense budget is greater than Iran and Syria's combined. Israel's adversaries used to get substantial military aid from the Soviet Union; today, that superpower is gone and Israel's ties to the United States have grown. Israel had no usable nuclear weapons in 1967; today it has perhaps two hundred. Within the 1967 borders, in short, Israel is more secure than it has ever been, and it is its continued presence in the Occupied Territories—as well as the Golan Heights—that creates a serious security problem for Israel, primarily in the form of terrorist violence. Israel's supporters in the United States are doing it no favors by pressing Washington to continue subsidizing the occupation.

Some Israelis and Americans argue that the converse is true, that Israel's security situation is more perilous today than at any time since 1967. In particular, they argue that Islamic groups like Hamas and Hezbollah remain dedicated to Israel's destruction and are strongly backed by Syria and Iran, thereby creating a potentially lethal threat. There are two obvious responses to this line of argument. First, this view overstates the threat that terrorism poses to Israel—it is clearly a problem but not an existential threat—and, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 10, it also exaggerates the threat that Iranian WMD represent. Second, and more important, ending the occupation would also help divide and defuse the coalition of forces that doomsayers now see arrayed against Israel. Syria has made it clear it will make peace if it regains the Golan, and once it has its land back, it has promised to cut off support for Hezbollah and Hamas. Ending the occupation and helping create a viable Palestinian state will deprive Iran of local sympathizers and help turn groups like Hamas or Islamic Jihad from heroic defenders of a national cause into outdated obstacles to progress and prosperity.

The United States has ample justification for pressuring Israel to cut this deal: so long as it is bankrolling Israel, and jeopardizing its own security by doing so, it is entitled to say what it is willing to support and what it is going to oppose. The Clinton parameters laid out in December 2000 identify the basic outlines of a settlement and offer the best baseline for new negotiations, and President Bush and his successor should make it clear that this is our starting point. If a final status agreement can be reached, then the United States and the European Union should be willing to subsidize the new arrangements generously and help Israeli and Palestinian leaders deal with the rejectionists on both sides.

Ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would contribute to America's national interests in another way. Despite its military prowess and geographic location, Israel's strategic value to the United States is reduced by its own pariah status within the region. So long as the Palestinians are denied a state, Israel's isolation prevents it from participating whenever the United States is trying to assemble a "coalition of the willing." If the conflict were resolved and normal relations developed between Israel and the Arab world—as the current Arab League peace proposal envisions—then the United States would not pay a diplomatic price for backing Israel, and Israel would be able to join forces with the United States and its Arab allies when serious regional threats emerged. If the conflict were resolved, in short, Israel might become the sort of strategic asset that its supporters often claim it is.

If Israel remains unwilling to grant the Palestinians a viable state—or if it tries to impose an unjust solution unilaterally—then the United States should curtail its economic and military support. It should do so not because it bears Israel any ill will but because it recognizes that the occupation is bad for the United States and contrary to America's political values. Consistent with the strategy of offshore balancing, the United States would base its actions on its own self-interest rather than adhere to a blind allegiance to an uncooperative partner. In effect, the United States should give Israel a choice: end its self-defeating occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and remain a close U.S. ally, or remain a colonial power on its own.

This step is not as radical as it might sound: the United States would simply be dealing with Israel the same way that it has dealt with other colonial democracies in the past. For example, the United States pushed Britain and France to give up their colonial empires in the early years of the Cold War and forced them (and Israel) to withdraw from Egyptian territory following the 1956 Suez War. The United States has also played hardball with plenty of other countries—including close allies like Japan, Germany, and South Korea—when it was in its interest to do so. As discussed in Chapter 7, public opinion polls confirm

that the American people would support a president who took a harder line toward Israel, if doing so were necessary to achieve a just and enduring peace.

This policy would undoubtedly be anathema to most—though perhaps not all—elements in the lobby and it would probably anger some other Americans as well. Moreover, present circumstances are hardly promising, given the violent divisions within the Palestinian community, the political weakness of Israel's current leaders, the Bush administration's abysmal track record in the region, and the eroding support for a two-state solution within Israel itself. Even some of the staunchest supporters of a negotiated two-state solution now lament that "the idea that negotiations conducted bilaterally between Israelis and Palestinians somehow can produce a final agreement is dead."<sup>6</sup>

But the question must be asked: What is the alternative? What vision of the future do hard-line defenders of Israel have to offer instead?

Given present circumstances, there are three possible alternatives to the two-state solution sketched above. First, Israel could expel the Palestinians from its pre-1967 lands and from the Occupied Territories, thereby preserving its Jewish character through an overt act of ethnic cleansing. Although a few Israeli hard-liners—including current Deputy Prime Minister Avigdor Lieberman—have advocated variants on this approach, to do so would be a crime against humanity and no genuine friend of Israel could support such a heinous course of action. If this is what opponents of a two-state solution are advocating, they should say so explicitly. This form of ethnic cleansing would not end the conflict, however; it would merely reinforce the Palestinians' desire for vengeance and strengthen those extremists who still reject Israel's right to exist.

Second, instead of separate Jewish and Palestinian states living side by side, Mandate Palestine could become a democratic binational state in which both peoples enjoyed equal political rights. This solution has been suggested by a handful of Jews and a growing number of Israeli Arabs.<sup>7</sup> The practical obstacles to this option are daunting, however, and binational states do not have an encouraging track record. This option also means abandoning the original Zionist vision of a Jewish state. There is little reason to think that Israel's Jewish citizens would voluntarily accept this solution, and one can also safely assume that individuals and groups in the lobby would have virtually no interest in this outcome. We do not believe it is a feasible or appropriate solution ourselves.

The final alternative is some form of apartheid, whereby Israel continues to increase its control over the Occupied Territories but allows the Palestinians to exercise limited autonomy in a set of disconnected and economically crippled statelets.<sup>8</sup> Israelis invariably bristle at the comparison to white rule in South Africa, but that is the future they face if they try to control all of Mandate Palestine while denying full political rights to an Arab population that will soon outnumber the Jewish population in the entirety of the land. In any case, the apartheid option is not a viable long-term solution either, because it is morally repugnant and because the Palestinians will continue to resist until they get a state of their own. This situation will force Israel to escalate the repressive policies that have already cost it significant blood and treasure, encouraged political corruption, and badly tarnished its global image.<sup>9</sup>

These possibilities are the only alternatives to a two-state solution, and no one who wishes Israel well should be enthusiastic about any of them. Given the harm that this conflict is inflicting on Israel, the United States, and especially the Palestinians, it is in everyone's interest to end this tragedy once and for all. Put differently, resolving this long and bitter conflict should not be seen as a desirable option at some point down the road, or as a good way for U.S. presidents to polish their legacies and garner Nobel Peace Prizes. Rather, ending the conflict should be seen as a national security priority for the United States. But this will not happen as long as the lobby makes it impossible for American leaders to use the leverage at their disposal to pressure Israel into ending the occupation and creating a viable Palestinian state.

The U.S. presidents who have made the greatest contribution to Middle East peace—Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush—were able to do so precisely because each was willing on occasion to chart a separate course from the lobby. As former Israeli foreign minister Shlomo Ben-Ami has written, "Carter had yet another vital advantage. A rare bird among politicians, and especially among residents of the White House, he was not especially sensitive or attentive to Jewish voices and lobbies ... As it turned

out, it was this kind of President—George [H. W] Bush in the late 1980s is another case in point—who was ready to confront Israel head on and overlook the sensibilities of her friends in America that managed eventually to produce meaningful breakthroughs on the way to an Arab-Israeli peace."<sup>10</sup> Ben-Ami is correct, and his important insight underscores once again how the lobby's efforts have unwittingly undermined Israel's own interests.

The United States will have to put significant pressure on Israel to get it to accept the creation of a viable Palestinian state, which in practice means accepting a solution within the Clinton parameters. Although the Barak government accepted these parameters—albeit with significant reservations—in January 2001, broad support for the key elements of this solution is at present lacking. While a majority of Israelis—55 percent in 2007—support the establishment of a Palestinian state in principle, a recent survey reveals much less support for the main ingredients of the peace settlement described by President Clinton in December 2000. In particular, only 41 percent of Israelis support creating a Palestinian state on 95 percent of the West Bank and Gaza, even if Israel was allowed to keep its large settlement blocs. Just 37 percent would support transferring the Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem to the Palestinians, while only 22 percent favor transferring control of the Jordan River Valley to a Palestinian state in a few years. Finally, 27 percent support giving control of the Temple Mount to the Palestinians (with Israel retaining control of the Western Wall), and a mere 17 percent favor allowing a limited number of refugees to return to Israel.<sup>11</sup> In effect, there is widespread opposition in Israel to creating a viable Palestinian state, which means that any future president who hopes to settle this conflict will have to lean hard on Israel to change its thinking about how to achieve a two-state solution.

Israel's intransigence and the lobby's influence are not the only obstacles to a peaceful settlement, of course, and ending the conflict will require the United States (and others) to pressure the Palestinians as well. This will be much easier to do if the Palestinians and key Arab states see the United States as genuinely committed to a just peace and willing to act as an honest broker, instead of operating as "Israel's lawyer." A genuine effort to end the conflict—as opposed to the Bush administration's halfhearted commitment to the Road Map or Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's meaningless regional visits—will force the Palestinians to make a real choice. As it stands now, there is little reason for the Palestinians not to support groups like Hamas, because the possibility of meaningful negotiations is remote and supporting the most radical groups costs little in the way of missed opportunities. But if the United States presses hard to help them gain a viable state, and Hamas is exposed as the main obstacle to that end, then the Palestinians would be more likely to turn against Hamas and seize the olive branch.

Israel's American backers need to recognize that denying the Palestinians their legitimate political rights has not made Israel safer, and those who have lobbied hardest for unconditional U.S. backing have ultimately nurtured Israeli and Palestinian extremism and inflicted unintended hardships on the very country that they seek to support. It is high time to abandon this bankrupt policy and pursue a different course.

The policies sketched here are no panacea, and they will not eliminate all the problems currently facing the United States in the Middle East. Achieving a final peace between Israel and the Palestinians will require all the parties to engage in difficult and probably violent confrontations with rejectionists on both sides. Israeli-Palestinian peace is not a wonder drug that will solve all the region's problems: it will by itself neither eliminate anti-Semitism in the region nor lead Arab elites to tackle the other problems that afflict their societies with new energy and commitment. But ending the conflict and adopting a more normal relationship with Israel will help the United States rebuild its image in the Arab and Islamic world and put it in a position where it can more credibly encourage the various reforms that are badly needed elsewhere in the region.

Some may argue that the problems the United States currently faces in the Middle East are an aberration, due primarily to the influence of one faction in the lobby—the neoconservatives. Once President Bush's second term is over and the neoconservatives are out of power, one might hope, U.S. foreign policy will revert to more sensible positions and America's regional position will quickly



improve.

This hopeful forecast, alas, is too optimistic. Although a number of prominent neoconservatives no longer serve in government, they are still active in current policy debates. Some of them are advising 2008 presidential candidates and they remain a ubiquitous presence in the mainstream media. To date, few neoconservatives seem chastened by the havoc their policies have wrought, and even fewer have expressed any remorse about the human costs of their misguided advice. The think tanks that support them are still flourishing and influential inside the Beltway and will continue to influence American foreign policy after the next election.

Equally important, many of the major organizations in the lobby remain committed to the same policy agenda: steadfast support for an expansionist Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, confrontation with Israel's adversaries for the purpose of either fundamentally changing each country's foreign policy or toppling the regime, and maintaining a substantial American presence in the region over the longer term. As previously noted, none of the major presidential candidates has proposed a significant alteration in U.S. Middle East policy, and certainly nothing like the strategy we have outlined here. Thus, anyone who believes that the 2008 election will lead to markedly different policies is likely to be disappointed. This situation raises the obvious question: can anything be done to break the lobby's hold?

### **DEALING WITH THE LOBBY**

In theory, there are four ways to mitigate the lobby's negative influence. First, one could try to *weaken* the lobby, either by reducing its resources or by removing some of its avenues of influence. Second, other groups could try to *counter* the lobby's influence over elected officials and the policy-making process, thereby shifting U.S. policy to a more evenhanded position. Third, academics and the media could *confront* the lobby's various arguments, in order to correct enduring myths and expose the weaknesses in the lobby's policy preferences. Finally, the lobby itself might *evolve* in a positive direction, retaining its current influence but advocating a different set of policies.

#### **Weakening the Lobby?**

The lobby would be less influential if it no longer enjoyed generous financial support, or if its ability to direct campaign contributions and to pressure media organizations declined. Neither of these developments is realistic, however, because it is not likely to lose wealthy and generous supporters anytime soon. Although the number of Americans who are unconditionally committed to Israel is declining, there will almost certainly be a sufficient number who feel strongly enough to give large sums to support the lobby's leading organizations. Banning such contributions is unlikely and would probably be illegal. Plus, trying to restrict support for pro-Israel groups would clearly be anti-Semitic, as all Americans are within their rights to contribute to any legitimate cause.

The obvious way to reduce the lobby's influence (along with other special interest groups) is campaign finance reform. Public financing of all elections would seriously weaken the link between the lobby and elected officials and make it easier for the latter to pressure Israel (or simply withdraw U.S. support) when doing so would be in America's interest. Such a step would not eliminate the lobby's influence, as politicians would still court Jewish and Christian Zionist voters, and groups and individuals within the lobby could still press their case with U.S. officials and work to shape public opinion. Campaign finance reform would almost certainly attenuate its influence, however, and would encourage more open deliberations within the corridors of power.

Unfortunately, the prospects for meaningful campaign finance reform are dim. Incumbents have too great a stake in the current system, and plenty of other special interest groups would join forces to resist any effort to revise

the system that currently gives them disproportionate influence. It would probably take a bevy of Jack Abramoff—style scandals to convince Americans to purge private money from the electoral process. In the short term, trying to weaken the lobby directly is not going to work.

#### **Countering the Lobby?**

Creating a "counterlobby" to balance the Israel lobby is also likely to fail. As discussed in Chapter 4, Arab-American and Muslim groups are much weaker than the organizations in the Israel lobby, and the vaunted oil lobby exerts much less influence on foreign and national security policy than is commonly believed. Other countervailing organizations—such as the nonpartisan Council for the National Interest or Americans for Middle East Understanding—are also significantly smaller and less well financed than the Israel lobby.

But even if these various groups were bigger and richer, they would still find it hard to overcome the collective action dynamics that lie at the heart of interest group politics. As noted earlier, pro-Israel groups succeed in part because their members place an especially high priority on backing Israel, which means that they tend to engage in single-issue politics—backing only candidates whose pro-Israel credentials are well established. Even if many Americans are aware that unconditional support for Israel is not in America's national interest, this issue is not the top priority for most of them, and there are significant differences among the various groups that are either skeptical of unconditional aid to Israel or strongly opposed to it. As a result, trying to balance the lobby's influence by pulling these disparate groups into a sufficiently cohesive coalition is not a promising strategy. We would also view attempts to form an explicitly "anti-Israel" lobby with grave misgivings, as this sort of group could easily foster a resurgence of genuine anti-Semitism.

### **Fostering More Open Discourse**

The third option, which is much more promising than the first two, is to encourage a more open debate about these issues, in order to correct existing myths about the Middle East and to force groups in the lobby to defend their positions in the face of a well-informed opposition. In particular, Americans need to understand the real history of Israel's founding and the true story of its subsequent conduct. Instead of passively accepting the Leon Uris version of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Americans need to absorb and reflect on the findings of Israel's "new historians," whose courageous scholarship has shed much-needed light on what the Zionists' campaign to build a Jewish state in the midst of an indigenous Arab population entailed. Although the two situations are hardly identical, one cannot understand Zionism without understanding the long history of Christian anti-Semitism, and one cannot fathom contemporary Palestinian nationalism without being aware of the events surrounding the 1948 war, which Israelis call the War of Independence but Palestinians call *al-Nakba*, or "the Catastrophe."<sup>12</sup>

Because most Americans are only dimly aware of the crimes committed against the Palestinians, they see their continued resistance as an irrational desire for vengeance, or as evidence of unwarranted hatred of Jews akin to the anti-Semitism that was endemic in old Europe. Ignorance about the past also encourages Americans to reject the Palestinians' demands for compensation—especially the right of return—as utterly unjustified. Although we deplore the Palestinians' reliance on terrorism and are well aware of their own contribution to prolonging the conflict, we believe their grievances are genuine and must be addressed, even if, as noted above, some of their aspirations (such as the unrestricted right of return) will have to go unmet or be resolved in other ways. We also believe most Americans would support a different approach to the conflict if they had a more accurate understanding of past events and present conditions.

As the primary source of independent thinking in democratic societies, scholars and journalists should be encouraged to resist the lobby's efforts to shape public discourse and to encourage more open discussion of these important issues. The objective is not to single out Israel for criticism or to challenge the legitimacy of the Jewish state, but rather to help Americans gain a more accurate picture of how past behavior casts a giant shadow over the present. Israel will still have plenty of vocal defenders—as it should—but America would be better served if its citizens were exposed to the range of views about Israel common to most of the world's democracies, including Israel itself.

Journalists have a particular responsibility to ask hard questions during political campaigns. As noted at the beginning of this book, virtually all the major presidential candidates began the 2008 campaign by expressing a strong personal commitment to Israel and by making it clear that they favor

unconditional U.S. support for the Jewish state and a confrontational approach toward its adversaries. Politicians should not get a free pass when they utter the usual pro-Israel platitudes. Reporters and commentators should insist that those who aspire to be president explain why they favor such strong support for Israel and ask if they support a two-state solution and will push hard for it once elected. The candidates should also be asked to consider whether a more conditional U.S. policy—for example, one that

linked American military aid to genuine progress toward peace—might be good for the United States and Israel alike. And it should be fair game to ask those who aspire to the highest office in the land if their views have been influenced by campaign contributions from pro-Israel PACs or individuals, just as one might legitimately ask about the impact of contributions received from oil companies, labor unions, or drug manufacturers.

To foster a more open discussion, Americans of all backgrounds must reject the silencing tactics that some groups and individuals in the lobby continue to employ. Stifling debate and smearing opponents is inconsistent with the principles of vigorous and open dialogue on which democracy depends, and continued reliance on this undemocratic tactic runs the risk of generating a hostile backlash at some point in the future.

We condemn all attempts to silence legitimate forms of discussion and debate—including the occasional efforts to silence pro-Israel voices—and we hope that this book will contribute to a more open exchange of views on these difficult problems. Both the United States and Israel face vexing challenges in dealing with the many problems in the Middle East, and neither country will benefit by silencing those who support a new approach. This does not mean that critics are always right, of course, but their suggestions deserve at least as much consideration as the failed policies that key groups in the lobby have backed in recent years.

### **A New Israel Lobby?**

Convincing groups within the lobby to support a different agenda would also advance the U.S. national interest. In practice, this development could involve strengthening more moderate forces that already exist—such as the Israel Policy Forum or Americans for Peace Now—or by creating new pro-Israel groups that support different policies. U.S. and Israeli interests would also be advanced by wresting power away from the hard-liners who now control AIPAC, the Zionist Organization of America, the Conference of Presidents, or the American Jewish Committee. Such efforts might also be strengthened by institutional reforms that would give the rank and file a greater voice in determining these organizations' policy positions.

Of course, this scenario requires both leaders and members of these organizations to recognize that the policies that many of them have backed in recent years have been in neither America's nor Israel's interest. They must also come to understand that clinging to these positions may condemn Israel to an even bleaker future. More sensible voices in the Jewish community will have to discard the taboo against public criticism of Israel and challenge

Israeli policies that are harmful to Israel and may even be harmful to Jews in the diaspora as well. We agree with Rabbi Ben-Zion Gold, director emeritus of Harvard University Hillel, who wrote in 2002 that "American Jews, who are the largest Diaspora community, have to discover their own focus . . . Those of us who criticize Israel do so because Israel is an important part of our identity, because criticism is an integral part of our traditional culture . . . We offer it as an expression of respect and love for the people of Israel."<sup>13</sup> Or as the *Economist* recently observed, "Helping Israel should no longer mean defending it uncritically . . . Diaspora institutions should . . . feel free to criticize Israeli politicians who preach racism and intolerance . . . [and] encourage lively debate about Israeli policies."<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, current conditions in the Middle East pose a serious dilemma for the more hard-line elements in the lobby. Instead of defending a weak state surrounded by enemies, created in the aftermath of a great historical tragedy, they are now forced to defend a powerful, modern, and prosperous state that is using its superior force to confiscate land from the Palestinians and to deny them full political rights, while dealing harshly with troubled neighbors such as Lebanon. When this

behavior prompts criticism from sensible moderates, these groups are forced to try to smear and marginalize people who are obviously neither extremists nor anti-Semites. Condemning neo-Nazis or Holocaust deniers is a worthy enterprise, but smearing respected individuals such as Jimmy Carter, Richard Cohen, Tony Kushner, or Tony Judt, or attacking progressive groups like the Union of Concerned Zionists, is something very different and disturbing. The more the lobby's hard-liners attack any and all critics, the more they reveal themselves to be out of step with the broad American commitment to free speech and open discussion. And once virtually any criticism of Israel becomes equated with anti-Semitism, the charge itself threatens to become meaningless.

Convincing hard-line Christian Zionists to abandon their commitment to a greater Israel is less likely, given the central role that prophecies about the end-time play in dispensationalist theology, and given their apparent willingness to see the Middle East engulfed in a highly destructive "apocalyptic" war. Hope may be found in the tendency for evangelicals' agendas to shift in the perennial quest for new members and in the general tendency for these movements to fluctuate in strength over time. The next president is unlikely to be as sympathetic to these groups as George W. Bush has been, especially given the disastrous results that Bush's Middle East policies have produced. Jews in Israel and America may also realize that Christian Zionism is a dubious ally—especially when they consider the unappealing

role they are expected to play in the end-time—and begin to distance themselves from the evangelicals' embrace.<sup>15</sup> For their part, Christian evangelicals should be encouraged to reflect on the human tragedy that Israel continues to inflict on the Palestinians and to consider whether their own commitment to a "greater Israel" is truly consistent with Christ's message of love and brotherhood.

Redirecting the lobby's agenda may seem far-fetched, but some of these organizations supported different policies in the past and there is no reason to assume that their current preferences are set in stone. Indeed, there are signs of growing disenchantment with the positions espoused by the major Jewish organizations and a renewed effort to cultivate Jewish voices that better reflect mainstream Jewish opinion. Groups like the Israel Policy Forum, Brit Tzedek v'Shalom, and Americans for Peace Now have become more visible and effective, and are reportedly pondering a merger designed to enhance their influence and encourage greater U.S. effort toward a two-state solution. A number of prominent American Jews have also considered founding a new lobbying group explicitly intended to provide a more reasonable alternative to AIPAC.<sup>16</sup>

Similar movements are occurring in other countries as well. In February 2007, a group of British Jews founded a new organization, Independent Jewish Voices (IJV), which favors the universal application of human rights law and a negotiated peace between Israelis and Palestinians. IJV condemns anti-Semitism, anti-Arabism, and Islamophobia, and was founded "in the belief that the broad spectrum of opinion among the Jewish population of this country is not reflected by those institutions which claim authority to represent the Jewish community as a whole." IJV's founding declaration also emphasized that "the battle against anti-Semitism is vital and is undermined whenever opposition to Israeli government policies is automatically branded as anti-Semitic."<sup>17</sup>

In Australia, Jews who are critical of Israeli policy and have found it difficult to voice their views have formed an organization called Independent Australian Jewish Voices. In November 2006, twenty-five peace researchers in Germany called for questioning the "special relationship" between Germany and Israel, because of Israel's actions against the Palestinians. A few months later, in March 2007, a heated controversy broke out within the German Jewish community when a small group of Jews issued "Berlin Declaration Shalom 5767," which, according to the *Forward*, criticized Israeli policy in the Occupied Territories and "the limits of open debate on matters in relation to the Middle East."<sup>18</sup> Initiatives like these remind us that the

policy positions espoused by the most influential groups in the lobby do not represent the views of all (or even most) diaspora Jews, and they give reason to hope that many groups within the lobby might eventually bring their influence to bear in more constructive ways.

## FINAL THOUGHTS

Israel's creation and subsequent development is a remarkable achievement. Had American Jews not organized on Israel's behalf and convinced important politicians to support their objectives, Israel might never have been established. U.S. and Israeli interests have never been identical, however, and Israel's current policies are at odds with America's own national interests and certain core U.S. values.

Unfortunately, in recent years the lobby's political clout and public relations acumen have discouraged U.S. leaders from pursuing Middle East policies that would advance American interests and protect Israel from its worst mistakes. The lobby's influence, in short, has been bad for both countries.

There is, nonetheless, a silver lining in America's current plight. Because the costs of these failed policies are now so apparent, we have an opportunity for reflection and renewal. Although the lobby remains a powerful political force, its adverse impact is increasingly hard to overlook. A country as rich and powerful as the United States can sustain flawed policies for quite some time, but reality cannot be ignored forever.

What is needed, therefore, is a candid but civilized discussion of the lobby's influence and a more open debate about U.S. interests in this vital region. Israel's well-being is one of those interests—on moral grounds—but its continued presence in the Occupied Territories is not. Open debate and more wide-ranging media coverage will reveal the problems that the current "special relationship" creates and encourage the United States to pursue policies more in line with its own national interest, with the interests of other states in the region, and, we firmly believe, with Israel's interest as well.

## NOTES

Unless otherwise noted, references to the following publications and news agencies are to their online versions: *American Prospect*, Associated Press, *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Daily Telegraph* (London), *Financial Times*, *Forward*, *Guardian*, *Ha'aretz*, *Independent*, *International Herald Tribune*, Inter Press Service, *Jerusalem Post*, *Jewish Week*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Nation*, *Newsweek*, *New York Review of Books*, *New York Sun*, *New York Times*, *Observer*, Reuters, *Sunday Telegraph* (London), *Sunday Times* (London), *Time*, *Times* (London), *USA Today*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Monthly*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, and *Weekly Standard*. We have also accessed some publications via the Lexis-Nexis, FACTIVA, or JSTOR digital archives.

### INTRODUCTION

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2. "Senator Clintons Remarks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)," February 1, 2007, <http://clinton.senate.gov/news/statements/details.cfm?id=268474>. See Joshua Frank, "Hillary Clinton and the Israel Lobby," *Antiwar.com*, January 23, 2007; and E. J. Kessler, "Hillary the Favorite in Race for Jewish Donations," *Forward*, January 26, 2007.
3. Thomas Beaumont, "Up-Close Obama Urges Compassion in Mideast," *Des Moines Register* (online), March 12, 2007; James D. Besser, "Obama Set for Big Jewish Push," *Jewish Week*, February 16, 2007; Larry Cohler-Esses, "Obama Pivots Away from Dovish Past," *Jewish Week*, March 9, 2007; and Lynn Sweet, "Obama to Offer Pro-Israel Views at Chicago Gathering," *Chicago Sun-Times*, March 1, 2007.
4. For pro-Israel statements by McCain, Clinton, Obama, Romney, Richardson, and Brown-back, see "The Road to the White House: Israel-US Ties," *Jerusalem Post*, May 24, 2007.
5. In his entertaining popular history *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2007), the Israeli-American author Michael B. Oren offers a number of vivid portraits of prior American involvement in the region. Implicit in his argument, which he has made explicit in public presentations, is the idea that U.S. involvement in the Middle East long

predates the creation of Israel and therefore current American support for the Jewish state has little to do with the activities of the Israel lobby. For a characteristic public statement to this effect, see Oren's address to the 2007 AIPAC Policy Conference, where he described AIPAC itself as "an expression of a nearly 400-year-long tradition in which the idea of a United States is virtually indivisible and inseparable from the idea of a re-created Jewish state. It is the embodiment of a conviction as old as this nation itself that belief in the Jewish state is tantamount to belief in these United States." This odd argument ignores how much the U.S. role in the Middle East has changed since 1776, and especially since 1948 and 1967. For the transcript, see [www.aipac.org/Publications/Oren-PC-2007.pdf](http://www.aipac.org/Publications/Oren-PC-2007.pdf).

6. As the historian Peter L. Hahn puts it, "Prior to World War II, the United States took relatively little official interest in the Middle East. Although the European empires had long engaged in the so-called Eastern Question—a diplomatic rivalry for dominance in the Middle East (as well as South Asia)—the government in Washington identified no strategic or political interests in the area and thus avoided entanglement in the imperial rivalry there." See his *Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005), 1.
7. Macmillan also writes regarding the disposition of Palestine: "The United States, in contrast to what happened after the Second World War, played a minor role." See *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2001), 422-23.
8. On the origins of Saudi-American security cooperation, see Nadav Safran, *Saudi Arabia: The Ceaseless Quest for Security* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 60-68; and Rachel Bronson, *Thicker than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), chaps. 1-2. On the Baghdad Pact, see Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 58-59.
9. Wiesel's comment appears in his review of the memoirs of Palestinian intellectual Sari Nusseibeh. See "Sympathy for the Other," *New York Times Book Review*, April 1, 2007, 13.
10. This charge was based on Carters having written a brief note on a 1987 letter he had received from the daughter of a former Nazi prison guard who was protesting her father's deportation. Carter's one-sentence note expressed no sympathy for the former guard and did not recommend that any action be taken on his behalf but merely said he hoped the Office of Special Investigations (the U.S. agency responsible for prosecuting Nazi-era war crimes) would give "special consideration to affected families for humanitarian reasons." Yet this episode was used to smear Carter as somehow sympathetic to Nazism. See Daniel Freedman, "President Carter Interceded on Behalf of Former Nazi Guard," *New York Sun*, January 19, 2007.
11. Jodie T. Allen and Alec Tyson, "The U.S. Public's Pro-Israel History," Pew Research Center, July 19, 2006; and Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in association with the Council on Foreign Relations, "America's Place in the World 2005: An Investigation of the Attitudes of American Opinion Leaders and the American Public about International Affairs," November 2005, 11-12.
12. The poll was conducted by Zogby International between October 10 and October 12, 2006, on behalf of the Council for the National Interest. The results are available at [www.cnionline.org/learn/polls/czandlobby/index2.htm](http://www.cnionline.org/learn/polls/czandlobby/index2.htm).
13. Daniel Maliniak et al., "Inside the Ivory Tower," *Foreign Policy* 159 (March-April 2007): 66.
14. This is why Osama bin Laden originally wanted to attack the U.S. Capitol on September 11, 2001; he saw it as the leading bastion of support for Israel in the United States. "Outline of the 9/11 Plot," Staff Statement no. 16, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, June 16, 2004, 4.
15. Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, June 8, 2006; and Jeffrey Goldberg, "Real Insiders," *New Yorker*, July 4, 2005.
16. As Nadav Safran noted in his book on the U.S.-Israel alliance, "Jews are not the first ethnic or religious group in America that has sought to influence American foreign policy in favor of kinsmen or co-religionists . . . Ethnoreligious politics, like the politics of interest groups in general, have been an inescapable consequence of the pluralism and multiplicity of interests in American life." *The United States and Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 276.
17. Useful works in this extensive literature include Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); *Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. M. E. Ahrari (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987); *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed., ed. A. A. Said (New York: Praeger, 1981); Charles McC. Mathias Jr., "Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 5 (Summer 1981); Alexander DeConde, *Ethnicity, Race and American Foreign Policy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992); Yossi Shain, "Ethnic Diasporas and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 109, no. 5 (1994-95); Paul Watanabe, *Ethnic Groups, Congress, and American Foreign Policy: The Politics of the Turkish Arms Embargo* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984); Patrick J. Haney and Walt Vanderbush, "The Role of Ethnic Interest Groups in U.S. Foreign Policy: The Case of the Cuban-American National Foundation," *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1999); Max J. Castro, "Miami Vise," *Nation*, May 14, 2007; Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); David King and Miles Pomper, "Congress and the Contingent Influence of Diaspora Lobbies: Lessons from U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Azerbaijan and Armenia," *Journal of Armenian Studies* 8, no. 1 (Summer 2004); and R. Hrair Dekmejian and Angelos Themelis, "Ethnic Lobbies in U.S. Foreign Policy: A Comparative Analysis of the Jewish, Greek, Armenian and Turkish Lobbies," Occasional Research Paper no. 13, Institute of International Relations, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, Greece, October 1997.
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19. Quoted in *The Middle East*, 5th ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1981), 68.
20. As an official Indian government committee noted in 2002, "Indo-Americans have effectively mobilized on issues ranging from the nuclear test in 1998 to Kargil, have played a crucial role in generating a favourable climate of opinion in the [U.S.] Congress . . . and lobbied effectively on other issues of concern . . . For the first time, India has a constituency in the United States with real influence and status. The Indian community in the United States constitutes an invaluable asset in strengthening India's relationship with the world's only superpower." *Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora* (New Delhi:

Government of India, January 2002), xx-xxi.

21. In addition to Gephardt's statement, quotations about AIPAC's influence by Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and several other prominent figures were previously available at [www.aipac.org/documents/whoweare.html#say](http://www.aipac.org/documents/whoweare.html#say) (accessed January 14, 2005). AIPAC appears to have removed these statements from the current version of its website.
22. Alan M. Dershowitz, *Chutzpah* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), 16.
23. Quoted in Samuel G. Freedman, "Don't Blame Jews for This War," *USA Today*, April 2, 2003.
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25. See note 17 above.
26. George W. Ball and Douglas B. Ball, *The Passionate Attachment: Americas Involvement with Israel, 1947 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1992); Mitchell G. Bard, *The Water's Edge and Beyond: Defining the Limits to Domestic Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy* (New York: Transaction Books, 1991); Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1985); J. J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (New York: Perseus Books, 1996); Anatol Lieven, *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), chap. 6; Michael Lind, "The Israel Lobby," *Prospect* 73 (April 2002); Massing, "Storm over the Israel Lobby"; Michael Massing, "The Israel Lobby," *Nation*, June 10, 2002; Michael Massing, "Deal Breakers," *American Prospect*, March 11, 2002; Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987); and James Petras, *The Power of Israel in the United States* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2006). We do not agree with every assertion made in these works, but each contains useful information about the U.S.-Israeli relationship.
27. Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); and Warren Bass, *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Other useful works include Abraham Ben-Zvi, *The United States and Israel: Limits of the Special Relationship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Abraham Ben-Zvi, *Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy and the Origins of the American-Israeli Relationship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Peter L. Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1945-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004); David Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* (New York: Knopf, 1983).
28. Among the relevant works are Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987); Baruch Kimmerling, *Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians* (London: Verso, 2003); Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Knopf, 1999); Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2006); Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*, trans. Haim Watzman (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000); Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007); Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: Norton, 2000); and Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel: Nationalism, Socialism, and the Making of the Jewish State*, trans. David Maisel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
29. See, for example, Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992); Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (London: Verso, 2001); and Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

## 1: THE GREAT BENEFACITOR

1. "Address by PM Rabin to the U.S. Congress-26-Jul-94," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Archive/Speeches](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Archive/Speeches); and Benjamin Netanyahu, "Speech to Joint Session of Congress, July 10, 1996," [www.netanyahu.org/joinsesofusc.html](http://www.netanyahu.org/joinsesofusc.html).
2. According to the "Greenbook" of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which reports "overseas loans and grants," Israel received \$153,894,700,000 (in constant 2005 dollars) from the United States through 2005. See <http://qesdb.usaid.gov/gbk>.
3. According to the Congressional Research Service, the United States did not provide Israel with any direct military assistance between 1949 and 1959. See Clyde Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, April 26, 2005, 13-14, Table 3. The United States did sell Israel one hundred recoilless antitank rifles in 1958, partly as a reward for Israel's support during the 1958 Jordan crisis. See Warren Bass, *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 151; and Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 4 (November 1993): 566. William H. Mott IV reports that Israel obtained five hundred surplus U.S. half-tracks covertly during the War of Independence and also received some surplus tanks in 1951-52. Washington also helped subsidize Israel's purchase of French combat aircraft in 1954, "as part of U.S. military assistance to France for development of French military industry," and provided a similar



subsidy for the purchase of French Mystere aircraft in 1955. Because France was the ostensible beneficiary of these subsidies, the amounts are not included in most descriptions of U.S. aid to Israel. Mott reports a total of \$94.5 million in military assistance between 1946 and 1955 and an additional \$189.1 million from 1956 to 1965. See William H. Mott IV, *United States Military Assistance: An Empirical Perspective* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 176-77.

4. See Zach Levey, "Israel's Quest for a Security Guarantee from the United States, 1954-1956," *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 1/2 (1995). Levey describes David Ben-Gurion as ambivalent about the virtues of a U.S. guarantee in this period; while recognizing the value of great-power protection, he also worried it might reduce Israel's autonomy. Levey also notes that some Israeli officials (most notably Moshe Sharett) saw a U.S. guarantee as a way to restrain the more aggressive policies favored by Ben-Gurion and others.
5. Michael Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 191-92, 220.
6. Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: Norton, 2001), 172-73.
7. *Ibid.*, 178-85; Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 290, 297-300; Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 282-303; Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 74-82; and David Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 115-23.
8. According to Warren Bass, "The Kennedy Administration . . . constitutes the pivotal presidency in U.S.-Israel relations, the hinge that swung decisively away from the chilly association of the 1950s and toward the full-blown alliance we know today." *Support Any Friend*, 3. Abraham Ben-Zvi dates the beginning of the strategic partnership to the late 1950s, and especially to Israel's acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine (which pledged U.S. support for Middle Eastern countries threatened by "international communism") and to its support during various crises in Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan. See *Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); and Little, "Making of a Special Relationship." 9. Kennedy was more circumspect in describing the U.S. commitment at a subsequent press conference. See Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 3, 183; and Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 106-107.
10. Warren Bass correctly notes that the Israel lobby (which he describes as a "Washington powerhouse by the 1980s") was less powerful in the early 1960s and says that "there is virtually no documentary evidence that the Hawk sale was driven by domestic considerations." The absence of documentary evidence is not surprising, however, insofar as presidents and their advisers are unlikely to admit that important strategic choices are being shaped by domestic considerations. Bass also acknowledges that "while Israel's arguments [for the Hawk sale] were couched exclusively in strategic terms, the looming midterm elections—however hushed—could hardly have been a disincentive," observing further that "Kennedy was a political animal, and he knew that the Hawk sale could only help with pro-Israel voters and donors." Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 145-50. Also see Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 106-10; and Mordechai Gazit, *President Kennedy's Policy Toward the Arab States and Israel* (Tel Aviv: Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1983), 30-55.
11. An agreement for the sale of A-4 Skyhawk fighter-bombers was also reached at this time, although the planes were not delivered until several years later. See Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *The Arms Trade with the Third World* (New York: Humanities Press, 1971), 532, 535.
12. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 6, 13.
13. Calculated from USAID, "Greenbook," at <http://gesdb.cdie.org/gbk/index.html>.
14. *Ibid.*; and *The Military Balance 2006* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006).
15. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 2, 10; and Matthew Berger, "Good News—and Bad—for U.S. Aid to Israel," *JTA.org*, March 28, 2003.
16. Edward T. Pound, "A Close Look at U.S. Aid to Israel Reveals Deals That Push Cost Above Publicly Quoted Figures," *Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 1991.
17. According to Clyde Mark of the Congressional Research Service's Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Division, Israel "receives favorable treatment and special benefits under U.S. assistance programs that may not be available to other countries." Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 8.
18. Jeremy M. Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," *Report for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, January 5, 2006, 5-6.
19. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 8-9.
20. "U.S. Assistance to Israel," <http://telaviv.usembassy.gov/publish/mission/amb/assistance.html>.
21. Duncan L. Clarke, Daniel B. O'Connor, and Jason D. Ellis, *Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 24; Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 10; and Shirl McArthur, "A Conservative Estimate of Total Direct U.S. Aid to Israel: \$ 108 Billion," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (online), July 2006, 16-17.
22. Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," 11.
23. The GAO also discovered that the Department of Defense had waived Israel's termination liability requirements (the amounts that buyers must hold in reserve to cover the costs of terminating a contract) but believes that "because of the likelihood of continued Israeli aid, the waiver represents a minimal risk." U.S. General Accounting Office, "Military Sales Cash Flow Financing," GAO/NSIAD-94-1024, Washington, DC, February 8, 1994, 3.
24. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 8.
25. The contrast is vividly apparent when one compares the USAID country page for Israel ([www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/cbj2007/ane/il.html](http://www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/cbj2007/ane/il.html)) with the Web pages for other important U.S. aid recipients.
26. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 7.
27. The CRS also reports that approximately 4 percent of the guaranteed amount is set aside in a treasury account as a reserve against default. For a loan of \$ 10 billion, this appropriation amounts to approximately \$400 million. See Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 3; Larry Nowels and Clyde Mark, "Israel's Request for U.S. Loan Guarantees," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, October 8, 1991; and Sheldon L. Richman, "The Economic Impact of the Israeli Loan Guarantees," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 2 (Winter 1992).
28. According to the CRS's Mark, "It is estimated that Israel receives about \$1 billion annually through philanthropy, an equal amount through short- and long-term commercial loans, and around \$1 billion in Israel Bonds proceeds." See Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," summary page. State of Israel Bonds are sold in the United States through the Development Corporation for



- Israel (DCI). These bonds are nonnegotiable and are seen by the government of Israel as a "stable source of overseas borrowing as well as an important mechanism for maintaining ties with Diaspora Jewry." Interest rates averaged about 4 percent from 1951 to 1989 (which meant a sharp "patriotic discount" as U.S. Treasury rates rose rapidly after 1980), but "the DCI bond offerings have had to move in recent years towards market pricing." Sales of Israel bonds reportedly reached \$1.2 billion in 2006, and the cumulative total of funds raised through these bonds now exceeds \$25 billion. See Suhas L. Ketkar, "Diaspora Bonds: Track Record and Potential," *World Bank Discussion Paper*, August 31, 2006; and Avi Krawitz, "Israel Bonds Raises \$1.2 billion in 2006," *Jerusalem Post*, December 10, 2006.
29. Dale Russakoff, "Treasury Finds Bite in Israel Bonds; 1984 Law Places New Tax on Artificially Low Interest Rates," *Washington Post*, September 12, 1985; "Tax Report," *Wall Street Journal*, August 20, 1986; and Russell Mokhiber, "Bonds of Affection," *Multinational Monitor* (1988), [http://multinationalmonitor.org/hyper/issues/1988/04/mm0488\\_10.html](http://multinationalmonitor.org/hyper/issues/1988/04/mm0488_10.html).
  30. According to the IRS, to qualify for the deduction, a taxpayer's contribution "must be made to an organization created and recognized as a charitable organization under the laws of Israel. The deduction will be allowed in the amount that would be allowed if the organization was created under the laws of the United States, but is limited to 25% of [the taxpayer's] adjusted gross income from Israeli sources." "Charitable Contributions," Publication 526, U.S. Internal Revenue Service, 3, [www.irs.gov/pub/irs-pdf/p526.pdf](http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-pdf/p526.pdf). Mexico and Canada appear to be the only other countries with similar provisions.
  31. The clandestine effort to obtain arms for the Zionist military forces prior to independence is recounted in Leonard Slater, *The Pledge* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970).
  32. Shimon Peres, *Battling for Peace: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1995), 119; Michael Karpin, *The Bomb in the Basement: How Israel Went Nuclear and What That Means for the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 135-37; and Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 67, 70.
  33. Friends of the Israel Defense Forces, "Mission Statement," [www.israelsoldiers.org](http://www.israelsoldiers.org); and Aimee Rhodes, "New York Dinner Raises \$18m for IDF," *Jerusalem Post*, April 3, 2007.
  34. As a Bank of Jerusalem guide for Israeli charities recently advised, "While laws governing American contributions to foreign charities have always existed, they were vague and consequently, rarely enforced. Contributions from individuals and American 501(c)(3) corporations to Israeli charities were unsupervised and their ultimate use was difficult to trace and determine." The guide warns that this situation has changed significantly since September 11, 2001. Bank of Jerusalem, "Help Them Help You: A Recommendation for the Israeli Charity," [www.bankjerusalem.co.il/indexE.php?page=588](http://www.bankjerusalem.co.il/indexE.php?page=588) (accessed March 28, 2007).
  35. Gershom Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977* (New York: Times Books/Henry Holt, 2006), 218-19. Similarly, the Israeli political scientist David Newman has reportedly described the Jewish Agency and the WZO as operating "under one umbrella, with the same officials, departments and administrators overseeing the activities." See Amy Teibel and Ramit Plushnick-Masti, "As Israel Leaves Gaza, Bill for Its Settlement Ambitions Is Shrouded in Mystery," Associated Press, August 10, 2005.
  36. Nathaniel Popper, "Jewish Officials Profess Shock over Report on Zionist Body," *Forward*, March 18, 2005; and "Summary of the Opinion Concerning Unauthorized Outposts" (the Sasson Report), [www.fmep.org/documents/sassonreport.html](http://www.fmep.org/documents/sassonreport.html).
  37. "U.S. Tax-Exempt Charitable Contributions to Israel: Donations, Illegal Settlements, and Terror Attacks Against the US," *Middle East Foreign Policy Research Note*, October 5, 2005, [www.irmep.org/tec.htm](http://www.irmep.org/tec.htm).
  38. International Monetary Fund, "World Economic Outlook Database for September 2006," [www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2006/02/data/index.aspx](http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2006/02/data/index.aspx).
  39. *Human Development Report 2006* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2006), <http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/statistics>; and Economist Intelligence Unit, "2005 Quality of Life Rankings," [www.economist.com/media/pdf/QUALITY\\_OF\\_LIFE.pdf](http://www.economist.com/media/pdf/QUALITY_OF_LIFE.pdf).
  40. Mitchell G. Bard and Daniel Pipes, "How Special Is the U.S.-Israel Relationship?" *Middle East Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (June 1997): 43.
  41. Bishara A. Bahbah, "The United States and Israel's Energy Security," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 1982): 118-30. For the text of the original agreement, see "Israel-United States Memorandum of Understanding, September 1, 1975" and "Memorandum of Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America and Israel—Oil," [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/P/Peace/mou\\_1975.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/P/Peace/mou_1975.html) and [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/P/Peace/cdoilmou.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/P/Peace/cdoilmou.html). Also see "Oil from Iraq: An Israeli Pipedream," *Jane's Middle East/Africa Report*, April 16, 2003, [www.janes.com/regional\\_news/africa\\_middle\\_east/news/fr/fr030416\\_1\\_n.shtml](http://www.janes.com/regional_news/africa_middle_east/news/fr/fr030416_1_n.shtml).
  42. William B. Quandt, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1986), 313; Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 371-72; Moshe Dayan, *Breakthrough: A Personal Account of the Egypt-Israeli Peace Negotiations* (New York: Knopf, 1981), 274-76; "Israel: Oil Supply Arrangement," Memoranda of Agreement, United States Treaties and Other International Acts Series 9533, 30 UST 5994 (Washington, DC, March 1979), 5989-96; Judith Miller, "Israel Pressing U.S. on Oil Sales Accord," *New York Times*, August 17, 1980; and Steven Rattner, "U.S. and Israel Reach Agreement on Oil," *New York Times*, October 16, 1980.
  43. USAID, "Greenbook."
  44. Alfred Prados, "Jordan: U.S. Relations and Bilateral Issues," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, January 9, 2002; and USAID, "Greenbook."
  45. The 1975 Israel-U.S. Memorandum of Understanding committed Washington to "make every effort to be fully responsive ... to Israel's military equipment and other defense requirements" and "to continue to maintain Israel's defensive strength through the supply of advanced types of equipment."
  46. Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," 1.
  47. David Rogers and Edward T. Pound, "How Israel Spends \$1.8 Billion a Year at Its Purchasing Mission in New York," *Wall Street Journal*, January 20, 1992.
  48. The Defense Security Assistance Agency (DSAA) was renamed the Defense Security Cooperation Agency in 1998.
  49. According to the GAO, "Whereas other countries primarily use the government-to-government process, Israel uses commercial contracts for about 99 percent of its purchases ... By using the commercial process, Israel can avoid the Defense Department's 3-percent administrative charge for FMS sales." There are also looser governmental oversight and approval guidelines for commercial sales to Israel. "DSAA is not required to review contracts and purchase orders from \$50,000 to \$500,000 until after Israel receives the FMS funds" and "DSAA does not review contracts and purchase orders below \$50,000." Moreover, "the un-

- usual way DSAA administers the Israeli program and staffing limitations complicate full implementation of the agreement to report. . . sensitive items." U.S. General Accounting Office, "Security Assistance: Reporting of Program Content Changes," GAO/NSIAD-90-115, Washington, DC, May 1990, 8-9, 14.
50. Quoted in Steven Pearlstein, "U.S. Military Office Defends Israeli Aid; Closer Scrutiny of Program Described as Unnecessary," *Washington Post*, July 30, 1992. Also see David Rogers and Edward Pound, "The Money Trail: U.S. Firms Are Linked to an Israeli General at the Heart of a Scandal," *Wall Street Journal*, January 20, 1992; Rogers and Pound, "How Israel Spends \$1.8 Billion"; Joel Brinkley, "Israeli General Pleads Guilty in Bribery Case," *New York Times*, March 28, 1991; Hillel Kuttler, "U.S. Defense Procurement Faults Led to Dotan Affair," *Jerusalem Post*, August 12, 1993; and U.S. General Accounting Office, "Foreign Military Aid to Israel: Diversion of U.S. Funds and Circumvention of U.S. Program Restrictions," GAO/T-OSI-94-9, Washington, DC, October 1993.
  51. As of 2004, expenditures on the Lavi, Merkava, Arrow, and other programs amounted to \$2.68 billion. See "U.S. Assistance to Israel."
  52. Dov S. Zakheim, *Flight of the Lavi: Inside a U.S.-Israeli Crisis* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1996). Zakheim was deputy undersecretary of defense in the Reagan administration and an experienced defense analyst. He was also an Orthodox Jew and a strong supporter of Israel, yet his determined efforts to assess the true costs of the Lavi project and eventually to cancel it earned him repeated attacks on his character. Indeed, he reports that Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens once called him a "traitor to the family." See xv, 256-57. Also see Duncan L. Clarke and Alan S. Cohen, "The United States, Israel and the Lavi Fighter," *Middle East Journal* 40, no. 1 (Winter 1986); and James P. DeLoughry, "The United States and the LAVI," *Airpower Journal* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1990).
  53. Mark, "Israel: U.S. Foreign Assistance," 8; Carol Migdalovitz, "Israel: Background and Relations with the United States," *Report for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, August 31, 2006, 19; and Duncan L. Clarke, "The Arrow Missile: The United States, Israel, and Strategic Cooperation," *Middle East Journal* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1994).
  54. "Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the United States and the Government of Israel on Strategic Cooperation," November 30, 1981, posted on the website of the Avalon Project at Yale Law School, [www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/pal03.htm](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/pal03.htm).
  55. Congress established the designation "Major Non-NATO Ally" in 1988, as part of U.S. Code Title 10 (Armed Forces). See Subtitle A, Part IV, Chapter 138, Subchapter II, Section 2350a. On Israel's designation, see Migdalovitz, "Israel: Background and Relations," 19.
  56. Yitzhak Benhorin, "US to Double Emergency Equipment Stored in Israel," *Ynetnews.com*, December 12, 2006.
  57. Feldman also notes that it would be difficult and costly for the United States to transport this materiel from Israel to its most likely area of deployment, the Persian Gulf. See Shai Feldman, *The Future of U.S.-Israel Strategic Cooperation* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996), 45-46. Also see Clarke et al., *Send Guns and Money*, 162-63.
  58. Benhorin, "US to Double Emergency Equipment."
  59. These developments are documented in Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 410-11; Migdalovitz, "Israel: Background and Relations," 18-19; Bard and Pipes, "How Special Is the U.S.-Israel Relationship?"; Clyde Mark, "Israeli-United States Relations," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, November 9, 2004, 9-10; and Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel*, 280-81.
  60. Jeffrey T. Richelson and Desmond Ball, *The Ties That Bind: Intelligence Cooperation Between the UKUSA Countries* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 173, 304; Jeffrey T. Richelson, "The Calculus of Intelligence Cooperation," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 314; and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection: Who Israel Arms and Why* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 40-41.
  61. Jeffrey T. Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1989), 275-77; and Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1991), 3-8.
  62. Ephraim Kahana, "Mossad-CIA Cooperation," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 14, no. 3 (July 2001): 416.
  63. Robert Norris et al., "Israeli Nuclear Forces, 2002," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 58, no. 5 (September/October 2002): 73-75; and "Israel Profile: Nuclear," *Nuclear Threat Initiative*, [www.nti.org/e\\_research/profiles/Israel/Nuclear/index.html](http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Israel/Nuclear/index.html).
  64. Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 198, 206.
  65. *Ibid.*, 216, 219, 222.
  66. Quoted in Karpin, *Bomb in the Basement*, 237.
  67. Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb*, 193. The White House aide Robert Komer later claimed that Kennedys decision to provide U.S. arms to Israel in the 1960s was part of a deliberate effort to convince Jerusalem not to go nuclear, but if this was in fact the objective, it clearly failed. As Michael Karpin notes, "Israel wanted both the product' of Dimona [i.e., nuclear weapons] as well as offensive weaponry from the United States. And this, ultimately, is what it got." *Bomb in the Basement*, 238.
  68. Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 252.
  69. Hersh, *Samson Option*, 188-89. Bass describes Johnson's approach to Dimona as being "willing to settle for a mutually tolerable level of duplicity." *Support Any Friend*, 252.
  70. Avner Cohen, "Israel and Chemical/Biological Weapons: History, Deterrence, and Arms Control," *Nonproliferation Review* 8, no. 3 (Fall-Winter 2001).
  71. Total Soviet aid to Cuba may have been as large as U.S. aid to Israel in some years (roughly \$3 billion per annum), but these estimates use the official dollar-peso exchange rate and thus overstate the total amount of Soviet support. Cuba's population is also roughly twice that of Israel's, so Soviet aid per capita was substantially smaller than U.S. aid to Israel, and the United States has backed Israel for a longer period than Moscow subsidized Havana. Castro was also a tamer client. As Jorge Dominguez noted, "Cuba does not oppose Soviet interests; it exercises its autonomy mindful of, and consistent with those interests. At crucial times, as with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Cuba has adopted policies at great cost to its own interests . . . And even over domestic Soviet policies at odds with Cuba's own, Cuba is circumspect in its criticisms of Moscow. The tight Soviet hegemony thus places real and significant limits on Cuba's autonomy." *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 111 and Appendix B.
  72. Quandt, *Peace Process*, 249. Some sources claim that Begin did not in fact break his promise, arguing that he had not initiated the

discussion of AWACS but had merely expressed strong opposition to the sale when members of Congress asked him about it. It is clear from Reagan's memoirs that the former president did not find this explanation of Begin's conduct convincing. "I didn't like having representatives of a foreign country—any foreign country—trying to interfere in what I regarded as our domestic political process and the setting of our foreign policy ... I felt he'd [Begin] broken his word and I was angry about it." Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 412, 414-16.

73. The English text of Resolution 242 is reprinted in *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Readings and Documents*, ed. John Norton Moore (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 1083-84. Also see David Pollock, *The Politics of Pressure: American Arms and Israeli Policy Since the Six Day War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 74.
74. Despite the growing level of U.S. aid after 1968, U.S.-Israeli relations were frequently strained by disputes over the level of U.S. military support and Israeli reluctance to accept any of the peace proposals offered by the various mediators. U.S. efforts to force Israeli concessions by restricting arms generally failed, however, and concessions were won only through pledges of additional support. See William B. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967-1976* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 97-98, 100-102; Pollock, *Politics of Pressure*, 74-77; Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 487-88, 493-96; and Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 190-91.
75. Quoted in Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 493.
76. These amounts are in constant 2005 dollars. USAID, "Greenbook."
77. Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 603-605.
78. Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 478.
79. Ben-Zvi continues: "Strategic ties between Washington and Jerusalem continued to develop during 1996-1999 . . . These included the prepositioning in Israel of weapons and ammunition during wartime, and the development of anti-missile systems including the Arrow, Nautilus and the Boost Phase Intercept. The two countries met regularly in such panels as the Joint Political Military Planning Group, the Joint Security Assistance Planning Group and the Joint Economic Development Group . . . Indeed, the joint American-Israeli committee for strategic planning . . . convened as scheduled on February 21, 1999, despite Israel's decision to suspend the redeployment stipulated in the Wye accords." "The United States and Israel: The Netanyahu Era," *Strategic Assessment* (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University) 2, no. 2 (October 1999).
80. On the fate of Ford's reassessment, see Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, 267-71; Edward Tiv-nan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 89; Charles McC. Mathias Jr., "Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 59, no. 5 (Summer 1981): 992-93; and Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 296.
81. Carter later recalled, "I think Begin deliberately sabotaged the whole thing with the damn settlements. He knows he lied. He hadn't left Camp David twelve hours before he was under tremendous [domestic] pressure . . . There was never any equivocation when we left Camp David about the fact that there would be no settlements during the interim period, during which we would be negotiating the final peace agreement. That was absolutely and totally understood." Quoted in Kenneth W. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy: Sadat, Kissinger, Carter, Begin, and the Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 256.
82. Clinton's outburst is quoted in Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," *New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001, 60.
83. William B. Quandt, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1986), 103-104.
84. Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid," 4.
85. Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon, 1970-1985*, rev. ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 138-43.
86. William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004), 307-10; and Glenn Frankel, *Beyond the Promised Land: Jews and Arabs on the Hard Road to a New Israel* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 301-304.
87. The population growth rates for Israel proper in 1991, 1993, and 1994 were 4.9 percent, 2.5 percent, and 2.7 percent, respectively. "Sources of Population Growth: Total Israeli Population and Settler Population, 1991-2003," Foundation for Middle East Peace, Washington, DC, [www.fmep.org/settlement\\_info/stats\\_data/settler\\_population\\_growth/sources\\_population\\_growth\\_1991\\_2003.html](http://www.fmep.org/settlement_info/stats_data/settler_population_growth/sources_population_growth_1991_2003.html).
88. The Soviet Union/Russia used its veto 119 times between 1946 and 1985, but only four times since then. The United States did not issue its first veto until 1970 but had used it 82 times as of March 2007. "Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto in the Security Council," Global Policy Forum, [www.globalpolicy.org/security/data/vetotab.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/data/vetotab.htm).
89. This position became known as the "Negroponte Doctrine." See Michael J. Jordan, "Symbolic Fight for Israel at U.N.," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 8, 2003.
90. The United States voted in favor of Security Council resolutions condemning Israel's bloody assault on Qibya in 1953 and its attack on Iraq's Osirak reactor in 1981. It also voted in favor of Resolutions 672 and 681 in 1990, which criticized Israel's deportation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories. The United States abstained on Resolution 573 in 1985, which condemned Israel's bombing of the PLO headquarters in Tunis, and voted in favor of Resolution 1073 in 1996, which expressed concern over Israel's construction of a tunnel in the vicinity of the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.
91. UN voting records obtained from <http://unbisnet.un.org:8080>. For a list of General Assembly resolutions concerning Israel, along with partial voting records, see [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/UN/gatoc.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/UN/gatoc.html).
92. Marc Perelman, "International Agency Eyes Israeli Nukes," *Forward*, September 5, 2003.
93. Michael B. Oren offers an extensively researched but decidedly pro-Israel account of the war in *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); a convincing corrective is Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six Day War," *Middle East Journal* 60, no. 2 (Spring 2006). For a recent and more balanced treatment by another Israeli historian, see Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).
94. Wheeler is quoted in Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 141; Johnson's remark to Eban is from Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six Day War," 304. Popp also notes that "almost no one inside the U.S. administration was in any doubt that the Israeli warnings [of an impending Arab attack] were without foundation" (302), and William Quandt reports that the CIA

- and Pentagon told Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban they "were convinced that Israel would easily win if hostilities were to begin, no matter who struck first." *Decade of Decisions*, 50.
95. The Israeli government sent telegrams to Foreign Minister Eban and Ambassador Avraham Harman in Washington on May 25, claiming an Arab attack was imminent and asking them to seek an immediate American commitment to treat an attack on Israel as akin to an attack on the United States. But as Tom Segev points out, "The Israeli intelligence assessment of the same evening was fairly different from what had been wired to Washington . . . [Prime Minister] Eshkol was obviously trying to mislead Eban, and through him President Johnson, in order to ensure U.S. support. On a copy of the telegram to Harman, Eshkol added in his own handwriting: 'All to create an alibi.'" 1967, 256-57.
  96. Meeting with Eban on the evening of May 26, Johnson gave him an aide-memoire that ended, "I must emphasize the necessity for Israel not to make itself responsible for the initiation of hostilities. Israel will not be alone unless it decides to do it alone. We cannot imagine Israel will make this decision." Quoted in Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 393. Johnson repeated a similar warning in a letter to Eshkol on May 28.
  97. In the words of William Quandt, Johnson "had no reason to be surprised when he was awakened on the morning of June 5 with the news that war had begun. After all, he had taken steps to assure the Israelis that the 'red light' of May 26 had turned yellow . . . The yellow light' hinted at in his letter to [Israeli Prime Minister Levi] Eshkol on June 3, and reiterated in remarks from [Abe] Fortas and [Arthur] Goldberg, meant 'be careful,' and 'don't count on the United States if you get into trouble.' But, as for most motorists, the yellow light was tantamount to a green one." Quandt also notes that "Johnson had not quite given the Israelis a green light, but he had removed a veto on their actions." *Peace Process*, 38, 41-42; and Cheryl Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest: A Critical Examination* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 120.
  98. In a review of Oren's *Six Days of War*, Quandt notes that "Johnson [told] the Israelis not to act alone, and for a while he really seemed to mean it. By the end of May, he had apparently changed his mind. The Israelis were quick to sense the change, and it mattered to them as they decided on war. But we still do not know why Johnson initially was so hesitant, then why he took a tough line with Israel, or why he subsequently changed his mind." "Book Review: *Six Days of War*," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 147. On the other pressures exerted on Johnson, including the letter-writing campaign, see Segev, 1967, 253-54, 264-65, 304.
  99. Quandt, *Peace Process*, 43-44.
  100. On June 8, 1967, while the Six-Day War was under way, Israeli aircraft and torpedo boats attacked the U.S. Navy intelligence ship USS *Liberty*, which was in international waters off the Sinai Peninsula. The attack killed thirty-four U.S. sailors and caused extensive damage to the ship. Israel has long claimed that the attack was an accident based on mistaken identification, and it apologized to the United States and paid some \$13 million in compensation. Survivors of the attack, other U.S. naval officers, and a number of U.S. officials (including CIA Director Richard Helms and Secretary of State Dean Rusk) believed the attack was deliberate, and proponents of this view also claim that the subsequent investigations were cursory and incomplete. Other commentators defend Israel's version of the incident and regard it as a regrettable mishap. For different accounts, see James Bamford, *Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the Ultra Secret National Security Agency* (New York: Random House, 2002); A. Jay Cristol, *The Liberty Incident: The 1967 Attack on the U.S. Navy Spy Ship* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2002); James M. Ennes Jr., *Assault on the Liberty: The True Story of an Israeli Attack on an American Intelligence Ship* (Gaithersburg, MD: Reintree Press, 2003); Oren, *Six Days of War*, 263-71; and Segev, 1967, 386.
  101. The diplomacy of the War of Attrition is summarized in Lawrence Whetten, *The Canal War: Four-Power Conflict in the Middle East* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974). Useful Israeli perspectives include Ya'acov Bar-Siman-Tov, *The Israeli-Egyptian War of Attrition, 1969-1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); and Jonathan Shimshoni, *Israel and Conventional Deterrence: Border Warfare from 1953 to 1970* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), chap. 4.
  102. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, 147. Also see Pollock, *Politics of Pressure*, 112-14, 124, 126-27; and Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 510.
  103. Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982), 468.
  104. By helping Israel gain the upper hand on the battlefield, Nixon and Kissinger sought to convince Egypt and Syria to accept a cease-fire and to recognize the limits of Soviet support. See Quandt, *Peace Process*, 113-15, 118.
  105. Stein, *Heroic Diplomacy*, 78-79.
  106. Ibid., 86, 90; William Burr, ed., *The October War and U.S. Policy* (Washington, DC: National Security Archive, October 7, 2003); and Quandt, *Peace Process*, 118.
  107. "Kissinger Gave Green Light for Israeli Offensive Violating 1973 Cease-Fire," National Security Archive press release, October 7, 2003; and Quandt, *Peace Process*, 120, 461nn62, 63. Kenneth Stein reports that "Kissinger told Israeli leaders that if it was their intention to starve out the Egyptian Third Army, the United States would 'disassociate itself from it.' But Kissinger did not tell the Israelis not to better their military field advantage. Dayan wanted another seventy-two hours, and Kissinger acquiesced." Stein also notes, "With impunity and Kissinger's sanction, of which Sadat was not aware, Israel violated the cease-fire resolution." *Heroic Diplomacy*, 92.
  108. "U.S.-Israel Memorandum of Understanding, September 1, 1975." The congressional legislation (Section 535, PL. 98-473, October 12, 1984) added the stipulation that the PLO "renounce terrorism." See Clyde Mark, "Palestinians and Middle East Peace: Issues for the United States," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, October 24, 2002, 2.
  109. Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 337-40. As Steven Spiegel notes, "Here too the United States promised a unified strategy with Israel, thereby restricting America's ability to speak independently with the PLO." *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 302. On the congressional action in 1984, see Clyde Mark, "Israeli-United States Relations," *Issue Brief for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, April 28, 2005, 9.
  110. The pretext for war was the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London. This act fell well short of Haig's criterion, insofar as it had nothing to do with the situation along the Israeli-Lebanese border and was not ordered by Yasser Arafat or Fatah but by a dissident Palestinian group led by Abu Nidal. As Shlomo Ben-Ami observes, Haig "should have known that Israeli politicians are not especially sensitive to nuances and understatements when he used unnecessarily ambiguous language in his conversation with Sharon." See Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 179; Quandt, *Peace Process*, 250-51; Ze'ev

- Schiff, "The Green Light," *Foreign Policy* 50 (Spring 1983); Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War*, trans. Ina Friedman (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 71-73; Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 102-103, 105; and James McCartney, "Officials Say Haig Let Israel Think U.S. Condoned Invasion of Lebanon," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (online), January 23, 1983.
111. Shlaim, *The Iron Wall*, 416.
  112. By the time the cease-fire went into effect, notes the Israeli historian Itamar Rabinovich, "The IDF had succeeded both in defeating the Syrian army in Lebanon and limiting the scope of the encounter . . . Equally significant, Syria by seeking an early ceasefire left Israel free to focus on Beirut. In the days following the ceasefire, Israeli forces continued their advance toward southern and eastern Beirut and established a territorial link with the forces of the Lebanese Front." *War for Lebanon*, 138.
  113. Rabinovich continues: "Yet it became increasingly difficult to maintain that policy against accumulating criticism, particularly in the murky situation in Beirut in the latter part of June. These difficulties . . . induced the administration to distance itself demonstrably from Israel, but did not change the essence of its policy." *Ibid.*, 146.
  114. George R Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State* (New York: Scribner, 1993), 112.
  115. Quandt, *Peace Process*, 258-59.
  116. Quoted in Edward R. F. Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis and Kissinger: A Secret History of American Diplomacy in the Middle East* (Pleasantville, NY Reader's Digest Press, 1976), 199.
  117. In his account of the peace process, the U.S. negotiator Dennis Ross offers numerous examples of the Clinton administration accommodating Prime Minister Ehud Barak's preferred negotiating tactics, particularly regarding the unsuccessful effort to reach a peace treaty with Syria. See Ross, *Missing Peace*, 530-32, 539, 550-51, 578-80. And as Agha and Malley note in their discussion of Camp David, "In the end, though, and on almost all these questionable tactical judgments, the US either gave up or gave in, reluctantly acquiescing in the way Barak did things out of respect for the things he was trying to do." "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," 60.
  118. Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 40-41.
  119. Agha and Malley, "Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors," 62-63.
  120. "Lessons of Arab-Israeli Negotiating: Four Negotiators Look Back and Ahead," transcript of panel discussion, Middle East Institute, April 25, 2005; Nathan Guttman, "U.S. Accused of Pro-Israel Bias at 2000 Camp David," *Ha'aretz*, April 29, 2005; and Aaron D. Miller, "Israel's Lawyer," *Washington Post*, May 23, 2005.
  121. "A History of Foreign Leaders and Dignitaries Who Have Addressed the U.S. Congress," [http://clerk.house.gov/art\\_history/art\\_artifacts/foreignleaders.html](http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/art_artifacts/foreignleaders.html). The first Israeli leader to address a joint session of Congress was Yitzhak Rabin in 1976; other states whose leaders have addressed multiple sessions of Congress in the same period include India (four), Ireland (three), Italy (three), and South Korea (three). If one begins counting in 1948 (the year Israel was founded), Israel is tied at six with France and Italy.
  122. Bard and Pipes, "How Special Is the U.S.-Israel Relationship?" 41.
  123. The question asked, "What's your opinion of U.S. policies in the Middle East—would you say they are fair, or do they favor Israel too much, or do they favor the Palestinians too much?" See Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Views of a Changing World 2003* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, 2003), 5; and Pew Global Attitudes Project, "Wave 2 Update Survey; 21 Publics Surveyed, Final Topline (2003)," T-151, <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/185topline.pdf>.

## 2: ISRAEL: STRATEGIC ASSET OR LIABILITY?

1. A.F.K. Organski, *The \$36 Billion Bargain: Strategy and Politics in U.S. Assistance to Israel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Steven L. Spiegel, "Israel as a Strategic Asset," *Commentary*, June 1983; Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); and Steven L. Spiegel, "U.S.-Israel Relations after the Gulf War," *Jerusalem Letter/ Viewpoints* 117, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, July 15, 1991. Also see Steven Rosen, "The Strategic Value of Israel," *AIPAC Papers on U.S.-Israel Relations* (Washington, DC: American Israel Public Affairs Committee, 1982).
2. Quoted in Ben Bradlee Jr., "Israel's Lobby," *Boston Globe*, April 29, 1984.
3. See [http://aipac.Org/Publications/AIPACAnalysesIssueBriefs/The\\_U.S.-Israel\\_Strategic\\_Part\\_nership.pdf](http://aipac.Org/Publications/AIPACAnalysesIssueBriefs/The_U.S.-Israel_Strategic_Part_nership.pdf); and [http://aipac.Org/Publications/AIPACAnalysesIssueBriefs/The\\_U.S.Israel\\_Relationship.pdf](http://aipac.Org/Publications/AIPACAnalysesIssueBriefs/The_U.S.Israel_Relationship.pdf).
4. Project for the New American Century, "Letter to President Bush on the War on Terrorism," September 20, 2001, [www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm); and "Mission Statement," Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, [www.jinsa.org/about/agenda/agenda.html](http://www.jinsa.org/about/agenda/agenda.html).
5. Martin Kramer, "The American Interest," *Azure* 5767, no. 26 (Fall 2006): 24-25.
6. Efraim Inbar, "Still a Strategic Asset for the US," *Jerusalem Post*, October 8, 2006.
7. Not surprisingly, scholars like Spiegel, Organski, and Kramer downplay or dismiss the impact of domestic politics or lobbying groups on U.S. support for Israel. Organski claims that "U.S. policy decisions with respect to Israel have, in the main, been made by presidents and foreign policy elites both by themselves and for reasons entirely their own." Kramer suggests that "if the institutions of the [Israel] lobby were to disappear tomorrow, it is quite likely that American and other Western support would continue unabated." Spiegel describes the belief that the pro-Israel lobby has "great leverage" as a "myth." Despite these assertions, Spiegel's study contains numerous examples of the lobby shaping the perceptions and behavior of key decision makers. Kramer's own career suggests that he does not believe his own argument, as he has devoted considerable time and effort to defending U.S. support for Israel and attacking those who question it. See Organski, *\$36 Billion Bargain*, 27; Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 386, 388; and Kramer, "American Interest," 31.
8. Scholars have analyzed Truman's decisions extensively, reaching varied conclusions about the importance of domestic politics and his sensitivities to Jewish opinion. It was clearly not the only factor that influenced his conduct as he sought to navigate the complex situation in Palestine, but virtually all accounts agree that the political preferences of American Jewry (magnified by the upcoming 1948 election) played a nontrivial role in his calculations. See Spiegel, *Other Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 47-48; Kenneth Ray Bain, *The March to Zion: United States Policy and the Founding of Israel* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1979), 195-97, 202; Zvi

- Ganin, *Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979); and Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2007), 484, 488-89, 499.
9. Quoted in Jerome Slater, "Ideology vs. the National Interest: Bush, Sharon, and U.S. Policy in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Security Studies* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 167.
  10. Warren Bass, *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 148-49; and David Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 136-37.
  11. The Nixon/Kissinger strategy is summarized in William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in 1967*, 3rd ed. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), 69-70, 92-94; Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 1279, 1289-91, chap. 10; and Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982), 195-205.
  12. Israel allowed Western aircraft to overfly Israeli territory during the 1958 Jordan crisis, and agreed to a U.S. request to intervene in support of King Hussein following Syrian intervention in the 1970 clash between Hussein and the PLO. In the end, Jordanian air units attacked the Syrians on their own and the Syrians withdrew without Israel having to respond. U.S. officials were grateful for Israeli support in both cases, but as Alan Dowty notes, Israel's contribution to resolving the 1970 crisis was "secondary at best." Nigel Ashton also suggests that Hussein regarded Israel as a potential threat during the crisis and that U.S. officials mistakenly "credited Israel with helping the United States to win a cold war victory in what was, in reality, an inter-Arab struggle." Alan Dowty, *Middle East Crisis: Decisionmaking in 1958, 1970, and 1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 177; Nigel J. Ashton, "Pulling the Strings: King Hussein's Role During the Crisis of 1970 in Jordan," *International History Review* 28, no. 1 (March 2006): 109; and Quandt, *Peace Process*, 79-83.
  13. Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, *Friends in Deed: Inside the U.S.-Israel Alliance* (New York: Hyperion, 1994), 66-68, 114-15.
  14. For a sympathetic but skeptical analysis of the "strategic asset" argument by the longtime head of the Military Assistance Branch of the Office of Management and Budget, see Harry Shaw, "Strategic Dissensus," *Foreign Policy* 61 (Winter 1985-86).
  15. Reportedly a response to the killing of an Israel bicyclist by infiltrators from Egypt, the Gaza raid has also been interpreted as Ben-Gurion's way of boosting Israeli morale, dramatizing his return to power, and reducing Nasser's growing prestige. But as Shlomo Ben-Ami observes, "Rather than cutting short Egypt's commitment to a war strategy, [the Gaza operation] enhanced it." *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 77; Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: Norton, 2001), 123-29; Michael Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 254-55, esp. note 1; and E.L.M. Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli* (New York: Ivan Obolensky, 1963), 20. Syria had similar motives for seeking Soviet arms during this period, and its desire for aid was intensified by an especially strong Israeli raid in December 1955. Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 62, esp. note 36.
  16. On the Soviet Union's turbulent relationship with its Arab allies, see Mohamed Heikal, *The Sphinx and the Commissar: The Rise and Fall of Soviet Influence in the Middle East* (New York: Harper, 1976); Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Red Star on the Nile: The Soviet-Egyptian Influence Relationship Since the June War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); and Ya'acov Roi, ed., *From Encroachment to Involvement: A Documentary Study of Soviet Foreign Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1973* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1974).
  17. For a persuasive argument to this effect, see Jerome Slater, "The Superpowers and an Arab-Israeli Political Settlement: The Cold War Years," *Political Science Quarterly* 105, no. 4 (Winter 1990-91).
  18. "Kissinger Memorandum: To Isolate the Palestinians," MERIP Reports no. 96 (May 1981): 24. This article is a memorandum of a June 1975 conversation between Kissinger and the so-called Klutznick Group, a gathering of Jewish-American leaders organized by Philip Klutznick, a former president of B'nai B'rith International and former U.S. secretary of commerce. Also see Quandt, *Peace Process*, 103-104.
  19. Ussama Makdisi, "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World: An Interpretation of a Brief History," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (September 2002): 538-39. Alfred Prados of the Congressional Research Service agrees, noting, "The United States, a latecomer to the Middle East, enjoyed a more favorable image in the region than did its European counterparts in the 19th and early 20th centuries." "Middle East: Attitudes Toward the United States," *Report for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, December 31, 2001, 2.
  20. Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America and the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002), 50-59; and Makdisi, "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World," 548-50.
  21. Shaw, "Strategic Dissensus," 137.
  22. Moshe Dayan, *Story of My Life* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 512-13.
  23. The total cost inflicted by the "oil weapon" was almost certainly larger, as it had long-term effects on inflation, real income, and productivity growth, as well as indirect effects on investment, currency price volatility, and other factors, but there is considerable disagreement among economists regarding the magnitude of these effects. On petroleum imports, see Dominick Salvatore, "Petroleum Prices and Economic Performance in the G-7 Countries," in Siamack Shojai and Bernard S. Katz, eds., *The Oil Market in the 1980s: A Decade of Decline* (New York: Praeger, 1992), 94; and Mancur Olson, "The Productivity Slowdown, the Oil Shocks and the Real Cycle," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 2, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 43-69. The cost to OECD countries was to push their net oil import bill from \$35 billion in 1973 to more than \$100 billion in 1974. See Robert J. Lieber, *The Oil Decade: Conflict and Co-operation in the West* (New York: Praeger, 1983), 21. The GDP estimate is that of the Federal Energy Administration and of many economists. See Edward N. Krapels, *Oil Crisis Management: Strategic Stockpiling for International Security* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 34; and Fiona Venn, *The Oil Crisis* (London: Longman, 2002), 154-55. The calculation for 2000 dollars uses data from Louis D. Johnston and Samuel H. Williamson, "The Annual Real and Nominal GDP for the United States, 1790-Present," Economic History Services, October 2005.
  24. Quoted in Jeffrey Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1989), 277.
  25. Quoted in Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six Day War," *Middle East Journal* 60, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 300. Tom Seger has confirmed that Rostow's appraisal was essentially correct. See his 1967: *Israel, the War and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 256-58.



26. Shlomo Brom, "The War in Iraq: An Intelligence Failure," *Strategic Assessment* (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University) 6, no. 3 (November 2003); "Selections from the Media, 1998-2003," *ibid.*, 17-19; Gideon Alon, "Report Slams Assessment of Dangers Posed by Libya, Iraq," *Ha'aretz*, March 28, 2004; Dan Baron, "Israeli Report Blasts Intelligence for Exaggerating the Iraqi Threat," *JTA.org*, March 28, 2004; Greg Myre, "Lawmakers Rebuke Israeli Intelligence Services over Iraq," *New York Times*, March 29, 2004; and James Risen, *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 72-73.
27. Kramer, "American Interest," 24-25.
28. Shaw also notes that "all Israelis are acutely aware of the burden for a country of only 4 million people of lives lost in even short, successful wars. Israel simply lacks the personnel to sacrifice on costly military adventures beyond its immediate neighborhood." "Strategic Dissensus," 130.
29. Quoted in Duncan L. Clarke, Daniel B. O'Connor, and Jason D. Ellis, *Send Guns and Money: Security Assistance and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 173. Another DOD official noted that Israel's "proximity to the Gulf is not enough to be of real use as a base for fighting there, except on paper. We need to get much closer in the event of any actual military contingency, and that's why we're going for forward basing in Oman." Israel's contribution would be limited to maintenance and possibly hospital facilities. See Joe Stork, "Israel as a Strategic Asset," in MERIP Reports no. 105, *Reagan Targets the Middle East* (May 1982), 12.
30. Shaw, "Strategic Dissensus," 133.
31. See the discussion of Operation Earnest Will at [www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/earnest\\_will.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/earnest_will.htm); and Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 129-32, 166, 186-91, 202-204.
32. "Kissinger Memorandum," 25.
33. During the 1980 campaign, Reagan told the American Jewish Press Association that "Israel is a strategic asset for the U.S., [and] I believe we must have policies which give concrete expression to that position." See Stork, "Israel as a Strategic Asset," 3; and Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 410.
34. With respect to the latter element, Feldman says "the clearest manifestation of this phenomenon is the unique role of the influential American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)." See his *The Future of U.S.-Israel Strategic Cooperation* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996), 5-6.
35. Bernard Lewis, "Rethinking the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 110-11; Bernard Reich, *Securing the Covenant: United States-Israeli Relations After the Cold War* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), 123; and Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 137.
36. Waldegrave is quoted in David Kimche, *The Last Option: After Nasser, Arafat, and Saddam Hussein, the Quest for Peace in the Middle East* (New York: Scribner, 1991), 236; Lewis, "Rethinking the Middle East," 110-11. History repeated itself during the second Gulf War in 2003. The United States needed to assemble a large coalition in order to make its preventive war look legitimate, and it therefore worked overtime to persuade an array of countries to contribute troops to the "coalition of the willing." But Israel was absent from this list, even though its leaders and people strongly supported the war. We address this issue at greater length in Chapter 8.
37. Based on data from the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism database, [www.tkb.org](http://www.tkb.org).
38. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon have shown that some members of the Clinton administration placed a high priority on counterterrorism, but they also document how difficult it was to implement that priority during the 1990s. In their words, "The work was difficult because a government that had never viewed terrorism as a first-tier threat had neither the organization nor the laws to deal with it that way. In many agencies offices handling counterterrorism issues were bureaucratic backwaters, their managers carrying none of the heft of colleagues who deal with geographic regions or high-profile issues such as arms control." It is also instructive that the Bush administration did not place a high priority on terrorism upon taking office. See Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, *The Age of Sacred Terror* (New York: Random House, 2002), 221, 327-29; and Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 227-36.
39. Put differently, the U.S. defense budget was over half the size of the entire combined economies of these four states (measured on a purchasing parity basis). Figures from *The Military Balance 2000-2001* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001); and Central Intelligence Agency, *World Factbook 2000* (online).
40. For an excellent analysis of U.S. policy toward Iraq and Iran, and toward rogue states more generally, see Robert Litwak, *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy: Containment after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000). Although the Republican-controlled Congress generally favored more aggressive policies toward Iran and Iraq and occasionally voted to support stiffer sanctions and various antiregime exiles, the Clinton administration never undertook a serious effort at regime change.
41. Bruce W. Jentleson and Christopher A. Whytock, "Who 'Won' Libya? The Force-Diplomacy Debate and Its Implications for Theory and Policy," *International Security* 30, no. 3 (Winter 2005-2006); Ronald Bruce St. John, "Libya Is Not Iraq: Preemptive Strikes, WMD, and Diplomacy," *Middle East Journal* 58, no. 3 (Summer 2004); and Flynt Leverett, "Why Libya Gave Up on the Bomb," *New York Times*, January 23, 2004.
42. Litwak, *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 168-69.
43. Sharon is quoted in William Safire, "Israel or Arafat," *New York Times*, December 3, 2001; the unnamed official is quoted in Robert G. Kaiser, "Bush and Sharon Nearly Identical on Mideast Policy," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2003. Also see Nathan Guttman, "A Marriage Cemented by Terror," *Salon.com*, January 24, 2006.
44. "Netanyahu Speech Before the U.S. Senate," April 10, 2002, [www.netanyahu.org/netspeacinse.html](http://www.netanyahu.org/netspeacinse.html); and Benjamin Netanyahu, "Three Principles Key to Defeat of Terrorism," *Chicago Sun-Times*, January 7, 2002.
45. Ehud Barak, "Democratic Unity Is the Only Answer to Terrorism," *Times* (London), September 13, 2001.
46. "Entire Text of Olmert Speech to Congress," *Jerusalem Post*, May 24, 2006.
47. Robert Satloff, "Israel's Not the Issue, Pass It On," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 2001.
48. "Peace Can Only Come Once the US Gives Israel the Green Light to Eliminate Hamas and the Hezbollah," press release, Office of Charles Schumer, U.S. Senate, December 3, 2001, [www.senate.gov/~schumer/1-Senator%20Schumer%20Website%20Files/pressroom/press\\_releases/PR00766.html](http://www.senate.gov/~schumer/1-Senator%20Schumer%20Website%20Files/pressroom/press_releases/PR00766.html).
49. HR Res. 392 (May 2, 2002); and S Res. 247 (April 22, 2002).

50. According to one account, "Even as speakers singled out [Yasser] Arafat as a problem requiring immediate action, they also portrayed him as but one partner in a much wider 'coalition of forces' that included Iran, Iraq, and Syria . . . With regard to neutralizing these threats, regime change was the preferred option." See Dana Hearn, "AIPAC Policy Conference, 21-23 April 2002," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 4 (Summer 2002): 67-68.
51. "Letter to President Bush on Israel, Arafat, and the War on Terrorism," Project for the New American Century, April 3, 2002, [www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter-040302.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter-040302.htm). The principal author of the open letter, William Kristol, offered the same view during Israel's 2006 war in Lebanon, writing that "while Syria and Iran are enemies of Israel, they are also enemies of the United States" and concluding, "This is our war, too." William Kristol, "It's Our War," *Weekly Standard*, July 24, 2006.
52. Maoz and Seale are quoted in Susan Taylor Martin, "Experts Disagree on Dangers of Syria," *St. Petersburg Times* (online), November 3, 2002. Also see Benjamin and Simon, *Age of Sacred Terror*, 194.
53. See, among many other studies, Tanya Reinhart, *Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948*, expanded 2nd ed. (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2005); and Tanya Reinhart, *The Road Map to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine Since 2003* (London: Verso, 2006).
54. As Robert Pape has convincingly shown, suicide terrorism is a tactic that a diverse array of political movements have adopted, usually when they were weak and trying to defeat a democratic adversary engaged in what the terrorists regard as illegitimate occupation. See Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).
55. Satloff, "Israel's Not the Issue"; Kramer, "American Interest," 29; Norman Podhoretz, "Israel Isn't the Issue," *Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2001; Norman Podhoretz, "World War IV: How It Started, What It Means, and Why We Have to Win," *Commentary*, September 2004; Andrea Levin, "Don't Scapegoat Israel," *Boston Globe*, October 6, 2001; and Dennis Ross, "Bin Laden's Terrorism Isn't About the Palestinians," *New York Times*, October 12, 2001. Others making this point in response to our original article include Alan Dershowitz, "Debunking the Newest—and Oldest—Jewish Conspiracy: A Reply to the Mearsheimer-Walt Working Paper," John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper, Harvard University, April 2006, 29; Marc Landy, "Zealous Realism: Comments on Mearsheimer and Walt," *Forum* (Berkeley Electronic Press) 4, issue 1, article 6 (2006); and Steven Simon, "Here's Where 'The Israel Lobby' Is Wrong," *Daily Star*, May 4, 2006.
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57. Qutb formed his impressions of America during a visit here in 1948 and was later executed by the Egyptian government in 1966. See Yvonne Y. Haddad, "Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of Islamic Revival," in *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. John Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 67-98.
58. Quoted in Makdisi, "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World," 555.
59. Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 250-51, 273; and "Transcript: The Yasin Interview," *60 Minutes*, June 2, 2002, [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/06/02/60minutes/printable510847.shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/06/02/60minutes/printable510847.shtml).
60. Anonymous [Michael Scheuer], *Through Our Enemies' Eyes: Osama bin Laden, Radical Islam, and the Future of America* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2002), 87.
61. Quoted in Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (New York: Knopf, 2006), 75-76.
62. *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden*, ed. Bruce Lawrence (London: Verso, 2005), 4.
63. Benjamin and Simon, *Age of Sacred Terror*, 140-41.
64. Osama bin Laden, "From Somalia to Afghanistan" (March 1997), in Lawrence, *Messages to the World*, 46. For additional pre-9/11 condemnations of the United States for its support of Israel, and for accusations that the United States was colluding with Israel, see the following selections from the same volume: "Declaration of Jihad" (August 23, 1996), 30; "The World Islamic Front" (February 23, 1998), 60-61; and "A Muslim Bomb" (December 1998), 66-70. Also see "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" and "New Osama bin Laden Video Contains Anti-Israel and Anti-American Statements," on the Anti-Defamation League website, [www.adl.org/terrorism\\_america/bin\\_1\\_print.asp](http://www.adl.org/terrorism_america/bin_1_print.asp).
65. Max Rodenbeck, "Their Masters Voice," *New York Review of Books*, March 9, 2006, 8. The books under review were Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al Qaeda's Leader* (New York: Free Press, 2006), and Lawrence, *Messages to the World*.
66. "Outline of the 9/11 Plot," Staff Statement no. 16, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, June 16, 2004, 18. Also see Nathan Guttman, "Al-Qaida Planned Attacks during PM's Visit to White House," *Ha'aretz*, June 17, 2004; and Marc Perelman, "Bin Laden Aimed to Link Plot to Israel," *Forward*, June 25, 2004.
67. "Outline of the 9/11 Plot," 18.
68. *Ibid.*, 4.
69. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (New York: Norton, 2004), 145, 147.
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73. Pew Global Attitudes Project, *What the World Thinks in 2002* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, December 2002), 54.
74. Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America and the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 96. Also see Ami Eden, "9/11 Commission Finds Anger at Israel Fueling Islamic Terrorism Wave," *Forward*, July 30, 2004.
75. Makdisi continues: "No account of anti-Americanism in the Arab world that does not squarely address the Arab understanding of Israel can even begin to convey the nature, the depth, and the sheer intensity of Arab anger at the United States." "'Anti-Americanism' in the Arab World," 552.
76. "Impressions of America 2004: How Arabs View America, How Arabs Learn About America" (Washington, DC: Zogby



- International, June 2004), 3-5; "Five Nation Survey of the Middle East" (Washington, DC: Arab-American Institute/Zogby International, December 2006), 4; and Prados, "Middle East: Attitudes Toward the United States," 8.
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  78. *Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication* (Washington, DC: Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, September 2004), 40; and *9/11 Commission Report*, 376.
  79. "Impressions of America 2004: A Six Nation Survey" (Washington, DC: Zogby International, 2004); Shibley Telhami, "Arab Public Opinion: A Survey in Six Countries," *San Jose Mercury* (online), March 16, 2003; John Zogby, *The Ten Nation Impressions of America Poll* (Utica, NY: Zogby International, April 11, 2002); and Shibley Telhami, "Arab Attitudes Towards Political and Social Issues, Foreign Policy, and the Media," a public opinion poll by the Anwar Sadat Chair of Peace and Development, University of Maryland, and Zogby International, October 2005, [www.bsos.umd.edu/sadat/pub/survey-2005.htm](http://www.bsos.umd.edu/sadat/pub/survey-2005.htm).
  80. *Changing Minds, Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World*, Report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World, submitted to the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, October 1, 2003, 18. Also see Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Views of a Changing World 2003: War with Iraq Further Divides Global Publics* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, June 3, 2003).
  81. Warren Hoge, "U.N. Distances Itself from an Envoys Rebuke of Israel and the U.S.," *New York Times*, April 24, 2004; "Brahimi's Israel Comments Draw Annan, Israeli Fire," *Ha'aretz*, April 23, 2004; and "Egyptian Prez: Arabs Hate US," [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/04/20/world/printable612831.shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/04/20/world/printable612831.shtml).
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  84. Charles Krauthammer, "The Tehran Calculus," *Washington Post*, September 15, 2006. Also see Bernard Lewis, "August 22," *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 2006. For a similar statement by two Israeli scholars, see Yossi Klein Halevi and Michael B. Oren, "Contra Iran," *New Republic*, February 5, 2007. For the argument that Saddam Hussein was also irrational and undeterrable, see Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002).
  85. Mao Zedong did make some blase remarks about nuclear war before China got the bomb, but these statements were almost certainly intended to discourage other nuclear powers from trying to put pressure on Beijing. See Alice Langly Hsieh, *Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Era* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962). Rusk's statement is found in *The China Reader*, Vol. 3: *Communist China*, ed. Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell (New York: Vintage, 1967), 508. On the Soviet Union, a classic statement is Richard Pipes, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Can Fight and Win a Nuclear War," *Commentary*, July 1977.
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  87. Ze'ev Schiff, "Fitting into America's Strategy," *Ha'aretz*, August 1, 2003.
  88. Jay Solomon, "Religious Divide: To Contain Iran, U.S. Seeks Help from Arab Allies," *Wall Street Journal*, November 24, 2006.
  89. James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton, co-chairs, *The Iraq Study Group Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, December 2006), 39.
  90. On the "Lavon affair," see Schoenbaum, *The United States and the State of Israel*, 107-108. On Israel's various dealings with Iran, see "Israel-Iran Oil Deal Disclosed and Tied to Captives," *New York Times*, December 20, 1989; Youssef M. Ibrahim, "Oil Sale Disclosure Upsets Israeli-Iranian Contacts," *New York Times*, December 21, 1989; Bishara Bahbah, "Arms Sales: Israel's Link to the Khomeini Regime," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (online), January 1987; and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Israeli Connection: Who Israel Arms and Why* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 3-22, 108-75. The Reagan administration did supply arms to Iran as part of the notorious Iran-contra arms scandal, but this covert operation was largely intended to secure the release of U.S. hostages in Lebanon and was widely seen as contrary to broader U.S. interests once it was exposed.
  91. Quoted in Duncan L. Clarke, "Israel's Unauthorized Arms Transfers," *Foreign Policy* 99 (Summer 1995): 94.
  92. Richard C. Stiener, "Foreign Military Aid to Israel: Diversion of U.S. Funds and Circumvention of U.S. Program Restrictions," testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives (Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, October 1993), 22. Also see Edward T. Pound, "Israel Is Impeding U.S. Dotan Probe, Documents Show," *Wall Street Journal*, July 29, 1992; and Edward T. Pound, "U.S. Says Israel Withheld Help in Dotan Probe," *Wall Street Journal*, July 25, 1992.
  93. On this protracted dispute, see Aluf Benn and Amnon Barzilai, "Pentagon Official Wants Yaron Fired," *Ha'aretz*, December 16, 2004; Caroline B. Glick and Arie O'Sullivan, "Pentagon Denies It Wants Yaron Dismissed," *Jerusalem Post*, December 16, 2004; Nina Gilbert, "Yaron Won't Give Info on Arms Sales to China," *Jerusalem Post*, December 30, 2004; "Israeli, U.S. Talks on Weapons Deals with China End Without Result," *Ha'aretz*, June 29, 2005; Marc Perelman, "Spat Over Sales of Weapons Chilling Ties Between Jerusalem and Beijing," *Forward*, December 24, 2004; Marc Perelman, "China Crisis Straining U.S.-Israel Ties," *Forward*, August 5, 2005; Marc Perelman, "Israel Miffed over Lingering China Flap," *Forward*, October 7, 2005; Ze'ev Schiff, "U.S.-Israel Crisis Deepens over Defense Exports to China," *Ha'aretz*, July 27, 2005; and Janine Zacharia, "'Something Wrong' in US-Israeli Military Ties as Split Deepens on China," *Jerusalem Post*, December 26, 2004.
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  95. Quoted in Duncan L. Clarke, "Israel's Economic Espionage in the United States," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27, no. 4 (Summer 1998): 21. Also see Bob Drogan and Greg Miller, "Israel Has Long Spied on U.S. Say Officials," *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 2004; "FBI Says Israel a Major Player in Industrial Espionage," *Jewish Bulletin* (online), January 16, 1998; Mark, "Israeli-United States Relations," November 9, 2004, 14-15; and Joshua Mit-nick, "U.S. Accuses Officials of Spying," *Washington Times*, December 16, 2004.
  96. The journalist Seymour Hersh claims that Israel passed some of the stolen intelligence to the Soviet Union in order to gain exit visas for Soviet Jews. Others have challenged this assertion, but Hersh stands by his story. Seymour M. Hersh, *The Samson*

- Option: Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Random House, 1991), 285-305; and Seymour M. Hersh, "Why Pollard Should Never Be Released," *New Yorker*, January 18, 1999.
97. On these incidents, see Edward T. Pound and David Rogers, "Inquiring Eyes: An Israeli Contract with a U.S. Company Leads to Espionage," *Wall Street Journal*, January 17, 1992.
  98. For an overview of the Franklin affair, see Jeffrey Goldberg, "Real Insiders: A Pro-Israel Lobby and an F.B.I. Sting," *New Yorker*, July 4, 2005. Rosen and Weissman have denied the charges and the case is still pending.

### 3: A DWINDLING MORAL CASE

1. "President Speaks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee," Washington Convention Center, Washington, DC (White House, Office of the Press Secretary, May 18, 2004).
2. Quoted in Mark Chmiel, "Elie Wiesel and the Question of Palestine," *Tikkun.org*, November/December 2002.
3. Paul Breines, *Tough Jews: Political Fantasies and the Moral Dilemma of American Jewry* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 54-59; Michelle Mart, *Eye on Israel: How America Came to View Israel as an Ally* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 169-74; Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 159-65; Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 50-51; and David Twersky, "Novelist Leon Uris Taught Jewish Readers to Stand Tall," *Forward*, June 27, 2003.
4. The principal myths are laid out and refuted in Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).
5. For a brief but excellent summary of the "new history," see Avi Shlaim, "The New History of 1948 and the Palestinian Nakba," *Miftah.org*, March 18, 2004.
6. Meron Rappaport, "IDF Commander: We Fired More Than a Million Cluster Bombs in Lebanon," *Ha'aretz*, September 12, 2006; and "Shooting Without a Target," *Ha'aretz* editorial, September 14, 2006.
7. Benny Morris, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 13. Also see Flapan, *Birth of Israel*, 187-99.
8. Morris, *1948 and After*, 14. Morris sharply criticized our original article, "The Israel Lobby," in a lengthy essay ("And Now for Some Facts: The Ignorance at the Heart of an Innuendo," *New Republic*, May 8, 2006), alleging that we had made numerous historical errors. In particular, he challenged our interpretation of the military balance in the 1948 War of Independence, as well as our interpretation of several other key episodes of Zionist and Israeli history. Morris's critique required him to contradict his own very important early scholarship (and the work of other respected historians) that has done so much to illuminate Israel's founding and relationship with its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians. We believe this scholarship backs up our account of Israel's military superiority and territorial ambitions, as well as its policies on refugees. We have addressed Morris's charges in John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "Setting the Record Straight: A Response to Critics of 'The Israel Lobby,'" December 12, 2006, 26-46, available at [www.israellobbybook.com](http://www.israellobbybook.com).
9. On the military balance in the 1948 war, see Trevor N. Dupuy, *Elusive Victory: The Arab-Israeli Wars, 1947-1974* (New York: Harper, 1978), 3-19, 121-25; Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure," in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 12-36; Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), chap. 4; Haim Levenberg, *Military Preparations of the Arab Community in Palestine, 1945-1948* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1993); Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chaps. 1, 3; Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-1999* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 187-89, 191-96, 215-23, 235-36, 241-42; Morris, *1948 and After*, 13-16; and Martin Van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive: A Critical History of the Israeli Defense Forces* (New York: Public Affairs, 1998), 77-82.
10. Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006), 45.
11. Quoted in *ibid.*, 22. For evidence that the Zionists understood that their fighting forces had a decisive advantage over the Palestinians and that this situation allowed them to pursue aggressive policies against the Palestinians, see *ibid.*, esp. 22-23, 26, 41, 44-46, 70, 79, 84.
12. Morris, *1948 and After*, 15.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 393.
15. On the military balances in the 1956, 1967, and 1973 wars, see Dupuy, *Elusive Victory*, 146-47, 212-14, 231-44, 333-40, 388-90, 597-605, 623-33; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 286-91, 311-13, 393-95; and Van Creveld, *The Sword and the Olive*, 137-38, 179-82, 239-43.
16. Israel's economy suffered a downturn in 2001-02, after the start of the Second Intifada in October 2000. Most experts believe, however, that the global economic meltdown was largely responsible for that downturn. An article in *Forbes* in late May 2002 summarizes the conventional wisdom: "The Israeli government and private economists estimate that two-thirds of the savage tumble in Israel's GDP growth, from 6.4% in 2000 to a current rate of zero, was due not to terrorism but to the worldwide slump led by high-tech." David Simons, "Cold Calculation of Terror," *Forbes*, May 28, 2002. The economy rebounded in 2003-05, even though the Palestinian uprising continued. Also see Emma Clark, "Israel's Neglected Economy," *BBC News* (online), September 2, 2002; Nadav Morag, "The Economic and Social Effects of Intensive Terrorism: Israel, 2000-2004," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 10, no. 3 (September 2006); Neal Sandler, "Israel's Economy: As if the Intifada Weren't Enough," *BusinessWeek*, June 18, 2001; and Linda Sharaby, "Israel's Economic Growth: Success Without Security," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 6, no. 3 (September 2002).
17. Amos Harel, "Israel Maintains Its Strategic Advantage, Says Jaffee Center," *Ha'aretz*, November 23, 2005. Also see Uri Bar-Joseph, "The Paradox of Israeli Power," *Survival* 46, no. 4 (Winter 2004-05); and Martin Van Creveld, "Opportunity Beckons," *Jerusalem Post*, May 16, 2003. The Jaffee Center has now been incorporated into a new institution, the Institute for National Strategic Studies.
18. Alan Dershowitz, "Debunking the Newest—and Oldest—Jewish Conspiracy: A Reply to the Mearsheimer-Walt 'Working Paper,'" John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper, Harvard University, April 2006, 22; and

- Martin Peretz, "Killer Angels: Murdering Jews, Then and Now," *New Republic*, April 15, 2002, 17-18.
19. Morris, *1948 and After*, 11-12. The subsequent Morris quotation in this paragraph is from *ibid.*, 13.
  20. Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 35-36. Also see Flapan, *Birth of Israel*, 119-52.
  21. This conventional wisdom is reflected in Michael B. Oren, "Did Israel Want the Six-Day War?" *Azure* 5759, no. 7 (Spring 1999); and Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
  22. The best new works on the origins of the 1967 war include Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 96-114; Norman G. Finkelstein, "Abba Eban with Footnotes," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 32, no. 3 (Spring 2003); Roland Popp, "Stumbling Decidedly into the Six-Day War," *Middle East Journal* 60, no. 2 (Spring 2006); and Tom Segev, *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).
  23. Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: Norton, 2000), 237.
  24. *Ibid.*, 235. Also see Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "Israel and Syria: Correcting the Record," *Washington Post*, December 24, 1999.
  25. Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 100.
  26. Segev, *1967*, 202-12, 295-96.
  27. Quoted in *ibid.*, 300. Also see *ibid.*, 387-88.
  28. Quoted in Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 76-77.
  29. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 387. Also see John J. Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 155-62.
  30. Quoted in Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence*, 159.
  31. Yoram Meital, *Peace in Tatters: Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006), 148-52; Charles A. Radin, "Arabs Offer to Accept Israel with Conditions," *Boston Globe*, March 29, 2002; and Howard Schneider, "Arab Countries Unanimously Endorse Saudi Peace Plan," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2002.
  32. According to the Law of Return, a "Jew" is defined as "a person who was born of a Jewish mother or has become converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion." The actual law and the relevant amendments can be found at Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, [www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/1950\\_1959/Law%20of%20Return%205710-1950](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/1950_1959/Law%20of%20Return%205710-1950). There has recently been discussion in Israel about passing legislation to recognize as Jewish those individuals who have a Jewish father but not a Jewish mother. See Shahril Ilan, "Bill Would Recognize Judaism Through Father," *Ha'aretz*, March 12, 2006.
  33. The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel can be found in John Norton Moore, ed., *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Readings and Documents* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 934-37.
  34. David Ben-Gurion, *Israel: A Personal History*, trans. Nechemia Meyers and Uzy Nystar (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1971), 839.
  35. These numbers are based on Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2006*, Table 2.1, [www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/](http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/); and Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, *Palestine Facts and Info*, "Population," [www.passia.org/palestine\\_facts/facts\\_and\\_figures/0\\_facts\\_and\\_figures.htm](http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/facts_and_figures/0_facts_and_figures.htm). There are about 300,000 individuals living in Israel who are defined as "others" by the CBS. Most of them are family members of Jewish immigrants or are individuals who have Jewish ancestors but not a Jewish mother, and are therefore not categorized as Jewish by the Israeli government. If one categorizes them as Jewish, then the total number of Jews in Israel would be about 5.6 million, not 5.3 million, which is the number the CBS uses.
  36. A public opinion survey of Israeli Jews taken in February-March 2007 concluded that "the demographic challenge is of growing urgency to most of the Jewish population and helps define the collective approach to national security issues." Yehuda Ben Meir and Dafna Shaked, "The People Speak: Israeli Public Opinion on National Security, 2005-2007," Memorandum no. 90 (Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, May 2007), 10, 64-65. Also see Aluf Benn, "Israel's Identity Crisis," *Salon.com*, May 16, 2005; Larry Derfner, "Sounding the Alarm About Israel's Demographic Crisis," *Forward*, January 9, 2004; Jon E. Dougherty, "Will Israel Become an Arab State?" *NewsMax.com*, January 12, 2004; Lily Galili, "A Jewish Demographic State," *Ha'aretz*, June 28, 2002; and Gideon Levy, "Wombs in the Service of the State," *Ha'aretz*, September 9, 2002.
  37. Shulamit Aloni, "A Country for Some of Its Citizens?" *Ha'aretz*, February 24, 2007. The Basic Law on Human Dignity and Liberty can be found on the Knesset website, [www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic3\\_eng.htm](http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic3_eng.htm).
  38. Jonathan Cook, *Blood and Religion: The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 17-18. Also see Adalah and the Arab Association for Human Rights, "Equal Rights and Minority Rights for the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel," a report to the UN Human Rights Committee on Israel's Implementation of Articles 26 and 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, July 1998; As'ad Ghanem, Nadim Rouhana, and Oren Yiftachel, "Questioning 'Ethnic Democracy': A Response to Sammy Smooha," *Israel Studies* 3, no. 2 (Fall 1998); David B. Green, "The Other Israelis," *Boston Globe*, February 25, 2007; Human Rights Watch, *Second Class: Discrimination Against Palestinian Arab Children in Israel's Schools* (New York, September 2001), chap. 8; Frances Raday, "Religion, Multiculturalism and Equality: The Israeli Case," in *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, Vol. 25 (1995), ed. Yoram Dinstein (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996), 193-241; Ahmad H. Sa'di, "Israel as Ethnic Democracy: What Are the Implications for the Palestinian Minority?" *Aral? Studies Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2000); and Sammy Smooha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," *Israel Studies* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1997).
  39. "The Official Summation of the Or Commission Report," published in *Ha'aretz*, September 2, 2003. For evidence of how hostile many Israelis were to the report's findings and recommendations, see "No Avoiding the Commission Recommendations," *Ha'aretz* editorial, September 4, 2003; and Molly Moore, "Israelis Look Inward After Critical Report," *Washington Post*, September 3, 2003. Also see Bernard Avishai, "Saving Israel from Itself: A Secular Future for the Jewish State," *Harper's*, January 2005; Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980); and Chris McGreal, "Worlds Apart," *Guardian*, February 6, 2006.
  40. Roee Nahmias, "Marriage to an Arab Is National Treason," *Ynetnews.com*, March 27, 2007; and Yoav Stern, "Poll: 50% of Israeli Jews Support State-Backed Arab Emigration," *Ha'aretz*, March 27, 2007. For similar results in a 2006 survey, see Eli Ashkenazi and Jack Khoury, "Poll: 68% of Jews Would Refuse to Live in Same Building as an Arab," *Ha'aretz*, March 22, 2006; Chris McGreal, "41% of Israel's Jews Favor Segregation," *Guardian*, March 24, 2006; Sharon Roffe-Ofir, "Poll: Israeli Jews Shun Arabs," *Ynetnews.com*, March 22, 2006; and Kenneth J. Theisen, "Racism Alive and Well in Israel?" Pittsburgh Independent Media Center

(online), June 1, 2006.

41. Israeli Democracy Institute, "The Democracy Index: Major Findings 2003." This summary of the report can be found at [www.idi.org.il/english/article.asp?id=1466](http://www.idi.org.il/english/article.asp?id=1466).
42. According to a 2007 public opinion survey, 63 percent of Israeli Jews oppose including an Arab minister in the cabinet. In 2004, 75 percent opposed the idea, while 60 percent opposed it in 2005 and 2006. Ben Meir and Shaked, "The People Speak," 80. Also see *ibid.*, 22, 79-82; Orly Halpern, "Arab Cabinet Pick Stirs 'Zionism-Racism' Debate," *Forward*, January 19, 2007; Gil Hoffman, "'Majadleh Slot the End of Zionism,'" *Jerusalem Post*, January 10, 2007; Ronny Sofer, "Cabinet Approves First Arab Minister," *Ynetnews.com*, January 28, 2007; and Scott Wilson, "In First, Arab Muslim Joins Israeli Cabinet," *Washington Post*, January 29, 2007.
43. Quoted in Justin Huggler, "Israel Imposes 'Racist' Marriage Law," *Independent*, August 1, 2003. Also see James Bennet, "Israel Blocks Palestinians from Marrying into Residency," *New York Times*, July 31, 2003; "Racist Legislation," *Ha'aretz* editorial, July, 19, 2004; "Racist Legislation," *Ha'aretz* editorial, January 18, 2005; and Shahar Ilan, "Law Denying Family Unification to Israelis and Palestinians Extended," *Ha'aretz*, March 21, 2007. Even the Anti-Defamation League criticized the legislation, albeit mildly. Nathan Guttman, Yair Ettinger, and Sharon Sadeh, "ADL Criticizes Law Denying Citizenship to Palestinians Who Marry Israelis," *Ha'aretz*, August 5, 2003.
44. Quoted in Tovah Tzimuki, "Government Supports Revocation of Citizenship," *Ynetnews.com*, January 8, 2007. Also see Saed Bannoura, "Israeli Knesset Passes Law to Revoke Citizenship of Unpatriotic Israelis," International Middle East Media Center (online), January 10, 2007; Sheera Claire Frenkel, "'Disloyalty' Bill Passes First Hurdle," *Jerusalem Post*, January 10, 2007; Tom Segev, "Conditional Citizenship," *Ha'aretz*, January 11, 2007; and Yuval Yoaz, "Government to Back Bill Allowing Court to Rescind Traitors' Citizenship," *Ha'aretz*, January 7, 2007.
45. Quoted in Larry Derfner, "Rattling the Cage: A Bigot Called Bibi," *Jerusalem Post*, January 3, 2007. Also see Aluf Benn and Gideon Alon, "Netanyahu: Israel's Arabs Are the Real Demographic Threat," *Ha'aretz*, December 18, 2003; Ron Dermer, "The Nerve of Bibi," *Jerusalem Post*, January 9, 2007; Karina's Column (Karina Robinson), "Benjamin Netanyahu: Israel's Prime Minister in Waiting," *Banker* (online), July 1, 2004; and Neta Sela, "Netanyahu: Pensions Cut—Arabs' Birth Rate Declined," *Ynetnews.com*, January 3, 2007.
46. These statements are not isolated examples. In early 2004, for example, Deputy Defense Minister Ze'ev Boim suggested that Palestinian terrorism is due to a "genetic blemish." His views were supported by another member of the Knesset, who said that terrorism is "in their blood," which is why an Arab "will stab you in the back" if you "turn your back" on him. Even Benny Morris, the historian whose earlier scholarship has done so much to reveal Israel's true policies toward the Palestinians, has nonetheless referred to them as "barbarians" who should be treated like "serial killers." Begins comment is from Amnon Kapeliuk, "Begin and the 'Beasts,'" *New Statesman*, June 25, 1982, 12. Eitan's comments are from David K. Shippler, "Most West Bank Arabs Blaming U.S. for Impasse," *New York Times*, April 14, 1983; and Uzi Benziman, *Sharon: An Israeli Caesar* (New York: Adama Books, 1985), 264. Ya'alon's comment is from Ari Shavit, "The Enemy Within," *Ha'aretz*, August 27, 2002. Boim's comment and his supporter's comments are from Yuval Yoaz, "AG: Ethics Committee to Probe Racist Comments Made by MKs," *Ha'aretz*, August 10, 2004. Morris's comment is from Ari Shavit, "Survival of the Fittest," *Ha'aretz*, January 9, 2004.
47. Larry Derfner, "Rattling the Cage: The Racism of Israeli Youth," *Jerusalem Post*, January 17, 2007. Also see Ahiya Raved, "Youth Believe Arabs Dirty, Uneducated," *Ynetnews.com*, January 9, 2007.
48. Quoted in Ben Lynfield, "The Rise of Avigdor Lieberman," *Nation*, December 14, 2006. Also see Uri Avnery, "The Lovable Man"? Lieberman and the Decline of Israeli Democracy," *Antiwar.com*, November 3, 2006; Akiva Eldar, "Let's Hear It for the Haiders," *Ha'aretz*, October 30, 2006; Leonard Fein, "The Fantasies of Avigdor Lieberman," *Forward*, October 20, 2006; Gershom Gorenberg, "The Minister for National Fears," *Atlantic*, May 2007; and Henry Siegman, "Hurricane Carter," *Nation*, January 22, 2007. Effi Eitam, the former head of the National Religious party, and Rehavam Ze'evi, an Israeli general who founded the right-wing Mokedet party, were the previous government ministers who spoke out in favor of transfer.
49. "The Democracy Index: Major Findings 2003"; Yulie Khromchenko, "Survey: Most Jewish Israelis Support Transfer of Arabs," *Ha'aretz*, June 22, 2004; Yoav Stern, "Poll: Most Israeli Jews Say Israeli Arabs Should Emigrate," *Ha'aretz*, April 4, 2005; McGreal, "41% of Israel's Jews"; Amiram Barkat and Jack Khoury, "Poll: Gov't Should Help Arab Citizens Emigrate," *Ha'aretz*, May 10, 2006; and Roffe-Ofir, "Poll." Also see Uzi Arad, "Swap Meet: Trading Land for Peace," *New Republic*, November 28 and December 5, 2005; Amnon Barzilai, "More Israeli Jews Favor Transfer of Palestinians, Israeli Arabs—Poll Finds," *Ha'aretz*, October 10, 2005; Arik Carmon, "A Blot on Israeli Democracy," *Ha'aretz*, December 12, 2005; Evelyn Gordon, "No Longer the Political Fringe," *Jerusalem Post*, September 14, 2006; Ben Lynfield, "Israeli Expulsion Idea Gains Steam," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 6, 2002; Stern, "Poll: 50% of Israeli Jews"; Matthew Wagner, "New Proposal: Transfer-for-Cash Plan," *Jerusalem Post*, January 21, 2007; and Steven I. Weiss, "Israeli Rightist Calls for Transfer of Arabs," *Forward*, September 15, 2006.
50. BTselem, "The Scope of Israeli Control in the Gaza Strip," [www.btselem.org/english/Gaza\\_Strip/Gaza\\_Status.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/Gaza_Strip/Gaza_Status.asp); David Sharrock, "Israel's 'Invisible Hand' Still Controls Gaza, Says Report," *Times* (London), January 15, 2007; and Scott Wilson, "For Gaza, a Question of Responsibility," *Washington Post*, March 21, 2007.
51. Jan Egeland and Jan Eliasson, "La catastrophe humaine de Gaza est une bombe a retardement," *Figaro* (online), September 28, 2006. Also see Steven Erlanger, "As Parents Go Unpaid, Gaza Children Go Hungry," *New York Times*, September 14, 2006; Steven Erlanger, "Years of Strife and Lost Hope Scar Young Palestinians," *New York Times*, March 12, 2007; Donald Macintyre, "Gaza in Danger of Turning into a 'Giant Prison,' Says Mideast Envoy," *Independent*, November 14, 2005; Rory McCarthy, "Occupied Gaza Like Apartheid South Africa, Says UN Report," *Guardian*, February 23, 2007; Sara Roy, "The Economy of Gaza," *Znet* (online), October 9, 2006; Mohammed Samhoury, "Looking Beyond the Numbers: The Palestinian Socioeconomic Crisis of 2006," Middle East Brief no. 16, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, February 2007; United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), "Statement on Gaza by United Nations Humanitarian Agencies Working in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," August 3, 2006; and OCHA, "The Humanitarian Monitor: Occupied Palestinian Territory," no. 10, February 2007.
52. "Making the Law a Laughingstock," *Ha'aretz* editorial, December 31, 2006.
53. Steven Erlanger, "West Bank Sites on Private Land, Data Shows," *New York Times*, March 14, 2007; Nadav Shragai, "Peace Now:

32% of Land Held for Settlements Is Private Property," *Ha'aretz*, March 14, 2007. Also see Greg Myre, "For West Bank, It's a Highway to Frustration," *New York Times*, November 18, 2006; and "Legitimization of Land Theft," *Ha'aretz* editorial, February 27, 2007.

54. The first wave of European Jews to come to Palestine is known as the First Aliyah, and it covers the years from 1882 to 1903. There were slightly more than fifteen thousand Jews in Palestine in 1882 according to the Ottoman census. Justin McCarthy, *The Population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 10-13, has excellent data for the years from 1850 to 1915. However, McCarthy's numbers, which are based on Ottoman census figures, exclude "an unknown number of Jewish immigrants who had kept their original citizenship." He notes further that "there would have been relatively few non-citizen Jews at that early date" and estimates the number as "perhaps one to two thousand." Thus the upper bound is probably seventeen thousand Jews in Palestine in 1882. Also see Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 124.
55. The total population of Palestine in 1893 was roughly 530,000, of whom about 19,000 (3.6 percent) were Jewish. Arabs comprised the vast majority of the remaining population. McCarthy, *Population of Palestine*, 10.
56. This issue was revisited in the mid-1980s when Joan Peters published *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine* (New York: Harper, 1984). She claimed that when the Jews began arriving in Palestine from Europe, there were far fewer Arabs there than the conventional wisdom maintained, and that the Arabs moved to Palestine in large numbers only after the Jews began to develop the land. Peters's book was enthusiastically endorsed by a large number of prominent American Jews. However, shortly after its publication, a number of scholars showed that not only was *From Time Immemorial* based on a "highly tendentious use—or neglect—of the available source material," but its core thesis was dead wrong. Yehoshua Porath, "Mrs. Peters's Palestine," *New York Review of Books*, January 16, 1986. In a conversation with the *New York Times*, Porath, a distinguished Israeli historian, said that Peters's book was "a sheer forgery" and that in Israel it "was almost universally dismissed as sheer rubbish except maybe as a propaganda weapon." Colin Campbell, "Dispute Flares over Book on Claims to Palestine," *New York Times*, November 28, 1985. Also see Norman G. Finkelstein, *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (London: Verso, 2001), chap. 2.
57. Laurence J. Silberstein, *The Postzionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 51.
58. Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 9.
59. There were about 1.2 million Palestinians in addition to the 650,000 Jews living in Palestine in 1948, which translates into a population that was 65 percent Palestinian and 35 percent Jewish. See Morris, *1948 and After*, 14. Flapan uses population figures in which the Jews are 33 percent of the population (*Birth of Israel*, 44), while Morris uses 37 percent in *Righteous Victims* (186).
60. Some believe that Ben-Gurion and his followers had less ambitious territorial goals than Revisionists like Vladimir Jabotinsky. But as Avi Shlaim makes clear, "The difference between [Ben-Gurion] and the Revisionists was not that he was a territorial minimalist while they were territorial maximalists, but rather that he pursued a gradualist strategy while they adhered to an all-or-nothing approach." Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 21. The Zionists were careful not to say much in public about their ultimate goals in Palestine, for fear it would anger the Arabs and the British and undermine their enterprise. Nevertheless, Ben-Gurion laid out his vision of what the borders of Israel would look like in a coauthored book that was written in Yiddish and published in the United States in 1918. In addition to what is today Israel, Ben-Gurion's vision included the Occupied Territories, southern Lebanon up to the Litani River, part of southern Syria, a large part of Jordan, and the Sinai Peninsula. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 75.
61. Flapan, *Birth of Israel*, 103-104; and Morris, *Birth Revisited*, 69.
62. These quotes are from Flapan, *Birth of Israel*, 22; and Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 21. For a more detailed discussion of the early Zionists' thinking about partition, see Mearsheimer and Walt, "Setting the Record Straight," 33-37.
63. Uri Ben-Eliezer, *The Making of Israeli Militarism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 150.
64. Avi Shlaim, *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine, 1921-1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Also see Morris, *1948 and After*, 10; Benny Morris, *The Road to Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002); Ilan Pappé, *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1951* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); and Mary C. Wilson, *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
65. Benny Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," in *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 40. Also see Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 33-34; and Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 25.
66. Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992); Morris, *Birth Revisited*, chap. 2; and Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus," 39-48.
67. Quoted in Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 128. Also see Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 140, 142, 168-69. Ben-Gurion's statement is from a memorandum he wrote prior to the Extraordinary Zionist Conference at New York's Biltmore Hotel in May 1942.
68. Quoted in Michael Bar-Zohar, *Facing a Cruel Mirror: Israel's Moment of Truth* (New York: Scribner, 1990), 16.
69. Quoted in Shavit, "Survival of the Fittest." Also see Benny Morris, "A New Exodus for the Middle East?" *Guardian*, October 3, 2002. Ben-Gurion told the Central Committee of the Histadrut on December 30, 1947: "In the area allocated to the Jewish state there are not more than 520,000 Jews and about 350,000 non-Jews, mostly Arabs. Together with the Jews of Jerusalem, the total population of the Jewish state at the time of its establishment, will be about a million, including almost 40 percent non-Jews. Such a [population] composition does not provide a stable basis for a Jewish state. This [demographic] fact must be viewed in all its clarity and acuteness. With such a [population] composition, there cannot even be absolute certainty that control will remain in the hands of the Jewish majority . . . There can be no stable and strong Jewish state so long as it has a Jewish majority of only 60 percent." Quoted in Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, 176.
70. Quoted in Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 169.
71. Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus," 43-44.
72. Morris's *Birth Revisited* and Pappé's *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* provide detailed accounts of this event. Also see Meron Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*, trans. Maxine Kaufman-Lacusta (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), chaps. 3-4; and Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*, chap. 5. Morris notes that "the haphazard thinking about transfer before 1937 and the virtual consensus in support of the notion from 1937 on contributed to what happened in 1948 in the sense that they conditioned the Zionist leadership, and below it, the officials and officers who managed

the new state's civilian and military agencies, for the transfer that took place. To one degree or another, these men all arrived at 1948, in no small measure owing to the continuous anti-Zionist Arab violence which played out against the growing persecution of Diaspora Jewry in central and eastern Europe, with a mindset which was open to the idea and implementation of transfer and expulsion. And the transfer that occurred—which encountered almost no serious opposition from any part of the Yishuv—transpired smoothly in large measure because of this pre-conditioning.” Morris, “Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus,” 48.

73. Erskine Childers, “The Other Exodus,” *Spectator*, May 12, 1961; Flapan, *Birth of Israel*, 81-118; Walid Khalidi, “Why Did the Palestinians Leave Revisited,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 2 (Winter 2005); Walid Khalidi, “The Fall of Haifa,” *Middle East Forum* 35, no. 10 (December, 1959); Morris, *Birth Revisited*; and Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, 131. To be sure, some Arab commanders did instruct Palestinian civilians to evacuate their homes during the fighting, either to make sure that they did not get caught in a firefight or to ensure that they were not killed by the Zionist forces engaged in ethnically cleansing Palestinians. Fear of death at the hands of the Jews was an especially powerful motive to evacuate villages after the infamous massacre at Deir Yassin, where about 100 to 110 Palestinians were murdered on April 9, 1948. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 209. As Morris reports, “The IDF Intelligence Service called Deir Yassin a decisive accelerating factor’ in the general Arab exodus.” *Righteous Victims*, 209. Orders to evacuate of this kind are not related to the myth of a voluntary or elite-directed evacuation. See Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 43-44.
74. Quoted in Morris, *Birth Revisited*, 318. For more detail on the Zionists’ opposition to allowing the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, see *ibid.*, chap. 5.
75. Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies, 1983), 143.
76. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, xiii. Also see Walid Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), which identifies the number of villages destroyed as 418, not 531. The difference in the number is a result of varying definitions of what constituted a Palestinian village. Pappe and several other Palestinian historians include some smaller communities in their count of villages, while Khalidi excludes them. Correspondence between authors and Ilan Pappe, May 15, 2007.
77. Quoted in Khalidi, *All That Remains*, xxxi.
78. Quoted in Nahum Goldmann, *The Jewish Paradox*, trans. Steve Cox (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), 99.
79. Quoted in Ian Lustick, “To Build and to Be Built By: Israel and the Hidden Logic of the Iron Wall,” *Israel Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 200.
80. Quoted in Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 12.
81. Geoffrey Aronson, *Israel, Palestinians, and the Intifada: Creating Facts on the West Bank* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1990); Amnon Barzilai, “A Brief History of the Missed Opportunity,” *Ha’aretz*, June 5, 2002; Amnon Barzilai, “Some Saw the Refugees as the Key to Peace,” *Ha’aretz*, June 11, 2002; Moshe Behar, “The Peace Process and Israeli Domestic Politics in the 1990s,” *Socialism and Democracy* 16, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2002); Jimmy Carter, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Adam Hanieh and Catherine Cook, “A Road Map to the Oslo Cul-de-Sac,” *Middle East Report Online*, May 15, 2003; “Israel’s Interests Take Primacy: An Interview with Dore Gold,” in *hitterlemons.org*, “What Constitutes a Viable Palestinian State?” March 15, 2004, edition 10; Baruch Kimmerling, *Politicide: The Real Legacy of Ariel Sharon* (London: Verso, 2003); Nur Masalha, *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); Tanya Reinhart, *The Road Map to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine Since 2003* (London: Verso, 2006); Sara Roy, “Erasing the ‘Optics’ of Gaza,” *Daily Star* (online), February 14, 2004; and “36 Years, and Still Counting,” *Ha’aretz*, September 26, 2003.
82. Quoted in Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 147. Meir also said, “It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist.” Quoted in Masalha, *Imperial Israel*, 47.
83. Dayan quoted in Benny Morris, *Israel’s Border Wars, 1949-1956* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 12. Regarding the views of other IDF generals, see *ibid.* On Ben-Gurion’s thinking, see Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 261, 290.
84. Morris, *Israel’s Border Wars*, 11.
85. Quoted in Hanieh and Cook, “Road Map.” Also see Akiva Eldar, “On the Same Page, Ten Years On,” *Ha’aretz*, November 5, 2005; David Grossman, “The Night Our Hope for Peace Died,” *Guardian*, November 4, 2005; and Michael Jansen, “A Practice That ‘Prevents the Emergence of a Palestinian State,’” *Jordan Times* (online), November 10, 2005. Shlomo Ben-Ami makes it clear that not only Rabin but also his immediate successor, Shimon Peres, was opposed to creating a Palestinian state. *Scars of War*, 220. Finally, a clear majority of Israelis were opposed to creating a Palestinian state during Rabin’s tenure as prime minister (1992-95). It was not until 1997 that at least half of Israeli Jews supported the establishment of a Palestinian state. At the time of the 1993 Oslo Accords, 35 percent favored creating a Palestinian state. Ben Meir and Shaked, “The People Speak,” 64-65.
86. Hillary Clinton quoted in Tom Rhodes and Christopher Walker, “Congress Tells Israel to Reject Clinton’s Pullout Plan,” *Times* (London), May 8, 1998. On the White House response, see James Bennet, “Aides Disavow Mrs. Clinton on Mideast,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1998. Also see Robin Dorf, “News Analysis: What Motivated Hillary’s Call for a Palestinian State?” *JTA.org*, May 15, 1998; “Hillary’s Folly,” *Jewish Week* editorial, May 15, 1998; and Brian Knowlton, “Mrs. Clinton Starts Storm by Backing ‘Palestine,’” *International Herald Tribune*, May 8, 1998.
87. “Ex-PM Shamir Objects to Palestinian State, but Still Supports Sharon,” *Ha’aretz*, November 26, 2002; Benjamin Netanyahu, “A Limited Palestinian State,” *Washington Post*, June 20, 2003. In a 1998 interview, Shamir said that Israel’s boundaries ran “from the border of the kingdom of Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea” and said the “greatest danger” facing Israel was “the establishment of a Palestinian state in Israel.” See “Yitzhak Shamir: A Lifetime of Activism,” *Middle East Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (June 1999).
88. In a speech in October 2005, President Ahmadinejad reportedly called for Israel to be “wiped off the map,” a statement widely interpreted as threatening the physical destruction of the Jewish state and its inhabitants. A more accurate translation of Ahmadinejad’s statement is “the occupation regime over Jerusalem should vanish from the page of time” (or alternatively, “be eliminated from the pages of history”). Instead of calling for the physical destruction of Israel, Ahmadinejad was suggesting that Israel’s control over Jerusalem and Palestine should be seen as a temporary condition that should be reversed, like Soviet control of Eastern Europe or the shah’s regime in Iran. While still provocative and highly objectionable, calling for the political dismantlement of the Jewish state in Palestine is not the same as

- calling for the physical destruction of Israel or its population. See Ethan Bronner, "Just How Far Did They Go, Those Words Against Israel?" *New York Times*, June 11, 2006; Jonathan Steele, "Lost in Translation," *Guardian*, June 14, 2006; and "Iranian President at Tehran Conference: Very Soon, This Stain of Disgrace [i.e., Israel] Will Be Purged from the Center of the Islamic World—and This Is Attainable," Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch Series no. 1013, October 28, 2005.
89. "Bombs," *New Republic* editorial, August 27 & September 3, 2001; Martin Peretz, "Good Fight," *New Republic*, May 27, 2002; and Martin Peretz, "Blows to Israel Must Never Go Unanswered," *Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 2003. Regarding Dershowitz, his most relevant work is *The Case for Israel* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2003). For an incisive critique of that book, see Norman G. Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). Also see Michael Desch, "The Chutzpah of Alan Dershowitz," *American Conservative*, December 5, 2005; and "Dershowitz v. Desch," *American Conservative*, January 16, 2006.
90. Yaakov Katz, "IDF the Most Moral Army in the World," *Jerusalem Post*, June 11, 2006; Leslie Susser, "Israelis Question Army Morality," *Jewishjournal.com*, December 17, 2004; and "Cabinet Communique," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 12, 2004, [www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2004/Cabinet%20Communique%2012-Dec-2004](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Communiques/2004/Cabinet%20Communique%2012-Dec-2004). Also see Richard Cohen, "Truth Massacred," *Washington Post*, August 6, 2002; and Neve Gordon, "Israel's Slippery Moral Slope," *In These Times* (online), January 31, 2003.
91. Meron Benvenisti, "The Model of the Mythological Sabra," *Ha'aretz*, September 12, 2002.
92. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, chaps. 2-5.
93. Quoted in Shabtai Tevet, *Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground, 1886-1948* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 544.
94. Morris, *Birth Revisited*. Many Israeli documents concerning the events of 1948 remain classified; Morris anticipates "that with respect to both expulsions and atrocities, we can expect additional revelations as the years pass and more Israeli records become available." Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus," 49. In fact, he maintains that the reported cases of rape he knows about are "just the tip of the iceberg." See Shavit, "Survival of the Fittest."
95. Quoted in Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, 69. For background on Ben-Gurion's comment, see *ibid.*, 61-72.
96. Morris, *Israel's Border Wars*, 432. Also see *ibid.*, 126-53, 178-84.
97. Gabby Bron, "Egyptian POWs Ordered to Dig Graves, Then Shot by Israeli Army," *Yedioth Ahronoth*, August 17, 1995; Ronal Fisher, "Mass Murder in the 1956 Sinai War," *Ma'ariv*, August 8, 1995 (copies of these two pieces can be found in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25, no. 3 [Spring 1996]: 148-55); Galal Bana, "Egypt: We Will Turn to the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague If Israel Will Not Compensate Murdered Prisoners of War," *Ha'aretz*, July 24, 2002; Zehavit Friedman, "Personal Reminiscence: Remembering Ami Kronfeld," in *Jewish Voice for Peace, Jewish Peace News* (online), September 25, 2005; Katherine M. Metres, "As Evidence Mounts, Toll of Israeli Prisoner of War Massacres Grows," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (online), February/March 1996; Roe Nahmias, "Egypt May Petition Hague over 'Murder of POWs,'" *Ynetnews.com*, March 6, 2007; Roe Nahmias, "Former Meretz Leader Decries 1967 War Crimes," *Ynetnews.com*, March 3, 2007; Meron Rapoport, "Into the Valley of Death," *Ha'aretz*, February 13, 2007; and Segev, *1967*, 371-76.
98. Avnery, "Crying Wolf?" *CounterPunch.org*, March 15, 2003; Robert Blecher, "Living on the Edge: The Threat of 'Transfer in Israel and Palestine,'" *MERIP, Middle East Report Online* 225 (Winter 2002); Kimmerling, *Politicide*, 28. Also see Noam Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999), 97; Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 328-29; Tanya Reinhart, *Israel/Palestine: How to End the War of 1948* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), 8; Tom Segev, "The Spirit of the King David Hotel," *Ha'aretz*, July 23, 2006; and Segev, *1967*, 400-12, 523-42. Morris reports that 120,000 Palestinians applied to return to their homes right after the 1967 war, but Israel allowed only about 17,000 to come back. *Righteous Victims*, 329. 99. Avnery, "Crying Wolf?"; Ami Kronfeld, "Avnery on Ethnic Cleansing and a Personal Note," in *Jewish Voice for Peace, Jewish Peace News* (online), March 17, 2003; and Metres, "As Evidence Mounts."
100. Danny Rubinstein, "Roads, Fences and Outposts Maintain Control in the Territories," *Ha'aretz*, August 12, 2003.
101. "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut," February 7, 1983. The report is commonly called "the Kahan Commission Report" after its chairman, Yitzhak Kahan. Also see Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 542-49; and Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 415-17. Israeli soldiers did not do the killing at Sabra and Shatila; it was done by a Lebanese Christian militia (Phalangists) allied with Israel. After the IDF encircled the two Palestinian refugee camps, Sharon "ordered the IDF to allow the Phalangists to enter the . . . camps." The Phalangists and the Palestinians were not only bitter enemies, but the Phalangists were bent on revenge because their leader had just been assassinated. They were almost certain to massacre the Palestinians, a point that Israeli leaders involved in the operation knew or should have known. Once the killing started, Israeli soldiers quickly became aware that a massacre was taking place "but did nothing to stop it." Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 416. President Bush has hailed former prime minister Ariel Sharon as a "man of peace," but questions concerning violence against civilians have dogged him for years. For example, in 1953, he commanded a unit that attacked the Jordanian town of Qibya and killed sixty-nine civilians; two-thirds of them were women and children. According to Benny Morris, "Sharon and the IDF subsequently claimed the villagers had hidden in cellars and attics and the troops had been unaware of this when they blew up the buildings. But in truth the troops had moved from house to house, firing through windows and doorways, and Jordanian pathologists reported that most of the dead had been killed by bullets and shrapnel rather than by falling masonry or explosions. In any event, the operational orders, from CO Central Command to the units involved . . . had explicitly ordered 'destruction and maximum killing.'" *Righteous Victims*, 278. Also see *ibid.*, 276-79, 294-95, 494-560; Benziman, *Sharon*; Uzi Benziman, "The Cock's Arrogance," *Ha'aretz*, June 15, 2003; Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), chaps. 6-7; Kimmerling, *Politicide*; Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, *Israel's Lebanon War*, trans. Ina Friedman (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 250-85; and Shlaim, *Iron Wall*, 90-92, 149-50, 384-423.
102. Perry Anderson, "Scurrying Towards Bethlehem," *New Left Review* 10 (July-August 2001): 5.
103. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 341. For a detailed account of how Israel treats the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, see Amira Hass, *Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land*, ed. and trans. Rachel Leah Jones (Los Angeles: Semiotext (e), 2003). On Israel's use of torture, see B'Tselem and Hamoked (Center for the Defense of the Individual), "Utterly Forbidden: The Torture and Ill-Treatment of Palestinian Detainees," draft report, Jerusalem, April 2007; Glenn Frankel, "Prison Tactics a Longtime Dilemma for Israel," *Washington Post*, June 16, 2004; Ron Kampeas, "State Report Claims Israel Tortures Palestinian Detainees," *JTA.org*, March 8, 2007; Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, "'Ticking Bombs': Testimonies of Torture Victims in Israel," draft report, Jerusalem, May 2007; William F. Schulz, "An Israeli Interrogator, and a Tale of Torture," letter to

- New York Times*, December 27, 2004; and Aviram Zino, "Report: High Court Permits Torture of Palestinians," *Ynetnews.com*, May 30, 2007. Israel has also been accused by B'Tselem of using Palestinian children as human shields. See "Israeli Soldiers Use Palestinian Minors and an Adult as Human Shields in the Operation in Nablus," B'Tselem news release, Jerusalem, March 8, 2007.
104. The data and the quotes in this paragraph and the next one are from Swedish Save the Children, "The Status of Palestinian Children During the Uprising in the Occupied Territories," Excerpted Summary Material, Jerusalem, January 1990, in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, no. 4 (Summer 1990): 136-46. Also see Joshua Brilliant, "Officer Tells Court Villagers Were Bound, Gagged and Beaten. 'Not Guilty' Plea at 'Break Bones' Trial," *Jerusalem Post*, March 30, 1990; Joshua Brilliant, "'Rabin Ordered Beatings,' Meir Tells Military Court," *Jerusalem Post*, June 22, 1990; Jackson Diehl, "Rights Group Accuses Israel of Violence Against Children in Palestinian Uprising," *Washington Post*, May 17, 1990; James A. Graff, "Crippling a People: Palestinian Children and Israeli State Violence," *Alif* 13 (1993); Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 586-95; and Ronald R. Stockton, "Intifada Deaths," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, no. 4 (Summer 1990).
  105. "Unbridled Force," *Ha'aretz* editorial, March 16, 2003. For other evidence, see Jonathan Cook, "Impunity on Both Sides of the Green Line," MERIP, *Middle East Report Online*, November 23, 2005; "When Everything Is Permissible," *Ha'aretz* editorial, June 6, 2005; "It Can Happen Here," *Ha'aretz* editorial, November 22, 2004; Chris McGreal, "Snipers with Children in Their Sights," *Guardian*, June 28, 2005; Chris McGreal, "Israel Shocked by Image of Soldiers Forcing Violinist to Play at Roadblock," *Guardian*, November 29, 2004; Greg Myre, "Former Israeli Soldiers Tell of Harassment of Palestinians," *New York Times*, June 24, 2004; Reuven Pedatzur, "The Message to the Soldiers Was Clear," *Ha'aretz*, December 13, 2004; and Conal Urquhart, "Israeli Soldiers Tell of Indiscriminate Killings by Army and a Culture of Impunity," *Guardian*, September 6, 2005.
  106. Reuven Pedatzur, "More than a Million Bullets," *Ha'aretz*, June 29, 2004; and Clayton E. Swisher, *The Truth About Camp David: The Untold Story About the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process* (New York: Nation Books, 2004), 387-88.
  107. These figures cover the period between September 29, 2000, and December 31, 2005, and are taken from B'Tselem press release, January 4, 2006.
  108. Nathan Guttman, "'It's a Terrible Thing, Living with the Knowledge That You Crushed Our Daughter,'" *Ha'aretz*, April 30, 2004; Joshua Hammer, "The Death of Rachel Corrie," *MotherJones.com*, September/October 2003; Adam Shapiro, "Remembering Rachel Corrie," *Nation*, March 18, 2004; and Tsahar Rotem, "British Peace Activist Shot by IDF Troops in Gaza Strip," *Ha'aretz*, April 11, 2003.
  109. Amnesty International reports that since the Second Intifada began in the fall of 2000, "Israeli authorities have routinely failed to investigate allegations of unlawful killings and other abuses of Palestinians by Israeli forces and settlers . . . Israeli forces have killed thousands of Palestinians, many of them unlawfully, yet scarcely any such incidents have been investigated properly and fewer still have resulted in the perpetrator being brought to justice . . . In the very few cases in which the Israeli authorities have conducted serious investigations into killings of Palestinians, resulting prosecutions have generally been unsuccessful or have resulted in the imposition of sentences that were not commensurate with the gravity of the offense." Amnesty International, "Road to Nowhere," December 2006, 27-28.
  110. For a detailed discussion of Israeli behavior toward the Palestinians that makes extensive use of reports from different human rights groups, see Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah*, chaps. 4-9.
  111. Quoted in Molly Moore, "Ex-Security Chiefs Turn on Sharon," *Washington Post*, November 15, 2003; "Ex-Shin Bet Heads Warn of Catastrophe Without Peace Deal," *Ha'aretz*, November 15, 2003. These comments were based on an interview in the Israeli newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth* on November 14, 2003. A copy of the interview, titled "We Are Seriously Concerned About the Fate of the State of Israel," can be found on the Global Policy Forum website, [www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/israel-palestine/2003/1118fate.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/israel-palestine/2003/1118fate.htm).
  112. For example, B'Tselem reported that "in July [2006], the Israeli military killed 163 Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, 78 of whom (48 percent) were not taking part in the hostilities when they were killed. Thirty-six of the fatalities were minors, and 20 were women. In the West Bank, 15 Palestinians were killed by Israeli forces in July. The number of Palestinian fatalities in July was the highest in any month since April 2002." August 3, 2006, press release, [www.btselem.org/english/Press\\_Releases/20060803.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/Press_Releases/20060803.asp). Amnesty International reports that from June 27, 2006, the date the IDF moved back into Gaza, through the end of November 2006, Israeli forces "killed more than 400 Palestinians and injured more than 1500 others in the Gaza Strip, including many unarmed civilians. Some 80 of those killed were children and more than 300 children were injured. In the same period, two Israeli civilians were killed and some 20 were injured in the south of Israel by rockets fired by Palestinian armed groups from Gaza." "Road to Nowhere," 8-9.
  113. Quoted in Rory McCarthy, "UN Condemns Massive Human Rights Abuses in Gaza Strip," *Guardian*, November 21, 2006. For descriptions of the pain that the IDF has inflicted on the Palestinians living in Gaza, see Amnesty International, "Road to Nowhere," 7-13; Gideon Levy, "Gaza's Darkness," *Ha'aretz*, September 3, 2006; and OCHA, "The Humanitarian Monitor."
  114. Quoted in Bill Maxwell, "U.S. Should Reconsider Aid to Israel," *St. Petersburg Times* (online), December 16, 2001. Also see Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 37.
  115. Indeed, had Israel lost the Six-Day War in 1967 and some Arab ruler kept its population subjugated in the same conditions that the Palestinians have endured, the Israelis would almost certainly have used terrorism against their oppressors, and some Jews in the diaspora almost certainly would have mobilized to aid them, just as Irish Americans and overseas Tamils have backed terrorist groups in their ancestral homelands.
  116. Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 147, 201. Also see Lenni Brenner, *The Iron Wall: Zionist Revisionism from Jabotinsky to Shamir* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 100; and Yehoshua Porath, *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: From Riots to Rebellion*, Vol. 2, 1929-1939 (London: Frank Cass, 1977), 238. Morris notes that during the 1948 war, the main Jewish terrorist groups "knowingly planted bombs in bus stops with the aim of killing non-combatants, including women and children." *Birth Revisited*, 80.
  117. J. Bowyer Bell, *Terror Out of Zion: The Fight for Israeli Independence 1929-1949* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 103-253; Johann Hari, "Israel Should Remember Its Own 'Terrorist' Origins," *Independent*, July 24, 2006; Joseph Heller, *The Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics and Terror, 1940-1949* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995); Bruce Hoffmann, *The Failure of British Military Strategy Within Palestine, 1939-1947* (Israel: Bar-Ilan University, 1983); Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 173-80; and Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*, trans. Haim Watzman (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), chap. 22. According to Haim Levenberg, 210 of the 429 casualties from Jewish terrorism in Palestine during 1946 were civilians. The



- other 219 were police and soldiers. See Levenberg, *Military Preparations*, 72.
118. Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, 336-40.
  119. Quoted in Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, 485-86; and Bell, *Terror Out of Zion*, 340. On Shamir, see Avishai Margalit, "The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir," *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992. Shamir also said that his "proudest achievement" was "when, thanks to our efforts, we were able to fully unite all the underground groups fighting for the liberation of Israel." See "Shamir: Lifetime of Activism."
  120. Barzilai, "Brief History."
  121. "Palestinian Authority," *New Republic* editorial, February 18, 2002, 7.
  122. The most objective accounts of what happened at Camp David and in the subsequent six months include Charles Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams: The Failure of the Peace Process in the Middle East, 1995-2002*, trans. Susan Fairfield (New York: Other Press, 2003); Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003); Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba"; Jerome Slater, "What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 2 (July 2001); Deborah Sontag, "Quest for Mideast Peace: How and Why It Failed," *New York Times*, July 26, 2001; and Swisher, *Truth About Camp David*.
  123. The figures in this paragraph and the next one are drawn from Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 16-18. Barak's offer also included a 1 percent land swap outside the West Bank, so some commentators describe his offer as being 92 percent rather than 91 percent.
  124. The original territory assigned to Britain in the treaties that ended World War I included the east and west banks of the Jordan River. But in 1922, Britain created Transjordan (which later became Jordan) on the east bank. Henceforth, the British Mandate in Palestine included the territory that today comprises Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. When we refer to Mandate Palestine, we mean the post-1922 territories, of which Israel makes up 78 percent and the Occupied Territories 22 percent.
  125. Describing a lengthy interview with Ehud Barak about what happened at Camp David, Benny Morris writes: "But in the West Bank, Barak says, the Palestinians were promised a continuous piece of sovereign territory except for a razor-thin Israeli wedge running from Jerusalem through from Maale Adumim to the Jordan River." Benny Morris, "Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak)," *New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002, 44. Also see the map in Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba," 46. For the Palestinian version of what the map looked like, see Orient House (Jerusalem), "Israel's Concessions," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 2000; and the map titled "Palestinian Characterization of the Final Proposal at Camp David," in Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004). Contrary to both Barak and the Palestinians, Ross claims that the final map at Camp David gave the Palestinians control over a continuous piece of territory in the West Bank. See "Map Reflecting Actual Proposal at Camp David," *ibid.* Ross's assertion is not plausible, however, as even Barak admits that an Israeli-controlled road connecting Jerusalem with the Jordan River Valley would have bisected the West Bank. As long as Israel controlled that strategically important valley, it would need to be able to reach it with at least one well-defended connector road. Whereas Barak envisioned one connector road running eastward from Jerusalem, the Palestinians apparently envisioned a second one running eastward from the Ariel settlement to the Jordan River Valley. One might argue that the Israelis would eventually abandon those connector roads when they surrendered the Jordan River Valley. As noted, however, there was no guarantee that the Israelis would ever leave that valley, and even if they did, there was no guarantee that they would abandon the connector roads. The main reason for this continuing confusion about what the final map at Camp David looked like is that no official map was ever drawn up and, "at Barak's insistence, no written records were kept." Jerome Slater, "The Missing Pieces in the Missing Peace," *Tikkun.org*, May/June 2005.
  126. Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 18.
  127. Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams*, 243-51; Slater, "What Went Wrong?"; and Sontag, "Quest for Mideast Peace."
  128. Quoted in "Norman Finkelstein & Former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami Debate: Complete Transcript," *Democracy Now!* radio and TV broadcast, February 14, 2006.
  129. There is no evidence that Arafat started the First Intifada either. See Morris, *Righteous Victims*, 561. "The main energizing force of the Intifada," Morris writes, "was the frustration of the national aspirations of the 650,000 inhabitants of the Gaza Strip, 900,000 of the West Bank, and 130,000 of East Jerusalem, who wanted to live in a Palestinian state and not as stateless inhabitants under a brutal, foreign military occupation." *Ibid.*, 562.
  130. Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams*, 284-85.
  131. Quoted in Jeremy Pressman, "The Second Intifada: Background and Causes of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Studies* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 116. Also see Yezid Sayigh, "Arafat and the Anatomy of a Revolt," *Survival* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001); Henry Siegman, "Partners for War," *New York Review of Books*, January 16, 2003, 24; Henry Siegman, "Sharon and the Future of Palestine," *New York Review of Books*, December 2, 2004, 12; and Slater, "Missing Pieces."
  132. Sharm El-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee, *Final Report*, April 30, 2001, 7.
  133. *Ibid.*, 5.
  134. Ian S. Lustick, "Through Blood and Fire Shall Peace Arise," *Tikkun.org*, May/June 2002; Pressman, "The Second Intifada"; Mouin Rabbani, "A Smorgasbord of Failure: Oslo and the Al-Aqsa Intifada," in *The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid*, ed. Roane Carey (London: Verso, 2001), 69-89; Sara Roy, "Why Peace Failed: An Oslo Autopsy," *Current History* 101, no. 651 (January 2002); and Sara Roy, "Ending the Palestinian Economy," *Middle East Policy* 9, no. 4 (December 2002).
  135. Ben-Ami, *Scars of War*, 264.
  136. Roy, "Why Peace Failed," 9.
  137. Ron Dudai, "Trigger Happy: Unjustified Shooting and Violation of the Open-Fire Regulations During the al-Aqsa Intifada," B'Tselem draft report, March 2002.
  138. Yasser Arafat, "The Palestinian Vision of Peace," *New York Times*, February 3, 2002; Yasser Arafat, text of press conference, Geneva, December 14, 1988, in *Journal of Palestine Studies* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1989): 180-81; "Palestinians Affirm Israel's Right to Exist," *CNN.com*, December 14, 1998; Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 24-27; Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Jerome M. Segal, *Creating the Palestinian State: A Strategy for Peace* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1989), chap. 1. One might argue that Arafat's commitment to the right of return for the Palestinians reveals that he was still bent on destroying Israel. But Arafat surely recognized that Israeli leaders would never agree to a peace settlement that would allow large numbers of Palestinians to move back into

- Israel. At the same time, however, it made good sense for Arafat not to soften his position on right of return before the negotiations, so that he could use this issue as a bargaining chip. Not surprisingly, there is considerable evidence that Palestinian leaders (including Arafat before he died) recognize that they will have to make major concessions on this important issue to get a final agreement. See Akiva Eldar and David Landau, "Arafat: Israel Is Jewish; Won't Cite Figure on Refugees," *Ha'aretz*, June 18, 2004; Associated Press, "PA Minister Shaath: Palestinian Right of Return Is Negotiable," *Ha'aretz*, August 20, 2003; Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 28-33; and M. J. Rosenberg, "Intractable Issue?" Weekly Opinion Column, Issue #144, Israel Policy Forum, Washington, DC, July 18, 2003.
139. Akiva Eldar, "Popular Misconceptions," *Ha'aretz*, June 11, 2004; Akiva Eldar, "While They Were Sleeping," *Ha'aretz*, September 17, 2001; Danny Rubenstein, "The Stronger Side Creates Reality," *Ha'aretz*, June 16, 2004; and Emmanuel Sivan, "What the General Is Allowed," *Ha'aretz*, June 14, 2004.
  140. Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 25.
  141. "Official Palestinian Response to the Clinton Parameters (and letter to international community)," January 1, 2001, [www.robatscl.net/content/NAD/negotiations/clinton\\_parameters/param2.php](http://www.robatscl.net/content/NAD/negotiations/clinton_parameters/param2.php).
  142. "Excerpts: White House Spokesman on Clinton-Arafat Talks," issued by Press Section, U.S. embassy in Israel, January 3, 2001; Transcript of "Clinton Speech on Mideast Peace Parameters (January 7, 2001)," Office of the White House Press Secretary, January 8, 2001; and Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams*, 344. Also see Akiva Eldar, "The Battle for Public Opinion," *Ha'aretz*, June 24, 2002, and Pressman, "Visions in Collision," 20, both of which make clear that Israel also had serious reservations about the Clinton parameters.
  143. Sontag, "Quest for Mideast Peace"; and Enderlin, *Shattered Dreams*, 349-50.
  144. Jeff Jacoby, "America Takes Side of Israel," *Boston Globe*, March 26, 2006. Block is quoted in Tony Czuczka, "Under Fire, Israel Lobby Rallies US Backers," *EUX.TV: The Europe Channel* (online), March 10, 2007. Also see Mart, *Eye on Israel*; and Martin Peretz, "Oil and Vinegar: Surveying the Israel Lobby," *New Republic*, April 10, 2006.
  145. According to the historian Michelle Mart, during the Cold War "Israelis became 'Americanized,'" and this transformation was due in good part to a sense of "Judeo-Christian unity." "The Cultural Foundations of the US/Israel Alliance," *Tikkun.org*, November 11, 2006.
  146. Jodie T. Allen and Alec Tyson, "The U.S. Publics Pro-Israel History," Pew Research Center, July 19, 2006; "Americans' Support for Israel Unchanged by Recent Hostilities," Pew Research Center press release, July 26, 2006; and Robert Ruby, "A Six-Day War: Its Aftermath in American Public Opinion," Pew Research Center, May 30, 2007.
  147. Allen and Tyson, "The U.S. Public's Pro-Israel History"; Pew Research Center for the People and the Press in Association with the Council on Foreign Relations, "America's Place in the World 2005: An Investigation of the Attitudes of American Opinion Leaders and the American Public About International Affairs," November 2005, 11-12.
  148. "Conspiracy Theories and Criticism of Israel in Aftermath of Sept. 11 Attacks," Anti-Defamation League press release, November 1, 2001.
  149. Steven Kull (principal investigator), "Americans on the Middle East Road Map" (Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, May 30, 2003), 9-11, 18-19.
  150. "American Attitudes Toward Israel and the Middle East," survey conducted on March 18-25, 2005, and June 19-23, 2005, by the Marttila Communications Group for the Anti-Defamation League.
  151. Andrew Kohut, "American Views of the Mideast Conflict," *New York Times*, May 14, 2002.
  152. On Israeli responsibility for the second Lebanon war, see the ABC News-*Washington Post* poll conducted on August 3-6, 2006, and the CBS News-*New York Times* poll conducted on July 21-25, 2006, both of which can be found in "Israel, the Palestinians," *PollingReport.com*. Regarding the United States not taking sides, see the *USA Today-GaWup* poll, *ibid.*; and the Zogby poll taken August 11-15, 2006, the results of which are described in "Zogby Poll: U.S. Should Be Neutral in Lebanon War," Zogby International press release, August 17, 2006.

#### 4: WHAT IS THE "ISRAEL LOBBY"?

1. Andrew C. Revkin, "Bush Aide Edited Climate Reports," *New York Times*, June 8, 2005; and Andrew C. Revkin and Matthew Wald, "Material Shows Weakening of Climate Reports in Hundreds of Instances," *New York Times*, March 20, 2007.
2. Important works on ethnic lobbies and their impact on foreign policy include Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed., ed. A. A. Said (New York: Praeger, 1981); *Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. M. E. Ahrari (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Paul Watanabe, *Ethnic Groups, Congress, and American Foreign Policy: The Politics of the Turkish Arms Embargo* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984); and R. Hrair Dekmejian and Angelos Themelis, "Ethnic Lobbies in U.S. Foreign Policy: A Comparative Analysis of the Jewish, Greek, Armenian and Turkish Lobbies," Occasional Research Paper no. 13, Institute of International Relations, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Athens, Greece, October 1997.
3. This is a common problem in political analysis. For example, the concepts of "liberal" and "conservative" are well understood and uncontroversial, and it is easy to think of exemplars of each type (for instance, Senator Ted Kennedy for "liberal" and former Congressman Newt Gingrich for "conservative"). There are, however, individuals who are harder to classify, such as Senator Joseph Lieberman or the late Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, both of whom were liberal on domestic issues but conservative on foreign policy issues.
4. Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herd to the Holocaust* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1975), 1; and Steven T. Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism: American Jews, Zionism, and Israel," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Judaism*, ed. Dana Evan Kaplan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 209.
5. Robert H. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in Said, *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 121-22.
6. Steven M. Cohen, *The 2004 National Survey of American Jews*, sponsored by the Jewish Agency for Israel's Department of Jewish-Zionist Education, February 24, 2005. Also see 2006 *Annual Survey of American Jewish Opinion*, conducted September 25-October 16, 2006, American Jewish Committee, October 18, 2006; Steven M. Cohen, "Poll: Attachment of U.S. Jews to Israel Falls in Past 2 Years," *Forward*, March 4, 2005; and M. J. Rosenberg, "Letting Israel Sell Itself," Weekly Opinion Column, Issue #218, Israel Policy Forum, Washington, DC, March 18, 2005. A recent report prepared for the

- American Jewish Committee notes that "there is a consensus among several studies that Israel is not central to young people's Jewish identity." Jacob B. Ukeles et al., "Young Jewish Adults in the United States Today," American Jewish Committee, September 2006, 34. Also see Amiram Barkat, "Young American Jews Are More Ambivalent Toward Israel, Study Shows," *Ha'aretz*, March 7, 2005.
7. As the Joint Program Plan of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC), a major Jewish agency, put it in 1957, "The American public accepted the American Jewish concern about Israel... as a natural, normal manifestation of interest based on sympathies and emotional attachments of a sort that are common to many Americans." Quoted in Jack Wertheimer, "Jewish Organizational Life in the United States Since 1945," *American Jewish Yearbook 1995* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1995), 13.
  8. Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism," 211; and Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).
  9. The shift is nicely captured by the evolving position of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), the rabbinical body of Reform Judaism. In 1897, CCAR declared that "we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission," and it did not endorse the Balfour Declaration in 1917. In 1967, by contrast, CCAR declared "its solidarity with the State and People of Israel. Their triumphs are our triumphs. Their ordeal is our ordeal. Their fate is our fate." Quoted in Chaim I. Waxman, "All in the Family: American Jewish Attachments to Israel," in *A New Jewry? America Since the Second World War*, Studies in Contemporary Jewry: An Annual, Vol. VIII, ed. Peter Y Medding (New York: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, 1992), 140.
  10. Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism," 212.
  11. Waxman, "All in the Family," 134. To note one example, the first item listed on the American Jewish Congress's statement of its core agenda is the "safety and security of Israel and the world Jewish community," [www.ajcongress.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about](http://www.ajcongress.org/site/PageServer?pagename=about). The situation is similar today; there are more than ninety separate groups identified as "Israel-related" in the 2005 edition of the yearbook.
  12. "Who We Are" and "What We Do," Conference of Presidents website, [www.conferenceofpresidents.org/content.asp?id=52](http://www.conferenceofpresidents.org/content.asp?id=52). The Conference of Presidents was created in 1954 in response to Assistant Secretary of State Henry Byroade's complaint that it was difficult for him to deal with the many separate Jewish organizations and it would be useful if they would speak with one voice. See Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 40–41.
  13. This figure omits personal contributions and thus understates the role of pro-Israel campaign contributions. See [www.crp.org/pacs/industiy.asp?tat=Q05&cycle=2006](http://www.crp.org/pacs/industiy.asp?tat=Q05&cycle=2006). On the general phenomenon of "stealth PACs," see Richard H. Curtiss, *Stealth PACs: Lobbying Congress for Control of U.S. Middle East Policy*, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: American Educational Trust, 1996).
  14. Jeffrey H. Birnbaum, "Washington's Power 25," *Fortune*, December 8, 1997. AIPAC was ranked number four in a similar study conducted in 2001. See Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Russell Newell, "Fat and Happy in D.C.," *Fortune*, May 28, 2001.
  15. Richard E. Cohen and Peter Bell, "Congressional Insiders Poll," *National Journal*, March 5, 2005; and James D. Besser, "Most Muscle? It's NRA, Then AIPAC and AARP," *Chicago Jewish Star*, March 11-24, 2005.
  16. Dymally is quoted in Robert Pear with Richard L. Berke, "Pro-Israel Group Exerts Quiet Might as It Rallies Supporters in Congress," *New York Times*, July 7, 1987; Hamilton is quoted in George D. Moffett III, "Israeli Lobby Virtually Unmatched," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 28, 1991.
  17. On the role played by Brandeis, Wise, and others, see Irvine Anderson, *Biblical Interpretation and Middle East Policy: The Promised Land, America and Israel, 1917-2002* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 61-62; and Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 67-71. Truman's former business partner Eddie Jacobson convinced him to meet with Chaim Weizmann in 1948, and pro-Zionist advisers such as David Niles and Clark Clifford helped convince Truman to support the 1947 partition plan and to recognize the new state in 1948. For different views on the various influences that shaped Truman's decisions, see Peter L. Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East: U.S. Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1948-1961* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 26-31 and chaps. 2-3; Zvi Ganin, *Truman, American Jewry, and Israel, 1945-1948* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979); Steven L. Spiegel, *The Other Arab-Israel Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), chap. 2; Kenneth Ray Bain, *The March to Zion: United States Policy and the Founding of Israel* (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1979); and Warren Bass, *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israeli Alliance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 23-34.
  18. Lloyd Grove, "The Men with Muscle: The AIPAC Leaders, Battling for Israel and Among Themselves," *Washington Post*, June 14, 1991.
  19. J. J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 158.
  20. Stuart Eizenstat, "Loving Israel, Warts and All," *Foreign Policy* 81 (Winter 1990-91): 92.
  21. Ibid.; and Melvin I. Urofsky, *We Are One! American Jewry and Israel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978).
  22. As Jack Wertheimer puts it, "There is little doubt that the preoccupations and mood of the organized Jewish community underwent profound changes in the wake of the Six Day War . . . American Jewry fully identified with Israel, an identification that galvanized the community to unprecedented amounts of philanthropic giving and volunteering." See "Jewish Organizational Life," 32; and Menahem Kaufman, "Envisaging Israel: The Case of the United Jewish Appeal," in *Envisioning Israel: The Changing Ideals and Images of North American Jews*, ed. Allon Gal (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/Hebrew University, 1996), 232-34.
  23. Wertheimer, "Jewish Organizational Life," 32-33.
  24. Ibid., 55.
  25. Quoted in Wolf Blitzer, "The AIPAC Formula," *Moment*, November 1981, 23.
  26. AIPAC does not disclose its annual budget; the numbers reported here are from Blitzer, "AIPAC Formula," 23; Lloyd Grove, "On the March for Israel: The Lobbyists from AIPAC, Girding for Battle in the New World Order," *Washington Post*, June 13, 1991; Jeffrey H. Birnbaum, "Pro-Israel Lobby Holds Meeting Amid Worries," *Washington Post*, May 19, 2005; Thomas B. Edsall and Molly Moore, "Pro-Israel Lobby Has Strong Voice," *Washington Post*, September 5, 2004; and James Petras, "AIPAC on Trial," *CounterPunch.org*, January 7-8, 2006.
  27. Quoted in Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 223.
  28. Bass, *Support Any Friend*, 147. Also see Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 197-203.

29. Goldberg, "Old Friend, Shattered Dreams," *Forward*, December 24, 2004; Esther Kaplan, "The Jewish Divide on Israel," *Nation*, July 12, 2004; Michael Massing, "Conservative Jewish Groups Have Clout," *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 2002; Eric Yoffie, "Reform the Conference," *Forward*, August 2, 2002; and William Fisher, "U.S. Jewish Groups Press Mideast Peace," *Antiwar.com*, November 25, 2004.
30. Daniel Levy, "Is It Good for the Jews?" *American Prospect*, July 5, 2006.
31. Quoted in Sharon Samber, "Congress Urged Not to Link Israel Aid to China Arms," *JTA.org*, June 13, 2000.
32. See, for example, Americans for Peace Now, "Briefing for the 110th Congress: Securing Israel's Future Through Peace," 8, [www.donteverstop.com/files/apn/upl/assets/APNI10thBBook.pdf](http://www.donteverstop.com/files/apn/upl/assets/APNI10thBBook.pdf).
33. According to the IPF website, "Israel Policy Forum believes that through a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Israel and its Arab neighbors, as well as the region as a whole, will become more secure, prosperous and stable." See [www.ipforum.org/display.cfm?id=1](http://www.ipforum.org/display.cfm?id=1).
34. Jewish Voice for Peace, "U.S. Military Aid to Israel," [www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/publish/print\\_17.shtml](http://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/publish/print_17.shtml).
35. Quoted in Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 93.
36. Quoted in Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 206.
37. Ori Nir, "FBI Probe: More Questions Than Answers," *Forward*, May 13, 2005; Bookbinder is quoted in Wolf Blitzer, *Between Washington and Jerusalem: A Reporter's Notebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 148.
38. On these incidents, see Hahn, *Caught in the Middle East*, 39-42, 46-51, 57-59, 79-82.
39. These activities (and the quoted Israeli communications) are described in Tom Segev, 1967: *Israel, the War, and the Year That Transformed the Middle East*, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), 254, 264-65, 304-305.
40. Quoted in David Landau, "The Battle for Washington," *Ha'aretz*, March 28, 2003.
41. Jonathan Marcus, "Discordant Voices: The U.S. Jewish Community and Israel During the 1980s," *International Affairs* 66, no. 3 (July 1990): 546. Also see Sarah Bronson, "Orthodox Leader: U.S. Jews Have No Right to Criticize Israel," *Ha'aretz*, August 2, 2004; and Daniel Ben Simon, "Storm Warnings," *Ha'aretz*, November 14, 2003.
42. Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism," 214; Bookbinder is quoted in Blitzer, *Between Washington and Jerusalem*, 147-48. Writing in the 1980s, the historian David Biale observed, "The ideological hegemony that Zionism achieved in the organized Jewish community in the last two decades has had the effect of stilling debate about many of the specific policies of the Israeli government." *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 189.
43. 2004 *Survey of American Jewish Opinion*, conducted August 18-September 1, 2004, American Jewish Committee, September 21, 2004, question 16. Earlier surveys produced nearly identical results.
44. This account of Breira's brief history is based on Michael E. Staub, *Torn at the Roots: The Crisis of Jewish Liberalism in Postwar America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), chap. 8; Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 90-96; Wertheimer, "Jewish Organizational Life," 39-43; and Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 207-208.
45. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 208.
46. Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 76. David Biale offered a similar view in 1986, writing, "For the organized Jewish community, lack of support for Israel is tantamount to treason . . . Israel is the one issue over which lack of belief is treated as heresy." *Power and Powerlessness*, 188.
47. American Jewish leaders were openly upset when Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir briefly backed a proposal to amend the Law of Return to require conversions to Judaism be conducted by Orthodox rabbis according to halakha (rabbinical law). As Rabbi Eric Yoffie of the American Reform movement put it, "If Reform rabbis in Israel are not rabbis and their conversions are not conversions, that means our Judaism is not Judaism, and that we are second-class Jews." Quoted in Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism," 218. Also see Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 337-42.
48. Lawrence Grossman, "Jewish Communal Affairs," *American Jewish Yearbook 1998* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1998), 110-11; Tom Tugend, "Talk by N.Y Times' Friedman Spurs ADL-ZOA Political Fuss," *JTA.org*, December 6, 1996; and Tom Tugend, "N.Y Times Columnist Applauds ADL for Not Caving in to ZOA," *JTA.org*, December 13, 1996.
49. Inigo Gilmore, "U.S. Jewish Leader Hit over Letter," *Sunday Telegraph* (London), August 12, 2003; and Isi Liebler, "An Open Letter to Edgar Bronfman," *Jerusalem Post*, August 6, 2003.
50. These quotations are from Isi Liebler, "When Seymour Met Condi," *Jerusalem Post*, November 24, 2005; Ori Nir, "O.U. Chief Decries American Pressure on Israel," *Forward*, December 2, 2005; Ori Nir, "Rice Trip Raises Concern over U.S. Pressure on Israel," *Forward*, November 18, 2005; and Seymour D. Reich, "Listen to America," *Jerusalem Post*, November 13, 2005.
51. The author of the Americans for a Safe Israel pamphlet attacking Breira, Rael Jean Isaac, wrote a similar polemic against New Jewish Agenda, and the head of the ZOAs Washington chapter denounced the same group as "pro-Arab rather than pro-Israel." Hampered by recurring budget deficits and other challenges, New Jewish Agenda folded in 1992, after twelve years of tenuous existence. See Jack Wertheimer, "Breaking the Taboo: Critics of Israel and the American Jewish Establishment," in Gal, *Envisioning Israel*, 410-11; and Emily Nepon, "New Jewish Agenda: The History of an Organization, 1980-1992" (B.A. thesis, Goddard College, 2006), available at [www.newjewishagenda.org](http://www.newjewishagenda.org).
52. The material in this paragraph is based on Kaplan, "Jewish Divide on Israel." In two other similar incidents, the Hillel program directors at the University of California at Santa Cruz and Ithaca College reportedly resigned after being reprimanded for publishing articles supporting Israeli and Palestinian opposition to the occupation.
53. Ari Paul, "Zionist vs. Zionist," *American Prospect*, January 4, 2007; Rebecca Spence, "Campus Coalition Split over Progressive Union," *Forward*, January 19, 2007; Rebecca Spence, "Groups Flip Flop as Controversy over Liberal Zionists Continues," *Forward*, February 2, 2007; Ben Harris, "Group That Criticized Israel to Stay in Campus Coalition Despite Protests," *JTA.org*, January 24, 2007; "L.A. Israeli Consul General to Foreign Ministry: UPZ and Breaking the Silence Programs Harm Israel's Image and Must Be Stopped," Zionist Organization of America press release, January 31, 2007, [www.zoa.org/2007/01/la\\_israeli\\_cons.htm](http://www.zoa.org/2007/01/la_israeli_cons.htm).
54. When asked, "In the current situation, do you favor or oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state?" the percentage of American Jews responding "in favor" was 54 percent in 2006, 56 percent in 2005, and 57 percent in 2004. "Annual Survey of American Jewish Opinion," 2006, 2005, and 2004, available at [www.ajc.org](http://www.ajc.org).
55. Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 161.
56. *Ibid.*, 217. Also see 159-62, 170-75, 216-23. Also see Eric Alterman, "AIPAC Runs Right," *Nation*, October 10, 2006; Goldberg, "Old

- Friends"; Massing, "Conservative Jewish Groups"; Rosenthal, "Long Distance Nationalism," 217; and Mark Seal, "Sitting on the Sidelines," *Ha'aretz*, December 24, 2004.
57. In particular, Hoenlein served for a number of years as chairman of an annual dinner to raise funds to support Bet El, a militant Israeli settlement near Ramallah. See Michael Massing, "Deal Breakers," *American Prospect*, March 11, 2002; and Michael Massing, "The Israel Lobby," *Nation*, June 10, 2002.
  58. Massing, "Deal Breakers." J. J. Goldberg offers a similar analysis, writing that "under [Tom] Dine, the ruling executive committee tripled in size. Formerly, the committee had been controlled by the heads of the New York-based national Jewish organizations. Now the Jewish community leaders were a minority, outnumbered by AIPAC's own contributors. Swelling the executive committee . . . removed the lobby from the national Jewish communal structure, such as it was, and placed it firmly in the hands of a few big donors whose only loyalty was to AIPAC." *Jewish Power*, 201.
  59. Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, June 8, 2006; and Matthew Dorf, "After Barak Win, AIPAC Reverses Opposition to a Palestinian State," *JTA.org*, May 28, 1999.
  60. This episode is recounted in Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 54-57.
  61. Massing, "Deal Breakers"; and Levy, "Is It Good for the Jews?"
  62. Peter Beinart and Hanna Rosin, "AIPAC Unpacked," *New Republic*, September 20, 1993, 20-23; and Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 225-26.
  63. Waxman, "All in the Family," 143-44.
  64. Jonathan Woocher, "The Geo-Politics of the American Jewish Community," *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints* (online), Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, January 15, 1992, 3.
  65. Thomas L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs: Mischief Makers," *New York Times*, April 5, 1995.
  66. As Massing points out, the Israel Policy Forum has "managed to forge close ties with many influential members of Congress, but lacking a formal membership and strong fundraising apparatus, it cannot match the influence of AIPAC and the Conference." Massing, "Deal Breakers."
  67. Among the best works on neoconservatism are Gary Dorrien, *The Neoconservative Mind: Politics, Culture, and the War of Ideology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Gary Dorrien, *Imperial Designs: Neoconservatism and the New Pax Americana* (New York: Routledge, 2004); John Ehrman, *The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Murray Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Francis Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Mark Gerson, *The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold Wars to the Culture Wars* (Lan-ham, MD: Madison Books, 1996); Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 159-61; Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neoconservatives and the Global Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Irving Kristol, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (New York: Free Press, 1995).
  68. For an overview of neoconservative thinking about U.S. foreign policy, see John J. Mearsheimer, "Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism Versus Neo-Conservatism," posted May 19, 2005, [opendemocracy.com](http://opendemocracy.com). An illustrative collection of neoconservative writings on foreign policy is *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy*, ed. William Kristol and Robert Kagan (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2000); a perceptive portrait of the neoconservatives and their views on foreign policy is Ian Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), chap. 4.
  69. For a typical neoconservative statement about multilateralism and institutions, see Charles Krauthammer, "Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World," 2004 Irving Kristol Lecture, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, February 10, 2004, 3. The neoconservative view of Europe is exemplified by Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Knopf, 2003).
  70. For a discussion of bandwagoning, see Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).
  71. Max Boot, "What the Heck Is a 'Neocon'?" *Wall Street Journal*, December 30, 2002; and Max Boot, "Think Again: Neocons," *Foreign Policy* 140 (January-February 2004), 22. Also see Don Atapattu, "Interview with Middle East Scholar Avi Shlaim," *Nation*, June 16, 2004; Halper and Clarke, *America Alone*, 41, 58-60, 82, 167-68; Irving Kristol, "The Political Dilemma of American Jews," *Commentary*, July 1984, 23-29; and Jim Lobe, "Energized Neocons Say Israel's Fight Is Washington's," *Antiwar.com*, July 18, 2006.
  72. Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 231.
  73. "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," prepared by the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, 1996, [www.iasps.org/stratl.htm](http://www.iasps.org/stratl.htm). The study group that produced this report was chaired by Richard Perle, and its other members were James Colbert, Charles Fairbanks Jr., Douglas Feith, Robert Loewenberg, Jonathan Torop, David Wurmser, and Meyrav Wurmser.
  74. Quoted in Dorrien, *Neoconservative Mind*, 344. Also see *ibid.*, 343-45; Ginsberg, *Fatal Embrace*, 231-36; and John B. Judis, "The Conservative Wars," *New Republic*, August 11 and 18, 1986.
  75. Patrick J. Buchanan, "Whose War?" *American Conservative*, March 24, 2003; and Paul Craig Roberts, "Neocon Treason," *Antiwar.com*, August 24, 2004.
  76. Friedman, *Neoconservative Revolution*, i. Gal Beckerman noted that "acknowledging the Jew-ishness of neoconservatism has always triggered the red, flashing lights of anti-Semitism . . . But there is some truth to the suspicion. If there is an intellectual movement in America to whose invention Jews can lay sole claim, neoconservatism is it." See "The Neoconservative Persuasion," *Forward*, January 6, 2006.
  77. Max Blumenthal, "Born-Again for Sharon," *Salon.com*, October 30, 2004; Darrell L. Bock, "Some Christians See a 'Road Map' to End Times," *Los Angeles Times*, June 18, 2003; Nathan Guttman, "Wiping Out Terror, Bringing on Redemption," *Ha'aretz*, April 29, 2002; Tom Hamburger and Jim VandeHei, "Chosen People: How Israel Became a Favorite Cause of Christian Right," *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2002; and Paul Nussbaum, "Israel Finds an Ally in American Evangelicals," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (online), November 13, 2005.
  78. On how Christian beliefs influenced Balfour, see Anderson, *Biblical Interpretation*, 60-62. Some writers suggest that Christian beliefs also influenced Wilson's endorsement of the Balfour Declaration and Truman's support for Israel's creation, although neither was a dispensationalist. *Ibid.*, 87-89; and Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America*, 67-71.
  79. Timothy P. Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic,

- 2004), 188-96.
80. Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 184. As Colin Shindler notes, "The growth of the Christian Right during the 1970s thus paralleled the growth of the Israeli Right—and both phenomena had been catalyzed by the Six Day War." See "Likud and the Christian Dispensationalists: A Symbiotic Relationship," *Israel Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 163.
81. As L. Nelson Bell wrote in *Christianity Today*, "That for the first time in more than 2,000 years Jerusalem is now completely in the hands of the Jews gives a student of the Bible a thrill and a renewed faith in the accuracy and validity of the Bible." Quoted in Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 184.
82. Quoted in Jane Lampman, "Mixing Prophecy and Politics," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 7, 2004.
83. Daniel Pipes, "[Christian Zionism]: Israel's Best Weapon," *New York Post* (online), July 15, 2003; and Michael Freund, "Christian Zionists Key to Continued U.S. Support for Israel," *Jewish Press* (online), December 27, 2006.
84. Hagee quoted in Bill Berkowitz, "Pastor John Hagee Spearheads Christians United for Israel," *Media Transparency*, March 19, 2006, [www.mediatransparency.org/story.php?storyID=16](http://www.mediatransparency.org/story.php?storyID=16).
85. The quoted statements are from the IFCJ website, [www.ifcj.org](http://www.ifcj.org).
86. "The Apple of HIS Eye: Why Christians SHOULD Support Israel," John Hagee Ministries website, [www.jhm.org/print-Israel.asp](http://www.jhm.org/print-Israel.asp); and Andrew Higgins, "A Texas Preacher Leads Campaign to Let Israel Fight," *Wall Street Journal*, July 27, 2006.
87. "Zion's Christian Soldiers," 60 Minutes, June 8, 2003, [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/10/03/60minutes/printable524268/shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/10/03/60minutes/printable524268/shtml).
88. Quoted in Lampman, "Mixing Prophecy and Politics."
89. Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 226-27; Brent Boyer, "Arvada Church Champions Israeli Cause," *Denver Post* (online), November 22, 2002; and Danielle Haas, "U.S. Christians Find Cause to Aid Israel; Evangelicals Financing Immigrants, Settlements," *San Francisco Chronicle* (online), July 10, 2002.
90. Donald Wagner, "For Zion's Sake," *Middle East Report Online* 223 (Summer 2002): 55.
91. Quoted in Shindler, "Likud and the Christian Dispensationalists," 175.
92. "Robertson: God Punished Sharon," *Ynetnews.com*, January 6, 2006; "Robertson Suggests Stroke Is Divine Rebuke," *New York Times*, January 6, 2006; and "Robertson Apologizes to Sharon Family," *New York Times*, January 13, 2006.
93. Quoted in Barbara Slavin, "Don't Give Up 1967 Lands, DeLay Tells Israel Lobby," *USA Today*, April 23, 2002.
94. Matthews asked Armei to confirm that this was his view and Armei said "yes." Armei later backed away from his statement after being criticized for favoring ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians in the West Bank. See Matthew Engel, "Senior Republican Calls on Israel to Expel West Bank Arabs," *Guardian*, May 4, 2002; and "Richard Armei Supports Ethnic Cleansing of Palestinians," *Media Monitors Network*, May 2, 2002, [www.mediamonitors.net/amr15.html](http://www.mediamonitors.net/amr15.html).
95. "Peace in the Middle East," floor statement of Senator Inhofe, March 4, 2002, <http://inhofe.senate.gov/pressapp/record.cfm?id=183110>.
96. Shindler, "Likud and the Christian Dispensationalists," 156.
97. Grace Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics: Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1986), 71-76.
98. "Pat Robertson Forms Alliance with Mayor of Jerusalem," *Baptist Standard* (online), November 11, 2002; and "Israel Welcomes Christian Support in Battle for Survival, Sharon Aid[e] Says," *Christian Examiner* (online), September 6, 2002.
99. Quoted in Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 214-18.
100. Quoted in Norton Mezvinsky, "The Impact of Christian Zionism on the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *NthPosition.com*, March 2005.
101. Jerry Falwell, "On the Threshold of Armageddon," *WorldNetDaily.com*, July 22, 2006; and Sarah Posner, "Lobbying for Armageddon," *AlterNet.org*, August 3, 2006.
102. Hal Lindsey, "Mushrooms over the Middle East," *WorldNetDaily.com*, January 12, 2007; and John Hagee, *Jerusalem Countdown: A Warning to the World* (Lake Mary, FL: Frontline, 2006), 17. Based on his own interpretation of scattered biblical passages, Hagee says that a strike on Iran will provoke Russia to lead an Arab coalition to war against Israel, which will be abandoned by the United States. God will then intervene to destroy Israel's invaders, but the resulting vacuum will be filled by the Antichrist, "who will be the head of the European Union." Under his command, the armies of the West gather in Israel to wage the battle of Armageddon against the "king of the East" (China), at which point Christ reappears to strike down the Antichrist and restore God's kingdom. Hagee concludes, "The end of the world as we know it is rapidly approaching" (113-22).
103. Christians United for Israel, "CUFI Membership Weekly Update," December 11, 2006, [www.cufi.com/idIO.html](http://www.cufi.com/idIO.html).
104. Shindler, "Likud and the Dispensationalists," 165-66; and Kristol, "The Political Dilemma of American Jews."
105. Perlmutter is quoted in Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 232; Foxman's remarks are from "Jews and Evangelicals: Support for Israel Isn't Everything," *Time*, January 16, 2007.
106. Quoted in Bill Broadway, "The Evangelical-Israeli Connection: Scripture Inspires Many Christians to Support Zionism Politically, Financially," *Washington Post*, March 27, 2004.
107. For Hagee's disturbing attitudes toward Jews, see *Jerusalem Countdown*, 56-57, 109. On his appearance at the AIPAC Policy Conference, see Gregory Levey, "Inside America's Powerful Israel Lobby," *Salon.com*, March 16, 2007; "Christians for Israel," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, March 14, 2007; and Sarah Posner, "The Goy Who Cried Wolf," *American Prospect*, March 12, 2007.
108. Quoted in James D. Besser, "Hardline Pastor Gets Prime AIPAC Spot," *Jewish Week*, March 9, 2007.
109. Naomi M. Cohen, "Dual Loyalties: Zionism and Liberalism," in Gal, *Envisioning Israel*, 326.
110. Jo-Ann Mort, "An Unholy Alliance in Support of Israel," *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 2002. The Alpher and Gorenberg quotations are from "Zion's Christian Soldiers." Also see Ger-shom Gorenberg, *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount* (New York: Free Press, 2000); and Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon*, 231.
111. Tourism declined after the outbreak of the Second Intifada and September 11 but has rebounded since then. The United Nations Statistical Division estimates that Israel received \$2.8 billion in tourism receipts in 2004, and Israeli officials report that approximately 29 percent of these tourists were Christian. See United Nations, *World Tourism Organization Statistical Database and Yearbook 2005* (New York: United Nations, 2005); Eric Silver, "Return of the Tourist," *Jerusalem Report* (online), February 21, 2005; Laurie Copans, "Israel: Tourism Surges as Christian Pilgrims Walk in the Footsteps of Jesus," *USA Today*, December 13, 2004; and William A. Orme, "Fighting in Mideast Blocks Wave of Christian Tourism," *New York Times*, November 11, 2000.
112. Anderson, *Biblical Interpretation*, 103, 138. This is also a central theme of Michael B. Oren's *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2007), though he overstates its impact on U.S. policy decisions.
113. Anderson, *Biblical Interpretation*, 111, 114-15; and Ruth W. Mouly, *The Religious Right and Israel: The Politics of Armageddon*

- (Cambridge, MA: Political Research Associates, 1985).
114. Zev Chafets, "The Rabbi Who Loved Evangelicals (and Vice Versa)," *New York Times Magazine*, July 24, 2005.
  115. In August 2006, the Vatican's envoy in the Holy Land and the bishops of the Episcopal, Evangelical Lutheran, and Syrian Orthodox churches in Jerusalem signed a declaration rejecting the teachings of Christian Zionism and accusing the movement of encouraging "racial exclusivity and perpetual war." See Matthew Tostevin, "Holy Land Churches Attack Christian Zionism," Reuters, August 31, 2006. A number of other mainstream Protestant churches have been critical of Israeli policy and have seriously considered "selective divestiture" from companies operating in Israel. The lobby, however, has worked hard to thwart these efforts and has been largely successful. See James D. Besser, "Church Poised to Kill Divestment," *Jewish Week*, June 23, 2006; Alan Cooperman, "Israel Divestiture Spurs Clash," *Washington Post*, September 29, 2004; Michael Conlon, "US Presbyterians Consider Divesting over West Bank," *Washington Post*, February 17, 2005; Laurie Goodstein, "Presbyterians Revise Israel Investing Policy," *New York Times*, June 22, 2006; Nathan Guttman, "A Warning Signal from the Churches," *Ha'aretz*, November 26, 2004; Chris Moore, "Mainline Protestants Challenge Israel Lobby," *Antiwar.com*, December 7, 2004; Marc Perelman, "Effort Eyed to Combat Divestment," *Forward*, July 15, 2006; and Rachel Pomerance, "Episcopal View on Mideast Conflict an Improvement, Jewish Groups Say," *JTA.org*, November 9, 2004.
  116. The limited financial role of Christian Zionism is illustrated by relative donations to Israel following the 2006 war in Lebanon. According to *Ha'aretz*, Christian groups donated nearly \$20 million to reconstruction and resettlement efforts in Israel; by comparison, the United Jewish Communities collected more than \$340 million. See Daphna Berman, "Christians' Wartime Donations of \$20m Went Largely Unheralded," *Ha'aretz*, November 3, 2006.
  117. On the role of interest groups in American politics, see Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech, *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Richard L. Hall and Frank W. Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees," *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (September 1990); John Mark Hansen, *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Ken Kollman, *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Richard A. Smith, "Interest Group Influence in the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (February, 1995); David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion* (New York: Knopf, 1951); and James Q. Wilson, *Political Organizations* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
  118. Quoted in Mary A. Barberis, "The Arab-Israeli Battle on Capitol Hill," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1976): 209.
  119. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups," 125-26.
  120. Quoted in Ben Bradlee Jr., "Israel's Lobby," *Boston Globe*, April 29, 1984.
  121. Shai Feldman, *The Future of U.S.-Israeli Strategic Cooperation* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1996), 5-6.
  122. Quoted in Grove, "On the March for Israel."
  123. The Bard and Truman quotations are from Mitchell Bard, "The Israeli and Arab Lobbies," [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org). Also see Mark N. Katz, "Where Is the Arab Lobby?" *Middle East Times* (online), July 3, 2006; Noam N. Levey, "In Politicians' Pro Israel Din, Arab Americans Go Unheard," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 2006; Ali A. Mazrui, "Between the Crescent and the Star-Spangled Banner: American Muslims and U.S. Foreign Policy," *International Affairs* 72, no. 3 (July 1996); Nabeel A. Khoury, "The Arab Lobby: Problems and Prospects," *Middle East Journal* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1987); and Andrea Barron, "Jewish and Arab Diasporas in the United States and Their Impact on U.S. Middle East Policy," in *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Two Decades of Change*, ed. Yehuda Lukacs and Abdalla M. Battah (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1988), 238-59. The weakness of the "Palestinian lobby" in particular is captured in Nora Boustany, "Palestinians' Lone Hand in Washington," *Washington Post*, April 19, 2002; and George Gedda, "PLO Loses D.C. Office Because of Unpaid Rent," *Chicago Tribune*, April 12, 2002.
  124. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups," 123.
  125. For a typical example, see Harold Siddiqui, "Oil Lobby Determined to Have Its War in Iraq," *Toronto Star* (online), January 19, 2003, [www.commondreams.org](http://www.commondreams.org).
  126. Stephen Zunes, "The Israel Lobby: How Powerful Is It Really?" *Foreign Policy in Focus Special Report*, May 16, 2006; Noam Chomsky, "The Israel Lobby," *Znet* (online), March 28, 2006; and Martin Peretz, "Oil and Vinegar," *New Republic*, March 30, 2006.
  127. See especially Craig Unger, *House of Bush, House of Saud: The Secret Relationship Between the World's Two Most Powerful Dynasties* (New York: Scribner, 2004). This theme was also a key part of Michael Moore's controversial documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*.
  128. In 2006, roughly 40 percent of U.S. crude oil imports came from Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela; Saudi Arabia provided only 14 percent. U.S. Department of Energy, *Petroleum Supply Monthly* (Washington, DC, February 2007), 58.
  129. Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Said to Drop Jordan Arms Sale," *New York Times*, March 21, 1984.
  130. Quoted in Congressional Quarterly, *The Middle East*, 68.
  131. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups," 137-38.
  132. See [www.api.org/policy](http://www.api.org/policy). Foreign policy discussions are equally scarce on the ExxonMobil and British Petroleum websites.
  133. Quoted in Tivnan, *The Lobby*, 194.
  134. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups," 137; and William B. Quandt, "United States Policy in the Middle East: Constraints and Choices," in *Political Dynamics in the Middle East*, ed. Paul Hammond and Sidney Alexander (New York: Elsevier, 1972), 529-30.
  135. Danny Fortson, Andrew Murray-Watson, and Tim Webb, "Future of Iraq: The Spoils of War," *Independent*, January 7, 2007.
  136. "Cheney Pushed for More Trade with Iran," *FOXnews.com*, October 9, 2004, [www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,134836,00.html](http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,134836,00.html).
  137. Trice, "Domestic Interest Groups," 137-38.
  138. These quotations are from Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs* (New York: Harper, 1971), 149; Bard, "Israeli and Arab Lobbies"; and "Pro-Israel Lobby on Capitol Hill," *BBC Newsnight* (online), May 8, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/3010371.stm>.
  139. "In liberal democratic regimes," writes Sheffer, "most notably the United States, Canada, Australia, Denmark, Holland, and Norway, the Jews were able to maintain open and intensive relationships with the Jewish community in Palestine and later with Israel. . . . Certain segments in those communities . . . demonstrated total loyalty to their host societies and governments . . . . Those who openly identified as supporters of the Zionist movement and of the Jewish community in Palestine (the Yishuv) and



- later of Israel developed dual loyalties. The most resolute Zionists and other supporters of Israel adopted the divided-loyalties stance; that is, in certain respects they were loyal to their host countries, and other respects to the homeland." *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 232-33.
140. Malcolm Hoenlein, "Crossing the Line of the Acceptable," *Ha'aretz*, December 31, 2004.
  141. Pew Global Attitudes Project, "Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity" (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, July 6, 2006), 3.
  142. Quoted in David K. Shipler, "On Middle East Policy, a Major Influence," *New York Times*, July 6, 1987.
  143. Quoted in Kurt Eichenwald, "U.S. Jews Split on Washington's Shift on Palestinian State," *New York Times*, October 5, 2001.
  144. David S. Cloud and Helene Cooper, "Israel's Protests Are Said to Stall Gulf Arms Sale," *New York Times*, April 5, 2007.
  145. Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982), 203.
  146. Both quotations are from Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 232, 235.
  147. Eric Alterman, "Can We Talk?" *Nation*, April 21, 2003.
  148. Stephen Steinlight, "The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography: Reconsidering a Misguided Immigration Policy," Background, Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, DC, October 2001, 10-11. For an earlier and equally revealing expression of this view, see Nathan Glazer, "McGovern and the Jews: A Debate," *Commentary*, September 1972, 44.
  149. Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to American National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 276-91.
  150. Quoted in Massing, "Deal Breakers."
  151. Hagee, "The Apple of HIS Eye"; and Wagner, "For Zion's Sake," 56. Also see Lee Underwood, "Israel's Right to the Land," January 4, 2004, <http://christianactionforisrael.org.right.html>.
  152. Information about Lenny Ben-David is from [www.israelunitycoalition.org/sbureau/lbendavid.php](http://www.israelunitycoalition.org/sbureau/lbendavid.php).

## 5: GUIDING THE POLICY PROCESS

1. Twenty years ago, a senior State Department official told David Shipler of the *New York Times* that the lobby "tends to skew the consideration of issues . . . People don't look very hard at some options." Another former Reagan White House official remarked that while AIPAC was "a factor," he knew of "no case where it was decisive, at least in the analytical phase." But this official acknowledged that, in Shipler's words, "The greater influence seemed to be at the political, decision-making level." See David K. Shipler, "On Middle East Policy, a Major Influence," *New York Times*, July 6, 1987.
2. M.J. Rosenberg, "Kangaroo Congressional Hearing," Weekly Opinion Column, Issue #311, Israel Policy Forum, Washington, DC, February 16, 2007. Also see Michael F. Brown, "Dems' Disdain for Palestine," *TomPaine.com*, February 20, 2007; and Daniel Levy, "Yikes— Warmonger Daniel Pipes Testifying to Congress—Do They Learn Nothing?" February 12, 2007, [www.tpmcafe.com](http://www.tpmcafe.com).
3. Arney quoted in Jake Tapper, "Questions for Dick Arney: Retiring, Not Shy," *New York Times Magazine*, September 1, 2002; Klein quoted in Ron Kampeas, "On Somber Day, De-Lay's Spirits Raised by Pro-Israeli Group's Support," *JTA.org*, October 2, 2005; and DeLay quoted in James Bennet, "DeLay Says Palestinians Bear Burden for Achieving Peace," *New York Times*, July 30, 2003.
4. After the 2006 congressional elections, 13 out of 100 senators and 30 out of 435 representatives were Jewish, percentages that are significantly higher than the Jewish proportion of the U.S. population, which is under 3 percent. Amiram Barkat, "Number of Jewish Parliamentarians Worldwide Reaches Record High," *Ha'aretz*, November 9, 2006.
5. Joseph Lieberman, "Speech to the AIPAC National Policy Conference," March 2007, <http://lieberman.senate.gov/newsroom/release.cfm?id=270526>; Charles Schumer, "The Peace Process Has Been One-Sided" (interview), *Middle East Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (December 2000); Henry Waxman, "Israel Fights for Survival," *Beverly Hills Weekly* (online), April 19, 2002; and Robert Wexler, "Israel and the Middle East," <http://wexler.house.gov/issues.php?ID=19>.
6. Quoted in Matthew E. Berger, "US Vote May Alter Stance on Middle East," *Jerusalem Post*, November 7, 2006.
7. Quoted in Janine Zacharia, "Lantos's List," *Jerusalem Post*, April 13, 2001. Also see Jeffrey Blankfort, "A Tale of Two Members of Congress and the Capitol Hill Police," *CounterPunch.org*, April 17, 2006; and Mark Simon, "Middle East Hits Home in House Race," *San Francisco Chronicle* (online), May 16, 2002.
8. Quoted in Mitchell Bard, "Israeli Lobby Power," *Midstream* 33, no. 1 (January 1987): 8.
9. For a further analysis of AIPAC's structure and operations, which complements the arguments offered here, see Michael Massing, "The Storm over the Israel Lobby," *New York Review of Books*, June 8, 2006. Also see Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2003); and Michael Lind, "The Israel Lobby," *Prospect* 73 (April 2002).
10. The Clinton, Gingrich, Reid, and *New York Times* quotations were accessed from the AIPAC website, [www.aipac.org/documents/whoware.html#say](http://www.aipac.org/documents/whoware.html#say), on January 14, 2005. The *New York Times* quotation was still on the site in May 2007; the others have been removed. Jeffrey Goldberg, "Real Insiders," *New Yorker*, July 4, 2005. Gingrich's statement is also quoted in Michael Kinsley, "J'accuse, Sort of," *Slate.com*, March 12, 2003.
11. Michael Massing, "Deal Breakers," *American Prospect*, March 11, 2002; and Massing, "Storm over the Israel Lobby."
12. The same article also noted that one in every five AIPAC board members was a top fundraiser for 2004 presidential candidates John Kerry and George W. Bush. Thomas B. Edsall and Molly Moore, "Pro-Israel Lobby Has Strong Voice," *Washington Post*, September 5, 2004.
13. David Biale, *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 186-87.
14. Friedman's statement was contained in a letter to AIPAC's members, congratulating them on helping maintain U.S. support for Israel during the 2006 war in Lebanon. It is quoted in John Walsh, "AIPAC Congratulates Itself on the Slaughter in Lebanon," *CounterPunch.org*, August 16, 2006. This policy has been standard operating procedure for some time. In 1987, AIPAC head Tom Dine told supporters that "in the 1985-86 campaign, AIPAC lay leaders and staff met with every senator up for re-election except one, plus 49 Senate challengers and 205 House challengers, including every new freshman member." Quoted in Robert Pear and Richard L. Berke, "Pro-Israel Group Exerts Quiet Might as It Rallies Supporters in Congress," *New York Times*, July 7, 1987.
15. Hayden also says his willingness to defend Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 was the "mistake of my political career." Tom Hayden, "Things Come 'Round in Mideast," *truthdig.com*, July 18, 2006.



16. Harry Lonsdale, personal correspondence with authors, May 16, 2006. Lonsdale also notes that "I was still outspent by Senator Hatfield, and I lost the election," which confirms the obvious point that AIPAC does not succeed in every election.
17. Evans is quoted in John J. Fialka, "Linked Donations? Political Contributions from Pro-Israel PACs Suggest Coordination," *Wall Street Journal*, June 24, 1987.
18. Goldberg, "Real Insiders."
19. Charles R. Babcock, "Papers Link Pro-Israel Lobby to Political Funding Efforts," *Washington Post*, November 14, 1988; and Fialka, "Political Contributions from Pro-Israel PACs."
20. On the FEC's ruling, see John J. Fialka, "Pro-Israel Lobbying Group Is Accused of Breaking U.S. Campaign-Funds Law," *Wall Street Journal*, January 13, 1989; and Charles R. Babcock, "FEC Rules Pro-Israel Lobby, PACs Are Not 'Affiliated,'" *Washington Post*, December 22, 1990.
21. David D. Newsom, *The Public Dimension of Foreign Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 187.
22. "Pro-Israel Contributions to Federal Candidates, 2005-2006," [www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.asp?txt=Q05&cycle=20006](http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.asp?txt=Q05&cycle=20006).
23. Lexington, "Taming Leviathan," *Economist*, March 15, 2007; see also Kelley Beaucar Vla-hos, "Pro-Israel Lobby a Force to Be Reckoned With," *FOXnews.com*, May 28, 2002; Massing, "Deal Breakers"; and Massing, "Storm over the Israel Lobby."
24. Quoted in Vlahos, "Pro-Israel Lobby."
25. These figures include PAC contributions only, not contributions from individuals. Calculated from the Center for Responsive Politics website, [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org).
26. Ron Kampeas, "Pro-Israel Political Funds in U.S. Target Friendly Incumbents—and Challengers," *JTA.org*, October 3, 2006.
27. Janet McMahon, "Record Pro-Israel PAC Contributions Failed to Save Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle's Seat," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (online), July 2005.
28. Jonathan Allen, "McKinney Opponent Rakes in Pro-Israel Cash," *The Hill*, August 2, 2006, [www.hillnews.com](http://www.hillnews.com). According to the Center for Responsive Politics, McKinney spent roughly \$365,000 on her primary campaign, while victor Hank Johnson spent roughly \$800,000 on the primary and general election combined. Also see David Firestone, "A Nation Challenged: The Lawmaker; Call to Study U.S. Stance on Mideast Draws Anger," *New York Times*, October 18, 2001; Nathan Guttman, "Lobbying for the Pro-Israel Candidates," *Ha'aretz*, July 7, 2004; "Mideast Fuels 2 Democratic Primaries," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2002; and Jonathan Weisman, "House Incumbents McKinney, Schwarz Fall in Primaries," *Washington Post*, August 9, 2006.
29. Goldberg, "Real Insiders."
30. John J. Fialka, "Pro-Israel Politics: Jewish Groups Increase Campaign Donations, Target Them Precisely," *Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 1983; and Richard H. Curtiss, *Stealth PACs: How Israel's American Lobby Seeks to Control U.S. Middle East Policy*, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: American Educational Trust, 1996), 47.
31. Goldberg, "Real Insiders." Also see David M. Halbfinger, "Generational Battle Turns Nasty in Alabama Primary," *New York Times*, June 3, 2002; Tom Hamburger, "Mideast Haunts Alabama Race," *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2002; "Money from Supporters of Israel Played Role in Alabama Upset," *New York Times*, June 27, 2002; Juliet Eilperin, "Davis Ousts Rep. Hilliard in Alabama Runoff," *Washington Post*, June 26, 2002; and Benjamin Soskis, "Pro-Israel Lobby Backing Challenger in Alabama Race," *Forward*, May 10, 2002.
32. Quoted in Edward Walsh, "Jewish PACs Flex Muscle: On Hill, Being Viewed as Anti-Israel Can Be Risky," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1986; and Curtiss, *Stealth PACs*, 65-66. For additional details on these cases, see Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*, chap. 3.
33. Adlai Stevenson III, "The Black Book," unpublished book manuscript, undated; and personal correspondence with authors, March 22, 2007.
34. "Californian Spent \$1.1 Million on Illinois Race," *New York Times*, October 10, 1985; Richard L. Berke, "Cranston Backer Guilty in Campaign Finance Case," *New York Times*, May 8, 1990; and Tom Tugend, "Israel Financial Backer Convicted on U.S. Election Law Charges," *Jerusalem Post*, May 7, 1990.
35. Quoted in Edward Tivnan, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 191. The details in this paragraph are from *ibid.*, 189-91. Also see Charles R. Babcock, "Pro-Israel Political Activists Enforce 'Percy Factor,'" *Washington Post*, August 7, 1986.
36. Quoted in John Diamond and Brianna B. Picc, "Pro-Israel Groups Intensify Political Front in U.S.," *Chicago Tribune*, April 16, 2002.
37. Lucille Barnes, "Retiring Sen. Jesse Helms Caved to Pro-Israel Lobby Halfway Through His Career," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, March 2002, 34; and Tom Hamburger and Jim VandeHei, "Chosen People: How Israel Became a Favorite Cause of Christian Right," *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2002.
38. Freedman is quoted in Patrick Healy, "Clinton Vows to Back Israel in Latest Mideast Conflict," *New York Times*, July 18, 2006. Also see Adam Dicker, "Hillary: 'I Had a Lot to Prove,'" *Jewish Week*, November 18, 2005; Joshua Frank, "Hillary Clinton and the Israel Lobby," *Antiwar.com*, January 23, 2007; Rachel Z. Friedman, "Senator Israel," *National Review Online*, May 25, 2005; Ron Kampeas, "Candidates for 2008 Courting Jewish Support," *Jerusalem Post*, January 24, 2007; E. J. Kessler, "Hillary the Favorite in Race for Jewish Do nations," *Forward*, January 26, 2007; and Kristen Lombardi, "Hillary Calls Israel a 'Beacon' of Democracy," *Village Voice* (online), December 11, 2005.
39. Kessler, "Hillary the Favorite in Race for Jewish Donations"; campaign finance data from the Center for Responsive Politics, [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org).
40. Sometimes AIPAC and other pro-Israel groups just encourage potential foes to keep silent, as they did with John Sununu during the 2002 New Hampshire Senate race. Sununu had two liabilities: he is of Palestinian and Lebanese descent and some groups in the lobby thought his voting record was less than stellar. The National Jewish Democratic Council issued a press release saying his record on Israel-related issues "stands out—in a most unflattering way," and AIPAC made it clear he was a prime target, dispatching former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to campaign for Sununu's primary opponent. According to the executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition, Sununu responded with "an encouraging position paper" that emphasized his commitment to preserving Israel's military superiority. After winning the election, Sununu offered only muted criticisms of Israel's bombing campaign in Lebanon in the summer of 2006. See National Jewish Democratic Council, "John Sununu: A Singular Voting Record," press release, October 28, 2002; and Matthew E. Berger, "New Republican Congress Retains Pro-Israel Bent," *JTA.org*, November 8, 2002. For additional background, see Franklin Foer, "Foreign Aid: A Middle East Proxy War in New

- Hampshire," *New Republic*, November 26, 2001; Ralph Z. Hallow, "Pro-Israel Lobby Looks for Deal with Sununu," *Washington Times*, September 4, 2002; and Ori Nir, "Despite Hype, Israel Lobby Sits Out Tight New Hampshire Race," *Forward*, November 8, 2002.
41. "A Letter to AIPAC," *New York Review of Books*, June 8, 2006.
  42. Quoted in George D. Moffett III, "Israeli Lobby Virtually Unmatched," *Christian Science Monitor*, June 28, 1991.
  43. Amitay is quoted in Berger, "New Republican Congress"; Carter is quoted in Yitzhak Benhorin, "Balanced Stand on ME Is Political Suicide, Says Carter," *Ynetnews.com*, February 26, 2007.
  44. Richard L. Hall and Alan V. Deardorff, "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy," *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 1 (February 2006).
  45. Quoted in Camille Mansour, *Beyond Alliance: Israel in U.S. Foreign Policy*, trans. James A. Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 242.
  46. Jonathan Weisman and Jeffrey H. Birnbaum, "Senate Passes Ethics Package," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2007; Nathan Guttman, "Jewish Groups to Challenge Ethics Reform," *Forward*, December 1, 2006; Jim Abourezk, "The Hidden Cost of Free Congressional Trips to Israel," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 26, 2007; and the AIEF entry at the Center for Public Integrity, [www.publicintegrity.org](http://www.publicintegrity.org).
  47. Stephen Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), 255-57.
  48. Quoted in Seth P. Tillman, *The United States in the Middle East: Interests and Obstacles* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 67.
  49. The text of the letter to Rice is from [www.aipac.org/Publications/SourceMaterials/CongressionalAction/Nelson-Ensign\\_Letter\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.aipac.org/Publications/SourceMaterials/CongressionalAction/Nelson-Ensign_Letter_FINAL.pdf). Also see Nathan Guttman, "AIPAC Urges U.S. to End Contacts with Palestinian Authority," *Forward*, March 14, 2007.
  50. Quoted in Lloyd Grove, "On the March for Israel; The Lobbyists from AIPAC, Girding for Battle in the New World Order," *Washington Post*, June 13, 1991.
  51. Although AIPAC has been able to use its political muscle to avoid having to register as a foreign agent for another government, it is especially concerned about that problem today because of the Larry Franklin spy scandal, and thus it is going to considerable lengths to emphasize its "American side." See Ron Kampeas, "New Ruling in AIPAC Case Raises Questions about 'Foreign Agents,'" *JTA.org*, August 23, 2006; Ori Nir, "Leaders Fear Probe Will Force Pro-Israel Lobby to File as 'Foreign Agent,'" *Forward*, December 31, 2004; and Ori Nir, "Leaders Stress American Side of AIPAC," *Forward*, May 27, 2005.
  52. "Sen. Hollings Floor Statement Setting the Record Straight on His Mideast Newspaper Column," May 20, 2004, originally posted on the former senator's website (now defunct) but still available at [www.shalomctr.org/node/620](http://www.shalomctr.org/node/620).
  53. Quoted in Grove, "On the March for Israel."
  54. Sharon's remark was published in an AIPAC advertisement in the *Chicago Jewish Star*, August 29-September 11, 2003; Olmert's statement is quoted in "To Israel with Love," *Economist*, August 5, 2006.
  55. Jordan wrote, "Out of 125 members of the Democratic National Finance Council, over 70 are Jewish; In 1976, over 60% of the large donors to the Democratic Party were Jewish; Over 60% of the monies raised by Nixon in 1972 was from Jewish contributors; Over 75% of the monies raised in Humphrey's 1968 campaign was from Jewish contributors; Over 90% of the monies raised by Scoop Jackson in the Democratic primaries was from Jewish contributors; In spite of the fact that you were a long shot and came from an area of the country where there is a smaller Jewish community, approximately 35% of our primary funds were from Jewish supporters." Hamilton Jordan, Confidential File, Box 34, File "Foreign Policy/Domestic Politics Memo, HJ Memo, 6/77," Atlanta, Carter Library, declassified June 12, 1990.
  56. Thomas B. Edsall and Alan Cooperman, "GOP Uses Remarks to Court Jews," *Washington Post*, March 13, 2003. Also see James D. Besser, "Jews' Primary Role Expanding," *Jewish Week*, January 23, 2004; Alexander Bolton, "Jewish Defections Irk Democrats," *The Hill* (online), March 30, 2004; and E. J. Kessler, "Ancient Woes Resurfacing as Dean Eyes Top Dem Post," *Forward*, January 28, 2005.
  57. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, 115-39; Amy Keller, "Chasing Jewish Dollars: Can GOP Narrow Money Gap in 2004?" *Atlanta Jewish Times* (online), January 17, 2003; and Kessler, "Hillary the Favorite in Race for Jewish Donations."
  58. Jeffrey S. Helmreich, "The Israel Swing Factor: How the American Jewish Vote Influences U.S. Elections," *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints* (online) 446 (January 15, 2001): 1.
  59. Kampeas, "Candidates for 2008."
  60. E. J. Kessler, "Lieberman and Dean Spar over Israel," *Forward*, September 12, 2003; and Stephen Zunes, "Attacks on Dean Expose Democrats' Shift to the Right," *Tikkun.org*, November/December 2003.
  61. Zunes, "Attacks on Dean"; and James D. Besser, "Dean's Jewish Problem," *Chicago Jewish Star*, December 19, 2003-January 8, 2004.
  62. E. J. Kessler, "Dean Plans to Visit Israel, Political Baggage in Tow," *Forward*, July 8, 2005; and Zunes, "Attacks on Dean."
  63. A transcript of the Steiner-Katz conversation is available at [www.wrmea.com/backissues/1292/9212013.html](http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/1292/9212013.html). Also see Thomas L. Friedman, "Pro-Israel Lobbyist Quits over Audio-taped Boasts," *New York Times*, November 5, 1992; and "Israeli Lobby President Resigns over Promises; Bragged to Contributor About Lies to Clinton," *Washington Times*, November 4, 1992.
  64. John Heilprin, "Ex-Deputy Pleads Guilty in Abramoff Case," *Boston Globe*, March 23, 2007; and Stacey Schultz, "Mr. Outside Moves Inside," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 16, 2003.
  65. Laura Blumenfeld, "Three Peace Suits; For These Passionate American Diplomats, a Middle East Settlement Is the Goal of a Lifetime," *Washington Post*, February 24, 1997; and Clayton E. Swisher, *The Truth About Camp David: The Untold Story About the Collapse of the Middle East Peace Process* (New York: Nation Books, 2004), 35-38, 183-87. In a review of *The Missing Peace*, Ross's account of the failed Middle East peace process, the Israeli historian Avi Shlaim described the Clinton team as "one of the most ardently pro-Israel" administrations in U.S. history and said that "it is difficult to think of an American official who is more quintessentially Israel-first in his outlook than Dennis Ross." Avi Shlaim, "The Lost Steps," *Nation*, August 30, 2004. Also see Michael C. Desch, "The Peace That Failed," *American Conservative*, November 8, 2004; and Jerome Slater, "The Missing Pieces in *The Missing Peace*," *Tikkun.org*, May 2005.
  66. Samuel Berger, President Clinton's national security adviser, reports that at one point during the negotiations at Camp David (July 2000), Dennis Ross commented, "If Barak offers anything more, I'll be against this

- agreement." Unedited transcript of "Comments by Sandy Berger at the Launch of *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate* (USIP Press, 2005)," U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, June 7, 2005, [www.usip.org/events/2005/0607\\_beberger.pdf](http://www.usip.org/events/2005/0607_beberger.pdf).
67. Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "The Tragedy of Errors," *New York Review of Books*, August 9, 2001. The Palestinian complaint is quoted in Blumenfeld, "Three Peace Suits."
  68. David K. Shipler, "On Middle East Policy, a Major Influence," *New York Times*, July 6, 1987.
  69. Douglas Brinkley, "The Lives They Lived; Out of the Loop," *New York Times Magazine*, December 29, 2002.
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  71. Lawrence Kaplan, "Torpedo Boat: How Bush Turned on Arafat," *New Republic*, February 18, 2002.
  72. Elliott Abrams, *Faith or Fear: How Jews Can Survive in a Christian America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 181.
  73. Nathan Guttman, "From Clemency to a Senior Post," *Ha'aretz*, December 16, 2002.

## 6: DOMINATING PUBLIC DISCOURSE

1. Robert H. Trice, "Interest Groups and the Foreign Policy Process: U.S. Policy in the Middle East," *Sage Professional Papers in International Studies*, ed. V. Davis and M. East (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1976), 63-65.
2. Eric Alterman, "Intractable Foes, Warring Narratives," *MSNBC.com*, March 28, 2002.
3. Cathy Young of *Reason* magazine protested her inclusion on Alterman's list of "reflexively" pro-Israel pundits and Alterman acknowledged the error.
4. Kristof began by observing there was "no serious political debate among either Democrats or Republicans about our policy toward Israelis and Palestinians" and suggested that this was bad for all parties involved, including Israel itself. This point should have been uncontroversial, but it earned a letter of protest from the Anti-Defamation League and his views were described as a "one-sided blame-Israel approach" by CAMERA, a pro-Israel media watchdog group. See his "Talking About Israel," *New York Times*, March 18, 2007; "Letter to the Editor," *New York Times*, March 19, 2007, [www.adl.org/media\\_watch/newspapers/20070319\\_NYTimes.htm](http://www.adl.org/media_watch/newspapers/20070319_NYTimes.htm); and CAMERA, "Kristof's Blame-Israel Rant," March 21, 2007, [www.camera.org/index.asp?x\\_context=2&x\\_outlet=139&x\\_article=1303](http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=2&x_outlet=139&x_article=1303).
5. Quoted in Bret Stephens, "Eye on the Media by Bret Stephens: Bartley's Journal," *Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 2002.
6. Jerome N. Slater, "Muting the Alarm: The *New York Times* and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 2000-2006," *International Security* 32, no. 2 (Fall 2007); and Howard Friel and Richard Falk, *Israel-Palestine on Record: How the New York Times Misreports Conflict in the Middle East* (London: Verso, 2007).
7. Max Frankel, *The Times of My Life and My Life with The Times* (New York: Random House, 1999), 401-403.
8. Quoted in Robert I. Friedman, "Selling Israel to America: The *Hasbara* Project Targets the U.S. Media," *Mother Jones*, February-March 1987.
9. Peretz's remark about his love for Israel is quoted in Alexander Cockburn and Ken Silverstein, *Washington Babylon* (London: Verso Books, 1996), 6. His statement about the "party line" at the *New Republic* is quoted in J. J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996), 299. *Time* magazine once described the *New Republic* under Peretz's guidance as "inflexible in its support of Israel." See William A. Henry III, "Breaking the Liberal Pattern," *Time*, October 1, 1984.
10. Quoted in Michael Massing, "The Israel Lobby," *Nation*, June 10, 2002.
11. Felicity Barringer, "Some U.S. Backers of Israel Boycott Dailies over Mideast Coverage That They Deplore," *New York Times*, May 23, 2002; Michael Getler, "Caught in the Crossfire," *Washington Post*, May 5, 2002; Tim Jones, "Pro-Israel Groups Take Aim at U.S. News Media," *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 2002; Massing, "Israel Lobby"; and David Shaw, "From Jewish Outlook, Media Are Another Enemy," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 2002.
12. Quoted in Massing, "Israel Lobby."
13. Quoted in Friedman, "Selling Israel to America."
14. Ifshin is quoted in Lloyd Grove, "On the March for Israel; The Lobbyists from AIPAC, Girding for Battle in the New World Order," *Washington Post*, June 13, 1991. Also see Daniel Eisenberg, "AIPAC Attack?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, January/February 1993; Robert I. Friedman, "The Israel Lobby's Blacklist," *Village Voice*, August 4, 1992; Robert I. Friedman, "A PAC with McCarthy," *Village Voice*, August 25, 1992; Robert I. Friedman, "The Wobbly Israeli Lobby," *Washington Post*, November 1, 1992; Thomas A. Dine and Mayer Mitchell, "The Truth About AIPAC," *Washington Post*, November 14, 1992; and Lawrence N. Cohler, "The AIPAC Flap," *Washington Post*, December 5, 1992.
15. See, for example, "Conflict of Interest Fits NPR Bias," [www.camera.org/index.asp?x\\_context=4&x\\_outlet=28&x\\_article=100](http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=4&x_outlet=28&x_article=100); and Joel Berkovsky, "NPR Responds to Claims of Bias with Weeklong Series on Mideast," *JTA.org*, October 4, 2002.
16. For the actual ad, see [www.camera.org/images\\_user/advertisements/large/CAMERA\\_CarterAD.pdf](http://www.camera.org/images_user/advertisements/large/CAMERA_CarterAD.pdf).
17. This discussion of CAMERA and NPR is drawn from Barringer, "Some U.S. Backers"; James D. Besser, "NPR Radio Wars Putting Jewish Groups in a Bind," *Jewish Week*, May 20, 2005; Samuel Freedman, "From 'Balance' to Censorship: Bush's Cynical Plan for NPR," *Forward*, May 27, 2005; Nathan Guttman, "Enough Already from Those Pro-Israel Nudniks," *Ha'aretz*, February 1, 2005; Mark Jurkowitz, "Blaming the Messenger," *Boston Globe Magazine*, February 9, 2003; E. J. Kessler, "Hot Seat Expected for New Chair of Corporation for Public Broadcasting," *Forward*, October 28, 2005; Gaby Wenig, "NPR Israel Coverage Sparks Protests," *Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles* (online), May 9, 2003; and Gila Wertheimer, "NPR Dismisses Protest Rallies," *Chicago Jewish Star*, May 30-June 12, 2003.
18. Bret Stephens, "An Open Letter to Ian Buruma," *Jerusalem Post*, September 5, 2003. Buruma's original piece is "How to Talk About Israel," *New York Times Magazine*, August 31, 2003.
19. Judt revealed this incident in an interview in a 2007 documentary, *The Israel Lobby*, produced by VPRO International, the Dutch public broadcasting corporation, and in a debate on the Israel lobby sponsored by the *London Review of Books*, which was held at Cooper Union in New York City on September 28, 2006. Videos of the documentary and the debate are available at

- www.scribemedial.org/2006/10/11/israel-lobby/ and www.youtube.com/profile?user=VPROinternational, respectively.
20. James Traub, "Does Abe Foxman Have an Anti-Anti-Semite Problem?" *New York Times Magazine*, January 14, 2007.
  21. www.conferenceofpresidents.org/content.asp?id=34 and www.americasvoices.net. In this case a key official at an American organization (the Conference of Presidents) is describing the initiative as part of Israel's public relations (*hasbara*) activities.
  22. On the growing role and activities of think tanks, see Donald E. Abelson, *American Think-Tanks and Their Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Trudy Lieberman, *Slanting the Story: The Forces That Shape the News* (New York: New Press, 2000); David M. Ricci, *The Transformation of American Politics: The New Washington and the Rise of Think Tanks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); James Allen Smith, *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite* (New York: Free Press, 1991); and Diane Stone, *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think-Tanks and the Policy Process* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996).
  23. Joel Beinin, "Money, Media and Policy Consensus: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy," *Middle East Report Online*, January-February 1993, 10-15; Goldberg, *Jewish Power*, 221-22; and Mark H. Milstein, "Washington Institute for Near East Policy: An AIPAC Image Problem," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (online), July 1991.
  24. Quoted in Milstein, "Washington Institute."
  25. *Toward Peace in the Middle East: Report of a Study Group* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1975).
  26. Andrew Ross Sorkin, "Schlepping to Moguldom," *New York Times*, September 5, 2004. Saban is also a major supporter of Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign. Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Matthew Mosk, "Clinton Fundraising Goes Full Force," *Washington Post*, February 7, 2007.
  27. Leverett worked at Brookings's Saban Center from May 2003 to June 2006, where he was initially a visiting fellow and later a senior fellow. He had significant disagreements with his boss, Martin Indyk, over U.S. policy toward Iran and Syria. Leverett maintained that it made little sense to threaten Iran with a military strike if it did not abandon its nuclear program and that it made more sense to pursue a grand bargain with Tehran. Indyk held the opposite view. Leverett also disagreed with Indyk's view that the assassination of Prime Minister Rafic Hariri of Lebanon provided an excellent opportunity to undermine Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Leverett was forced out of Brookings, partly because of his disagreements with Indyk and partly because he criticized Saban Center Research Director Kenneth Pollack's advocacy of the Iraq war. Interview with authors, October 17, 2006; correspondence with authors, June 6, 2007, June 12, 2007.
  28. The 2005 forum was held in Israel and did feature one session with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, Finance Minister Salam Fayad, and Civil Affairs Minister Mohamed Dahlan.
  29. Foxman is quoted in David E. Sanger, "Iran's Leader Relishes 2nd Chance to Make Waves," *New York Times*, September 21, 2006. Also see "Ahmadinejad Talks to U.S. Think Tank," *Washington Post*, September 21, 2006; and Eli Lake, "N.Y.'s Jewish Leaders Reject Offer to Meet Iran's Leader," *New York Sun*, September 18, 2006.
  30. James D. Besser, "Turning Up Heat in Campus Wars," *Jewish Week*, July 25, 2003; Ronald S. Lauder and Jay Schottenstein, "Back to School for Israel Advocacy," *Forward*, November 14, 2003; and Rachel Pomerance, "Israel Forces Winning Campus Battle, Say Students Attending AIPAC Meeting," *JTA.org*, December 31, 2002.
  31. Michal Lando, "Christians to Train in Israel Advocacy," *Jerusalem Post*, May 14, 2007.
  32. Besser, "Turning Up Heat"; and Pomerance, "Israel Forces Winning." In the spring of 2005, AIPAC hosted one hundred student government presidents (eighty of whom were not Jewish) at its annual conference. Nathaniel Popper, "Pro-Israel Groups: Campuses Improving," *Forward*, June 24, 2005.
  33. "Policy Conference Highlights," www.aipac.org/2841.htm.
  34. Jonathan S. Kessler and Jeff Schwaber, *The AIPAC College Guide: Exposing the Anti-Israel Campaign on Campus*, special ed. for the Hillel Foundation (Washington, DC: AIPAC, 1984); and Kristine McNeil, "The War on Academic Freedom," *Nation*, November 11, 2002.
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  36. Tanya Schevitz, "'Dossiers' Dropped from Web Blacklist; Mideast Center Says Denouncing Professors Was Counterproductive," *San Francisco Chronicle* (online), October 3, 2002.
  37. "The International Studies in Higher Education Act (HR 3077)," text from www.govtrack.us/congressMtext.xpd?bill=h 108-3077.
  38. Stanley Kurtz, "Anti-Americanism in the Classroom," *National Review Online*, May 16, 2002; Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle East Studies in America* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001).
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  41. HR 609 [109th Congress], "College Access and Opportunity Act of 2006," www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h 109-609.
  42. See Martin Kramer, "Title VI Verdict," [http://sandbox.blog-city.com/title\\_vi\\_verdict.htm](http://sandbox.blog-city.com/title_vi_verdict.htm); and Stanley Kurtz, "Title Bout: Bipartisan Hope for Middle East Studies Reform," *National Review Online*, April 2, 2007. Also see Committee to Review the Title VI and Fulbright-Hays International Education Programs, "International Education and Foreign Languages: Keys to Securing America's Future" (Washington, DC: National Research Council, 2007), 3.
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funded under this title is not resolved under the process outlined in the relevant grantee's application, such complaint shall be filed with the Department [of Education] and reviewed by the Secretary."

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55. Peter Dombrowski, a faculty member at the Naval War College, reported this story to us on June 13, 2006, and confirmed it in e-mail correspondence on April 5, 2007.
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60. Yaniv Halili, "New Yorkers to Study About Israel," *ynetnews.com*, September 8, 2006; and David Andreatta, "Schools Back Israeli Teacher Course," *New York Post* (online), September 28, 2006. Pressure can even be exerted on private high schools. In January 2007, protests from concerned parents and the Jewish Community Relations Council of Silicon Valley led to the cancellation of a talk by the Stanford University Professor Joel Beinin at the Harker School, a private school in San Jose. Beinin is Jewish and an avowed Zionist, but because he is also a critic of Israeli policies toward the Palestinians, it was apparently unacceptable for him to speak to a high school group. Joel Beinin, "Silencing Critics Not Way to Middle East Peace," *San Francisco Chronicle* (online), February 4, 2007.
61. Max Gross, "Israel Advocacy Coalition Targeting High Schools," *Forward*, January 23, 2004; Rachel Pomerance, "With Israel Issue Hot on Campus, Groups Train High School Advocates," *JTA.org*, January 22, 2004; and "New Pro-Israel Campaign Targets High School Students," *JTA.org*, June 2, 2004.
62. Jonathan Kessler, "Pro-Israel Activism Makes Comeback on Campus," *Forward*, December 26, 2003; Popper, "Pro-Israel Groups:

- Campuses Improving"; Barry Silverman and Randall Kaplan, "Pro-Israel College Activists Quietly Successful on Campus," *JTA.org*, May 9, 2005; and Chanan Tigay, "As Students Return to Campus, Activists Prepare a New Approach," *JTA.org*, September 1, 2005. Nevertheless, there are limits to the lobby's effectiveness on campuses. See Joe Eskenazi, "Book: College Campuses Quiet, but Anti-Israel Feeling Is Growing," *JTA.org*, November 29, 2005; and Gary Rosenblatt, "U.S. Grad Students Seen Hostile to Israel," *Jewish Week*, June 17, 2005.
63. Harris and Polish Consul General Krzysztof Kasprzyk are quoted in Michael Powell, "In N.Y., Sparks Fly over Israel Criticism," *Washington Post*, October 9, 2006. Also see J.J. Goldberg, "A 'Lobby' Prof Asks: Can We Talk?" *Forward*, October 13, 2006; Larry Cohler-Esses, "Off Limits? Talk by Israel Critic Canceled," *Jewish Week*, October 6, 2006; and Ira Stoll, "Poland Abruptly Cancels a Speech by Local Critic of the Jewish State," *New York Sun*, October 4, 2006. A copy of the open letter can be found in "The Case of Tony Judt: An Open Letter to the ADL," *New York Review of Books*, November 16, 2006. For the ADL's response and a follow-up response by the two main authors of the original letter, see "The ADL & Tony Judt: An Exchange," *New York Review of Books*, November 30, 2006.
  64. Graham Bowley, "Lunch with the FT: Tony Judt," *Financial Times*, March 16, 2007.
  65. Quoted in "French Embassy Cancels N.Y. Book Launch over Author's Israel Views," *Ha'aretz*, October 10, 2006. Also Ed Pilkington, "US Free Speech Row Grows as Author Says Jewish Complaints Stopped Party," *Guardian*, October 11, 2006; and Henry Porter, "The Enemies of Free Speech Are Everywhere," *Observer*, October 15, 2006. The relevant passage in Callil's book reads as follows: "The French forget Vichy, Australians forget the Aborigines, the English forget the Irish, Unionists forget the Catholics of Northern Ireland, the United States forgot Chile and forgets Guantanamo. Everyone forgets East Timor and Rwanda. As I wrote this book, people constantly asked me how I could bear to write about such a villain and about such terrible things. In fact, horrors from the past did not deter me. What caused me anguish . . . was to live so closely to the helpless terror of the Jews of France, and to see what the Jews of Israel were passing on to the Palestinian people. Like the rest of humanity, the Jews of Israel 'forget' the Palestinians. Everyone forgets; every nation forgets." Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family, Fatherland, and Vichy France* (New York: Random House, 2006), 437.
  66. Jesse McKinley, "Play About Demonstrator's Death Is Delayed," *New York Times*, February 28, 2006; and Katharine Viner, "A Message Crushed Again," *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 2006. Also see Rachel Irwin, "Censoring Rachel's Words?" *Jerusalem Post*, March 20, 2006; Edward Rothstein, "Too Hot to Handle, Too Hot to Not Handle," *New York Times*, March 6, 2006; and Philip Weiss, "Too Hot for New York," *Nation*, April 3, 2006.
  67. Richard Ouzounian, "'Corrie' Cancelled in Canada," *Variety* (online), December 22, 2006.
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  69. Foxman is quoted in Jim McGee, "Jewish Group's Tactics Investigated," *Washington Post*, October 19, 1993. On the ADL case, see Chip Berlet and Dennis King, "ADL-Gate," *Tikkun*, July/August 1993; Jeffrey Blankfort, Anne Poirier, and Steve Zeltser, "The ADL Spy Case Is Over, but the Struggle Continues," *CounterPunch.org*, February 25, 2002; Phil Bronstein, "Suspect in Cop Spy Case Tells His Story," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 22, 1993; Lynne Duke, "Anti-Defamation League Sued: Rights Violations Alleged in Spying," *Washington Post*, October 22, 1993; Bob Egelko, "Jewish Defense Group Settles S.F. Spying Suit," *San Francisco Chronicle* (online), February 23, 2002; Robert I. Friedman, "The Enemy Within," *Village Voice*, May 11, 1993; "Inquiry Is Dropped over Spy Charges," *New York Times*, November 17, 1993; and "The ADL Snoops," *CounterPunch.org*, November 11, 1998.
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  71. Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "A Shameful Contagion of Anti-Semitism in Europe," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 7, 2002; and Jeff Jacoby, "The Cancer of Anti-Semitism in Europe," *Boston Globe*, March 21, 2004.
  72. Quoted in Tony Judt, "Goodbye to All That?" *Nation*, January 3, 2005.
  73. Anti-Defamation League, "Attitudes Toward Jews, Israel and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in Ten European Countries," April 2004; and Pew Global Attitudes Project, *A Year After Iraq War: Mistrust of America in Europe Even Higher, Muslim Anger Persists* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, March 16, 2004), 4-5, 26. On the ADL survey, see "ADL Survey Finds Some Decrease in Anti-Semitic Attitudes in Ten European Countries," ADL press release, April 26, 2004; and Shlomo Shamir, "Poll Shows Decrease in Anti-Semitic Views in Europe," *Ha'aretz*, April 27, 2004. These findings had virtually no effect on pro-Israel pundits, who continued to argue that anti-Semitism was rampant in Europe. See, for example, Daniel J. Goldhagen, "Europe's Toothless Reply to Anti-Semitism: Conference Fails to Build Tools to Fight a Rising Sickness," *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 2004; and Charles Krauthammer, "The Real Mideast Poison," *Washington Post*, April 30, 2004.
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  77. "French Police: Anti-Semitism in France Sharply Decreased in 2005," *Ha'aretz*, January 19, 2006.
  78. "French Protest for Murdered Jew," *BBC News* (online), February 26, 2006; and Michel Zlotowski, "Large Memorial Held for Parisian Jew," *Jerusalem Post*, February 23, 2006.
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the neo-Nazi youth element in Eastern Europe and Latin America." Jonathan Schneider, "Anti-Semitism Still a World Problem," *Jerusalem Post*, January 26, 2006.

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84. Helen Nugent, "Chief Rabbi Flays Church over Vote on Israel Assets," *Times* (London), February 17, 2006. Also see Bill Bowder, "Sacks Seeks Talks after Synod Vote on Disinvestment," *Church Times* (online), February 17, 2006; "Bulldozer Motion Based on Ignorance," *Church Times* (online), February 10, 2006; Ruth Gledhill, "Church Urged to Reconsider Investments with Israel," *Times* (London), May 28, 2005; and Irene Lancaster, "Anglicans Have Betrayed the Jews," Moriel Ministries (UK) website, [www.moriel.org/articles/israel/anglicans\\_have\\_betrayed\\_thejews.htm](http://www.moriel.org/articles/israel/anglicans_have_betrayed_thejews.htm). Also "U.K. Chief Rabbi Attacks Anglicans over Israel Divestment Vote," *Ha'aretz*, February 17, 2006.
85. That the Church of England was merely criticizing Israeli policy and not engaging in anti-Semitism is clearly reflected in the February 10, 2006, letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, to the chief rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, explaining the church's decision on divestment. "Archbishop: Synod Call Was Expression of Concern," Church of England website, [www.cofe.anglican.org/news/pr2006.html](http://www.cofe.anglican.org/news/pr2006.html).
86. Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974). In their words, the "heart of the new anti-Semitism" was "a large measure of indifference to the most profound apprehensions of the Jewish people, a blandness and apathy in dealing with anti-Jewish behavior, a widespread incapacity or unwillingness to comprehend the necessity of the existence of Israel to Jewish safety and survival throughout the world" (324).
87. According to the Perlmutter, "It was anti-Semitism's velvet glove that provided the points for the [Reagan] administration's victory [in the AWACS deal]." Nathan Perlmutter and Ruth Ann Perlmutter, *The Real Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Arbor House, 1982), 236.
88. In the Perlmutter's words, "Today the interest of Jews are not so much threatened by their familiar nemesis, crude anti-Semitism, as by a-Semitic governmental policies, the proponents of which may be free of anti-Semitism." These policies include "thirst of Western economies for recycled petrodollars," neo-isolationism, and compensatory group rights (such as affirmative action), among others. And in their view, "Jews today face greater jeopardy from quarters which though innocent of bigotry, nonetheless pose us greater danger than do our long time, easily recognizable anti-Semitic nemeses. Unchallenged and unchecked, these issues in surface appearance Semantically neutral, can hurt Jews and resisted as need be, can loose once again classical anti-Semitism." *Real Anti-Semitism*, 9, 231-32.
89. Quoted in Hillel Halkin, "The Return of Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, February 2002, 30.
90. Natan Sharansky, "Anti-Semitism Is Our Problem," *Ha'aretz*, August 10, 2003. Also Zucker-man, "Shameful Contagion."
91. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Jack Wertheimer, "Jewish Organizational Life," in *American Jewish Yearbook 1995* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1995), 70; and Frank Rich, "The Booing of Wolfowitz," *New York Times*, May 11, 2002.
92. Leon Wieseltier, "Hitler Is Dead: The Case Against Jewish Ethnic Panic," *New Republic*, May 27, 2002 (both Hentoff and Rosenbaum are quoted in this article). Former Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat offered a similar caution in April 2007, writing that "while anti-Semitism has not been extinguished, the gravity of the Holocaust has been imbedded on world opinion. Levels of general antisemitic attitudes have declined sharply. There has been a successful decades-long Catholic-Jewish dialogue, with important statements by the Vatican that diminish religious-based anti-Semitism . . . Most Western European countries have Holocaust remembrance days, and several have Holocaust memorial museums . . . Virtually every major European nation provides police protection for Jewish synagogues and religious schools. Antisemitic actions are met with firm responses, as in France, albeit belatedly." Stuart Eizenstat, "The Dangers Are Great, but It Is Not 1938," *Forward*, April 20, 2007.
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95. As Shmuel Rosner notes, Carter's critics "are almost all Jews," but as the Yossi Beilin quotation in the previous paragraph makes clear, not all Jews were critical of the former president. "The Carter Trap," *Ha'aretz*, January 15, 2007. On the very different reaction to Carter among non-Jews, see M. J. Rosenberg, "Israel's Increased Isolation," Weekly Opinion Column, Issue #308, Israel Policy Forum, Washington, DC, January 19, 2007.
96. Foxman is quoted in James Besser, "Jewish Criticism of Carter Intensifies," *Jewish Week*, December 15, 2006; and Martin Peretz, "Carter's Legacy," *The Spine* (New Republic web-log), November 28, 2006.
97. Deborah Lipstadt, "Jimmy Carter's Jewish Problem," *Washington Post*, January 20, 2007.
98. "Carter Defends Book on Israel Conflict," *Jerusalem Post*, January 21, 2007.

99. Specifically, Krauthammer referred to Fukuyama's argument as a "novel way of Judaizing neoconservatism" and said that "his is not the crude kind [of argument], advanced by Pat Buchanan and Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad, among others, that American neoconservatives (read: Jews) are simply doing Israel's bidding, hijacking American foreign policy in the service of Israel and the greater Jewish conspiracy. Fukuyama's take is more subtle and implicit." Despite the distinction, Krauthammer was clearly suggesting that Fukuyama was a "subtle" anti-Semite. For the exchange, see Francis Fukuyama, "The Neoconservative Moment," *National Interest* 76 (Summer 2004); Charles Krauthammer, "In Defense of Democratic Realism," *National Interest* 77 (Fall 2004); Francis Fukuyama, "Letter," *National Interest* 78 (Winter 2004/05); and Charles Krauthammer, "Letter," *National Interest* 79 (Spring 2005).
100. Eliot Cohen, "Yes, It's Anti-Semitic," *Washington Post*, April 5, 2006; and Eli Lake, "David Duke Claims to Be Vindicated by a Harvard Dean," *New York Sun*, March 20, 2006.
101. Anti-Defamation League, "Mearsheimer and Walt's Anti-Israel Screed: A Relentless Assault in Scholarly Guise," *ADL Analysis* (online), March 24, 2006; Josef Joffe, "Common Denominator," *New Republic Online*, April 10, 2006; Benny Morris, "And Now for Some Facts: The Ignorance at the Heart of an Innuendo," *New Republic*, May 8, 2006; Michael B. Oren, "Quiet Riot: Tinfoil Hats in Harvard Yard," *New Republic*, April 10, 2006; and Martin Peretz, "Oil and Vinegar: Surveying the Israel Lobby," *New Republic*, April 10, 2006.
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103. The quotes are from Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "'Progressive' Jewish Thought and the New Anti-Semitism," American Jewish Committee, December 2006, v, 9. Also see Patricia Cohen, "Essay Linking Liberal Jews and Anti-Semitism Sparks a Furor," *New York Times*, January 31, 2007; Larry Cohler-Esses, "Anger over Broadside Aimed at Jewish Leftists," *Jewish Week*, February 9, 2007; Ben Harris, "Suddenly, Little-Noticed Essay Is Focus of Debate on Israel Criticism," *JTA.org*, February 7, 2007; Alan Wolfe, "Free Speech, Israel, and Jewish Illiberalism," *Chronicle Review* (of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*), November 17, 2006; and Gaby Wood, "The New Jewish Question," *Observer*, February 11, 2007.
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106. Kristol, "Anti-Judaism." Kristol's solution is instead to accuse critics of Israel—including us—of "bigotry" and being "anti-Jewish."

## INTRODUCTION TO PART II

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#### 8: IRAQ AND DREAMS OF TRANSFORMING THE MIDDLE EAST

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  26. Benn, "PM Urging U.S." For additional evidence that "Israel and its supporters" were deeply concerned in 2002 "that critics would claim that the United States was going to war on Israel's behalf—or even, as some have suggested, at Israel's behest," see Marc Perelman, "Iraqi Move Puts Israel in Lonely U.S. Corner," *Forward*, September 20, 2002.
  27. On the lobby's concerns in the run-up to the 1991 Gulf War, see John B. Judis, "Jews and the Gulf. Fallout from the Six-Week War," *Tikkun*, May/June 1991; Allison Kaplan, "Saddam Splits Jewish Lobby," *Jerusalem Post*, January 14, 1991; and David Rogers, "Pro-Israel Lobbyists Quietly Backed Resolution Allowing Bush to Commit U.S. Troops to Combat," *Wall Street Journal*, January 28, 1991. On Israel's concerns at the same time, see Brinkley, "Top Israelis Warn of Deep Worry"; Carnegie, "Pullout Not Enough"; Chartrand, "Israel Warns"; Diehl, "Israelis Fear Iraqi Threat"; and Merzer, "Israel Hopes." The Buchanan quotation is from Chris Reidy, "The War Between the Columnists Gets Nasty," *Boston Globe*, September 22, 1990.
  28. Benn, "PM Aide"; and Keyser, "Israel Urges U.S. to Attack."
  29. Quoted in Rodgers, "Rice and Peres Warn."
  30. Benn, "PM Aide."
  31. Alon, "Sharon to Panel." At a White House press conference with President Bush on October 16, 2002, Sharon said, "I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for the friendship and cooperation. And as far as I remember, as we look back towards many years now, I think that we never had such relations with any President of the United States as we have with you, and we never had such cooperation in everything as we have with the current administration." "President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Sharon to White House; Question and Answer Session with the Press," transcript of press conference, U.S. Department of State, October 16, 2002. Also see Robert G. Kaiser, "Bush and Sharon Nearly Identical on Mideast Policy," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2003.
  32. Shlomo Brom, "An Intelligence Failure," *Strategic Assessment* (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University) 6, no. 3 (November 2003): 9. Also see "Intelligence Assessment: Selections from the Media, 1998-2003," *ibid.*, 17-19; Gideon Alon, "Report Slams Assessment of Dangers Posed by Libya, Iraq," *Ha'aretz*, March 28, 2004; Dan Baron, "Israeli Report Blasts Intelligence for Exaggerating the Iraqi Threat," *JTA.org*, March 29, 2004; Molly Moore, "Israel Shares Blame on Iraq Intelligence, Report Says," *Washington Post*, December 5, 2003; Greg Myre, "Israeli Report Faults Intelligence on Iraq," *New York Times*, March 28, 2004; Ori Nir, "Senate Report on Iraq Intel Points to Role of Jerusalem," *Forward*, July 16, 2004; and James Risen, *State of War: The Secret History of the CIA and the Bush Administration* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), 72-73.

33. On the general phenomenon of buck-passing, see John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 157-62.
34. Quoted in Perelman, "Iraqi Move."
35. Herb Keinon, "Sharon to Putin: Too Late for Iraq Arms Inspection," *Jerusalem Post*, October 1, 2002.
36. "Peres Questions France Permanent Status on Security Council," *Ha'aretz*, February 20, 2003.
37. Perelman, "Iraqi Move."
38. Shlomo Avineri, "A Haunting Echo," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 2002. Also see Benjamin Netanyahu, "The Case for Toppling Saddam," *Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2002; and Nathan Guttman, "Shimon Peres Warns Against Repeat of 1930s Appeasement," *Ha'aretz*, September 15, 2002.
39. For some representative editorials, see "Next Stop, Baghdad," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, November 15, 2001; "Don't Wait for Saddam," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, August 18, 2002; "Making the Case for War," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, September 9, 2002. For some representative op-eds, see Ron Dermer, "The March to Baghdad," *Jerusalem Post*, December 21, 2001; Efraim Inbar, "Ousting Saddam, Instilling Stability," *Jerusalem Post*, October 8, 2002; and Gerald M. Steinberg, "Imagining the Liberation of Iraq," *Jerusalem Post*, November 18, 2001.
40. "Don't Wait for Saddam."
41. Ehud Barak, "Taking Apart Iraq's Nuclear Threat," *New York Times*, September 4, 2002.
42. Netanyahu, "The Case for Toppling Saddam." Also see Benjamin Netanyahu, "U.S. Must Beat Saddam to the Punch," *Chicago Sun-Times*, September 17, 2002.
43. See, for example, "Benjamin Netanyahu Testifies About Iraq to Congress," CNN Live Event, *CNN.com*, September 12, 2002; Jim Lobe, "Hawks Justify Iraq Strike as War for Democracy," Inter Press Service, September 27, 2002; and Janine Zacharia, "Netanyahu: US Must Guarantee Israel's Safety from Iraqi Attack," *Jerusalem Post*, September 13, 2002.
44. Aluf Benn, "Background: Enthusiastic IDF Awaits War in Iraq," *Ha'aretz*, February 17, 2003; James Bennet, "Israel Says War on Iraq Would Benefit the Region," *New York Times*, February 27, 2003; and Chemi Shalev, "Jerusalem Frets as U.S. Battles Iraq War Delays," *Forward*, March 7, 2003.
45. Quoted in James Bennet, "Clinton Redux," *The Atlantic@Aspen* weblog, July 8, 2006.
46. Asher Arian, "Israeli Public Opinion on National Security 2002," Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Memorandum no. 61, July 2002, 10, 34.
47. Ephraim Yaar and Tamar Hermann, "Peace Index: Most Israelis Support the Attack on Iraq," *Ha'aretz*, March 6, 2003. Regarding Kuwait, a public opinion poll released in March 2003 found that 89.6 percent of Kuwaitis favored the impending war against Iraq. James Morrison, "Kuwaitis Support War," *Washington Times*, March 18, 2003. In a poll taken in Israel in early May 2007, 59 percent of the respondents said that the U.S. decision to invade Iraq was correct. "Poll Shows That Israel Is a Staunch American Ally," Anti-Defamation League press release, May 18, 2007. By that time, most Americans had concluded that the war was a tragic mistake.
48. "America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties: a Nine-Country Survey," Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Washington, DC, March 18, 2003. Also see Alan Travis and Ian Black, "Blair's Popularity Plummets," *Guardian*, February 18, 2003.
49. Gideon Levy, "A Deafening Silence," *Ha'aretz*, October 6, 2002.
50. See Dan Izenberg, "Foreign Ministry Warns Israeli War Talk Fuels US Anti-Semitism," *Jerusalem Post*, March 10, 2003, which makes clear that "the Foreign Ministry has received reports from the US" telling Israelis to be more circumspect because the U.S. media is portraying Israel as "trying to goad the administration into war."
51. Quoted in Dana Milbank, "Group Urges Pro-Israel Leaders Silence on Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 27, 2002.
52. David Horowitz, "Sharon Warns Colleagues Not to Discuss Iraq Conflict," *Irish Times*, March 12, 2003. Also see James Bennet, "Threats and Responses: Israel's Role; Not Urging War, Sharon Says," *New York Times*, March 11, 2003; and Aluf Benn, "Sharon Says U.S. Should Also Disarm Iran, Libya and Syria," *Ha'aretz*, February 18, 2003.
53. The influence of the neoconservatives and their allies was widely reflected before the war and is clearly reflected in the following articles, all written before or just after the war began: Joel Beinin, "Pro-Israel Hawks and the Second Gulf War," *Middle East Report Online*, April 6, 2003; Elisabeth Bumiller and Eric Schmitt, "On the Job and at Home, Influential Hawks' 30-Year Friendship Evolves," *New York Times*, September 11, 2002; Kathleen and Bill Christison, "A Rose by Another Name: The Bush Administration's Dual Loyalties," *CounterPunch.org*, December 13, 2002; Robert Dreyfuss, "The Pentagon Muzzles the CIA," *American Prospect*, December 16, 2002; Michael Elliott and James Carney, "First Stop, Iraq," *Time*, March 31, 2003; Seymour Hersh, "The Iraq Hawks," *New Yorker*, December 24-31, 2001; Michael Hirsh, "Hawks, Doves and Dubya," *Newsweek*, September 2, 2002; Glenn Kessler, "U.S. Decision on Iraq Has Puzzling Past," *Washington Post*, January 12, 2003; Joshua M. Marshall, "Bomb Saddam?" *Washington Monthly*, June 2002; Dana Milbank, "White House Push for Iraqi Strike Is on Hold," *Washington Post*, August 18, 2002; Susan Page, "Showdown with Saddam: The Decision to Act," *USA Today*, September 11, 2002; Sam Tanenhaus, "Bush's Brain Trust," *Vanity Fair* (online), July 2003; Patrick E. Tyler and Elaine Sciolino, "Bush Advisers Split on Scope of Retaliation," *New York Times*, September 20, 2001; and Jason A. Vest, "The Men from JINSA and CSP," *Nation*, September 2/9, 2002.
54. Janine Zacharia, "All the President's Middle East Men," *Jerusalem Post*, January 19, 2001.
55. "Rally Unites Anguished Factions Under Flag of 'Stand with Israel,'" *Forward*, April 19, 2002; and "Forward 50," *Forward*, November 15, 2002.
56. John McCaslin, "Israeli-Trained Cops," *Washington Times*, November 5, 2002; Bret Stephens, "Man of the Year," *Jerusalem Post* (Rosh Hashana Supplement), September 26, 2003; and Janine Zacharia, "Invasive Treatment," *ibid.* Other useful pieces on Wolfowitz include Peter J. Boyer, "The Believer," *New Yorker*, November 1, 2004; Michael Dobbs, "For Wolfowitz, a Vision May Be Realized," *Washington Post*, April 7, 2003; James Fallows, "The Unilateralist," *Atlantic*, March 2002; Bill Keller, "The Sunshine Warrior," *New York Times Magazine*, September 22, 2002; and "Paul Wolfowitz, Velociraptor," *Economist*, February 7, 2002.
57. See, for example, Douglas J. Feith, "The Inner Logic of Israel's Negotiations: Withdrawal Process, Not Peace Process," *Middle East Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (March 1996); and Douglas Feith, "A Strategy for Israel," *Commentary*, September 1997. For useful discussions of Feith's views, see Jeffrey Goldberg, "A Little Learning: What Douglas Feith Knew and When He Knew It," *New Yorker*, May 9, 2005; Jim Lobe, "Losing Feith, or Is the Bush Team Shedding Its Sharper Edges?" *Daily Star* (online), January 31, 2005; James J.

- Zogby, "A Dangerous Appointment: Profile of Douglas Feith, Undersecretary of Defense Under Bush," Middle East Information Center, April 18, 2001; and "Israeli Settlements: Legitimate, Democratically Mandated, Vital to Israel's Security and, Therefore, in U.S. Interest," Center for Security Policy, Transition Brief no. 96-T 130, December 17, 1996. Note that the title of the latter piece, which was published by an organization in the lobby, says that what is in Israel's interest is in America's national interest. In "Losing Feith," Lobe writes, "In 2003, when Feith, who was standing in for Rumsfeld at an interagency 'Principals' Meeting' on the Middle East, concluded his remarks on behalf of the Pentagon, according to the Washington insider newsletter, *The Nelson Report*, [National Security Adviser Condoleezza] Rice said, 'Thanks Doug, but when we want the Israeli position we'll invite the ambassador.'"
58. "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm" was prepared for the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies in Jerusalem and published in June 1996. A copy can be found at [www.iasps.org/stratl.htm](http://www.iasps.org/stratl.htm).
  59. Akiva Eldar, "Pedes of Wisdom for the Faithful," *Ha'aretz*, October 1, 2002.
  60. Packer, *Assassins' Gate*, 32.
  61. "Israel's UN Ambassador Slams Qatar, Praises U.S. Envoy Bolton," *Ha'aretz*, May 23, 2006. Also see "Bolton Is Israel's Secret Weapon, Says Gillerman," *BigNewsNetwork.com*, November 18, 2006; and Ori Nir, "Senate Probes Bolton's Pro-Israel Efforts," *Forward*, May 6, 2005.
  62. Marc Perelman, "Siding with White House, Groups Back Bolton," *Forward*, November 17, 2006; and "Dear John," *Forward* editorial, December 8, 2006.
  63. Ori Nir, "Libby Played Leading Role on Foreign Policy Decisions," *Forward*, November 4, 2005.
  64. "He Tarries: Jewish Messianism and the Oslo Peace," Rennert Lecture for 2002. Krauthammer fiercely defends Israel at every turn in his columns.
  65. Asia Aydtasbas, "The Midnight Ride of James Woolsey," *Salon.com*, December 20, 2001; Anne E. Kornblut and Bryan Bender, "Cheney Link of Iraq, 9/11 Dismissed," *Boston Globe*, September 16, 2003; David E. Sanger and Robin Toner, "Bush and Cheney Talk Strongly of Qaeda Links with Hussein," *New York Times*, June 18, 2004; and R. James Woolsey, "The Iraq Connection," *Wall Street Journal*, October 18, 2001.
  66. Goldberg added that "among Jewish lobbyists in the Beltway, support for the impending war is almost taken for granted — several are puzzled by the very suggestion that any kind of strenuous opposition to an Iraq invasion might emerge." Michelle Goldberg, "Why American Jewish Groups Support War with Iraq," *Salon.com*, September 14, 2002.
  67. "An Unseemly Silence," *Forward* editorial, May 7, 2004.
  68. Nacha Cattan, "Resolutions on Invasion Divide Jewish Leadership," *Forward*, October 11, 2002; Laurie Goodstein, "Threats and Responses: American Jews; Divide Among Jews Leads to Silence on Iraq War," *New York Times*, March 15, 2003; and Milbank, "Group Urges."
  69. Matthew E. Berger, "Jewish Groups Back U.S. Stand on Iraq," *Jewish Journal* (online), October 18, 2002; and Jewish Council for Public Affairs, "Statement on Iraq," adopted by the JCPA Board of Directors, October 2002.
  70. Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "No Time for Equivocation," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 26/September 2, 2002. Also see Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "No More Cat and Mouse," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 28, 2002; Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "Clear and Compelling Proof," *U.S. News & World Report*, February 10, 2003; and Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "The High Price of Waiting," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 10, 2003.
  71. Both quotes are from Goldberg, "Why American Jewish Groups."
  72. Gary Rosenblatt, "The Case for War Against Saddam," *Jewish Week*, December 13, 2002. Also see Gary Rosenblatt, "Hussein Asylum," *Jewish Week*, August 23, 2002.
  73. Ron Kampeas, "Cheney: Iran, Iraq a Package Deal," *JTA.org*, March 13, 2007.
  74. Nathan Guttman, "Background: AIPAC and the Iraqi Opposition," *Ha'aretz*, April 7, 2003. Also see Dana Milbank, "For Israel Lobby Group, War Is Topic A, Quietly," *Washington Post*, April 1, 2003.
  75. David Twersky, "A Bittersweet Affair for AIPAC," *New York Sun*, January 23, 2003. On the ADL, see Cattan, "Resolutions on Invasion"; Nacha Cattan, "Jewish Groups Pressed to Line Up on Iraq," *Forward*, August 23, 2002; and Nathan Guttman, "Groups Mum on Iraq, Despite Antiwar Tide," *Forward*, March 2, 2007.
  76. Jeffrey Goldberg, "Real Insiders: A Pro-Israel Lobby and an FBI Sting," *New Yorker*, July 4, 2005. *Near East Report (NER)*, AIPAC's biweekly publication dealing with Middle East issues, is filled with articles dealing with Iraq in the months before the war began. Although none explicitly calls for invading Iraq, they all portray Saddam as an especially dangerous threat, leaving the reader with little doubt that both Israel and the United States will be in serious trouble if he is not toppled from power. See, for example, "Saddam's Diversion," *NER*, October 7, 2002; interview with Ze'ev Schiff, *NER*, October 21, 2002; interview with Amatzia Baram, *NER*, February 25, 2002; interview with Amatzia Baram, *NER*, October 7, 2002; interview with Kenneth M. Pollack, *NER*, September 23, 2002; "Arming Iraq," *NER*, July 1, 2002; and "Backing Saddam," *NER*, February 3, 2003.
  77. John Bresnahan, "GOP Turns to Israeli Lobby to Boost Iraq Support," *Roll Call* (online), October 6, 2003.
  78. Matthew E. Berger, "Bush Makes Iraq Case in AIPAC Appearance," *Deep South Jewish Voice* (online), May 11, 2004.
  79. David Horowitz, "Editor's Notes: Wading into the Great Debate," *Jerusalem Post*, March 15, 2007. According to Ron Kampeas, Cheney's "message was not received enthusiastically. Only about one-third to one-half of the audience . . . applauded politely." See "Cheney: Iran, Iraq a Package Deal." Similarly, Nathan Guttman wrote that Cheney's speech "received a lukewarm welcome." See "Cheney Links Action on Iran to Winning Iraq," *Forward*, March 16, 2007. However, writing in *Salon*, Gregory Levey noted that "Cheney got a warm reception and forceful applause." See "Inside America's Powerful Israel Lobby," *Salon.com*, March 16, 2007.
  80. On the reception Boehner and Pelosi received, see Guttman, "Cheney Links Action"; Levey, "Inside"; and Ian Swanson, "Pelosi Hears Boos at AIPAC," *The Hill* (online), March 13, 2007.
  81. Guttman, "Groups Mum on Iraq."
  82. Ibid.; and Jeffrey M. Jones, "Among Religious Groups, Jewish Americans Most Strongly Oppose War," Gallup News Service, February 23, 2007.
  83. Shortly before the United States invaded Iraq, Congressman James P. Moran created a stir when he said, "If it were not for the strong support of the Jewish community for this war with Iraq, we would not be doing this." Quoted in Hsu, "Moran Said." However, Moran misspoke, because there was not widespread support for the war in the Jewish community. He should have



said, "If it were not for the strong support of the neoconservatives and the leadership of the Israel lobby for this war with Iraq, we would not be doing this."

84. Samuel G. Freedman, "Don't Blame Jews for This War," *USA Today*, April 2, 2003. Also see James D. Besser, "Jews Souring on Iraq War," *Jewish Week*, September 24, 2004; Goodstein, "Threats and Responses"; and Ori Nir, "Poll Finds Jewish Political Gap," *Forward*, February 4, 2005. The same situation obtained before the 1991 Gulf War. By the time Congress voted to endorse the war on January 12, 1991, "the only significant Washington Jewish organization not on record in favor of the administration's position was American Friends of Peace Now, which favored the continuation of sanctions." Judis, "Jews and the Gulf," 13. Despite the lobby's efforts to make the 1991 war happen, however, a large portion of the American Jewish community opposed the war, as was the case in 2003. For example, Jewish members of the House of Representatives voted 17-16 against the resolution authorizing war, while Jewish senators voted 5-3 against it. *Ibid.*, 14. This outcome reflects the fact that in contrast to what happened in 2002-03, there was a serious debate in 1990-91 about whether to go to war against Iraq, as well as the fact that the lobby sometimes takes positions that are at odds with a substantial portion of the American Jewish community.
85. The January 26, 1998, letter can be found on the website of the Project for the New American Century, [www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm); the February 19, 1998, letter can be found on the Iraq Watch website, [www.iraqwatch.org/perspectives/rumsfeld-openletter.htm](http://www.iraqwatch.org/perspectives/rumsfeld-openletter.htm). For background on the Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf, see Judis, "Jews and the Gulf," 12. Also see the May 29, 1998, letter to Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott written under the auspices of PNAC, [www.newamericancentury.org/iraqletter1998.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqletter1998.htm). The neoconservatives, it should be emphasized, advocated invading Iraq to topple Saddam. See "The End of Containment," *Weekly Standard*, December 1, 1997; Zalmay M. Khalilzad and Paul Wolfowitz, "Overthrow Him," *ibid.*; Frederick W. Kagan, "Not by Air Alone," *ibid.*; and Robert Kagan, "A Way to Oust Saddam," *Weekly Standard*, September 28, 1998.
86. A copy of the Iraq Liberation Act can be found at [www.iraqwatch.org/government/US/Legislation/ILA.htm](http://www.iraqwatch.org/government/US/Legislation/ILA.htm).
87. John Dizard, "How Ahmed Chalabi Conned the Neocons," *Salon.com*, May 4, 2004; "Iraqi Myths," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, October 7, 1998; Seth Gitell, "Neocons Meet Israeli to Gain U.S. Backing," *Forward*, July 31, 1998; Kagan, "Way to Oust Saddam"; Martin Kettle, "Pentagon Balks at 'Idiotic' Law Urging Bay of Pigs-type Invasion of Iraq," *Guardian*, October 21, 1998; and Vernon Loeb, "Congress Stokes Visions of War to Oust Saddam; White House Fears Fiasco in Aid to Rebels," *Washington Post*, October 20, 1998. On JINSA, see "Concrete Responses to Saddam," [jinsa.org](http://jinsa.org), Report no. 79, August 10, 1998; "To Overthrow Saddam," [jinsa.org](http://jinsa.org), Report no. 82, October 2, 1998; "Spring 1998 Board Resolution—Iraq," [jinsa.org](http://jinsa.org), March 22, 1998; and "Resolution in Support of the Iraqi Opposition," [jinsa.org](http://jinsa.org), October 19, 1998.
88. See Clinton's comments after he signed the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998. Statement by the President, White House Press Office, October 31, 1998. Also see Kettle, "Pentagon Balks"; and Loeb, "Congress Stokes."
89. Vernon Loeb, "Saddam's Iraqi Foes Heartened by Clinton," *Washington Post*, November 16, 1998; Nicholas Lemann, "The Iraq Factor: Will the New Bush Team's Old Memories Shape Its Foreign Policies?" *New Yorker*, January 22, 2001; and Robert Litwak, *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), chap. 4.
90. Packer, *Assassins' Gate*, 41.
91. Jane Perlez, "Capitol Hawks Seek Tougher Line on Iraq," *New York Times*, March 7, 2001; and "Have Hawks Become Doves?" *Washington Times* editorial, March 8, 2001. Also see Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: The Neo-Conservatives and the Global Order* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 129-31.
92. Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (New York: Free Press, 2004); and Ron Suskind, *The Price of Loyalty: George W. Bush, the White House, and the Education of Paul O'Neill* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
93. Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 12. Also see Lemann, "Iraq Factor"; and Eric Schmitt and Steven Lee Meyers, "Bush Administration Warns Iraq on Weapons Programs," *New York Times*, January 23, 2001.
94. She also noted that if Iraq did get WMD, the appropriate U.S. response would be a "clear and classical statement of deterrence—if they do acquire WMD, their weapons will be unusable because any attempt to use them will bring national obliteration." Condoleezza Rice, "Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 1 (January/February 2000): 60-62.
95. Timothy Noah, "Dick Cheney, Dove," *Slate.com*, October 16, 2002; Adam Meyerson, "Calm After Desert Storm," interview with Dick Cheney, *Policy Review* 65 (Summer 1993).
96. Quoted in Kessler, "U.S. Decision on Iraq Has Puzzling Past." Elliott and Carney ("First Stop, Iraq") report that neoconservatives like William Kristol were upset when Cheney was chosen as Bush's running mate, because of Cheney's position on ending the first Gulf War. But after 9/11, says Kristol, "neoconservatives happily consider him a fellow-traveler."
97. Elliott and Carney, "First Stop, Iraq"; Glenn Kessler and Peter Slavin, "Cheney Is Fulcrum of Foreign Policy," *Washington Post*, October 13, 2002; Kessler, "U.S. Decision on Iraq Has Puzzling Past"; and "Vice President Dick Cheney Talks About Bush's Energy Plan," interview with Tim Russert on NBC's *Meet the Press*, May 20, 2001. Although Cheney's views on conquering Iraq fundamentally changed after 9/11, this apparently did not happen overnight. See "The Vice President Appears on Meet the Press with Tim Russert," Camp David, Maryland, Office of the White House Press Secretary, September 16, 2001. Cheney's response to specific questions about Iraq does not indicate that he had changed his thinking about the need to topple Saddam five days after the Twin Towers fell.
98. Both Kagan quotations are from Packer, *Assassins' Gate*, 38. Also see similar comments by Packer himself in *ibid.*, 32.
99. Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, 25-26.
100. Page, "Showdown with Saddam."
101. Elliott and Carney, "First Stop, Iraq." Woodward describes Wolfowitz as "like a drum that would not stop." *Plan of Attack*, 22.
102. Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, 1-44.
103. Regarding the neoconservatives' influence on Cheney, see Elliott and Carney, "First Stop, Iraq"; Page, "Showdown with Saddam"; Michael Hirsh, "Bernard Lewis Revisited," *Washington Monthly*, November 2004; Frederick Kempe, "Lewis's 'Liberation' Doctrine for Mideast Faces New Tests," *Wall Street Journal*, December 13, 2005; and Carla Anne Robbins and Jeanne Cummings, "How Bush Decided That Hussein Must Be Ousted from Atop Iraq," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 2002. On Ajami in particular, see Adam Shatz, "The Native Informant," *Nation*, April 28, 2003.
104. Jacob Weisberg, "Are Neo-cons History?" *Financial Times*, March 14, 2007. This article makes clear that Cheney and Lewis have

a close relationship.

105. Woodward succinctly describes Libby's influence in *Plan of Attack* (48-49): "Libby had three formal titles. He was chief of staff to Vice President Cheney; he was also national security adviser to the vice president; and he was finally an assistant to President Bush. It was a trifecta of positions probably never held before by a single person. Scooter was a power center unto himself . . . Libby was one of only two people who were not principals to attend the National Security Council meetings with the president and the separate principals meetings chaired by Rice." Also see *ibid.*, 50-51, 288-92, 300-301, 409-10; Bumiller and Schmitt, "On the Job and at Home"; Karen Kwiatkowski, "The New Pentagon Papers," *Salon.com*, March 10, 2004; and Tyler and Sciolino, "Bush Advisers Split."
106. Tyler and Sciolino, "Bush Advisers Split." Also see Bumiller and Schmitt, "On the Job and at Home"; and William Safire, "Phony War II," *New York Times*, November 28, 2002.
107. On Cheney's significant influence in the Bush administration, see Jeanne Cummings and Greg Hitt, "In Iraq Drama, Cheney Emerges as President's War Counselor," *Wall Street Journal*, March 17, 2003; Mark Hosenball, Michael Isikoff, and Evan Thomas, "Cheney's Long Path to War," *Newsweek*, November 17, 2003; Kessler and Slavin, "Cheney Is Full crum"; Barbara Slavin and Susan Page, "Cheney Rewrites Roles in Foreign Policy," *USA Today*, July 29, 2002; and Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, 27-30.
108. Kessler, "U.S. Decision on Iraq Has Puzzling Past"; and Woodward, *Plan of Attack*, 410. Also see *ibid.*, 164-65, 409.
109. Quoted in Eric Schmitt, "Pentagon Contradicts General on Iraq Occupation Force's Size," *New York Times*, February 28, 2003.
110. "This Goes Beyond Bin Laden," *jinsa.org*, September 13, 2001. Also see Vest, "The Men from JINSA and CSP."
111. This letter was published in the *Weekly Standard*, October 1, 2001. Among the signatories were William Bennett, Eliot Cohen, Aaron Friedberg, Donald Kagan, Robert Kagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick, William Kristol, Charles Krauthammer, Richard Perle, Norman Podhoretz, Stephen Solarz, and Leon Wieseltier.
112. Charles Krauthammer, "The War: A Road Map," *Washington Post*, September 28, 2001; and Robert Kagan and William Kristol, "The Right War," *Weekly Standard*, October 1, 2001. Also see "War Aims," *Wall Street Journal* editorial, September 20, 2001.
113. Michael Barone, "War by Ultimatum," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 1, 2001. Also see Bill Gertz, "Iraq Suspected of Sponsoring Terrorist Attacks," *Washington Times*, September 21, 2001; "Drain the Ponds of Terror," *Jerusalem Post* editorial, September 25, 2001; William Safire, "The Ultimate Enemy," *New York Times*, September 24, 2001; and Mortimer B. Zuckerman, "A Question of Priorities," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 8, 2001.
114. The April 3, 2002, letter can be found at [www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter-040302.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter-040302.htm).
115. Daniel Byman, Kenneth M. Pollack, and Gideon Rose, "The Rollback Fantasy," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 1 (January/February 1999).
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152. Benn, "Background."
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## 9: TAKING AIM AT SYRIA

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11. Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, 134. Also see Jim Lobe, "The Damascus Dance," *Antiwar.com*, October 28, 2006; "Syrian Ambassador Calls for Comprehensive Peace Settlement in the Middle East," Imad Moustapha address at Burkle Center, UCLA, June 2, 2005, [www.international.ucla.edu/bcir/article.asp?parentid=25567](http://www.international.ucla.edu/bcir/article.asp?parentid=25567); and Volker Perthes, "The Syrian Solution," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 6 (November/December 2006).
12. Hersh, "Syrian Bet."
13. Flynt Leverett notes that "U.S. policy toward Syria . . . has fluctuated between efforts to facilitate Israeli-Syrian agreements and attempts to isolate and pressure Damascus to change its terms and tactics for achieving a peaceful settlement" (*Inheriting Syria*, 7). While Leverett is certainly correct, he never explains what accounts for that fluctuation, although his book provides much evidence that Israel and the lobby are the main forces behind those policy shifts.
14. The Golan Heights Law was passed by the Israeli Knesset in December 1981 and extended Israeli law to the territory of the Golan. It does not contain the word "annexation," however, or refer to Israeli "sovereignty" over the heights. During the Knesset debate on the legislation, Prime Minister Menachem Begin responded to a critic by saying, "You use the word annexation, but I am not using it." Ian S. Lustick, "Has Israel Annexed East Jerusalem?" *Middle East Policy* 5, no. 1 (January 1997); and "The Golan Heights Law," [www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide-to-the-Peace-Process/Golan+Heights+Law.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide-to-the-Peace-Process/Golan+Heights+Law.htm).
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16. Clinton, *My Life*, 883-84; Cobban, *Israeli-Syrian Peace Talks*, chap. 3; Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, 47; and Ross, *Missing Peace*, 111. The "Rabin deposit" is sometimes referred to as the "pocket commitment" or the "Rabin pocket."
17. Although Netanyahu has denied that he was willing to return to the June 4, 1967, Syria-Israel border ("I Never Agreed to Full Golan Withdrawal," *IsraelNationalNews.com*, June 23, 2004), there is considerable evidence that he did agree to that position when he was prime minister (1996-99). See Akiva Eldar, "Ex-MI Chief: Netanyahu Was Ready to Give up All of the Golan," *Ha'aretz*, June 24, 2004; Clinton, *My Life*, 883; Ross, *Missing Peace*, 527-28, 577; and Daniel Pipes, "The Road to Damascus: What Netanyahu Almost Gave Away," *New Republic*, July 5, 1999. On Barak, see Clinton, *My Life*, 883-88, 903; Leverett, *Inheriting Syria*, 47-48; and Ross, *Missing Peace*, chaps. 20-22. Ross notes that "Barak's position on peace with Syria was less forthcoming than Netanyahu's." *Ibid.*, 528.
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19. Ross, *Missing Peace*, 589.
20. Clinton, *My Life*, 883-88, 903. According to Ofer Shelah, "Most of the top brass [in Israel] agrees with the view put forward by Bill Clinton in his book, 'My Life': that Barak got cold feet because of opinion polls showing the Israeli public opposed the territorial price demanded by the Syrians." See "The Situation: Syrian Offer of Talks Throws a Wrench into Sharon's Plans," *Forward*, September 17, 2004. Also see Jerome Slater, "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948-2001," *International Security* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2002): esp. 97-100; and Akiva Eldar, "Between Katzrin and Nahariya," *Ha'aretz*, July 24, 2006. Barak, however, denied Clinton's charge. See Yifat Zohar, "Barak Rejects Clinton's Charges of Missed Syria Deal," *Maariv International* (online), June 29, 2004.
21. Quoted in "Sharon Suggests Future Attacks on Syria," *New York Times*, October 17, 2003. Also see Aluf Benn, "U.S. Officials Eyeing Possible Assad Successors," *Ha'aretz*, October 3, 2005; Ori Nir, "Bush Seeks to Pressure Iran, Syria on Weapons," *Forward*, January 2, 2004; and Ofer Shelah, "Pressured, Assad Offers Charm Campaign," *Forward*, January 9, 2004.
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24. Yoav Stern and Aluf Benn, "PM Associates: Syria Will Support Terror, Even with Golan," *Ha'aretz*, December 17, 2006.
25. "Israeli Opinion Regarding Peace with Syria and Lebanon," [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/golanpo.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/golanpo.html).
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27. Yaakov Lappin, "New Forum Pushes for Syria Talks," *Ynetnews.com*, January 28, 2007; and Roi Mandel, "Former Shin Bet Chief Calls for Dialogue with Syria," *Ynetnews.com*, January 29, 2007.
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31. "A Serious Proposal," *Ha'aretz* editorial, December 30, 2003; Aluf Benn, "UN Envoy Urges Israel to Exploit Syrian Peace Moves," *Ha'aretz*, January 9, 2004; de Quetteville, "Syria Threat"; and Marc Perelman, "Syria Makes Overture over Negotiations," *Forward*, July 11, 2003.
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33. Quoted in Stern and Benn, "PM Associates."
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38. Peretz quoted in Alon, Benn, and Stern, "Olmert: Now Is Not Time"; Samet, "O.K. from a Declining America?" Also see Uzi Benziman, "Help, They Want Peace," *Ha'aretz*, January 17, 2007.
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#### 10: IRAN IN THE CROSSHAIRS

1. For details of Iran's WMD and ballistic missile capabilities, see the "Iran Profile" of the Nuclear Threat Initiative at [www.nti.org/e\\_research/profiles/Iran/index.html](http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/Iran/index.html); International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Iran's Strategic Weapons Programmes: A Net Assessment* (New York: Routledge, 2005); and Uzi Rubin, "The Global Reach of Iran's Ballistic Missiles," Memorandum no. 86 (Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, November 2006).
2. "Iranian President at Tehran Conference: Very Soon, This Stain of Disgrace [i.e., Israel] Will Be Purged from the Center of the Islamic World—and This Is Attainable." Middle East Media Research Institute, Special Dispatch Series no. 1013, October 28, 2005. For a more detailed discussion of the translation of Ahmadinejad's speech, see note 88 in Chapter 3.
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6. Bernard Lewis, "August 22: Does Iran Have Something in Store?" *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 2006.
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12. Parsi, "Israeli-Iranian Relations," 285-97, 354-61, 400-401; and Gary Sick, "The Clouded Mirror: The United States and Iran, 1979-1999," in ed. John L. Esposito and R. K. Ramazani, *Iran at the Crossroads* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 204.
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15. Pollack, *Persian Puzzle*, 269.
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21. Parsi, "Israeli-Iranian Relations," 305.
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#### 11: THE LOBBY AND THE SECOND LEBANON WAR

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29. Quoted in Marvin Kalb and Carol Saivetz, "The Israeli-Hezbollah War of 2006: The Media as a Weapon in Asymmetrical Conflict," Faculty Research Working Paper RWP07-012, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 2007, 15. The Kalb and Saivetz study, which is written from a pro-Israel perspective, argues that Israel was treated unfairly by the media because it is an "open society" and Hezbollah is a "closed society." Because the study focuses on news coverage of the conflict and largely ignores editorials and commentary, it is able to argue that Israel tended to be portrayed in a more negative light than Hezbollah. The claim that Israel was at a disadvantage in the media because of its relative openness is unconvincing, because journalists could clearly see what was happening in both Israel and Lebanon.
30. The number of civilians killed is based on the figures from Human Rights Watch described in note 1 above. The number of buildings damaged or destroyed is from "Middle East Crisis: Facts and Figures."
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32. "Main Findings of the Winograd Partial Report." The report also says that "the ability to achieve military gains having significant political-international weight was limited" and that "some of the declared goals of the war were ... in part not achievable by the authorized modes of military action."
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34. Quoted in Wright, "Strikes Are Called."
35. Benjamin Netanyahu, "No Ceasefire in the War on Terror," *Wall Street Journal*, July 22, 2006.
36. A senior Israeli commander told the *New York Times*, "The army was planning on 15 days of air war before any ground forces were considered ... We didn't want to do any ground assault and thought we could create the conditions for a cease-fire without a major ground assault." Quoted in Steven Erlanger, "Israeli Officer Says Army Aims to Kill Nasrallah," *New York Times*, August 20, 2006.
37. Both Olmert quotations in this paragraph are from "PM Olmert: Lebanon Is Responsible and Will Bear the Consequences," transcript of press conference, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 12, 2006.
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40. Uzi Rubin, "Hezbollah's Rocket Campaign Against Northern Israel: A Preliminary Report," *Jerusalem Issue Brief* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) 6, no. 10 (August 31, 2006).
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42. Amos Harel, "Analysis: Hezbollah Is Still Showing No Signs of Breaking," *Ha'aretz*, July 20, 2006; John Kifner, "Israel Is Powerful, Yes. But Not So Invincible," *New York Times*, July 30, 2006; Ze'ev Schiff, "A Strategic Mistake," *Ha'aretz*, July 20, 2006; Ari Shavit, "An Aerial War," *Ha'aretz*, July 20, 2006; "What About the Missiles?" *Ha'aretz* editorial, August 3, 2006; and Martin Van Creveld, "In This War, Too, Victory Is Unlikely," *International Herald Tribune*, August 2, 2006.
43. John Kifner and Greg Myre, "After U.N. Accord, Israel Expands Push in Lebanon," *New York Times*, August 13, 2006.
44. The seminal work on this subject is Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Also see John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 85-110.
45. Amnesty International, "Unlawful Killings During Operation 'Grapes of Wrath,'" July 1996; Warren Christopher, "A Time to Act," *Washington Post*, July 28, 2006; Human Rights Watch, "Operation Grapes of Wrath: The Civilian Victims," September 1997; Ze'ev Schiff, "Strategic Mistake"; and Avi Shlaim, "Israel's Error, Then and Now," *International Herald Tribune*, August 4, 2006.
46. Beirut Center for Research and Information, "Poll Finds Support for Hezbollah's Retaliation: Opinions Diverge on Sectarian Lines—But Not Completely," July 29, 2006; Dahr Ja-mal, "Hezbollah Rides a New Popularity," *Antiwar.com*, August 8, 2006; Nadim Ladki, "US Policy Alienates All the Lebanese," *Gulf Times* (online), August 1, 2006; Neil MacFarquhar, "Tide of Arab Opinion Turns to Support for Hezbollah," *New York Times*, July 28, 2006; and Shibley Telhami, "Hezbollah's Popularity Exposes al-Qaeda's Failure to Win the Hearts," *San Jose Mercury News* (online), July 30, 2006.
47. Cohler-Esses, "Israel Seeks to Redefine Victory"; Steve Erlanger, "Israel Seeks Hint of Victory," *New York Times*, August 13, 2006; Anshel Pfeffer, "Analysis: The IDF's New Definition of Victory," *Jerusalem Post*, July 26, 2006; and Zeev Sternhell, "The Most Unsuccessful War," *Ha'aretz*, August 2, 2006.
48. Charles Krauthammer, "Israel's Lost Moment," *Washington Post*, August 4, 2006; and Ori Nir, "Conservatives Slam Israeli War Strategy," *Forward*, August 11, 2006. Also see Bret Stephens, "Israel Is Losing This War," *Wall Street Journal*, August 1, 2006; and "Olmert and Bush," *Wall Street Journal* editorial, August 1, 2006. The IDF's performance in Lebanon did not improve between the time these pieces were written and the war ended on August 14, 2006.

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#### CONCLUSION: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

1. On this point, see Robert J. Art, *A Grand Strategy for America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 45-46.
2. This statement may seem surprising, given the tendency for Americans simply to assume that Israel's security is vital to our own. In 2000, for example, a self-appointed commission of prominent foreign policy experts reported that preserving Israel as a free state was a "vital" U.S. interest, but the commission never explained why this was so or how Israel's fate would affect U.S. security or well-being. More sensibly, Robert Art asserts that "Israel has little strategic value to the United States and is in many ways a strategic liability. Nonetheless, America's ties with Israel run deep, the U.S. affinity with another democracy is strong, and the moral commitment to its preservation is clear." See Commission on America's National Interests, *America's National Interests* (Cambridge, MA: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 2000); and Art, *Grand Strategy for America*, 137.
3. The elements of offshore balancing are spelled out in Christopher Layne, "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy," *International Security* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1997); John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), chap. 7; and Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (New York: Norton, 2005), 222-23, 235-36.
4. On this point, see Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005).
5. James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton, co-chairs, *The Iraq Study Group Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2006), 39.
6. Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, "The Road from Mecca," *New York Review of Books*, May 10, 2007, 43. Agha and Malley also write, "Nor is there much ideological enthusiasm remaining for a two-state solution. Israelis accept it and most believe it is inevitable, but gone is the passion or zeal" (44).
7. See, for example, Ali Abunimah, *One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006); Josef Asevar, "Mideast Solution: A Confederation," *Jewish Journal* (online), November 3, 2003; Meron Benvenisti, "What Kind of Binational State?" *Ha'aretz*, November 20, 2003; Richard Boudreaux, "Arabs Say Israel Is Not Just for Jews," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 2007; Tony Judt, "Israel: The Alternative," *New York Review of Books*, October 23, 2003; Isabel Kershner, "Noted Arab Citizens Call on Israel to Shed Jewish Identity," *New York Times*, February 8, 2007; and Yaakov Lappin, "Academic: Israeli-Arabs Want End of Jewish State," *Ynetnews.com*, January 22, 2007.
8. A May 2007 World Bank report sharply criticized Israel's system of internal controls and checkpoints in the Occupied Territories, arguing that these impediments "have fragmented the territory into ever smaller and more disconnected cantons" and that "sustainable economic recovery will remain elusive if large areas of the West Bank remain inaccessible for economic purposes and restricted movement remains the norm for the vast majority of Palestinians and expatriate Palestinian investors." See World Bank Technical Team, "Movement and Access Restrictions in the West Bank: Uncertainty and Inefficiency in the Palestinian Economy," May 9, 2007, 1-2, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWESTBANKGAZA/Resources/WestBankrestrictions9Mayfinal.pdf>.
9. In 2007, a BBC World Service poll of twenty-eight thousand people in twenty-seven countries found that Israel had the worst image of the dozen countries listed, with 56 percent of respondents reporting it was a "negative" influence in the world and only 17 percent saying its influence was "positive." Iran's image was second worst: 54 percent negative and 18 percent positive. See Bradley Burston, "The BBC Poll: Israel as Satan's Bastard Child," *Ha'aretz*, March 6, 2007; and "Israel, Iran Top 'Negative List,'" *BBC News* (online), March 6, 2007. On the occupation's corrupting effects, see Dror Wahrman, "Is Israel Falling Apart?" *History News Network*, March 5, 2007, [www.hnn.us/articles/35958.html](http://www.hnn.us/articles/35958.html).
10. Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 167.
11. Yehuda Ben Meir and Dafna Shaked, "The People Speak: Israeli Public Opinion on National Security, 2005-2007," Memorandum no. 90 (Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies, May 2007), 65-67.

12. See the references in notes 28 and 29 in the Introduction.
13. Rabbi Gold also quoted former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's warning to American Jews that "we cannot afford the luxury of public disagreement, or public criticism that plays right into the hands of our enemies," and responded by saying, "I fail to understand how a prime minister of a democratic nation with an active political opposition would attempt to silence Jewish criticism abroad . . . Wherein the danger of American Jewish criticism? Is it the criticism that is harmful or the policies and actions that are criticized?" Rabbi Ben-Zion Gold, "The Diaspora and the Intifada: The Responsibility of American Jews," *Boston Review*, October/November 2002.
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Jürgen Graf

Hoax or Holocaust

The Arguments

AAARGH

[Source of the text: [www.ety.com](http://www.ety.com)]

For Germar Rudolf, Ingrid Weckert, Udo Walendy and Herbert Verbeke

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## The author's biography

Jürgen Graf, a true Swiss hero, a multitalented intellectual. A Swiss school teacher and language genius. Graf speaks seventeen languages fluently, among them the most exotic ones such as Russian, Chinese. He is also one of the most successful authors of revisionism. His most popular book *The Holocaust under the Scanner* has been translated into Russian, Bulgarian, Italian, Romanian, Danish, English, French, Spanish and Swedish. He has been charged, tried and convicted in Switzerland. He has been dismissed for the second time from his teaching post. He went recently to Russia where he researched Russian archives for months. The Swiss government, under pressure, charged, tried and convicted Graf in September 1998 to 15 months in jail under the new anti-racism law. His German-born, 80-year-old wheel chair-bound publisher, Gerhard Förster, was likewise dragged into court and convicted to 1 year in prison. Four weeks after the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Förster died.

# Foreword

In the spring of 1993, a thin book authored by myself and entitled *The Holocaust under the Scanner*, was published by the Gideon Burg Verlag (Postfach 52, 4009 Basel). At that time, the book represented the very first attempt to summarize the principle arguments of the Holocaust revisionists. The book met with a warm reception which has confirmed its usefulness. It has since been translated into French, Dutch, Bulgarian, Arabic, as well as Italian (in a somewhat abridged form).

Today -- only four years later -- the *Scanner* is outdated, for the following reasons:

- Revisionist research has made major progress since early 1993. Any book attempting to present the major findings of revisionist research today must at least mention trail-blazing publications such as the *Rudolf Report*, the *Ball Report*, Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana's study of the crematoria at Auschwitz, or Arnulf Neumeier's research on the technical problems of the Treblinka case. There is an urgent need to discuss Jean-Claude Pressac's second book (*The Crematoria of Auschwitz*) -- hailed by the media as the refutation of revisionism -- as well as the new, "improved" version of the Holocaust now acquiring concrete shape with Daniel Goldhagen's book *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. This "new, improved" version is apparently intended to replace the version which has so far placed the central emphasis on the gas chambers as the instrument in the mass extermination of the Jews;

- The *Scanner* was unable to meet strict standards of scientific proof, and not merely because it contained a few errors which were inevitable at that time (for example, relating to the crematory capacity at Auschwitz). There were not enough references; the bibliography was rather slim.

In view of the implacable censureship now in force in the "democratic" countries -- which has, in some countries, taken on the form of brutal police-state repression -- the Internet is acquiring increased significance in the spreading of revisionism. People have repeatedly asked us to make the *Scanner* available on the Internet, but have preferred to distance ourselves from the book for the reasons mentioned above. As an alternative, we decided to draw up the present text, which is considerably more detailed and documented, and which takes account of the most recent developments in this field.

The present work -- now available, not merely on the Internet, but in book form -- was made possible by the encouragement and research of a French associate and personal friend. The original text of the manuscript was translated into Russian -- without my knowledge, but with my subsequent consent -- and appeared in the autumn of 1996 as a special issue of the nationalist newspaper *Russkij Vjestnik*, No. 32-34, 1996. By late 1997, the special issue in question had sold 200,000 copies. Together with Roger Garaudy's *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, our text was the first revisionist

work distributed in Russia; in view of the overwhelming interest shown by the Russian public, further revisionist texts were soon translated into that language.

The strictly logical structure of the present book is also the result of encouragement and suggestions from the French friend mentioned above, to such an extent that he deserves equal mention with myself as co-author. Since, due to family considerations, he cannot afford to allow his existence to be destroyed by the "French" system of "justice" and "French" inquisitorial methods, however, he has been compelled to adopt the use of a pseudonym, until the day -- let us hope that it is not too far in the future -- when France, Germany, Austria, and my own country, Switzerland, are free countries once again.

And the truth shall make you free.

Basel, 9 April 1997

Jürgen Graf

# **An Introduction**

## **by Mario Consoli**

### **Revisionism and Pluralism**

The following text is a free translation, somewhat abridged, with a few supplementary remarks, of the article "Nessun cambiamento senza vero pluralismo" (No Change Without True Pluralism), which appeared in the Italian publication *L'Uomo Libero* (Casella Postale 1658, 20123 Milano/Italy, issue 41 of April 1996).

#### **The Throttling of Pluralism**

An observant analysis of the political and cultural life in the Europe of the first half of our century will reveal a world of extraordinary dynamism and intellectual originality, in crass contradiction to the stagnation and sterile conformity of the past fifty years.

Brilliant, original thinkers were in no short supply. In Italy, thinkers such as D'Annunzio, Marinetti and his futuristic school, Soffici, Palazzeschi, Balla, Gentile, Papini, Preziosi, Corridoni and Spirito, were active during the early decades; elsewhere in Europe, great figures like Pound, Eliot, Pound, Pound, and Céline achieved prominence. Opposition figures like Croce, Gramsci, and Sturzo were permitted to develop and disseminate new ideas, even in fascist Italy.

Antonio Gramsci, Chairman of the Italian Communist Party, was given a single cell in the prison of Turi (Bari), and had access to 700 books, including the complete works of Marx and Croce, as well as 400 bundles of newspapers. The philosopher Benedetto Croce was able to publish his newspaper *La Critica* throughout the entire fascist era until the Second World War. At the peak of fascist power, Arnoldi Mondadori became the first publisher in Europe to issue the works of Trotsky; articles by the great theoretician of permanent revolution appeared in the daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera* (source: Fernando Ritter, *Fascismo Antifascismo*, Il Settimo Sigillo, 1991).

The ideas of Pareto, Spengler, Weber, and Sorel were passionately discussed; Pirandello celebrated his triumphs on the stage; youths participated in open demonstrations to the sounds of hymns by Mascagni and Puccini.

But where are the intellectual giants of today? Instead of thinkers, we are surrounded by hordes of mental pygmies without a single new or original idea -- men who scrounge a living by engaging in increasingly grotesque and hysterical attacks upon the men and ideals which governed Italy for twenty years and Germany for twelve years.

If one takes the trouble to overcome one's artificially induced reluctance and actually read the works of Mussolini -- his *Labour Charter*, the *Doctrine of Fascism*, his *Dictionary of Politics*; when we reread the works of National Socialism and compare them -- for content, depth of thought, originality -- with the programmes of the Old and "New" parties of today or the blabberings of the political leaders of today -- an incomparable difference in depth, in breadth, in philosophical conception, becomes immediately apparent.

How can one ignore the enormous progress in social justice which made fascist Italy a model for all of Europe? Many original, long-term solutions to social problems were developed throughout those controversial years. Public discussions of today never range beyond wage demands or protests against an unfair tax system. In the USA -- the country which has been held up to us as a model for the entire world for fifty years -- a man without a credit card has no rights. He cannot even be admitted to a decent hospital, and must be satisfied with a "training" hospital, where the staff are still in training and normal standards of hygiene are ignored. Just recently, we read of a girl who died after being refused admission to a New York hospital for lack of funds or credit references.

How can people not be aware that the first ecological -- or "Green", as they are called today -- theories were developed by Walter Darre, Minister of Agriculture during the Third Reich, together with concrete and original solutions to environmental problems such as can be offered by no "Green" party or theorist of today?

Of course, it's no good sinking into the pathos and sentimentality of nostalgia; yet the facts cited above call for a profound analysis of the factors which destroyed the cultural and social inventiveness of the first half of the twentieth century, resulting in the cultural and political sterility of the Europe of today.

How did the ruling power cliques succeed so completely in reducing our entire existence to its purely economic aspects for fifty years, in compelling us to adopt a uniform, purely materialistic value system, without encountering any serious resistance? How did we all become the obedient servants of an international and multicultural New World Order? Why is there no longer any controversy, or conflict between contrasting values and ideals?

## **It is because there is no longer any pluralism of ideas.**

Pluralism means tolerance, freedom, and respect for differences of opinion. Above all, it means the recognition that no idea may be permitted to crush other ideas out of existence.

The absence of true pluralism as it has come to exist over the past few decades is a totally new phenomenon in world history. This is the first age in history in which everyone has been compelled, in actual fact, to accept the same ideals, to agree with a uniform view of the world and of humanity.

## **The Crisis of Man and the State**

Men once knew that the individual was no more than one link in a long chain. Many links preceded the individual, many would follow. This sense of the continuity of human existence strengthened family relationships and forged communities, nations, and cultures together. The individual derived spiritual and moral strength from his awareness of that he was part of a whole. It provided a powerful incentive to create works which would survive the individual. Faced with the reality of death, the individual knew that life itself did not end with him. The individual on in his descendents, his community, in the people and culture of which he was a member.

The exaggerated individualism of our era has deracinated people, robbed them of their heritage, and condemned them to death as an actual fact. The notion of death as the end of all things is an entirely new phenomenon in human history. The spiritual world of our ancestors, who took the urns of their forefathers with them when they changed their residence, is light years removed from the mentality of contemporary society. In large modern cities, cemeteries are considered unpleasant reminders of the past, and may perhaps disappear in the not-too distant future.

When people tire of the glittering world of consumerism and materialism and ponder on the meaning of existence, they discover the emptiness of the surrounding vacuum. The result is overwhelming hopelessness, anxiety, and desperation. The suicide rate in Europe today, expressed as a percentage of the population, is eight times higher than a century ago.

The spectre which haunts us is most fittingly demonstrated by the United States, the nation which has been, and is, held up to us as a model for fifty years. According to a study by the US Department of Health, 566 out of 1000 Americans use mind-altering drugs today.

The ideal of material, individual, well-being has been deliberately promoted to such an extent that it has been elevated to the status of the true purpose of life; the inevitable result can only be an unbroken chain of catastrophes. The immediate moment is all that counts; no one cares about long-term effects. Nothing is ever calculated or planned long-term. Since everything is dictated by the mechanisms of the Free Market, the inevitable result is an exclusive concern for short-term benefits, regardless of any other consideration.

All the experts, in whatever field, are aware of the price which our descendants will be forced to pay for our blind addiction to short-term consumerism. Our descendants will have to live in an environment in which the quality of life will have deteriorated to an inconceivable extent, in which the balance of nature is irreversibly out of joint.

Yet no one dares resist. No one dares to challenge the basis of the axiomatic values on which the international New World Order is based: the Consumer Economy and the Delusion of Endless Growth.

Like the individual, the states of this Europe of the twentieth century which is now drawing to a close are blindly heading for catastrophe. The sovereign, independent



State of today is nothing more than a memory of past ages. Military occupation of Europe by a non-European power is still tolerated -- fifty years after the end of WWII. An incident which took place recently in Naples is symbolic: two Lieutenants in the US Air Force stole a handbag from a passer-by in the middle of the city centre. They were arrested by the Carabinieri and brought before an examining magistrate, who was then compelled to hand them over to the US military police under the terms of a humiliating "Agreement" between Italy and the USA (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 January 1995).

The Europe of Maastricht is the final abdication of all independent national states and independent peoples, in favor of a private, supranational financial power.

Privatization, carried out behind a smoke screen of fashionable financial theory and alleged to be necessitated by economic problems caused by public debt, has cast all pretense aside and is increasingly revealing its true nature, proving itself nothing but the uninhibited asset-stripping of national resources, the plundering of the Italian heritage in favour of foreign capital.

Willful, deliberate mass immigration -- quite apart from the political and cultural devastation which are the inevitable result -- is destructive in many immediate, practical respects: the Italian government should have intervened to put an end to it long ago, because it is engaged in a desperate struggle for the economic survival of its own people. But no -- while unemployment grows more and more serious, politicians blabber about creating jobs for immigrants. Immigrants receive free housing, free medical care, while countless Italian families cannot even find a decent place to live. All this is accompanied by shameless talk of the need to close hospitals for lack of funds.

## **The criminalization of Fascism and National Socialism**

Most young people today know almost nothing about the history of the twentieth century; they know of figures like Hitler and Mussolini from hearsay only; they have no notion of the ideals which these figures represented, or the values which their political movements gave to the soul of Europe during the first half of the century.

Fifty years of brain-washing, falsification of history, cinema imbecility and television propaganda have caused people to equate those men and movements with brute violence, senseless bloodshed and fanaticism, in a word, with evil.

The concepts of "fascist" and "Nazi" have been emptied of all political, cultural, and idealistic content, and have become bludgeons to club down all opposition -- everyone, that is, who dares to speak out against internationalism and multicultural democracy.

"Fascist!" The very word is a deadly insult, destroying all possibility of free discussion in an instant. This is an insult which deprives the victim any right to take any part in open debate. "You're a fascist. Therefore, you are evil. Therefore, you

have no rights. Therefore, you have no right to speak out or express yourself in favour of anything."

Ours is an age of a breath-taking technological advancement, opening up undreamed-of possibilities in terms of both information and mind-control. The cliques who control the cinema, television, and printed media can distort news and historical facts almost at will. They can manipulate public opinion to an extent incomparably greater than was ever dreamed possible through the control of newspapers and publishing alone, as the situation existed a century ago.

If an event receives no newspaper or television coverage, then it simply never happened; no matter how great its objective importance, its effects upon public opinion will be nil. Nobody notices; nobody cares. It disappears into an endless, silent void.

Almost nobody knows that on 25 October 1995, Franco Fredda and approximately fifty members of the National Front were sentenced to terms of several years of imprisonment by the Tribunal of Verona for completely non-violent political and cultural activities. With one single exception (Massimo Fini), not one journalist even mentioned it; not a single word of it appeared on television. That is "democracy": truth and reality are what the media make it.

On the other hand, if the media all unanimously report the same event, even if it is all lies, it takes root in the conscious and subconscious mind of the masses, absolutely regardless of truth, falsehood, or any other consideration. An example of this was the "eyewitness testimony" -- later revealed to be an impudent swindle -- of the "Iraki atrocities in Kuwaiti hospitals", or the fairy tale of the American "smart bombs" which allegedly spared women, children, and old men, and only killed soldiers. It is this sort of "news" which forms public attitudes on the Gulf War and the entire Middle East Question.

Through this incredible technology of manipulation, the victors of WW II have not only succeeded in preventing any re-birth of fascism and National Socialism, but they have succeeded in suffocating the traditional spiritual and cultural values which had characterized the intellectual and spiritual life of Europe for countless centuries.

The method they employed to achieve this objective was approximately as follows: all traditional European values, such as love of the earth, the homeland, the family -- heroism, honesty, consciousness of duty, and spirituality -- were simply associated, in the public mind, with fascism, Nazism, Mussolini and Hitler.

After this equation had become firmly anchored in the sub-conscious mind of the masses, the slightest increase in the volume of "anti-fascist" propaganda was more than sufficient to enable the ruling powers to smother any rebirth of the values which are so threatening.

By equating the defeated powers of World War II Europe with evil, they achieved far more than simply creating contempt for fascists and National Socialists. They destroyed the entire value system which had been responsible for creating a civilization whose greatness had been unique in world history for thousands of years.

In destroying Mussolini and Hitler, they also destroyed Plato and Dante, Machiavelli and Nietzsche, Caesar and Napoleon, Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

## **Thus the trap closes.**

Let us analyze a few of the fundamental dogmas of our time, so as to have a few concrete examples:

- The Free Market. This is not only THE prevalent economic doctrine of today, it is the ONLY economic doctrine accepted by ALL political groupings, from the Right to the Left. Concepts like "economic self-sufficiency" are inconceivable today;
- The Multicultural Society. No one dare express even the slightest criticism for fear of being attacked as "racist". A short time ago, the Italian government sponsored a television advertisement in which a soothing, but subtly menacing voice was heard to say: "We must get used to living in a multicultural society!" This is the world of 1984.
- Individualism. This is not only the basis for the primitive consumer mentality of today, it has become the new morality, the new ideology of the masses, leading to countless other evils in turn: feminism, rising divorce rates, abortion, right down to the protection of the rights of drug dealers, perverts, and pornography producers. Even Satanists have rights, and are strictly protected: in the broadcast Adepti (Rai 2, 18 February 1996), several of shadowy figures were respectfully interviewed, including individuals who had forced minors into acts of sexual perversion.

This is the "pluralism" bestowed upon us by the democratic-capitalistic system as a blessing! Our society requires absolute subservience to these values, at the cost of ostracism or severe punishment.

Total conformity of ideas is the graveyard of the mind. It is the end station of history.

## **The Role of the official version of history**

The writing of history is in the pitiless grip of the ruling cliques, to an ever greater extent than in politics and culture. No one is longer permitted to disturb the chorus of praise for the New World Order with the slightest criticism.

The worldview which justifies all this must, of course, be all one-sided: the good on one side, all evil on the other -- the wicked losers, by virtue of losing, are, of course, blamed for everything from starting WWII to committing every atrocity in the history of the world.

Since the Nuremberg Trials, the most effective instrument in the criminalization of fascism and National Socialism has been found to be the accusation of the Six Million Jews: the genocide of the Jews -- "Six Million" Jews treacherously murdered in diabolical gas chambers and turned into ashes. Six Million people -- a terrifyingly round number, impossible to forget. Men, women, the elderly, children, infants. All exterminated. And just because they were Jews!

The "Holocaust" today is a ball and chain, intended to remain welded to the ankles of the German nation for all time.

Of course, it is a fact that there were concentration camps in Germany, just as there concentration camps all over the world -- not just in Germany and Axis-controlled territories, but in many European and non-European countries as well.

How many prisoners of war were permitted to die in Soviet and Anglo-American camps from hunger and exhaustion? How many German prisoners of war were slaughtered AFTER THE END OF THE WAR? It's a six-digit figure! And what about the destruction of Dresden? What about the countless other terror attacks on German, Italian, and Japanese cities? What about Hiroshima and Nagasaki? What about the looting, the mass murders of the civilian population? What about the hundreds of thousands of Italian and German women and girls raped by the purveyors and representatives of Allied "democracy"? What about the Yugoslavian Communist stone quarries where thousands of Italians died in misery? Who weeps for them?

And how did the Americans deal with one of their noblest countryman, the poet Ezra Pound? "He was locked in a barbed wire cage without a roof and without a bucket for his human wastes; food was pushed in through the barbed wire; for days, he had to shield his head from the burning sun with his bare hands... After two weeks, they locked him in a cage of wood and iron measuring 2 x 2 m2 surrounded by a heavy metal grid. The roof consisted of a tar paper-covered boards and the floor of cement. He was hardly protected from the rain, and was illuminated day and night by large search lights. In November 1945, he was transferred to the USA and locked up in a common mental hospital for twelve years without any legal judgement..." (Pietro Ciabanetti, *Coltano 1945*, Mursia).

To criminalize entire nations and peoples requires a lot more than just a few individual crimes, such as spectacular reprisals against civilians, the suffering of concentration camp inmates, or Gestapo interrogation methods. Such things have always existed, everywhere, among the most diverse peoples.

As for the concentration camps, there were 1,255 concentration camps in post-war Poland alone. Most of them were filled with Germans; 99% of the inmates were civilians, women and children. Hundreds of thousands of them died (the Jewish writer John Sack says that there were "only" 80,000 deaths) (John Sack, *An Eye for an Eye*, Kabel Verlag, 1995).

And as for the mistreatment of prisoners of war, well, one need only mention one individual case among many, namely, the treatment of the German defendants at the Dachau Trial. According to the findings of an investigatory committee, they were "exposed to every kind of physical and mental torture: 137 of 139 suffered irreparable damage to the testicles" (Carlo Mattogno, *Intervista sull'Olocausto*, Edizioni di Ar, 1995.)

But all this is shouted down with screaming about the "Six Million Jews", allegedly killed in an ice-cold, deliberately planned programme of extermination, mostly in gas chambers.

Under the influence of the emotional trauma induced by the Holocaust propaganda, Europe permitted the Jews to set up their anachronistic State of Israel in the Near East, during which the Arab population was forcefully displaced or enslaved. The mere mention of the Holocaust is enough to induce international public opinion to permit the Jews to administer the occupied territories illegally, with brutal cruelty, even today.

Any pretence, no matter how thread-bare, is sufficient to bring the Holocaust into remembrance, day after day, in literature, science, art, and politics. Instead of slowing down or losing any of its brutal crushing force, the propaganda steam roller becomes more overpowering with each passing year. In more and more European countries, the Jewish version of the "truth" about the Holocaust is placed under a legal protection order, so that Revisionist works may be prohibited and confiscated on whim; this is being done with increasing frequency and violence.

The Holocaust must remain a myth, a dogma, exempt from all free historical discussion. If this dogma were to collapse, then the significance of all other aspects of relating to the Second World War would begin to crumble, and would have to be re-examined. The same is true in politics. It would at long last be possible to return to true pluralism in discussing the future status of Europe. Suddenly, it would no longer be dishonourable to engage in discussion with anyone -- even real fascists! Those values which imply the right of all peoples to protect their identity and independence - in contrast to uniformity and tyranny masquerading as "multiculturalism" and "internationalism" -- would regain their honour.

It is hardly an accident that recognition of the reality of the Holocaust was the final and decisive tribute paid by Gianfranco Fini, leader of the post-fascist Alleanza Nazionale, as the price for permission to participate in the national Italian system. "The Holocaust cannot be erased... Unfortunately, it all happened", he said in the Fini newspaper *Il Secolo di Italia* of 9 February 1996.

The practical manner in which the orthodox view of the Holocaust protects itself from prying eyes, has been revealed with refreshing honesty by Alberto Tagliati, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Historia*. In the June 1995 edition, the publication featured an interview with Prof. Luigi Cajani, under the title of "Una storia incancellabile" (History Cannot be Erased), which confirmed the orthodox view of the Holocaust. The initial intention was to publish a talk with the revisionist Auschwitz expert Carlo Mattogno face to face with the Cajani interview. Tagliati then decided to print only the Cajani text, upon which Mattogno published his views in a text with the title *Intervista sull'Olocausto*, from Edizioni di Ar.

## **The following is Tagliati's justification for this procedure:**

'History' he stated, 'is that which one era considers useful to hold true of another'. I do not believe that this opinion should be revised or corrected, less than ever with regards to Nazism. Of course, contemporary history has judged Nazism from a one-sided point of view -- that of the victors, that of Nuremberg... Fifty years after the end of the Second World War, by contrast, there are people who invoke a cold

'objectivity'... This pedantic attempt to square the circle reveals a sympathy with Nazism...." (pp. 22-23).

Have historians so debased themselves that they have become the mere lackeys of a ruling ideology? Have people really forgotten that the salient feature of European civilization has always been its painfully exact research, its concern and search for truth -- no matter how unwelcome it may be? Do people believe that the Second World War has succeeded in causing all European peoples to abandon their whole culture, their whole value system, all their traditional moral values, once and for all, and forever?

When Prof. Robert Faurisson's first revisionist texts appeared, 34 French intellectuals, under the leadership of the Jewish historians Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov, published an appeal on 21 February 1979 in *Le Monde*, the second sentence of which stated:

"We must not ask how such a mass murder was technically possible. It was technically possible because it happened."

## **A few of the standard criticisms made against the revisionists**

We consider it necessary to mention and refute some of the standard criticisms of revisionism.

The first of these reproaches consists of equating revisionism with "Neo-Nazism".

This is an allegation which is as arbitrary as it is unjustified. Many of the most important representatives of revisionism are alien to the ideas of National Socialism and fascism in their manner of thinking, if not actually hostile to them. Their research is historical and non-ideological.

Revisionists have never wasted time arguing whether National Socialism was "good" or "bad", or whether Hitler was right or wrong. They have always tried to determine the simple facts and separate reality from myth.

Revisionists are repeatedly accused of "slandering the dead", of "incitement to racial hatred", or "trivialization of mass murder". A more illogical or nonsensical argument is hardly possible to imagine. How can one "justify" murder by attempting to prove that the defendant was innocent (for example, that the victim died a natural death or went missing or is still alive). How can research work intended to separate reality from legend be declared equivalent to "incitement to racial hatred" or "slandering the dead"?

When all else fails, we hear the following argument over and over again: even if the figure of Six Million is highly exaggerated, and even if, in reality, many fewer -- perhaps half a million -- Jews died in the concentration camps, that is a crime, too; in fact, it is no less monstrous, because "one single murdered Jew, one single Jew

segregated on the basis of his Jewishness, cries out to high heaven" (*Il Secolo d'Italia*, 9 February 1996).

Of course, that is true; but, by the same logic, it is an argument which applies equally to all other races, religions, nationalities and beliefs as well. One might just as easily say that one single German, Japanese, or Italian civilian, one National Socialist, fascist, or revisionist murdered, beaten or jailed for his nationality, principles, or opinions "cries out to high heaven", too.

## **At the crossroads: terror or dialogue?**

In addition to governmental persecution of revisionists, other methods are also resorted to against them: slander, exclusion from certain professions, and physical intimidation, not excluding murder. The following are only a few examples among many:

- In 1974, the French history teacher Francois Duprat was killed by a car bomb;
- On 4 July 1984, the independent Institute for Historical Review, active in California, was burnt down;
- In the same year, the revisionist professor Prof. Hermann Grive was murdered in Cologne;
- In 1989, Prof. Robert Faurisson was attacked and nearly beaten to death by a troop of thugs calling themselves the "Fils de la mémoire juive" (Sons of Jewish Memory);
- In February 1996, the house of Prof. Renzo de Felice, the expert on fascism, was set on fire.

## **But there are also signs which give rise to hope.**

Honest intellectuals are not prepared to endure these attacks on the freedom of expression and the freedom of research without protest.

Let us take, as an example, an appeal published by dozens of Italian scholars and intellectuals on 3 March 1994 in the left-wing newspaper *Il manifesto*, as well as in the June 1995 issue of the also left-wing publication *La lente di Marx*. The occasion for the appeal was the prohibition in France of the French translation of *The Holocaust under the Scanner* by Jürgen Graf. This is an excerpt from the appeal:

"An extremely alarming trend may be noted in Europe. This consists of deciding historical questions before the courts, which in turn is equivalent to an unacceptable interference of the justice system in politics and in the cultural and academic life of this or any other country. This is often accompanied by a hysterical, intellectually degrading campaign of media incitement. We believe that historical research must be free from all restrictions; that full freedom of thought must prevail -- in Europe just much as in Iran, in Germany just as much as in Italy or France. The truth or falsehood of an idea can be proven

only by free and open scientific debate, not by the judgements of any court, or by crude mass media hate campaigns intended to serve political objectives."

The above are important statements which permit us to hope for a change in climate, even if the number of intellectuals who dare to voice support for such elementary principles in public, over their signature, is still too small to break through the wall of silence.

We seek absolute freedom of research, expression, and publication for revisionist historians and researchers, in the name of pluralism.

The harmonious cultural and political development of the European peoples can only result from a dispassionate, open dialogue, in which all topics can be examined and all viewpoints expressed without hinderance.

Revisionist researchers have published books, articles, interviews and documentation in support of their arguments. If these were false, if revisionist methods were erroneous, the result would have been devastating scientific rebuttal and expert reports in refutation. That the enemies of revisionism can produce nothing more effective against revisionism than physical and career assassination, police-state style brutality and repression, and hysterical media hate campaigns, reinforces doubt as to the correctness of the official version of history, lending credence to the suspicion that the intent is to suppress the truth by any means, including violence.



# CHAPTER I

## THE ACCUSATION

### Holocaust beliefs since 1945

For a half century, all of humanity knew, or thought it knew, that something uniquely cruel took place during WW II, when Germany was fighting nearly every other major country in the world.

Of course, it is true that atrocities were in fact committed during the war -- atrocities which were unprecedented in their degree of unique cruelty. These atrocities were as follows:

- The merciless, systematic terror bombing by the Western Allies of German and Japanese cities. For the first time in the history of the civilized world, a belligerent sought openly and without pretense to kill or maim the greatest possible number of human beings, including the elderly, women and children, without any military justification, and to destroy as many cultural monuments as possible. At Dresden, in February 1945, when the war was all but over, 250,000 human beings were burned alive or buried under the ruins of their houses in a single night (1). In August of the same year, the USA dropped the atomic bombs on a Japan which was already prepared to capitulate;
- The mass murder of prisoners of war. In this unique atrocity, the Allies deliberately allowed enormous numbers of prisoners of war to starve to death or to die of exhaustion. It is recognized that 1.5 million German prisoners in the USSR died this way. That the Western democracies cold-bloodedly permitted at least 800,000, possibly more than a million, prisoners of war to die of hunger, was hushed up in shame for decades, and first came to light through the research of the courageous historian James Bacque (2);
- The greatest mass expulsion in human history, far exceeding anything in occurring in past centuries. Between 1944 and 1949, approximately 15 million Germans were driven from the homes in which where their ancestors had lived peacefully for many generations, and were thrown onto the roads under conditions so inhumane that Europe had not seen the like since the Thirty Year's War. These mass expulsions -- unique in their cruelty -- caused two million deaths from cold, exhaustion, starvation, and deliberate massacres (3).

And yet -- all these horrors are hardly even noticed when there is talk of WW II atrocities. When people talk of THE unique crime of the century -- a crime which staggers the imagination -- we immediately sense that we are about to hear -- once again -- of the German genocide of the Jews.

There is only group with victim status: the Six Million

There is only one scene of any crime: Auschwitz

There is only one group of unique criminals: the Nazis

There is only one new, horrifying weapon: the "gas chambers".

These concepts are deeply anchored in the sub-consciousness of all of humanity; they are drummed into our brains, on television, radio, and the press almost daily; they appear in all the history books, at least in the Western world.

These four concepts -- Six Million, Auschwitz, Nazis, and Gas Chambers -- are the concrete symbol of Absolute Evil in the minds of all humanity. And since every decent person must naturally abhor Evil, innumerable numbers of decent people therefore believe themselves morally compelled to hate, or at least to mistrust, the nationality of people who were responsible for this unique crime -- the German people, who were, at that time, almost 100% in favour of Hitler and the National Socialist government, a fact which is beyond dispute.

It appears no less logical that the victims of this absolute evil, the Jews, should, by the same logic, be treated with the greatest possible sympathy and respect. Of course, this includes the decency of refraining from asking for any proof of their unspeakable suffering -- these people who are so deserving of our sympathy, who have suffered so unspeakably. Every decent human being must listen with the greatest solemnity, the profoundest grief, and without the slightest questioning, to all the details of the monstrous tale of the assembly-line extermination of an entire people, then cry out in righteous indignation: Never Again!

This assembly-line style extermination of human beings is commonly known as the "Holocaust", from the Greek word for "sacrifice by fire" (holos = entirely; kaein = to burn). Another term, which is less commonly used, but which is preferred by Jews, is "Shoa" (Hebrew for "catastrophe").

The terms "Holocaust" and "Shoa" are an indictment of the German people and its ruling government from 1933 to 1945, an indictment which, in terms of severity, has never been made against any other people or government at any time in history.

## This indictment runs as follows:

In the midst of the 20th century, in the heart of Europe, the Germans, over a period of three years (from the autumn of 1941 until the autumn of 1944), murdered five to six million Jewish men, women, and children, almost unnoticed by the world. This genocide is said to have been carried out based on a diabolical plan, carefully hatched by the NS government. The majority of the victims -- from slightly less than three million to more than five million, depending on which historian you believe (4) -- were killed with a previously unknown weapon, i.e., gas chambers (with gas vans playing second fiddle). These mass murders are supposed to have taken place in six extermination camps located on Polish territory, namely Auschwitz, Majdanek,

Sobibor, Treblinka, and Chelmno. The last mentioned camp used gas vans; the five others used stationary gas chambers. Some of the bodies were burned in crematoria, and some in the open, leaving not a rack behind.

The Germans also liquidated between one and two million Jews in Russia, some of them in gas vans, some by mass shooting (5). These massacres were committed mostly by a special murder squad, the "Einsatzgruppen".

After that come another half million or more Jews who are said to have died in ghettos and work camps from mistreatment, malnutrition, and exhaustion. These are, of course, included among the number of Jewish victims, almost Six Million -- (three to five million or more gassed in the six death camps, plus one to two million shot in Russia or murdered in gas vans; plus at least half a million more, from more or less "natural causes") -- but who were not the result of a deliberate policy of extermination; non-Jewish prisoners also died in great numbers for the same reasons. Although these Jews cannot really be included as "Holocaust victims", they are included among them for the sake of simplicity.

Morally, according to half a century of deafening media propaganda, the Holocaust cannot be equated with any other atrocity in history. Stalin may have killed tens of millions more than Hitler, but he never ordered an entire race wiped out without a trace, without any examination of individual cases. The Germans didn't commit the Holocaust because they considered the Jews a real or potential threat, but solely and merely because the victims were Jews. The Germans, according to their accusers, exterminated an entire people out of pure RACIAL HATRED. This racial hatred was the reason why they killed not just the men, the fighting-fit, but the elderly, women and children, including the newborn -- everyone who could be called a "Jew".

## Compared to the "Holocaust", all other "Nazi crimes" pale into insignificance!

### a) "The three million non-Jewish Poles"

In addition to the genocide of the Jews, the Third Reich is accused of other gigantic crimes.

For example, the claim is sometimes made in the media that the National Socialists killed three million non-Jewish Poles. The unprejudiced observer will perhaps wonder as to the circumstances under which so many Poles are said to have been killed. Between the end of the short German-Polish war of September 1939 and the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto of 1944, which cost 180,000 victims, there were, of course, attacks by the Resistance resulting in German reprisals, but there was no large-scale conflict. There is no allegation of any mass-extermination of non-Jewish Poles in the camps (6). How are the three million Poles supposed to have been killed? No Western historian has ever made a serious attempt to establish the figure.

b) "The 500,000 gypsies"

Claims of the alleged 500,000 gypsies exterminated by the Germans are heard with incomparably greater frequency than the claims of the three million non-Jewish Poles. With regards to the extermination of the gypsies, Sebastien Haffner, in a book praised to the skies by the media, states as follows (7):

"After 1941, the gypsies in the occupied territories were exterminated just as systematically as the Jews who lived there. This mass murder has... hardly ever been researched in detail since that time. People didn't talk about it when it was going on; even today, people don't know much about it, except that it took place. Documents are rare. Estimates of the number of victims range up to 500,000."

According to the above, the genocide of the gypsies has hardly been ever researched and the documents are "rare" (i.e., there aren't any), but we still know that the extermination took place!

That this slaughter is the purest fantasy, has been proven by Udo Walendy in great detail (8). The edition of Walendy's periodical *Historische Tatsachen* which discussed this topic was prohibited, although the authorities could not point to a single sentence in it which was not true.

The alleged genocide of the gypsies has not penetrated the public consciousness as deeply as the Jewish Holocaust. In monuments to the Nazi victims, the "Sinti und Roma" -- the politically correct expression for the gypsies -- appear as "also rans" at best. The gypsies themselves, of course, make energetic attempts to obtain compensation from Bonn, but the sums obtained thus far have been monetarily insignificant; this is doubtlessly due to the general lack of political and economic clout possessed by gypsies.

In early 1997, the historical researchers threw in the towel. *The Frankfurter Rundschau* of 13 February 1997 (p. 7), in particular, reports, with reference to the historian Michael Zimmerman:

"Only after a thorough study of the documents was it discovered that the number of murdered Sinti und Roma was significantly lower than the figure current in the media: 50,000 instead of 500,000."

Please don't get the idea that the figure of 500,000 exterminated gypsies was invented and peddled by lie-historians, lie-politicians, and the lie-media for fifty years, without the slightest proof; instead, it arose spontaneously, a product of spontaneous generation, after which it merely became "current in the media"! Regardless of this admission from the historians themselves, the mythical 500,000 murdered gypsies will no doubt continue to stalk the pages of the tabloids of the future as they did in the past -- like ghosts. (That the new figure of 50,000 murdered Sinti und Roma announced by "historical researchers" lacks even the slightest trace of proof, goes without saying.)

### c) Medical experiments on human beings

That there were medical experiments in the NS concentration camps, is undisputed, and it is not our intention to justify them. But the Eastern and Western conquerors of Germany have not the slightest right to become indignant about the matter, because they who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

As shown in detail in the French newspaper *Nouvelle Vision* (9), the Soviets as well as the Americans also carried out medical experiments on human beings, to an incomparably greater degree than the National Socialists. The following are only three examples:

- In Kazakhstan in the USSR <date?>, the Soviets set off 446 atomic bombs. A total of 800 villages were affected by the radioactive fallout. In many cases, the villagers were forbidden to enter their houses at the time of the blast, allegedly due to the danger of collapsing buildings; in reality, this was order was given to test the effects of radioactivity on the victims. According to the Ministry of Health of Kazakhstan, the life expectancy in the affected areas is now 15 years lower than the national average (10);
- Radioactive experiments were carried out on human beings in the USA as well. In December 1993, the US authorities admitted that, in Tennessee in the 1940s, 700 pregnant women were prescribed radioactive pills, exposing the fetus to radioactive radiation. Many children born to mothers involved in these experiments died prematurely of cancer. Other radioactive experiments on human beings were performed in Oregon in 1963 (11);
- In 1954, the first oral contraceptive developed in the USA was not tested on American women, but on Puerto Ricans instead. Since animal experimentation had already proven the pill's carcinogenic effects, researchers were well aware of the dangers to the women involved, and therefore chose foreigners as test subjects (12).

Many more examples could be cited.

### d) Euthanasia

Between 50,000 and 100,000 severely ill patients were killed in Germany after the autumn of 1939 in the context of the euthanasia programme permitting the killing of physically and psychically incurably ill. The euthanasia programme was stopped as the result of protests from the Catholic Bishop Galen and the Evangelical Bishop Wurm.

Opinion differs as to the justification for euthanasia. Strict Christians -- particularly, Fundamentalists -- reject it on the grounds that human life is to be considered holy and sacrosanct. Other well-meaning people advocate euthanasia on the grounds that incurably ill patients can only suffer, constituting a burden to themselves and their loved ones, and that such a life is unworthy of human beings, a life no longer worth living. We do not wish to take a position on the matter, but we wish to point out the following:

- Hundreds of thousands of healthy children are aborted on "social grounds" in the "democracies" every year, i.e., they are killed in their mother's womb, either chopped to bits or killed with corrosive solutions or acids. Is this any more humane than the painless killing of much smaller numbers of the incurably ill in the Third Reich?

- Both passive euthanasia (failing to take measures to prolong life) and active euthanasia (killing the sick) are gaining increasingly greater numbers of adherents every day. The world's best known advocate of euthanasia is the Australian Jew, Singer. Particularly to the forefront in the legalization of euthanasia is the most "anti-fascist" country in the world: Holland.

To sum up: the criticisms made above are insufficient to justify any criminalization of the National Socialist system, not to mention the German people as a whole. Nor do the murder of the "three million non-Jewish Poles" and the "500,000 gypsies" suffice either, because these huge massacres are pure products of the imagination. "Medical experiments on human beings" are insufficient, since the Soviets and Americans carried out similar practices on a much larger scale. Euthanasia is insufficient, because it is officially tolerated in several European countries today -- not to mention the fact that it is surely much less heinous than aborting millions of healthy children, even if we consider euthanasia a crime.

## The Holocaust as a religion

Claude Lanzmann, producer of the nine-and-one-half hour film *Shoa*, has made the following incredibly revealing statement (13):

"If Auschwitz is something other than a horror of history, if it goes beyond the 'banality of evil', then Christianity totters on its foundations. Christ is the Son of God, who went to the end of the humanly endurable, where he endured the cruelest suffering... If Auschwitz is true, then there is a human suffering which simply cannot be compared with that of Christ... In this case, Christ is false, and salvation will not come from Him... If the pain of Auschwitz is much more extreme than that of the Apocalypse, much more horrifying than that described by John in the Apocalypse (since the Apocalypse can be described as, and even resembles, a huge, Hollywood-style spectacular, while Auschwitz is inexpressable and undescrivable), then the Book of the Apocalypse is false, and the Gospels are false, too. Auschwitz is the refutation of Christ."

One could hardly provide a more drastic demonstration that, for increasingly greater numbers of Jews, the Holocaust has become a genuine religion. Perhaps two Jews out of three Jews believe in God, but 99.9% of them believe in the gas chambers. If this murky religion were restricted to Jews, that would be their own affair; basically, it would be their problem, not ours; yet ominously, increasingly shameless attempts have been made in recent years to force this Jewish Holocaust religion upon non-Jews by criminal law.

If "Auschwitz" is true, salvation will not come from Christ, says Lanzmann -- so where is it going to come from, then? Quite obviously from the Jews, who have now been transsubstantiated into a sort of collective Messiah because of Auschwitz! The

arch-enemy of the new collective Messiah is therefore the "National Socialist regime of the gas chambers and the Holocaust" -- the incorporation of Absolute Evil.

The ever-growing numbers of Holocaust memorials are quite obviously part of this religious -- or rather pseudo-religious -- framework. "Doubting the Holocaust" (the official version of the Holocaust, that is) has, in the meantime, been made punishable by criminal prosecution in several countries, so that the picture is now complete: as a religious dogma, the Holocaust must remain exempt from all scientific research and be taken on faith (or else).

The Swiss writer Arthur Vogt has described the "Holocaust religion" very perceptively (14):

"First principle of faith: the Germans, as a race of criminals, have been cursed with eternal shame... Even their descendants bear the mark of Cain, merely because they are German... Second principle: There is only one salvation from this terrible guilt, and that is: constant acknowledgement and remorse for the crime. That is the reason for all the memorials and anniversaries... The Holocaust religion recognizes good works: this is why the German government must support the construction of Israel with billions of marks in so-called 'reparations'. Personal atonement is performed by young Germans -- for example, through the activities of the 'Symbol of Reconciliation' -- through taking care of the elderly in Israel or rebuilding crumbling walls at Auschwitz.

"So much money and effort have been invested in the Holocaust religion, and continue to be invested in it, that if the factual basis for it were found to be erroneous, it would be an incredible shock. Yet it is the basis of the founding myth of Israel (and the BRD); it is the most important founding element in the identity of the Jews today, both believers and non-believers. To point out the existence of contradictions and errors in the so-called "evidence" is heresy... The Holocaust religion also has its heretics, whom it persecutes mercilessly. These are the revisionists, who dare to question the established version of history. They are slandered and persecuted all over the world, under the influence of powerful Zionist groups."

## Why nearly everybody believes in the Holocaust

No doubt the overwhelming majority of human beings, at least in the Western states, believe in the official version of the Holocaust for reasons which at first glance appear entirely plausible:

First, it seems entirely inconceivable that the media as a whole would be able to spread a story like that for over 50 years unless there was some truth in the story, at least very generally. The average citizen, of course, can still imagine that the numbers of victims may have been exaggerated; but the notion that the gas chamber story, taken as a whole, could be purely a product of fantasy, is far too monstrous to consider. In addition, the correctness of the official version of the Holocaust appears confirmed by three factors:

- the general disappearance of the Jews from several former German-ruled countries, particularly Poland, where three million Jews are acknowledged to have lived in the early 1930s, but where only a few tens of thousands live today, according to official statistics. So if they weren't exterminated, is the question, where did they go?

We will only examine the demographic aspect of the question at the end of our study; for the moment, we will consider only one single argument in reply: at the end of WWII, there were approximately 12 million Germans in the areas east of the Oder und Neisse. There are only between one and two million there today. Does that really mean that 10 to 11 million Germans in the Eastern territories were exterminated? Of course, the answer is no; some of them died during the violence of the expulsion, of course, but most of them escaped to the West and survived the war. According to this logic, then, the general disappearance of Polish Jewry is no proof that most of the Jews in these territories were exterminated. They could have escaped or emigrated.

- The alleged "innumerable eyewitness testimonies". "It may well be", people cry in profound indignation, "that a few witnesses may have lied or exaggerated the horrors of the Holocaust, but all of them? It's unthinkable!" This argument is based upon a misunderstanding. There are far fewer witnesses to the extermination of the Jews in the gas chambers than is commonly assumed. Anyone who consults the standard literature will soon note that, basically, only a handful of witnesses are quoted: Gerstein, Höss, Broad, Vrba, Mueller, Bendel, Lengyel, Tauber, Nyiszli, and a few more. Since there are no forensic or documentary proofs for the mass killings in the gas chambers -- as we shall soon show in detail -- the entire Holocaust allegation basically stands or falls with the testimony of perhaps two dozen standard eyewitnesses. The great majority of the alleged "innumerable witnesses" only heard of the gas chambers second or third hand;

- The photos and films. It is quite true that there are authentic photographs of piles of corpses and living skeletons from German concentration camps; these photographs were taken after their liberation by Allied troops. But they are no proof of any systematic "extermination of the Jews", since even the official version of the story does not dispute the fact that these dead and dying men were the victims of starvation and epidemic disease during the chaotic last few months of the war.

In addition to these authentic photos, there are a number of grossly falsified photos, which have been distributed widely for decades. Udo Walendy has helped prove their inauthenticity (15).

These manipulations in themselves, of course, are insufficient to prove that "there wasn't any Holocaust"; but they should awaken our suspicion. Why must one have recourse to such primitive trickery if great quantities of unimpeachable evidence are available?

The argument "But I saw it myself in the movies and on television" can only be the product of a very feeble mind. All the films of the genocide of the Jews, from *Holocaust* to *Shoa* to *Schindler's List*, were produced long after the war; that they lack any probative value is a matter of course. It's no accident that a miserable botch job like *Schindler's List* was cooked up in black-and-white. This was done to create a false impression of authenticity for historically naive cinema-goers.



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## Notes

- 1) A detailed discussion of the number of victims at Dresden may be found in our book *Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung*, Neue Visionen, Postfach 5436 Wuerenlos, Switzerland, p. 267 ff.
- 2) James Bacque, *Der geplante Tod*, Ullstein, 1993.
- 3) On the subject of the expulsions, see, for example, Alfred Maurice de Zayas, *Anmerkungen zur Vertreibung*, Kohlhammer, 1986, or Rolf-Josef Eibicht (publisher), *Der Völkermord an den Deutschen. 50 Jahre Vertreibung*, Hohenrain, Tübingen, 1995.
- 4) "Holocaust Specialist" Lucy Dawidowicz, in her book *The War Against the Jews* (Penguin Books, 1987, p. 191), which is considered a standard work, comes to a total of 5.37 million murdered Jews in the six extermination camps. Raoul Hilberg, touted as a "Holocaust Expert", in his three volume opus *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (Fischer Taschenbuch, 1990., p. 946), speaks of 2.7 million killed Jews in the six death camps. The difference therefore amounts to 2.67 million people! Of course, both the Holocaust big brains keep the sources of their statistical data shrouded in silence.
- 5) The Einsatzgruppen alone are alleged to have murdered no less than 1.25 million Jews by early 1943, according to the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (published by Israel Gutman, Eberhard Jäckel and others, Argon, 1993, p. 399).
- 6) The *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (see above reference), claims that over 3 million Jews were killed in the extermination camps, as well as tens of thousands of gypsies and Soviet prisoners of war". There is no mention of non-Jewish Poles.
- 7) Sebastien Haffner, *Anmerkungen zu Hitler*, Fischer Taschenbuch Frankfurt 1991, p. 130.
- 8) *Historische Tatsachen*, Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Vlotho, no. 23.
- 9) *Nouvelle Vision*, from ANEC, BP 258, F-14013 Caen, no. 36 (1995).
- 10) *ibid*, p. 242 ff.
- 11) *ibid*, p. 244 ff.
- 12) *ibid*, p. 239 ff.
- 13) *Les temps modernes*, December 1993, p. 132/133.
- 14) "Die Holocaust Religion", in *Aurora*, Postfach 386, CH 8105 Regensdorf, double issue 11/12 (1996).

15) Udo Walendy, *Bilddokumente für die Geschichtsschreibung?*, Verlag fuer Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Vlotho/Weser, 1973, as well as Walendy in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, 1994.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FUNCTION OF THE HOLOCAUST IN THE WORLD SINCE 1945

The political consequences of the Holocaust were, and are, enormous. Let us look at the most important ones.

#### The founding of the State of Israel and the violation of Palestinian Rights

Without the Holocaust, the world would never have permitted the founding of the state of Israel in 1948. The colonial era was coming to an end at that time. The British had already decided to give India its independence, while dozens of Asian and African territories were at that point striving to shake off European rule. While other powers were rushing to grant independence to their colonies, the Jews in Palestine were permitted to embark upon a colonial adventure par excellence, with the blessings of both the West and the USSR. In so doing, they proceeded with ruthless brutality; whole Arab villages were leveled. A great proportion of the Palestinians were driven from their homeland. In 1967, Israel conquered additional Arab territories, the inhabitants of which remain subject to all possible kinds of repression: deportations, arrests -- in 1992, there were 15,000 Palestinians behind bars for political reasons! (1) -- liquidation of political opposition by killer commandos, dynamiting of houses, confiscations, endless repression (2). In addition, there is the systematic use of torture, quite unashamedly declared legal by the Israeli Supreme Court on 15 November 1996. In so doing, the Jewish state adopted a legal position which remains unique in the world. Israel is, of course, not the only state in the world to practise torture; but it is the only nation which openly claims the right to do so. The right of Israeli military personnel and policemen to torture Palestinian political detainees was justified by the Supreme Court on security considerations: the need to gain "vitally important information on planned attacks". So why did the Gestapo officer Klaus Barbie in Paris have French resistance fighters tortured, if not on security grounds, and for the purpose of gaining vital information on planned attacks on German soldiers?

Not only may Arabs be tortured and murdered in Israel with impunity -- they may even be mocked posthumously. In 1993, two Israeli soldiers shot an unarmed Palestinian during a street confrontation. At first, they were sentenced to one hour's imprisonment each; this inhumanly heavy sentence was later commuted into a fine of exactly one penny each (3).

Jewish terror rule in Palestine is not actually encouraged by world public opinion, but it is tolerated. After all, the Jewish people, after suffering the Holocaust, needed a homeland to protect them from a new genocide; what are the sufferings of the Palestinians compared to those of the Jews under Hitler?

Without outside assistance, the state of Israel would never survive for as much as a single day. Its chief source of revenue continues to consist of financial injections from the Americans, support from international Jewry, and German "reparations". According to official sources, the BRD had already paid 85.4 billion marks to Israel (and Jewish organizations) by 1992 (3); the actual figure must be considerably higher. In addition there have been German deliveries in the form of commodities. Nahum Goldman, long-time Chairman of the Jewish World Congress, wrote in his book *The Jewish Paradox* (4):

"Without the German reparations payments that started coming during its first ten years as a state, Israel would not have half of its present infrastructure: all the trains in Israel are German, the ships are German, and the same goes for electrical installations and a great deal of Israel's industry..."

### Immunity of Jews from criticism

Before 1945, criticism of Jews was allowed. Today, that is no longer the case. Any criticism of Jewry and Zionism, no matter how faint-hearted -- for example, relating to the relatively heavy influence of Jews on the mass media of the Western world, or the arrogance of the Central Jewish Council in Germany -- is immediately shouted down with screams about Auschwitz and the Holocaust, with approximately the following logic: anyone who criticizes Jews is anti-Semitic; Hitler was anti-Semitic; Hitler killed Six million Jews; therefore, anyone who criticizes Jews wants to kill another Six Million Jews! No matter how stupid and primitive this argument may be, it has proven itself effective right down until the present day.

The effectiveness of the above is demonstrated by a single remarkable example:

The most dangerous criminal organization in the world is regularly called the "Russian mafia" by the mass media. This is a slander on the Russian people, because the mob bosses are not Russian. In a book which the author was forced to call *The Russian Mafia* -- if he had called it *The Jewish Mafia* he would have thrown in jail -- the German author Jürgen Roth (5) says:

"The cocaine is owned by a drug ring made up overwhelmingly of Israeli nationals -- some of them with Russian ancestry -- with support points in Colombia, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Tel Aviv, Moscow and St. Petersburg... Mosche Ben-Ari, Ricardo Fanchini, and Rachmiel Brandwain are considered the most powerful bosses of the exile Russian mafia in Europe and the USA."

Although Roth had to censor many names in his book, it is clear from the context that the bosses of the "Russian Mafia" are almost exclusively Jewish. The gangster bosses Rachmiel Brandwain and Mosche Ben-Ari live in Antwerp or Munich. No Belgian or German state prosecutor would ever dare have them arrested, since he would be attacked by the media as a "neo-Nazi", a pitiless persecutor of "Holocaust survivors".

## Covering up Allied atrocities in WW II

As we have seen, very little is ever said about the horrendous Allied atrocities during WWII. Terror bombings, starvation camps, and expulsions, may, of course, be inhumane, people will say; but the Holocaust was an incomparably greater crime! Anyone guilty of such a crime -- i.e., the Germans -- has no right to complain of harsh treatment by the Allied victors.

## Creating contempt for the German people

Since 1945, the German people have been branded with a mark of shame for an unspeakable crime which makes healthy self-respect impossible for Germans, and prevents any German government from representing German interests in any way. A truly independent German government committed to defending the interests of the German people has not existed since 1945. The DDR was ruled by the satraps of the Eastern occupying powers for decades, while the BRD continues to be ruled by vassals of the Western occupying powers.

Self-respect and patriotism are held in contempt in Germany today; self-criticism and self-hatred are the prevailing trend. Leading intellectuals, the most well-known of whom is Günter Grass, have expressly opposed the reunification with reference to Auschwitz (6).

Germany's entry into the Europe of Maastricht, i.e., into a supranational government ruled by an anonymous bureaucracy, is advocated tooth and nail by all the parties represented in the German Bundestag. After the destruction of Germany as a state, the next objective of the ruling classes is the destruction of the German people itself. This is to be achieved through artificially lowering the domestic birth rate by means of laws hostile to the family, by facilitating abortion, as well as by encouraging the mass immigration of people from foreign cultures, most recently from Black Africa.

## Rendering impossible any objective discussion of National Socialism

An objective discussion of National Socialism, with its strengths and weaknesses, is simply impossible today. Any mention of the achievements and positive aspects of the National Socialist system -- for example, the elimination of unemployment and the economic upswing which set in soon after Hitler's rise to power -- is immediately howled down with screams about Auschwitz.

## Creating contempt for all forms of nationalism except Jewish nationalism

While the Auschwitz truncheon was first used only on the Germans, it is now directed, to an increasingly greater extent, against all other white nationalities. The argument in this regard runs approximately as follows:

- The world sat by and did nothing while Hitler slaughtered the Jews by millions. Neither the Western powers nor the Soviets nor the International Red Cross nor the Vatican denounced the genocide nor attempted to rescue the Jews, although they

knew just what the Nazis were doing. Therefore, the white race as a whole is jointly guilty for the Holocaust;

- since the extermination of the Jews was permitted without resistance AT THAT TIME, we must repent for our sins and grant residence to all asylum seekers from foreign cultures TODAY. If we were to send them back to their own countries, they might suffer persecution, torture, and death; we would therefore be guilty again!

- All forms of nationalism (except, of course, Jewish nationalism) are therefore highly dangerous, since it all too easily leads to racism, and therefore involves the danger of a new Holocaust. A "nationalist", of course, is anyone who resists the mass immigration of coloureds and Moslems to Europe and North America.

In practice, the Holocaust means that white Christian nations no longer have the right to their own identity. They have a moral duty to allow themselves to be overrun and displaced. "What, you're not against immigration, are you? You must be a NAZI!"

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### Notes:

1) *Weltwoche*, 22 October 1992.

2) On the Israeli repression of Arabs, see, for example, Ludwig Watzal, *Frieden ohne Gerechtigkeit?* Boehlau Verlag, 1994.

3) *Nation & Europa*, January 1997, p. 34; *Rivarol*, 6 December 1996, p. 9.

4) *Spiegel*, no. 18/1992.

5) Nahum Goldmann, *Das jüdische Paradox*, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1978, p. 171.

6) Jürgen Roth, *Die Russen-Mafia*, Rasch und Roehring, Hamburg 1996, p. 263; 269.

7) Günter Grass, *Schreiben nach Auschwitz*, Luchterhand, 1990.

# CHAPTER III

## THE REVISIONISTS

### The claims of the revisionists

Everyone today knows that there is a group of people who radically question the prevalent image of the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. These people call themselves "Revisionists", or, more precisely, "Holocaust Revisionists". The media bespatters them with idiotic smear words like "Auschwitz Deniers", and lumps them together with "Right-wing Radicals".

If you were to ask the average German what the revisionists actually say, and what their statements are based on, he would be unable to answer. This is quite inevitable because of strict media control; the media have strict instructions not to permit any expression or discussion of revisionist arguments. Thus, many people are given the completely erroneous impression that the revisionists deny Jewish suffering during the Second World War. In reality, no one denies that a considerable number of Jews under German rule were interned in concentration camps, or that large numbers of deportees died of epidemics and exhaustion. Nor does anyone deny the reality of shootings of Jews, particularly, on the Eastern Front.

Revisionists dispute the following three points in particular:

- 1) That there was a plan for the physical liquidation of the Jews;
- 2) The existence of "extermination camps" with gas chambers for mass killing of human beings;
- 3) That five to six million Jews died in German occupied Europe.

It is also not true that revisionism is a "Right-wing radical" movement, since it is not an ideology. It is, as Prof. Robert Faurisson likes to say, a method. Revisionists examine the official picture of the "Holocaust" using the same methods which are generally recognized as valid for other historical periods.

Of course, it is also true that most revisionists are politically to the Right, and that some of them are acknowledged National Socialists, but this has no influence on the correctness or incorrectness of their arguments. Whether the discoverer of a new planet is conservative, liberal, socialist, or Communist, is irrelevant to the history of science. What counts is the discovery of a new planet!

Furthermore, some of the best-known revisionists, for example, the Frenchmen Serge Thion and Pierre Guillaume, are on the Left.

A former concentration camp inmate as revisionist pioneer:

### **Paul Rassinier**

The founder of revisionism also came from the left. Paul Rassinier, a French resistance fighter, a Socialist and detainee at Buchenwald and Dora-Mittelbau concentration camps. In his book *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (the Lies of Ulysses), which appeared in 1950, Rassinier denounced the endlessly exaggerated tales told by former inmates of German camps. Over the course of years of research, Rassinier finally came to the conclusion that gassings had either not taken place at all, or had taken place only as the act of a few lunatics. In *Le Drame des Juifs européens* (1964), Rassinier wrote a few years before his death (1):

"For 15 years, every time that I heard of a witness anywhere, no matter where in the portion of Europe that was not occupied by the Soviets, who claimed to have himself been present at gas exterminations, I immediately went to him to get his testimony. With documentation in hand, I would ask him so many precise and detailed questions that soon it became apparent that he could not answer except by lying. Often his lies became so transparent, even to himself, that he ended his testimony by declaring that he had not seen it himself, but that one of his good friends, who had died in the camps and whose good faith he could not doubt, had told him about it. I covered thousands and thousands of kilometers throughout Europe in this way."

Since nobody else wanted to print Rassinier's works, he finally had them published by a publishing house closely associated with the "Extreme Right" (Les Sept Couleurs). The hypocrites who reproach him for having them published there, would no doubt have preferred to see them never published at all.

### **Media vilification of the revisionists**

If we observe the campaign against the revisionists carried on by the media clique, we immediately note a series of remarkable features:

First, revisionist literature is flatly stated to have no credibility at all. Thus, a Swiss woman named Klara Obermueller wrote as follows in an anti-revisionist series (2):

"If somebody came along today and reported the calling of a scientific congress to examine the question of whether the sun revolves around the earth or the earth around the sun, he would either be ridiculed or declared non-compos mentis. It wouldn't occur to anyone to discuss the matter seriously... A similar thing occurs with the propagandists of the so-called 'Auschwitz Lie' or 'Holocaust Lie': their statements that there was no extermination of the Jews, is so obviously false that it is basically unworthy of serious scientific discussion."

According to the above, the revisionists are purely and simply crazy. So why persecute them? Why not just ignore them? Do people take you to court if you say the earth doesn't revolve around the sun?



Peculiarly, these same lunatics appear to be highly dangerous to the "Western democracies"; they even appear to threaten the very basis of that society in an extremely serious way. A hack journalist named Patrick Bahners, writing in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 15 August 1994 in connection with the sentencing of Günter Deckert, revisionist and Chairman of the NPD, by the German legal system, said:

"If Deckert's attitude on the Holocaust were correct, the Bundesrepublik would be based on a lie. Every Presidential speech, every minute of silence, every history book would be a lie. Therefore, anyone who denies the mass murder of the Jews disputes the legitimacy of the Bundesrepublik."

How can a handful of lunatics endanger the legitimacy of the Bundesrepublik? No, the journalists must finally recognize that there is something askew in this argument: either the revisionists are lunatics, in which case they aren't dangerous, and the journalists can spare the energy wasted on all their hysterical hate campaigns; or they are highly dangerous to the ruling system of the West, in which case they are not lunatics! You can't have it both ways; the media must decide one or the other.

State prosecutors and judges as watch dogs for the official version of history

The matter becomes even more suspicious when we learn that "denying" the Holocaust (a more correct term would be "disputing the genocide of the Jews") are liable for criminal prosecution in several European countries (3). The model for this impudent interference of the criminal justice system in the freedom of research is perhaps the French "Loi Gayssot", passed in France in 1990 (4), which provides for criminal penalties for anyone disputing any matter decided by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. The sentence of the Nuremberg victor's tribunal has therefore been declared infallible in France; it has been canonized, as it were. Even Stalin did nothing of the kind.

In the BRD, revisionists are prosecuted according to paragraph 130 of the Criminal Code ("Incitement to Racial Hatred") Paragraph 131 ("Slandering the Dead") and paragraph 189 ("Slandering the Dead"). The first paragraph was considerably broadened on 28 October 1994, and now calls for prison terms of up to five years for anyone who approves, denies, or trivializes any criminal act alleged to have been committed by the National Socialists. Since that date, there have been thousands of trials of revisionists in Germany just since 28 October 1994.

In Austria, the so-called "Prohibition Law" against National Socialist activities has served as the Hexenhammer in suppressing the freedom of research on the Holocaust since 1992.

In France, Holocaust revisionists are liable for imprisonment for one year; in the BRD, five years; and in Austria, ten years. In practice, however, the penalties are not that severe. Not yet!

Here are the sentences from some particularly spectacular revisionist trials in the BRD:

- in October 1992, Major General Remer, one of the most highly decorated soldiers of WWII, was sentenced to 22 months without probation in Schweinfurt for "Holocaust Denial", which, for the seriously ill old man, would have been equivalent to a death sentence (Aktenzeichen Remer 1 Kls 8 Js 7494/91). Rather than serve the sentence, Remer, accompanied by his wife, went into exile in Spain;
- in April 1995, Günter Deckert, Chairman of the NPD, was sentenced to two years without probation for translating a technical talk by US gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter (Aktenzeichen IV Kls 1/95 - 2AK 1/95). That Deckert laughed several times during the translation, and shortened the sacrosanct Holy Word "Holocaust" to "Holo" for short, was considered to have aggravated the offense (5);
- In June 1995, the chemist Germar Rudolf was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment without probation in Stuttgart (Aktenzeichen 17 Kls 83/94). This sentence was passed on the pretext that Major General Remer had sent Rudolf's report on the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz (see chapter XII) to politicians, professors, and the media (6);
- In May 1996, the publisher Wigbert Grabert was fined 30,000 DM for publishing a scientific revisionist anthology with the title *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Aktenzeichen AG Tübingen 4 Gs 173/95)
- in May 1996, the political scientist and publisher Udo Walendy was sentenced to 15 months without probation (Aktenzeichen 2 Kls 46 Js 374/95 STA Bielefeld) for "trivializing the Holocaust" (7).

In none of these terror trials did the court spend as much as one single second considering the arguments of the defendants. Every case assumed the "Offenkundigkeit" of the Holocaust, i.e., its alleged status as a "proven fact". This "Offenkundigkeit", believe it or not, dates back to 1945! According to article 21 of the London Statutes of August 1945, which established the procedural rules for the Nuremberg Trials, no proof was required of "facts of common knowledge". Just what constituted a "fact of common knowledge" was, of course, decided by the court itself - a court which, in the words of chief prosecutor Robert Jackson, considered its actions a "continuation of the war against Germany" (8). Thus, the status of the "Offenkundigkeit" of an assembly-line extermination of the Jews with millions of victims, was simply considered to be a "fact of common knowledge", for which, therefore, no proof other than "confessions" and "eyewitness testimonies" is available today.

All these trials violate the basic right to free expression of opinion as guaranteed under the Constitutions of all the states concerned. It is also illegal to deny a defendant any opportunity to prove the truth of his statements; instead, expert reports on the technical impossibilities of the reported mass extermination are always rejected with reference to the "Offenkundigkeit" of the Holocaust.

Generally, the very notion that jurists are competent to decide matters of historical fact is grotesque in itself. The following is an example:

In the book *Hat Karl der Grosse Je Gelebt?* [Was There Ever Really a Charlemagne?] (9), the Munich scholar Herbert Illig disputes the existence of Charlemagne, and declares the whole period from 614 to 911 A.D. to be a product of fantasy. This entire period of 297 years, together with Charlemagne and all the other historical figures of the same period, are alleged to have been invented by subsequent falsifiers of history for political reasons. The absence of any structures built during the three so-called "centuries of the Dark Ages" is the logical result of the non-existence of this period of history: an analysis of architectural monuments is said to show that the few structures alleged to have been built during this period, were, in reality, built later.

Due to an insufficient familiarity with the history of the early Middle Ages on our part, we shall refrain from expressing an opinion as to the value of Illig's book. If his arguments should prove to be sheer fantasy, they will be ignored. If they should prove correct, the author will be sooner or later have to be recognized as a genius. There is another, third possibility, i.e., that Charlemagne actually lived, but never performed many of the heroic deeds attributed to him. In this case, Illig's work would still have a seminal influence upon the writing of history by pointing out its shortcomings -- particularly, an overly blind trust in the reliability of the sources employed.

One thing is for certain: Illig will never be hauled into court because of his book. No judge will ever jail him for "Denying the Genocide of the Pagans", although, by disputing Charlemagne's existence, he is, in effect, denying the mass murder of Saxon pagans attributed to him.

In short, Charlemagne, or any other historical subject for that matter, may be researched with complete freedom and the broadest possible latitude. The same statement is true of every other period of history -- except the Second World War, and, in particular, the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. This fact alone ought to make every thinking person deeply suspicious: "truths" that require protection by criminal law usually turn out to be lies.

The bankruptcy of the official version of history

**"Historians have only interpreted the Holocaust. The thing is to research it."**

Ulrich Herbert, German historian, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of 13 February 1997, p. 7.

The Lausanne daily *Nouveau Quotidien* on 2 and 3 September 1996, published two articles by the historian Jacques Baynac (an anti-revisionist). The first bore the promising title "How the Historians Turned the Job of Silencing the Revisionists Over to the Courts". That means: the governmental persecution of revisionists described above is the logical consequence of the inability of orthodox historians to come up with any counter-argument with which to answer the revisionists. While revisionists RESEARCH the Holocaust, historians are simply content to INTERPRET it. The facts are irrelevant.

An excellent example of this may be seen in Gunnar Heinsohn's book *Warum Auschwitz?* [Why Auschwitz?] (10). At the very beginning of the book, Heinsohn mentions an alleged Himmler order issued on 25 November 1944 on the disassembly

of the gas chambers at Auschwitz. This Himmler order has haunted Holocaust literature for decades. No source for it is ever given, since no such order has ever been found. We don't know which historian invented this lie, since the Holocaust scribblers simply copy all their nonsense back and forth.

With mock seriousness, Heinsohn lists "Two Hundred Forty Recognized Theories on Auschwitz", and comments upon them at the end of the book ("Theory no. 20: Auschwitz as the Punishment of the Jews for Worshipping Female Deities". Theory no. 33: "Auschwitz as Preparation for the Restoration of Israel So That All Surviving Jews May Gather Together and Fulfill the Conditions for the Coming of the End Days Through the Christian God", etc., etc). He finally comes to the conclusion that Hitler wished to exterminate the Jews because he hoped that, "with the disappearance of the Jews of flesh and blood, the law of the sanctity of life, as well as the Commandments of love and righteousness, would be lost. He wished to create the right to kill, in order to create strategic advantages for the Germans in the conquering of living space" (cover blurb).

In the Middle Ages, scholars engaged in complex disputes as to how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. The existence of angels was never cast in doubt, and never proven; it was simply assumed as an axiom. Holocaust writers act in the same way. The existence of an "assembly line mass extermination" is assumed as an axiom, without any regard to the need for proof. They then proceed to speculate in a vacuum, far removed from historical realities, on the psychological and sociological factors which led to the assembly-line killing of Jews in the third Reich", etc., etc., just as medieval scholars speculated upon the sex of the number of angels dancing on the pinhead.

Revisionists ask very different questions, such as: What do the documents show about Auschwitz? How reliable are the eyewitnesses? What was the capacity of the crematoria? How quickly does Zyklon B evaporate, and at which temperatures? Did the "gas chambers" possess an efficient ventilation system? How did the Zyklon B enter the "gas chambers"? Are there any traces of cyanides in the mortar samples from the "gas chambers"?

In other words, on the one hand, are reason and logic; on the other, stands primitive superstition. There is no possible compromise between the two opposing parties. That is why the historians, to borrow a phrase from Baynac, have turned the job of silencing the revisionists over to the courts.

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## Notes:

1) Paul Rassinier, *Le Drame des juifs européens*, Les Sept Couleurs, 1964, reprinted by La Vieille Taupe, Paris, p. 79.

2) *Weltwoche* series, "Auschwitz und die 'Auschwitz-Lüge'", 9, 16, and 23 December 1993, 3 articles.

- 3) So far (early 1997) Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain have passed anti-revisionist muzzle laws in addition to France, Germany, and Austria. In Belgium and Spain, however, there appears to be little danger of their being used -- for the moment.
- 4) The "Loi Gayssot", see Éric Delcroix, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme*, RHR, Colombes Cedex/F. 1994.
- 5) See, in this regard, Günther Anntohn/Henri Roques, *Der Fall Günter Deckert*, DADC, Germania Verlag, Weinheim 1995.
- 6) See, in this regard no. Herbert Verbeke (publisher) *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Berchem 1996.
- 7) Compare, in this regard, issue no. 69 of *Historische Tatsachen*.
- 8) Prosecutor Jackson's speech before the Tribunal, 26 July 1946.
- 9) Heribert Illig, *Hat Karl der Grosse je gelebt?*, Mantis Verlag, Graefeling, 1995.
- 10) Gunnar Heinsohn, *Warum Auschwitz?*, Rowohl, Hamburg, 1995.

# CHAPTER IV

## WHAT IF THE REVISIONISTS ARE RIGHT?

Let's just assume that the official "truth" on the Holocaust is a lie, and that the revisionists are right. The result would be a recognition that there was indeed a PERSECUTION OF JEWS under the Third Reich, but no deliberate EXTERMINATION OF JEWS; that the gas chambers and gas vans were an invention of atrocity propaganda, just like the children with their hands chopped off during the First World War; that not five to six million, but less than one million Jews died in the areas under German control; that of these Jewish victims, only a small percentage were killed, while the rest died chiefly of epidemics and deprivation in the camps and ghettos. What would be the result of this revelation? They are easy to imagine:

- A worldwide wave of anti-Jewish feeling;
- A wave of nationalism in Germany: politicians, intellectuals, historians and journalists would be held up to contempt by their own people;
- The renewed possibility of an objective, factual discussion of National Socialism. We might, as a result, even be able to borrow some of their constructive measures in dealing with the problems of unemployment, the declining birth rate, and wide-spread drug addiction;
- Nationalism, in the sense of a true representation of national interests and a defence of the national identity, would regain its legitimacy. The Germans could again say, without shame, "Germany for the Germans!" The French could again say, without shame, "France for the French!" The psychological and political factors which have enabled mass invasion from the Third World, would disappear;
- The rulers and manipulators of public opinion would be discredited, not only in Germany, but throughout the West. People would ask themselves why this whole charade had to be propped up with censorship and brute force for so many decades, and in whose interests. Trust in the ruling cliques would be seriously shaken -- at a time of serious social and economic crisis to which the "democracies" have no answer.

We see that a general realization that Holocaust is a lie would have devastating implications, not only for international Jewry and the state of Israel, but for the political and intellectual ruling cliques of the entire Western world -- particularly in Germany! The result would be a re-evaluation of all values, to borrow a term from Friedrich Nietzsche. Everything would be different. Everything would have to re-examined.

## WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

### **Prior to 1941: The Reich's Government demands Jewish emigration**

The Jewish policies of the NSDAP, from the very outset, aimed at continually reducing Jewish influence in Germany and at encouraging as many German Jews to emigrate as possible. This initial objective was pursued from 1933 onwards by means of numerous laws and decrees which limited the number of Jews among lawyers, doctors, etc. by means of quotas, and which restricted the economic and political rights of the Jews. This continued, until at least 1938, practically without violence; until the Night of Broken Glass (1), not one Jew was ever sent to a camp just for being a Jew. If Jews were sent to camps, it was for militant anti-governmental political activity or for common crime (2).

To encourage Jewish emigration, the National Socialists worked closely with Zionist organizations, which were interested in encouraging the emigration to Palestine of as many Jews as possible. This National Socialist-Zionist cooperation has been fully documented by several authors (3), and to our knowledge is not disputed by anyone.

Since the British mandate over Palestine effectively prevented Jewish immigration of Jews to that country, Jewish emigration took place very slowly; the majority of German Jews preferred other immigration countries, particularly the USA. But the USA also placed obstacles in the path of Jewish immigration (4).

By 1941, however, the great majority of German and Austrian Jews had gone into exile.

### **After 1941: Mass deportation to camps and ghettos**

In 1941, Jewish emigration was officially prohibited. This prohibition was not, however, consistently implemented in practice. The deportation of Jews to work camps and ghettos began in 1941. This occurred for two reasons in particular: first, the Germans needed their labour, since a majority of German men were at the front. Secondly, the Jews indisputably represented a security risk. The Jew Arno Lustiger, a former resistance fighter and survivor of several camps, has proudly boasted that Jews represented 15% of all active resistance, yet the percentage of Jews in the French population at that time was no more than 1%. The Communist "Red Orchestra" espionage organization, which did cause Germany enormous harm, was made up mostly of Jews (6).

Other states have interned suspicious minorities with far less justification: thus, in the USA, all persons of Japanese ancestry, even those with American passports, were interned in camps (7). This was done even though there was never a single case of espionage or subversion by Japanese-Americans, as admitted by Ronald Reagan decades later.

The Jews in individual German-ruled countries suffered from the deportation to a widely varying extent. Disproportionately hard-hit were the Dutch Jews, of whom more than two thirds were deported. On the other hand, according to Serge Klarsfeld, only 75,721 Jews were deported from France. This corresponds to approximately one

fifth of the total Jewish population at that time (8); of these, a great many were deported, not on the grounds of their religion or race, but for being resistance fighters or criminals. This often led to deportation for non-Jews as well.

### The death rate in the camps and its causes

The death rate in the camps was extremely high most of the time. A majority of these fatalities were due to disease. The most dangerous of these was epidemic typhus, a disease carried by lice. The insecticide Zyklon B, together with other products, was used to combat lice.

In Auschwitz, the largest concentration camp -- the term "extermination camp" is not the correct expression -- epidemic typhus was especially dangerous in late summer and autumn. The epidemic reached its climax between 7-11 September 1942, with an average of 375 inmate deaths a day. By the first half of January 1943, the Germans succeeded in reducing the death rate to 107 a day; but by mid-May, it rose again to 298 fatalities a day (9).

In the Western camps, the worst period was during the final phase of the war, when mass deaths from epidemic disease claimed tens of thousands of victims. At the same time, the German infrastructure totally collapsed as a result of Allied terror bombing, leading to shortages in the camps of medications, food, housing, and everything else. In his memoirs, Chuck Yeager, the first pilot to break the sound barrier, describes how his squadron had orders to shoot at everything that moved (10):

"Germany could not so easily be divided into innocent civilians and guilty soldiers. After all, the farmer on his potato patch was feeding German soldiers."

This means that the resulting starvation was deliberately created by the Allies through their cruel and illegal mass terror bombings; these same Allies then hypocritically set themselves up as judges over the defeated enemy for failing to supply enough food to concentration camp inmates!

Particularly horrible conditions, including thousands of unburied bodies and living skeletons, were found in April 1945 by the British at Bergen-Belsen. These photographs are kept constantly before the public eye in ceaseless propaganda campaigns to this very day. What are the facts?

Belsen Camp commander Josef Kramer repeatedly and vehemently protested to his superiors that new inmates were constantly being sent to the hopelessly overcrowded camp of Belsen; his protests went unheard. Instead of simply abandoning the inmates in the Eastern camps to the Soviets, the National Socialists evacuated them to the West and allocated them among the Western camps to prevent their manpower from falling into the hands of the Soviets. Since the railways had been almost entirely destroyed, the evacuation process often lasted weeks; many inmates died en route from the bitter cold winter weather. In the camps which were compelled to receive the remainder, conditions worsened by the day.



Kramer's protests went unheard. In Belsen, typhus and dysentery spread everywhere, and food shortages became acute.

What should Kramer have done? Release the inmates to spread epidemics among the civilian population? Who would have fed them then if he had? Should he have released dangerous criminals -- who were imprisoned together with other inmates interned for political and racial reasons -- to prey upon the population? Kramer decided to wait it out. He could have attempted to escape to South America with money stolen from the prisoners, but he trusted to British "fair play". He was to pay dearly for his naiveté. Branded as "The Beast of Belsen" in the Allied press, he was executed after a legal farce (11).

Disproportionately great numbers of victims died in the last months of the war in the other camps as well. At Dachau, a total of 15,389 people died between January and April 1945, i.e., more deaths in 3 months than in 5 years of war -- 12,060 inmate deaths from 1940 to 1944. Another 2,000 died even after the liberation of Dachau by the Americans (12).

Since the Holocaust, i.e., the planned extermination of the Jews, is supposed to have stopped in the autumn of 1944 (13), the mass deaths in the camps in 1945 prove nothing with regards to any "mass extermination". The mass deaths depicted in photographs were the tragic, but inevitable, result of the German collapse, and had nothing to do with any planned genocide -- quite in contrast to the Allied bombing war against the German (and Japanese) civilian population. The destruction of one small city like Pforzheim alone, shortly before the end of the war, caused 17,000 deaths (14). More people died in Pforzheim in one February evening in 1945 -- most of them burnt alive -- than in Dachau in 9 years, from late 1933 to late 1944.

Of course, Jews died outside the concentration camps as well. According to one Jewish source, a total of 43,411 people died in the ghetto of Lodz between the autumn of 1939 and the autumn of 1944. There were 26,950 recorded fatalities in the Warsaw ghetto even before the outbreak of the uprising (spring 1943) (15). Some of these people, of course, would have died of natural causes (for example, old age) in any case. Other Jews died in combat or during the evacuation.

### Mass shootings on the Eastern front

Finally, it would never occur to any revisionist to dispute that many Jews were shot on the Eastern front. But what exactly is meant by the word "many"? 20,000? 50,000? 100,000? We do not know, due to the absence of reliable source material. (The Einsatzgruppen reports, which are supposed to prove that millions of murders were committed on the Eastern front, will be discussed below.) These shootings were the inevitable reaction to the murderous, illegal partisan war unleashed by the Soviets behind the German lines. The Germans reacted exactly like the French in Algeria, the Americans in Viet Nam, and the Soviets in Afghanistan: with ruthless brutality, causing many deaths among the civilian population. Of course, partisans were executed (which is permitted by international law); of course, there were also frequent shootings of hostages, involving many more Jews than non-Jews. Many other Jews were killed as "suspected Bolsheviks", even if they were neither partisans nor hostages -- exactly as the Americans, decades later, bombarded "Viet-Cong suspected

zones" with napalm, slaughtering innumerable harmless civilians with bestial cruelty in the process.

In the USSR as elsewhere, the Jewish percentage of armed partisans far exceeded their percentage share of the population; this fact is stressed with pride in Jewish literature (16). The reason why Jews in the German occupied areas of the Soviet Union suffered so many deaths was partisan warfare, not racial murder.

To sum up: Jews did indeed suffer severely during the Second World War and did indeed endure heavy losses. But people suffer and die in every war. The 250,000 people burnt alive or crushed under the rubble of Dresden in a single night suffered too; so did the hundreds of thousands of starving Russians in Stalingrad, or the 180,000 Poles who died in the crushing of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto. Concentration camp inmates were not the only people who suffered; German and Russian soldiers at the front suffered, too.

Is Jewish suffering during WWII "unique"? Are the percentage losses of the Jews far higher than those of the other peoples especially hard hit by the war? In order to answer these questions, we must now turn to the proof for the alleged "Holocaust".

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### Notes:

- 1) On the Night of Broken Glass, see, as standard work of the orthodox historiography, H. Graml's *Der 9 November 1938. 'Reichskristallnacht'*, Bonn, 1958, and as the revisionist depiction, see Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen* (Grabert, 1981).
- 2) That no Jew was deported to a concentration camp during the early years of the NS regime, is confirmed by an unimpeachable source, namely the Jewish professor Arno Mayer (*Der Krieg as Kreuzzug*, Rowohlt, 1989, p. 200).
- 3) The two standard works on the National Socialist-Zionist cooperation are Edwin Black's *The Transfer Agreement* (New York/London, 1994), as well as Francis Nicosia's *Hitler und der Zionismus* (Druffel, Leoni, 1989). A short summary of the important factors is given by Ingrid Weckert in *Auswanderung der Juden aus dem Dritten Reich* (Nordwind Verlag, Molevej 12, Kollund/DK). Heinz Hoehne also discusses the topic in his standard work on the SS (*Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf*, Gondrom, 1990).
- 4) In this regard, compare Ingrid Weckert, *Auswanderung...* (see note 3).
- 5) *Spiegel*, no. 7/1993.
- 6) On the "Red Orchestra", see for example, Gerd Sudholt, *Das Geheimnis der Roten Kapelle*, Druffel, Leoni, 1979.
- 7) *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 41.

- 8) Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, Brussels/New York, 1982.
- 9) On the mortality figures in Auschwitz, see Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1994, p. 193.
- 10) Chuck Yeager, *Yeager: An Autobiography*, Bantam Books, New York, 1985, p. 79.
- 11) On Bergen-Belsen and Josef Kramer, see *Journal of Historical Review*, Post Office Box 2739, New Port Beach, CA, USA, spring 1995, as well as Robert Lenski, *Der Holocaust vor Gericht*, Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton Street, Toronto, Canada, 1993, p. 197, ff.
- 12) On the Dachau mortality statistics, see Paul Berben, *Dachau, the Official History*, The Norfolk Press, London, 1975.
- 13) According to the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (p. 118), the gassings at Auschwitz were stopped in October 1944.
- 14) Erich Kern, *Verbrechen am deutschen Volk*, K.W. Schuetz, 1983, p. 150/151.
- 15) *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 36.
- 16) Compare the description in the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1584 ff.

# CHAPTER V

## OH, WHAT A TANGLED WEB WE WEAVE...

If we make a careful examination of the statements and numbers offered by the orthodox historians over the decades, it becomes obvious that there is hopeless confusion, and that the official version of the Holocaust has been constantly evolving. This is reminiscent of the manner in which the facts are constantly rewritten by Party officials in George Orwell's novel of the century *1984*. The following are a few remarkable examples:

The number of Auschwitz victims

**Let us begin with the Auschwitz death statistics (1). The following are the deaths in the largest of the concentration camps:**

- **9 million people**, according to the film *Nuit et Brouillard* (2);
- **8 million people**, according to the report of the French Office for the Investigation of War Crimes (3);
- **7 million people**, according to Jewish former inmate Raphael Feigelson (4);
- **6 million people**, according to Jewish publisher Tibere Kremer (5);
- **5 million people**, including 4.5 Jews, according to *Le Monde* of 20 April 1978;
- **4 million people**, according to the Nuremberg Tribunal (6);
- **3.5 million gassing victims**, of whom 95% were Jews, and "many" who died of other causes, according to the Jewish film director Claude Lanzmann (7);
- **3 million people**, including 2.5 gassing victims, by 1 December 1943 alone, according to the confession of the first Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss (8);
- **2.5 million people**, according to the Jewish ex-inmate Rudolf Vrba (9);
- **2 to 3 million murdered Jews** as well as thousands of non-Jews according to the confession of SS Man Pery Broad (10);
- **1.5 to 3.5 million gassed Jews** just between April 1942 and April 1944, according to the Israeli "Holocaust expert" Yehuda Bauer in 1982 (11);
- **2 million gassed Jews** according to Lucy Dawidowicz (12);

- **1.6 million people**, including 1,352,980 Jews, according to Yehuda Bauer in 1989 (13);
- **1.5 million people**, according to the Polish government in 1995 (14);
- **Approximately 1.25 million people**, including 1 million Jews, according to Raul Hilberg (15);
- **1 to 1.5 million people**, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1989 (16);
- **800,000 to 900,000 people**, according to the Jewish historian Gerald Reitlinger (17);
- **775,000 to 800,000 people**, including 630,000 gassed Jews, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1993 (18);
- **630,000 to 710,000 people**, including 470,000 to 550,000 Jews, according to Jean-Claude Pressac in 1994 (19).

It will be noted that the number of victims is constantly being revised downwards. But the total number of 5 to 6 million Holocaust victims never changes! You can subtract hundreds of thousands, even millions, from the 5 to 6 million, and the final total is always the same! That's Holocaust mathematics!

To which document, to what discovery of mass graves do the exterminationists refer in their wildly divergent numbers of victims? None! All the figures given above are pure fantasy, without any reference to documented realities at Auschwitz. Revisionist estimates run to approximately 150,000 victims (according to Robert Faurisson) or 160,000 to 170,000 victims (according to Carlo Mattogno) -- without any gassings. This still amounts to 40% of all inmates registered at Auschwitz. Epidemic diseases, chiefly typhus, were the main cause of the terribly high death toll at Auschwitz.

### Soap of Jewish fat

In the Nuremberg Trial, it was claimed by the Soviets that the Germans had manufactured fat out of murder victims (20). This childish horror story has haunted the world press for decades, like the Loch Ness monster. It has been decked out with poetic mastery by Simon Wiesenthal (21).

"During the last weeks of March (1946), the Romanian press reported an unusual piece of news: in the small Romanian city of Folticini, 20 boxes of soap were buried in the Jewish cemetery with full ceremony and complete funeral rites. This soap had been found recently in a former German army depot. On the boxes were the initials RIF 'pure Jewish fat'. These boxes were destined for the Waffen SS. The wrapping paper revealed with completely cynical objectivity that this soap was manufactured from Jewish bodies. Surprisingly, the thorough Germans forgot to describe whether the soap was produced from children, girls, men or elderly persons... After 1942, people in the General Gouvernement knew quite well what the RIF meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Gouvernement thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they say a

Jew who had been magically put there, and had they been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich, or Einstein... The burial of this soap in a Romanian village may be reminiscent of the supernatural. The bewitched suffering contained in this small object of everyday utility shatters the already-hardened human heart of the 20th century. In the Atomic Age, the return of the darkest witch's cauldron of the Middle Ages may appear ghostly. And yet it is the truth!"

In 1990, an Israeli Holocaust expert by the name of Shmul Krakowski admitted that the Jewish fat story was a legend. He then added, with limitlesschutzpa, that the Germans were responsible for inventing this fairy tale just to torment the Jews (22). The principle, of course, is: "the Germans are always guilty".

### A Potpourri of Nazi extermination methods

If we trace the evolution of the Holocaust yarn over the years since 1942, we stumble across one surprise after the other. In particular, innumerable methods of mass killing of which there is not the slightest mention in the later literature, are described in the most graphic detail, particularly:

#### **a) Pneumatic hammers**

This method is described as follows in a report of the Polish resistance movement on Auschwitz (23):

"When the Kommandos went to work, they led them into the courtyard in the penal company where the executions took place by means of a 'pneumatic hammer'. They bound the prisoners' hands together behind their backs and brought them in, one after the other, naked, into the courtyard. They placed them in front of the barrel of an air gun, which was discharged without a sound. The hammer crushed the skull, and the compressed air destroyed the entire brain."

#### **b) Electric baths**

As reported by the Polish resistance movement, the following method was also commonly used in Auschwitz (24):

"According to the report of an SS officer, the number of victims in the electrical chambers amounted, unofficially, to 2,500 per night. The executions took place in electrical baths..."

#### **c) Electrical assembly line killing**

Another variant was described by *Pravda* on 2 February, five days after the liberation of Auschwitz:

"They (the Germans) opened up the so-called 'old graves' in the eastern part of the camp, removed the bodies, and wiped out the trace of the assembly line

killing installation where hundreds of people were killed simultaneously with electrical current."

#### **d) Atomic bombs**

At the Nuremberg Trial, US prosecutor Robert Jackson made the following accusation (25):

"A village, a small village was provisionally erected, with temporary structures, and in it approximately 20,000 Jews were put. By means of this newly invented weapon of destruction, these 20,000 people were eradicated almost instantaneously, and in such a way that there was no trace left of them; the explosive used developing temperatures of from four to five hundred degrees Centigrade."

#### **e) Burning alive**

Elie Wiesel, honored with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, was interned at Auschwitz from the spring of 1944 until January 1945. In his memoirs of the camp, *La Nuit*, published in 1958, he never mentions the gas chambers -- not once, not with one single word -- even though 400,000 Hungarian Jews, among others, are said to have been gassed during his period of internment. (In the German translation, which appeared under the title of *Die Nacht zu begraben, Elischa*, the gas chambers nevertheless make a miraculous appearance, for the simple reason that, whenever the word "crématoire" appears in the original, the translator has mistranslated it as "Gaskammer"). According to Wiesel, the Jews were exterminated in the following manner (26):

"Not far from us blazed flames from a pit, gigantic flames. They were burning something. A lorry drove up to the pit and dumped its load into the pit. They were small children. Babies! Yes, I had seen it, with my own eyes...Children in the flames (is it any wonder, that sleep shuns my eyes since that time?). We went there, too. Somewhat further along, was another, bigger pit, for adults. 'Father', I said, 'if that is so, I wish to wait no longer. I shall throw myself against the electrified barbed wire fence. That is better than lying around in the flames for hours'."

How little Elie survived lying around in the flames for hours, by some miracle, will be revealed below.

#### **f) Steam chambers**

In December 1945, at the Nuremberg Trial the following accusation was made regarding the mass killings at Treblinka (27):

"All victims had to strip off their clothes and shoes, which were collected afterwards, whereupon all victims, women and children first, were driven into the death chambers... After being filled to capacity, the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in. In a few minutes all was over... From

reports received may be assumed that several hundred thousands of Jews have been exterminated in Treblinka."

#### **g) Suffocation by pumping all the air out of the death chambers**

This method was described by the Soviet-Jewish writer Vassily Grossman at Treblinka (28).

#### **h) Quicklime trains**

At Belzec the Jews were killed according to eyewitness Jan Karski as follows (29):

"The floors of the car had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat. Here the lime served a double purpose in the Nazi economy of brutality. The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. Thus, the Jews would "die in agony"", fulfilling the promise Himmler had issued "in accord with the will of the Fuehrer", in Warsaw, in 1942. Secondly, the lime would prevent decomposing bodies from spreading disease. It was efficient and inexpensive - a perfectly chosen agent for their purposes.

It took three hours to fill up the entire train by repetitions of this procedure. It was twilight when the forty six (I counted them) cars were packed. From one end to the other, the train, with its quivering cargo of flesh, seemed to throb, vibrate, rock, and jump as if bewitched. There would be a strangely uniform momentary lull and then, again, the train would begin to moan and sob, wail, and howl. Inside the camp a few score dead bodies remained and a few in the final throes of death. German policemen walked around at leisure with smoking guns, pumping bullets into anything that by single motion betrayed an excess of vitality. Soon, not a single one was left alive. In the now quiet camp the only sounds were the inhuman screams that were echoes from the moving train. Then these, too, ceased. All that was now left was the stench of excrement and rotting straw and a queer, sickening, acidulous odour which, I thought, may have come from the quantities of blood that had been let, and with which the ground was stained. As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutes described the entire journey. The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty, barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock-still, patiently waiting until death had penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days."

This Jan Karski was, by the way, appointed to chair a committee for "Scientific Research on the Holocaust" along with Elie Wiesel.



i) Chambers with submergible, electrified flooring. Stefan Szende, a Doctor of Philosophy, describes the extermination of the Jews at Belzec quite differently (30):

"The death factory comprises an area approximately 7 km in diameter... The trains filled with Jews entered a tunnel into the underground rooms of the execution factory... The naked Jews were brought into gigantic halls. Several thousand people at one time could fit into these halls. The halls had no floor. The floor was of metal and was submergible. The floors of these halls, with their thousands of Jews, sank into a basin of water which lay beneath -- but only far enough so that the people on the metal plate were not entirely under water. When all the Jews on the metal plate were in the water up to over their hips, electrical current was sent through the water. After a few moments, all the Jews, thousands at once, were dead. Then they raised the metal plate out of the water. On it lay the corpses of the murder victims. Another shock of electrical current was sent through, and the metal plate became a crematory oven, white hot, until all the bodies were burnt to ashes... Each individual train brought three to five thousand, sometimes more, Jews. There were days on which the lines to Belzec supplied twenty or more trains. Modern technology triumphed in the Nazi system. The problem of how to execute millions of people, was solved."

#### **j) Blood poisoning**

This method, described on 7 February 1943 in the *New York Times* ("... gas chambers and blood poisoning stations which were erected in the rural regions..."), appears to have gone into oblivion as soon as it was invented.

#### **k) Drowning**

According to the Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer, the Rumanians in Odessa murdered 144,000 Soviet Jews, mostly by drowning (31). The same method of extermination was testified to by the underground press agent for the Warsaw ghetto, as well as for Babi Yar (32):

"Not a single Jew remains in Kiev, since the Germans have thrown the entire Jewish population of Kiev into the Dnieper."

#### **l) Chlorine gas, assembly-line shootings, boiling water, acids**

Mass murders with chlorine gas, as well as assembly line shootings were reported for Treblinka (33). Reports of massacres with acids and boiling water round make a complete assortment of killing methods (34).

The exterminationists no longer wish to be reminded of all these stories today. At that time, however, they were considered to be "proven fact" -- "proven" by the testimonies of "eyewitnesses" -- just like the gas chambers, which have been placed a under legal protection order in several "free democracies".

## The location of the gas chambers

With the steam chambers, acid baths, electrical chambers, submergible platforms, quicklime trains, etc., banished to the Memory Hole and replaced by "gas chambers", the historians then engaged in a decades-long dispute on the location of those very same "gas chambers", as follows:

Phase I (from 1946): almost every camp had one or more gas chambers:

In the early years after the war, it was considered to be a "proven fact" that almost every concentration camp had one or more gas chambers for the purpose of exterminating Jews. At the Nuremberg trial, the British chief prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross said (35):

"Murder conducted like some mass-production in the gas chambers and the ovens of Auschwitz, Dachau, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Maidanek and Oranienburg."

Also at the Nuremberg Trial, a Czech camp doctor at Dachau named Dr. Franz Blaha testified as follows (36):

"The gas chamber was completed in 1944, and I was called by Dr. Rascher to examine the first victims. Of the 8-9 persons, who were in the chamber there were three still alive, and the remainder appeared to be dead. Their eyes were red, and their faces were swollen."

A similar description of the gas chambers at Buchenwald was given by an unusually trustworthy "eyewitness", Charles Hauter (37):

"The rapid execution of the extermination required a special type of industrialization. The gas chambers reflected these requirements in the great variety of different facilities. Many of these were cleverly built and supported by pillars of porous material, inside of which the gas formed and then penetrated the walls. Others were simpler in construction, but all looked magnificent. It was easy to see that the architects had taken pleasure in building them; they had taken great pains in planning them, allowing all their aesthetic abilities to come into play. These were the only parts of the camp which were lovingly built."

The "confessions" of the accused also contributed to reinforcing general belief in the existence of the gas chambers -- for example, in the Ravensbrück camp, where camp doctor Percy Treite made the following confession before the court (38):

"I remember that many female Poles were killed by shots in the back of the neck. Because this shooting quite often was inaccurate, and it was therefore feared that living persons would be cremated along with the dead, I took care to devise a decent sort of killing. This was the gas chambers."

The inconceivable was an everyday occurrence at the horror castle of Hartheim near Linz, where between one and one and a half million people were gassed, at least according to the confession of camp commandant Franz Ziereis (39):

"SS Gruppenführer Glücks had given the order to declare weak prisoners mentally ill and to kill them with gas at a large installation. Approximately 1 to 1.5 million were killed there. This place is called Hartheim, and is located 10 km from Linz in the direction of Passau."

## Phase II (from August 1960): No gas chambers in the Old Reich

On 19 August 1960, Martin Broszat, at that time a collaborator and later the Director of the Institute für Zeitgeschichte at Munich, said the following in a letter to the editor to *Die Zeit*:

"Neither in Dachau nor in Bergen-Belsen nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other inmates gassed... The mass extermination of Jews through gas began in 1941-42, and took place exclusively in a few places selected and equipped with the help of corresponding technical installations, above all in occupied Polish territory (but nowhere in the Old Reich): in Auschwitz, in Sobibor am Bug, in Treblinka, Chelmno, and Belzec."

Interestingly, Majdanek is missing from Broszat's list of camps equipped with gas chambers; the two words "above all" are presumably intended to evade answering the question of whether or not gas chambers ever existed at Mauthausen (Austria) and Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace). With regards to camps in the "Old Reich" (i.e., the German Reich with the 1937 borders), Broszat established: no gassings occurred there.

## Phase III (since 1983): Return of the gas chambers in the West

The existence of the gas chambers of Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, etc. had a blessed resurrection in 1983 in the anthology *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* by Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl (40). No "mass gassings" are ever said to have occurred there, however; just small-scale "test gassings" with a total of a few thousand victims. This was a compromise between the Broszat line and the Holocaust fundamentalists. The authors only spared the buckets of tears when it came to the existence of the gas chambers of Dachau, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald.

The gas chambers existed -- oh no, they didn't -- oh yes, they did.

The most famous "Nazi gas chamber" is the morgue of the Krema I in the Stammlager of Auschwitz. Millions of tourists have visited this room. Both Jews and Soviet prisoners of war are supposed to have been murdered here with Zyklon B in 1941-42. That there is no documentary proof of this crime, but only a few eyewitness testimonies, is admitted quite unashamedly by Jean-Claude Pressac, the pharmacist and amateur historian hailed by the exterminationists as the "World's Leading Expert on Auschwitz" (41). The two principal eyewitnesses to the gassings in these Kremas are the first commandant of the camp, Rudolf Höss (42), and an SS man, Perry Broad (43).

**The judgement of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial (1963-1965) states as follows (44):**

"In the beginning -- from October 1941 -- smaller individual groups of Jews were gassed... in the little (old) crematorium. Defendant Stark participated in still other gassings of Jewish inmates in May and June 1942. These gassings also took place in the small crematorium."

In 1968, the French Jewess Olga Wormser-Migot wrote a book on the National Socialist concentration camps (45) which is considered standard today; in it, she states:

"Auschwitz I... which was to remain the model camp and simultaneously the administrative centre -- had no gas chamber."

How easy it is for a Jewish historian, with one single sentence, to wipe out all the "eyewitness testimonies" relating to gassings in this room, as well as the corresponding text of the judgement in the Frankfurt Trial! On 8 January 1979, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at that time German Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote the following to a certain Herr Stuparek who had doubted the existence of the gas chambers of Auschwitz (46):

"I, too, know that no gas chambers existed in the Auschwitz camp."

The gas chambers, Genscher then continued, were located in Birkenau, west of the main camp.

The gas chambers of the main camp nevertheless continue to live on in Holocaust literature. That they give the court historians a few headaches, of course, is quite obvious: the trio Kogon/Langbein/Rückertl pass over them in a single sentence in their "standard" book on the gas chambers (47).

In 1991, the British historian David Irving was sentenced to a 30,000 DM fine after a trial in Munich for calling the gas chamber in Krema I a "fake". Notwithstanding the confessions of Olga Wormser-Migot and Foreign Minister Genscher, the Holocaust liars simply could not do without this most famous of all "gas chambers", because otherwise nobody would believe their stories about the gas chambers at Birkenau.

Anybody who doubts the absolute correctness of the version of the Holocaust which has come down to us today, even in view of the incredible mixture of errors and confusion, and despite the incredibility of the eyewitness reports on gassings at Birkenau and Treblinka, would do best to keep his doubts to himself; since if he lives in "free democratic" Germany, "free democratic" Austria, "free democratic France", or "free democratic" Switzerland, he is already standing with one foot in jail. The ideal model of conduct in today's "free democracies" is the three monkeys: see nothing, say nothing, hear nothing.

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**Notes:**

- 1) This table was compiled by Robert Faurisson and published in the *VHO Nieuwsbrief* (published by Herbert Verbeke, Antwerp, 7de jaargang, 1996, number 1).
- 2) Filmed in 1955 by Alain Resnais.
- 3) Eugene Aroneanu, *Camps de concentration*, Office français d'édition, p. 196.
- 4) *ibid*, p. 196.
- 5) According to Kremer's introduction to Miklos Nyiszli, SS Obersturmführer Dr. Mengele, *Les Temps modernes*, March 1951, p. 1655.
- 6) Nuremberg document USSR-O8.
- 7) Foreword by Claude Lanzmann to Filip Mueller, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz*, Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, 1980, p. 12.
- 8) Nuremberg document PS-3868.
- 9) Vrba's statement to the Israeli Embassy in London on the occasion of the Eichmann Trial, 16 July, 1961.
- 10) Pery Broad, *KL Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Verlag des Staatl. Museums Auschwitz, 1973, p. 141.
- 11) Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, New York, Franklin Watts, 1982, p. 215.
- 12) Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews*, Penguin Books, 1990, p. 191.
- 13) Yehuda Bauer, Auschwitz and the Poles, *The Jerusalem Post*, 22 September 1989, p. 6.
- 14) Until 1990, bronze tablets at Auschwitz displayed the number of 4 million victims. They were then called Soviet exaggerations, and were removed.
- 15) Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1985, p. 895.
- 16) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989, p. 553.
- 17) Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung*, Colloquium, 1983, p. 524.
- 18) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz*, CNRS, 1993, p. 148.
- 19) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1994 (German translation of the book noted in footnote 18), p. 202.
- 20) Nuremberg trial transcript, IMT VII pp. 656-657 (German text).

- 21) Simon Wiesenthal in *Der neue Weg*, Vienna, no. 17/18, 1946.
- 22) *Daily Telegraph*, 25 April 1990.
- 23) Report of the Polish resistance movement dated 1 November 1942. State Museum, Auschwitz, Poland, Oboz pp. 79/80, "Vom Leben im Lager", quoted according to Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'*, Graficas Hurtado, S.I. Maestro Lope, 59 and 65, 46100 Burjassot/Valencia, 1994, pp. 150/151.
- 24) Report of the Polish resistance movement dated 23 October 1942, Auschwitz State Museum, Poland, Oboz p. 52, sheet 163-A/1, quoted according to Enrique Aynat; see also note 23.
- 25) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XVI pp. 579-580 (German text).
- 26) Elie Wiesel, *La Nuit*, Éditions de Minuit, 1958, p. 57 ff.
- 27) Nuremberg trial document PS-3311.
- 28) Wassilij Grossman, *Die Hölle von Treblinka*, Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Moskau, 1946.
- 29) Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, The Riverside Press, Cambridge 1944, quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, La Vielle Taupe, Paris, 1982, pp. 43-44.
- 30) Stefan Szende, *Der letzte Jude aus Polen*, Europa Verlag, Zurich-New York, 1945, p. 290 ff.
- 31) Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, see above, p. 200.
- 32) "Podziemna Obsługa Prasy Pozagettowej", Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Ringelblum-I file, July 18, 1942", quoted according to Herbert Tiedemann, "Babi Jar. Kritische Fragen und Anmerkungen", in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, 1994, p. 378.
- 33) Arnulf Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 358 ff.
- 34) Robert Faurisson in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 10.
- 35) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XIX p. 483 (German text).
- 36) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT V p. 198 (German text).
- 37) Quoted according to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Les assassins de la mémoire*, Éditions de la découverte, 1991, p. 28.
- 38) Quoted according to Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, Fischer Taschenbuch, 1989, p. 258.

- 39) Simon Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen*, Ibis Verlag, 1946, pp. 7/8.
- 40) Compare note 38.
- 41) Pressac, op. cit. p. 123.
- 42) Höss, p. 159.
- 43) Pery Broad, Erinnerungen. In the anthology *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Kattowice, 1981, p. 171 ff.
- 44) Auschwitz-Urteil LG Frankfurt. Az: 50/4 Ks 2/63, pp. 82, 245.
- 45) Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le système concentrationnaire nazi*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1968, p. 156.
- 46) Quoted in *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Stiftung Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (Publisher) p. 1 (appendix).
- 47) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 194.

# CHAPTER VI

## IS TODAY'S VERSION OF THE HOLOCAUST ANY MORE BELIEVABLE THAN THOSE OF THE PAST?

The claims made by the standard literature

Today's version of the Holocaust (early 1997) runs as follows:

### **a) The extermination programme:**

The objective of the National Socialists was the complete physical annihilation of all Jews located in their territories.

### **b) Implementation of the extermination programme**

The Germans transported millions of Jews from all over Europe to Poland for the purpose of gassing them in "extermination camps" there.

### **c) The secrecy of the extermination programme**

To camouflage their crimes, the Germans issued their murder orders orally or in camouflaged language only. In any case, all existing documents on the gas chambers and extermination of the Jews were destroyed just before the end of the war. That is why there are no clear documentary proofs of any Holocaust.

### **d) The six "extermination camps"**

Auschwitz and Majdanek were a combination of "extermination" and work camps. All arriving Jews were selected: those who could work were used for compulsory labour, while those who could not, were sent to the gas chamber. By contrast, Chelmno, Sobibor, Belzec and Treblinka were pure "killing factories", in which every Jew was sent to the gas chambers unregistered; the only exceptions consisted of a handful of "working Jews" needed for the extermination process itself.

### **e) The murder weapon**

The murder weapon at Auschwitz and Majdanek was the insecticide Zyklon B, in addition to which carbon monoxide was also used at Majdanek. Diesel exhaust gases were used for mass murder in the other four "extermination camps".



#### **f) The number of victims and operating periods of the "extermination camps"**

The number of victims of the extermination camps fluctuates enormously depending on which historian you read. The number of victims and the operating periods for each camp cited below have been taken from the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*.

**Chelmno:** 152,000 to 320,000 victims. In operation: from December 1941 to March 1943 and, after an interruption of fifteen months, from 23 June 1944 to mid-July 1944.

**Belzec:** 600,000 victims. In operation: from March to December 1942.

**Sobibor:** about 250,000 victims. In operation: from May 1942 to September 1943.

**Treblinka:** 900,000 victims. In operation: from July 1942 to August 1943.

**Majdanek:** At least 250,000 (Jewish and non-Jewish) victims, including 40% gassed Jews. No mention of the period of operation for the gas chambers.

**Auschwitz:** Over a million gassed Jews, as well as a great many other Jewish and non-Jewish victims. Operating period for the gas chambers: main camp gas chamber in Auschwitz I from September 1941; farm houses at Birkenau three kilometers to the west of the main camp converted into gas chambers at a point in time in 1942 which is not exactly stated; gas chambers in the crematoria of Birkenau in operation from March 1943.

Auschwitz, originally planned solely as a work camp, is alleged to have been expanded into an "extermination camp" at a later time, because the other death factories for the extermination of the European Jews "were inefficient". To prove this, Holocaust scholars quote the confession of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who wrote in Polish imprisonment (1):

"In the summer of 1941, I cannot remember the exact date, I was suddenly summoned to the Reichsführer SS, directly by his adjutant's office. Contrary to the usual custom, Himmler received me without his adjutant being present and said in effect: "The Fuehrer has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all and that we, the SS, are to implement this order. The existing extermination centres in the East are not in a position to carry out the large actions which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz..."

#### **g) The destruction of the corpses**

To hide the mass murders from the world, the bodies at all extermination camps are supposed to have been destroyed without a trace. At Auschwitz and Majdanek, this was done partly in crematoria, partly in the open. In Chelmno, in addition to cremations in the open, there is supposed to have been an underground crematorium (which has disappeared without a trace); in Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec, all the bodies were burnt in the open. The ashes and bone fragments were then scattered, so that no trace remained of the millions of victims.

Are the claims made by the standard literature believable?

Let us deal with these seven points briefly:

**Point a):**

Everyday we hear about "Holocaust survivors" in the media. The *Tageszeitung* of Berlin of 30 March 1995, for example, states that, according to the film producer Steven Spielberg, there are still 300,000 former Jewish concentration camp inmates who are to be interviewed before the television cameras.

If the National Socialists had intended the physical extermination of the Jews, there wouldn't be any 300,000 former Jewish concentration camp inmates to be interviewed, but only about 300 at most. Maybe fewer. Finally, the National Socialists had more than enough time available to finish the job.

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

**Point b):**

If the Germans had wanted to carry out a physical extermination of the Jews, they could have done so on the spot. They could have taken the Jews to pre-dug mass graves in German forests and shot them there. French Jews could have been shot in France, etc. The transport of millions of people halfway across Europe required trains which were urgently needed for troop transports.

Not to put too fine a point on it, this story is simply not believable either.

**Point c):**

Mass murders at the locations called "extermination camps" and shown to tourists today could not have been kept secret anywhere near as easily as mass murders committed locally (for example, in German or French forests):

- Majdanek camp was located right on the city limits of Lublin; people could see directly into the camp from the higher houses in the city;
- Treblinka camp was located 240 m from a major rail line, 270 m from a major road, and 800 m from the village of the same name;
- Auschwitz camp complex was located in an industrial area. The inmates worked side by side with civilian workers who returned to their homes every evening (2). Prisoners were constantly being transferred from Auschwitz to other camps (3). Finally, there were also great numbers of releases (4). If there was any place in Europe where an assembly-line industrialized mass extermination programme could not have been kept secret for as long as two weeks, then that place was Auschwitz; news of the atrocities would have spread across Europe and the world like wildfire.

What good would it be to issue extermination orders orally, employ camouflaged language, and destroy all the incriminating documents before the end of the war, if

you are going to be stupid enough to commit your "extermination" right out in the open, where everybody can see it?

Again, the story is simply not believable.

**Point d):**

Innumerable documents show clearly how desperately the National Socialists needed manpower throughout the entire war. According to the Holocaust scholars, this is supposed to have been the reason why the Jews at Auschwitz and Majdanek were only gassed if they couldn't work, while those who could work were utilized by the hundreds of thousands. But then why did the Germans gas many hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people in the "pure" extermination camps?

If the "unfit" were gassed at Auschwitz without being registered, then there shouldn't be any evidence of the registration of elderly people. In reality, very many elderly people were registered in the camp. Fig. I shows the death certificates of Josef Hoffmann, a Jew, born on 12 August 1852, and Ernestine Hochfelder, a Jewess, born on 11 February 1870. They were certainly too old to work; so why weren't they both to the gas chamber unregistered, immediately after selection on the ramp?

Of course, new born babies weren't able to work either; were they murdered right after birth? Not at all; the Polish midwife Stanaslawa Lesczczynska, in particular, reports (5):

"I delivered under these [disgusting] circumstances over 3,000 children. Despite the terrible filth, the vermin, the rats, despite the infectious diseases and indescribable horrors, something extraordinary, unbelievable, but true occurred. One day, the camp doctor ordered me to prepare a report on infections in maternity cases, as well as the death rate among mothers and infants. I replied that there had never been any deaths, either among mothers or newborn. The camp doctor looked at me with astonishment, and told me they couldn't have boasted better results even in the best German hospitals."

The conscientious midwife would no doubt hardly have failed to mention it if the infants delivered by her at the cost of so-much dedication and self-sacrifice had been immediately murdered after birth. Many Jews who were to become famous in later life, like Elie Wiesel, Anne Frank, and Roman Polanski lived as children in Auschwitz, without any risk of being gassed.

**Point e):**

The following possibilities would have been available as rational killing methods for mass extermination:

- shooting (a la Stalin);
- Starvation (a la Eisenhower);

- Use of wood-gas generator vehicles, used in the hundreds of thousands during WWII (not to be confused with the mythical "gas vans"! ). These vehicles used only wood as fuel. Their generator gases contained up to 40% carbon monoxide, which is quickly fatal. The use of these gas autos for mass murder has never even been claimed (6).

Instead, the Germans selected the most idiotic murder weapon that one can possibly think of:

- Diesel exhaust gas contains 16% oxygen, which is enough to breathe and survive on, but only very small quantities of CO. To kill people with them is extremely difficult. An ordinary gasoline motor -- not to speak of the above mentioned gas autos -- would be a hundred times more efficient as a murder weapon. It's not by chance that only Diesel engines are used in the Channel Tunnel between France and England; Diesel exhaust gases would not endanger the passengers in the event of an accident;

- The insecticide Zyklon B, the properties of which will be discussed later, contains hydrocyanic acid. Zyklon B was urgently needed to combat lice, which carried typhus. Zyklon B was always in short supply, and very expensive. As a murder weapon, it is very unsuitable. One can, of course, kill people with it, but it is very difficult to ventilate, clings to surfaces, and would cause insurmountable problems in elimination.

If the Holocaust story is true, the perpetrators must have been technical geniuses, because they succeeded in murdering millions of people in record time, and in destroying the bodies without a trace. These same technical geniuses are then supposed to have used the most unlikely murder weapons that one could imagine!

Again: not believable.

#### **Point f):**

According to the Holocaust horror peddlers, the Germans gassed 600,000 Jews in Belzec in 10 months, and 900,000 in Treblinka in 13 months. Belzec was then closed in December 1942, and Treblinka was closed in September 1943. Why didn't they keep these death camps running? They could have killed another 2.5 million Jews by the end of 1944, and the installation of gas chambers at Birkenau would have been completely unnecessary.

It should be noted that, according to Höss, Himmler had declared the existing "death camps in the East" in the summer of 1941 were "inefficient". But these same "extermination camps" didn't even exist yet, since they were only put into operation, according to Holocaust scholars, in December 1941.

This proves that Rudolf Höss's confession was not voluntarily given, and lacks all probative value.

Let us, however, stick with Auschwitz. This "largest of all extermination camps" contained hospitals, a swimming pool, a sauna, sports installations, theatrical events, and concerts.

- the main camp crematorium, the morgue of which is supposed to have been used as a "gas chamber", was located 15 m from a hospital (no. 7 in Fig. II). There was also a swimming pool, which one can still visit today (no. 17 in Fig. II);
- Birkenau, the alleged centre of the extermination of the Jews, also had hospitals (no. 16 in Fig. III), as well as a sauna (no. 10 in Fig. III). There was also a delousing station in this sauna, operated with hot air);
- The existence of delousing chambers operated with Zyklon B (no. 20 in Fig. II) is not disputed by anyone. In many reports of former inmates, one can read that new arrivals were immediately subjected to a delousing procedure;
- the existence of orchestras, not only in Auschwitz but in all other "extermination camps", is confirmed by a source which is certainly above suspicion, namely, the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* (7);
- The Jewish professor of medicine and Auschwitz inmate Marc Klein reports (8):

"To the noisy applause of the onlookers, football, basketball, and water ball was played on Sunday afternoon: Man needs very little to distract him from impending danger! The SS administration permitted the inmates regular amusement, even on weekday evenings. A cinema offered Nazi news and sentimental films; a cabaret offered shows which were often attended by SS men. Finally, there was a very respectable orchestra, initially made up of Polish musicians, but which gradually came to consist of top quality musicians of all nationalities, most of whom were Jews."

Hospitals, saunas, and delousing chambers are intended to protect health. They therefore serve to prolong life; they are most unlikely to shorten life. What are they doing in an "extermination camp"? What are swimming pools, football games, cabarets and orchestras, consisting mostly of Jews, doing in a camp the chief purpose of which was to exterminate the Jews of Europe?

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

**Point g):**

Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, where approximately 1.85 million Jews were gassed according to the exterminationists, are known to have had no crematoria. The bodies are said to have been burned in the open and disappeared without a trace. Why didn't they use the same methods of open-air cremation at Auschwitz if they were so successful -- instead of building expensive crematoria?

Not to put too fine a point on it, the story is simply not believable.

Our study could end here, since it is already clear that the court historians and media hacks simply dish up stories the abysmal idiocy of which is an impudent insult to every thinking person.

We shall nevertheless examine the evidence for the Holocaust and the gas chambers in the following chapters. In so doing, we will heed the principle, which is generally recognized in jurisprudence, that there is a hierarchy of proof. This means that physical evidence must be considered the most reliable, and eyewitness testimony the least reliable; while documentary evidence occupies a position midway between the other two methods of proof (9).

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### Notes:

- 1) Rudolf Hoess, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*. Published by Martin Broszat, dtv, 1985, p. 157.
- 2) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*, Piper, 1995, pp. 70/71.
- 3) The best known example is Anne Frank, who was transferred from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen.
- 4) Walter Laqueur states in his book, *Was niemand wissen wollte* (Ullstein, 1982, pp. 210/211) that 982 inmates were released in 1942; a few more releases took place in 1943, and in 1944, at the intervention of the industrialist Oskar Schindler, numerous Jewesses were released. In reality, the number of releases was many times higher; compare, in this regard, our notes at the end of the next chapter.
- 5) Comité international d'Auschwitz, *Anthologie*, vol. II, 2nd part, pp. 164/165.
- 6) Compare Friedrich Paul Berg "Die Dieselmotorkammer: Mythos im Mythos", in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, p. 338 ff.
- 7) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 979.
- 8) Marc Klein, "Observations et Réflexions sur les camps de concentration nazis", excerpt from the publication *Études Germaniques*, no. 3, Imprimerie Caron et Cie., Caen, 1948, p. 31.
- 9) On the hierarchy of methods of proof, see Manfred Koehler, Professor Ernst Nolte: *Auch Holocaust Lügen haben kurze Beine*, Cromwell Press, 1994.

# CHAPTER VII

## PHYSICAL PROOFS OF THE HOLOCAUST

The following appeared in a mid-1993 Reuters report:

### Innocent Man Released After Nine Years in Prison

Jessup, 28 June 1993 (ap). - "A man originally sentenced to death, commuted to three life sentences, is to be released in Maryland USA. 32 year-old Kirk Bloodworth, who spent almost nine years in prison, including two years on Death Row, was convicted in 1984 in Rosedale, Maryland, of the rape-murder of a nine-year old girl. Examination of a previously undiscovered sperm sample on the victim's underwear -- during which the experts utilized the DNS procedure, the so-called 'genetic fingerprint' -- revealed that Bloodworth could not have been guilty at all... Bloodworth was convicted and sentenced to death on the testimony of five witnesses, who alleged to have seen him with the nine-year old victim shortly before the crime."

A case like this shows clearly what every jurist knows, namely, that physical proof is greatly superior to eyewitness testimony, since witnesses may lie or err in good faith.

For this reason, an autopsy of the corpse, as well as an expert report on the weapon, are ordered in any normal non-political murder trial, regardless of whether or not there are any witnesses available. If the eyewitnesses contradict the results of the forensic tests, the forensic tests are conclusive. Eyewitness testimony has the lowest value of all types of proof (1).

What is true in an ordinary murder case, must apply to an even greater extent when hundreds of thousands or millions of victims are involved.

Accordingly, the "gas chambers" should have been forensically tested right after the war. Furthermore, technical experts should have calculated whether or not the innumerable victims of the "extermination camps" could really have been disposed of in the crematoria concerned (if crematoria existed in the particular camps in question).

In the "pure extermination camps" of Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Chelmno, the bodies are alleged to have been buried first, then dug up, then burned in the open. If there had ever been any huge mass graves for the several hundred thousand bodies in each case, they could have been located very easily, even years after the war; areas where bodies are supposed to have been buried could have been easily located either by digging or by air-photographs. The latter method was regularly practiced in 1996 by air reconnaissance flights in Bosnia.

Nothing of the kind was done by Germany's accusers after WWII. Scientific testing of the "gas chambers", crematoria, and alleged mass graves was simply neglected. Not one single autopsy of a dead concentration inmate has ever showed "gassing" as the cause of death.

On the part of the exterminationists, only two forensic examinations were undertaken to prove the mass murders; in both cases, the presentation of proof was a basic failure:

- According to the Cracow report of 1945 (1) cyanide residues were discovered among other things in the hair of former female Auschwitz inmates. Now, not only can this report no longer be duplicated -- in contrast to the revisionist expert reports, which can be reproduced at any time -- but it would lack any probative value, even if it were true. Human hair was used for industrial purposes in the Third Reich, as in other states (for example for stuffing mattresses). In this case, it was logical to delouse the hair afterwards with Zyklon B. Assuming that there were mass gassings, it would be nonsensical to cut the hair off later, since Zyklon B clings stubbornly to surfaces, and would have been a source of danger to the workers involved in cutting off the hair. This would have to have been done before the murders!

- The Polish Hydroscope Report shows that great quantities of human remains were found in the earth in the vicinity of Auschwitz (3). We have no reason to doubt the correctness of this report, since many thousands of Auschwitz inmates were certainly burned in the open, particularly during the second half of 1942; at that time, typhus was raging and causing over 300 deaths a day. The only existing crematorium, that of the main camp, could not handle more than 100 bodies a day, and was often out of operation. If human remains were found, this only proves that very many Auschwitz inmates died, which is not disputed by any revisionist. It does not prove mass extermination.

Thus, we face the remarkable fact that technical proof of the "greatest crime in history" was never produced by the accusers of Germany. Such proofs were only produced later, by the revisionists. As we will see, they disprove the Holocaust thesis on all decisive points.

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## Notes:

1) In this regard, see Manfred Koehler's contribution on the value of the testimonies and confessions on the Holocaust in Ernst Gauss, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, op. cit.

2) The Cracow report is reproduced in the anti-revisionist volume *Wahrheit and Auschwitz-Lüge* (published by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer), Deuticke, 1995, p. 79 ff reproduced.

3) On the Hydroscope report, see no. 60 of *Historische Tatsachen*.



# CHAPTER VIII

## DOCUMENTARY PROOFS OF THE HOLOCAUST

If a systematic extermination of several million persons had really taken place during WW II, it would have required meticulous organization, involving thousands of persons. An operation on this scale could not possibly take place without a great number of written instructions. Nothing could be done in a strictly hierarchical bureaucratic state like the Third Reich without written orders.

We would therefore expect a flood of documentary proof on the planning and execution of the extermination of the Jews. In the meantime, the orthodox historians continue to act as if this were really the case. Thus, Raul Hilberg's "standard work" on the Holocaust begins with the following introduction (1):

"Raul Hilberg has spent his life collecting and adding to the material for his book. He is considered the best expert on the source documents which, for the most part, originate from the criminals themselves. As thorough as they were, the Germans filed away the evidence of their crimes a hundred thousand times over, with letter heads and service stamps... proving their responsibility for the killings."

This statement is pure fantasy, as we shall soon see.

Raul Hilberg, Danuta Czech, Jean-Claude Pressac: Three experts reach into their bag of tricks

### **a) Raul Hilberg scrapes the bottom of the barrel**

A curious reader dipping into Hilberg's standard work entitled *The Destruction of the European Jews* is condemned to wait 927 pages before stumbling upon the "extermination camps", and another 100 pages until the "extermination operations" are described. This means that Hilberg uses 1,027 pages before arriving at the topic which gives the book its title! Just a few pages further along, on page 1,046, he starts writing about the "Evacuation of the Extermination Centres and the End of the Extermination Process". This means that, out of a total of 1,308 pages of text, fewer than 20 are dedicated to the "extermination procedure"! And these fewer than 20 pages are a miserable flop.

The "hundreds of thousands" of documentary proofs of German mass murder promised in the introduction are simply never produced; Hilberg's only proof of mass murders in the extermination camps are the eyewitnesses, the confessions of war

criminals, and the judgements of trials (in turn based exclusively on eyewitnesses and confessions by the accused). Among Hilberg's favourite witnesses are Kurt Gerstein and Filip Mueller. Although we will discuss the eyewitnesses only in the following chapter, a few remarks on these star eyewitnesses are called for here:

Kurt Gerstein, an SS sanitation officer, who allegedly died by suicide in July 1945 in French imprisonment, is the star witness for the extermination of the Jews in Belzec. As shown by the French researcher Henri Roques, there are no less than six versions of his "confession", each of which deviates considerably from the others (2). According to Gerstein, 20 or 25 million people were gassed (according to which confession you consult). At Belzec, according to Gerstein, 700-800 persons were crushed into a gas chamber 25m<sup>2</sup>, i.e., 28 to 32 persons per square metre. Gerstein also claims to have seen piles of clothing and shoes 35 to 40 metres high!

Filip Mueller's book *Sonderbehandlung* (3) (English title *Eyewitness Auschwitz*) is cited no less than sixteen times by Hilberg in the 20 relevant pages. On p. 207 ff of his disgusting botch job, Mueller describes the method of open-air cremation utilized in disposing of the bodies of the many thousands of Hungarian Jews gassed and burned every day in the early summer of 1944: three layers of bodies were laid in deep ditches and burnt using wood for fuel. Fat from the bodies was then supposedly used for extra fuel. The fat is alleged to have flowed down during the cremation process into small grooves especially provided and dug in the earth, leading to a container. The members of the Sonderkommando are supposed to have scooped up the burning fat from the containers and poured it over the bodies to make them burn better!

Of course, this is complete nonsense. Due to the deficient oxygen supply, the bodies in the ditches would merely be charred, and would not burn (4). The fat from the bodies would, of course be the first thing to be burned, and if, nevertheless, it did run into the grooves, it would have ignited at the first spark (5).

On p. 74, Mueller offers us the following tale:

"From time to time, The SS doctors came into the crematorium... Before the executions, both doctors, like cattle traders, felt the thighs and buttocks of the still-living men and women, in order to select the 'best parts'. After the shooting, the victims were placed on the table. Then the doctors cut pieces off still-warm flesh from the thighs and buttocks and threw it into waiting buckets. The muscles of the recently-shot were still moving and throwing convulsions, causing the buckets to jump about."

That is Filip Mueller, Raul Hilberg's favourite witness, cited 16 times in the crucial 20 pages dealing with the mass extermination!

Hilberg cannot conceal the fact that there are no documents relating to any plan to exterminate the Jews. He finds a profound explanation: the Nazi leaders gave their orders in "an incredible meeting of minds" (6)!

**b) How Danuta Czech's *Kalendarium* came to her conclusions as to the numbers of the gassed**

Danuta Czech's work *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau (1939-1945)* is considered by orthodox historians to be by far the most important work on the history of Auschwitz camp. The second edition, which appeared in 1989, differs very considerably from the edition published in 1960. In her monumental opus, Danuta Czech indicates, for every individual day in the history of the camp, the most important events, giving, for the most part, the exact numbers of persons gassed, for every day on which gassings are said to have taken place. What is the basis for Danuta Czech's allegations? German documents? Of course not!

In many cases, her sources consist of testimonies given after the war (eyewitness reports or confessions during trials), but for the most part they consist of secret notes kept by prisoners working in the offices of the Gestapo, giving information on inmate transports arriving at Auschwitz: date of arrival, first and last registration numbers of the newly arriving inmates, and, in many cases, the origin of the transports. The notes were smuggled out of the camp in 1944. There is nothing in them about gassings. Danuta Czech then compares the information appearing in the notes with reference to the numerical strength of every convoy, and compares them to the data appearing in the documents of the German police offices responsible for the transports. Great discrepancies are then noted; only some of the Jews deported, according to the German files, appear in the secret notes of the inmates! All the "missing" Jews are simply listed by Danuta Czech as having been "gassed"! At the same time, it is known that some deported persons never arrived at Auschwitz, for the simple reason that they were unloaded 100 km further west -- at Cosel -- and housed in local work camps. This has been shown by the French Jew Serge Klarsfeld in his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (7). In a few cases, D. Czech acknowledges the selection of Jews for local camps in the second edition of her book. Consistently ignored by her, however, is the fact that many of the "gassed" Jews suddenly reappeared later, far East of Auschwitz, in the Baltic states and White Russia. This means that the reason why these Jews were not registered at Auschwitz was because Auschwitz only served as a transit camp for them. Her "gassing" figures are therefore pure fantasy, and her method can only be termed a shameless falsification of evidence. In this regard, consult Enrique Aynat's work *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'* (8).

### **c) Jean-Claude Pressac's "criminal traces"**

In September 1983, a book by the French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac was hailed by the world's "free press" with deafening fanfare as the rebuttal of the revisionists. It is called *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz*, and also appeared in German from Piper Verlag under the title of *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz*. Pressac had already published a gigantic book under the title *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, which is, however, hardly mentioned by the mass media.

In the introduction to his second book, Pressac repeatedly promises that he will not base his book on eyewitness testimonies, but will instead rely solely upon documents. During the reading, the astonished reader then notes that, every time the author begins to speak of concrete "gassing" operations, he cites an eyewitness as his source! As "definitive proof" of the existence of the execution gas chambers, he cites a document which contains not a single word relating to the gassing of human beings; it is simply

a business letter related to the ordering of "gas testers", to be discussed below in the present chapter (point f).

Pressac never mentions any of the scientific or technical arguments of the revisionists. Not a single revisionist book is mentioned.

In the absence of any documentary proofs for the gassings of even one Jew in Auschwitz, Pressac cites a few "criminal traces" in both his first and his second work; these "traces" are supposed to indicate the gassing of human beings. We will cite two examples only: the pagination below refers to the French original edition:

- on p. 69, Pressac mentions a letter from the leader of the Central Construction Administration of the Waffen SS at Auschwitz, Bischoff, to SS Brigadeführer Dr. Kammler at Berlin, stating (9):

"Crematorium II has been completed, right down to the small details of construction, utilizing all available manpower and despite unspeakable difficulties and frosty weather. The ovens... function perfectly. The reinforced concrete ceiling of the morgue could not be used because of damage by frost. This is however insignificant, since the Vergasungskeller [gassing cellar] could be used for this purpose."

Like other Holocaust scholars before him, Pressac takes this as a reference to a gas chamber installed in crematorium II. The room indicated in the plans as Morgue I must have functioned as such, according to the Holocaust true believers.

The letter has given the revisionists a few headaches, so to speak; the explanations given by them didn't sound exactly convincing. One possible explanation was found in December 1995, when we were researching the original documents with Carlo Mattogno in the Moscow Special Archives. There, we found a document indicating the planned installation of a delousing chamber in the crematorium (10).

In early 1943, typhus was raging at Auschwitz. The Germans were desperately attempting to stem the epidemic by killing lice, and to do so, they needed as many delousing chambers as possible. Delousing chambers require at least rudimentary ventilation, a characteristic also present in the morgues of the crematoria. Of course, there is no proof that the planned delousing chamber was ever actually built in a crematorium. The complete absence of further documentary proof appears to indicate that it was not; the *Rudolf Report*, to be discussed below, also appears to indicate that it was not.

In any case, however, the letter contains no proof of the gassing of human beings.

- on p. 80, Pressac mentions a document from the Auschwitz Construction Administration relating to an order for a gas-tight door as well as 14 ("false") shower heads for crematorium III at Birkenau. In so doing, he assumes that the gas-tight doors actually in fact served to seal off an execution gas chamber; the "false" shower heads are alleged to have been intended to lure victims into a gas chamber disguised as a shower bath.

If the construction of a delousing chamber was actually planned within a crematorium, it would, of course, have needed a gas-tight door. Such a door could also have been intended to prevent the seepage of odours from decomposing bodies in the morgue.

That the shower heads were "false" appears nowhere on the document. There is nothing unusual about a shower bath in a crematorium; it was certainly not unusual in Auschwitz, where service personnel sometimes had to drag typhus-infected corpses all day to the ovens.

- On p. 70/71, Pressac mentions the existence of a wooden fan for the "gas chamber" (i.e., the morgue) of a Birkenau crematorium. If the fan was of metal, the argument runs, it would have been exposed to the damage by the corrosive effects of Zyklon. The choice of a wooden fan instead of a metal one is therefore alleged to constitute proof of the use of hydrocyanic acid on the premises. But Pressac mentions on p. 77 that a metal fan was finally installed, since the SS had "overestimated the danger of corrosion."

Just think -- millions of people are gassed to death, and the only "proof" for this huge crime, dished up by "today's leading expert on Auschwitz", is nonsense like this! Several revisionist researchers, such as Faurisson (11) and Mattogno (12), have picked Pressac's scribbles apart mercilessly in meticulous detail. In late 1995, an anthology of articles critical of Pressac was published containing German translations of contributions of Faurisson and Mattogno, as well as articles by Ernst Gauss, Manfred Koehler and Serge Thion (13).

In the meantime, it dawned on the exterminationists that Pressac had done their cause a disservice. In *Le Monde juif* (January April 1996, p. 92 ff), the Jew Maurice Cling mercilessly criticized Pressac -- once celebrated as the "rebutter of the Revisionists" -- accusing him of "manipulations", "inventions", and "deviant statements". The revisionists couldn't have put it better themselves.

Right after the appearance of the second Pressac book, the Jewish film producer Claude Lanzmann (he who -- in his nine-and-a-half hour gas chamber epic, *Shoa* -- filmed the barber Abraham Bomba describing how 17 barbers supposedly cut the hair off 70 naked women in a gas chamber at Treblinka measuring 4 x 4 m), angrily criticized Pressac, saying "I prefer the tears of the barbers of Treblinka to Pressac's 'gas testers'". Lanzmann is right. The Holocaust can only survive as a myth; every attempt to prove it scientifically is an immediate debacle.

"The Germans destroyed all the documents"

If one were to ask the Knights of the Holocaust Holy Grail why there is such an absence of unequivocal documentary evidence of the mass murder of the Jews, most of them will reply that the Germans destroyed all the documents right before the end of the war. This claim is actually made by one of the star witnesses from amongst the ranks of the accused, namely, Brazilian SS Man Pery Broad, who compiled detailed notes in British imprisonment. On the last page of Broad's *Erinnerungen*, he says (14):

"Before the buildings of the Auschwitz offices blazed piles of documents, while the structures utilized in committing the greatest mass murder in the history of mankind were blown up..."

Broad was released as early as 1947 (15) although the British could have shot or hanged him without further ado, since every German, especially every SS man, was free game at that time. Quite obviously, early release was his reward for services rendered, services which continue to comprise a major contribution to solidifying the image of the "Final Solution", at that time still in the unformed, fluid state.

It is simply quite untrue that piles of documents blazed at Auschwitz, since huge numbers of documents are available precisely from this largest of all "extermination camps". The Moscow Special Archives contain approximately 90,000 pages of documents from the Construction Administration, i.e., precisely the same organization which was responsible for the construction of the crematorium and therefore, according to the Holocaust legend, for building the gas chambers allegedly located in the crematoria.

During two rather lengthy stays in Moscow (July-August as well as November-December 1995), we examined all 90,000 pages of documents together with the Italian researcher Carlo Mattogno (Mattogno's American publisher Russel Granata was also present during the first visit). Some of these documents, perhaps 20,000 pages, consist of copies made by the Germans of other pages; approximately 70,000 other pages are primary documents. Not one single document provides any proof of mass gassings of human beings. This in no way surprised us, since if such a document had existed, it would long ago have been triumphantly displayed to the world. Two prominent representatives of the extermination school, Jean-Claude Pressac and the British Jew Gerald Fleming, have both worked in this archive and examined part of the documentation. Neither Pressac nor Fleming found the long-sought documentary proof for the homicidal gas chambers.

The objection that the Germans could have sifted out the incriminating documents just in time and destroyed them, is extremely naive. Just imagine such a situation:

In autumn 1994, when the decision is made to evacuate Auschwitz before the approaching Red Army, Commandant Richard Baer issues the following order to his subordinates: "Sort out all the documents which prove the gassing of the Jews, and burn them, but leave all other documents lying around for the Russians". Could anything be more naive? They could have burnt the entire archive of documents in a few hours! **QUITE OBVIOUSLY, THE REASON WHY THE GERMANS LEFT ALL THE DOCUMENTS BEHIND WAS BECAUSE IT NEVER OCCURRED TO THEM THAT THE DOCUMENTS COULD INCRIMINATE THEM IN ANY WAY!**

The same applies to the camp Majdanek, for which mountains of documents are also available.

## Conjuring up "proof"

Since the defenders of the orthodox Holocaust image could not possibly be content themselves with "eyewitness testimony" alone, they were compelled to come up with a number of documents which allegedly prove the gas chamber genocide. In doing so, two possibilities were open to them:

- manufacture forgeries;
- Deliberately distort authentic documents.

The second method was resorted to with much greater frequency. Carlo Mattogno describes this as follows (16):

"The Nuremberg inquisitors created... an absurd method of interpretation which made it possible to interpret any meaning they wished into any document, but which isn't there. The point of departure for this method of interpretation was the unproven and arbitrary axiom that the NS authorities used a sort of code language, even in the most secret documents, the key to which the Nuremberg inquisitors naturally pretended to have discovered. The systematic false interpretation of documents which, in themselves, had nothing to do with extermination, then followed as a matter of course.

"The best-known example of this type of false interpretation is represented by the interpretation of the word 'Final Solution' which became a synonym for the 'extermination of the Jews'...

"In truth and in fact, there is not the slightest proof that 'Final Solution' ever referred to any alleged 'Hitler plan for the extermination of the European Jews'. There are even documents which prove the contrary. These documents relate to the policy followed by the National Socialists with regards to Jewish emigration..."

Let us consider below some of the "documentary proofs" for the Holocaust repeatedly trundled out for us in the standard literature. We will divide these into two groups: obvious forgeries, documents of questionable authenticity, and, finally, undoubtedly genuine, but deliberately falsely interpreted documents.

### Forged documents

In contrast to the attitude of some revisionists, only relatively few of the documents which are presented as proofs of the extermination of the Jews are obvious falsifications. These include three remarkable examples, which we will examine as follows:

#### **a) The Wannsee Protocol**

For decades, it was claimed that the extermination of the Jews was decided at the Wannsee Conference in Berlin of 20 January 1942. Anyone who reads the (alleged) protocol of that conference (17), will discover that it contains no mention of any

physical extermination of the Jews, nothing about gas chambers, and speaks only of "evacuation" and "resettlement". The orthodox historians, as usual, offer the lazy excuse that these are code words for extermination.

Even if this document were genuine, it would in no way constitute proof for any extermination of the Jews, but rather for their deportation, which is not disputed by any revisionist. But the Wannsee Protocol is a rather crude forgery, as shown by several revisionist researchers, in greatest detail by Johannes P. Ney (18). The forgery is proven by absurdities of content (for example grossly exaggerated numbers of Jews living in Europe), as well as formal errors.

30 copies of the Wannsee Protocol are supposed to have been prepared. Of these 30 copies, only 1, the 16th, has survived, quite remarkably, in several different versions, in which SS is written sometimes in runes, and sometimes in normal script.

Even the exterminationists are distancing themselves further and further from the Wannsee protocol. In the *Canadian Jewish News* of 20 January 1992, Israeli Holocaust Specialist Yehuda Bauer, calls the belief that the conference arrived at any decision to exterminate the Jews, a "silly story". According to him, the whole caste of historians just blabbered a silly story for decades, like parrots. The "silly story" also appears in all schoolbooks.

#### **b) The document of 28 June 1943 on the capacity of the crematoria of Auschwitz**

To prove the powerful capacity of the Auschwitz crematoria, the exterminationists tirelessly quote a letter allegedly prepared on 28 June 1943 by the leader of the Auschwitz Central Construction Administration, Bischoff, through his subordinate SS Brigadeführer Kammler (19), according to which the daily capacity of the crematoria of Auschwitz and Birkenau are as follows:

- crematory I: 340 persons [sic!] each
- crematoria II and III: 1440 persons each
- crematoria IV and V: 768 persons each.

Note the remarkably un-German-sounding use of the word "persons" in this connection. Much more revealing, however, is the content.

As may be seen from the standard literature, for example the work of Raul Hilberg (20), the main crematorium at Auschwitz I possessed 6 muffles; crematoria II and III of Birkenau possessed 15 muffles each; and the Birkenau Kremas IV and V possessed 8 muffles each. This makes a total of 52 muffles. In today's modern crematoria, the burning of one corpse per muffle takes one to one and a half hours (see illustration 1V, the reproduction of a letter from Freiburg crematorium). If one can cremate 4,756 bodies per day in 52 muffles, that would be 95 bodies per day per muffle, which would mean that the crematoria of Auschwitz were around four times faster than modern crematoria! This means that either all the laws of thermodynamics were suspended, or that the letter is a fabrication (presumably from a Communist forgery



factory). Irrefutable proof of the falsity of this document has been provided by Carlo Mattogno (21).

## F. Documents of dubious authenticity

### a) The Goebbels diary passages of 27 March 1942

For 27 March 1942, there is an entry in the diaries of NS Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels (22), according to which a "rather barbarous procedure, not to be described in detail here" was being applied to the Jews. 60% of the Jews were liquidated, while only 40% could be used for work.

Revisionist researchers are not unanimous on the authenticity of the Goebbels Diaries. Stiglich considers them forged in whole or in part, while Irving and Faurisson believe in their authenticity. We refrain from expressing an opinion and refer to the entry of 7 March 1942, in which Goebbels states that the Jews must first be concentrated in the East; eventually, they could be sent to an island, perhaps Madagascar. This entry is in crass contradiction to the entry made twenty days later. Goebbels, an irreconcilable enemy of the Jews, may, in writing his diaries, have risen to an even more intense hatred of them, and in doing so, may have brought fantasies to paper which were in no way reconcilable with his earlier notes. This passage is therefore no proof of the occurrence of the extermination of the Jews; it is at best the most forceful indication that the exterminationists can produce, an indication which is nevertheless contradicted by a whole slew of watertight, irrefutable revisionist evidence.

### b) The two Himmler speeches of October 1943

Two bloodthirsty speeches, alleged to have given by SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler on 4 or 6 October 1943 in Posen before his SS men, are quoted in Holocaust literature with extraordinary frequency. The first speech states (23):

"I want to speak to you in all openness about a quite difficult matter. It must be spoken of among us once quite openly, but we will never speak about it in public... I mean the evacuation of the Jews, the extirpation of the Jewish people. It is one of those things which are easy to say -- 'The Jewish people will be extirpated', says every Party comrade, 'quite obvious, we'll do it, it's in our Party programme. Elimination of the Jews, extirpation, that's what we're doing...' We had the moral right, we had the duty to our people, to kill this people that wanted to kill us."

Two days later, according to the notes, Himmler said (24):

"A difficult decision had to be made to cause this people to disappear from the earth... You now know with certainty, and you'll keep it for yourselves... I believe it is better, we -- we, all of us --- have borne this for our people, have taken the responsibility for this upon ourselves (the responsibility for a deed, not for an idea), and we shall take that secret to our grave."

There are no original texts of the speeches. Himmler is allegedly supposed to have had the text of these (and other) speeches written down later with a typewriter -- for

whom? For posterity? To ensure that posterity would finally possess unequivocal proof of a Holocaust? As noted by the British historian David Irving, the critical passages, i.e., the passages which "prove the Holocaust", were inserted later, as may be seen from the different indentations on the pages concerned (25).

Two of the leading revisionists, Stiglich (26) and Walendy (27), have examined this text. Both came to the conclusion that it is a forgery.

On the other hand, there is a wire recording of the first speech. A recording was made of excerpts of the first, which was played at the Nuremberg Trial. The copy of this recording is supposed to have been of very mediocre quality, but the original recording is supposed to have been of acceptable quality. A voice analysis is supposed to have proven that this was actually Heinrich Himmler speaking (28).

A few remarks on this subject:

1) In the first speech, Himmler identifies the "evacuation" of the Jews with their "extermination", mixing up two concepts which are totally distinct today. The identification of evacuation and extermination loses their contradictory meaning when one considers that the meaning of the word "Ausrottung" has changed. In today's speech, "Ausrottung" doubtlessly means "liquidation, physical extermination". This was not necessarily so earlier; the etymological derivation of "ausrotten" is "to uproot". This change in meaning is proven by the following:

In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler wrote that Germanness was threatened with "Ausrottung" under the Habsburg Monarchy (29). He certainly didn't mean that the old Kaiser Franz Josef had any plans to drive ten million German-Austrians into gas chambers; rather, that they were exposed to the danger of losing their power and influence to the Slavs. Accordingly, Himmler could have meant by "Ausrottung" of the Jews to mean their political exclusion as well as their expulsion and resettlement outside of Europe. Of course, in the first speech, he uses the unmistakable word "umbringen", to kill; it is a fact, particularly on the Eastern front, that many Jews were shot, but the mere fact of the existence of millions of Jews in the German sphere of influence at the time of the speech argues against any systematic extermination.

2) There was nothing about any "Ausrottung" of the Jews in the party programme of the NSDAP.

3) In the second speech, Himmler speaks of the extermination of the Jews as if this were already concluded. In reality, millions of Jews were still alive in Europe in October 1943. Approximately 80% of the French Jews remained unharmed at the end of war. At the time of the speech, the Hungarian Jews had yet been disturbed in any way; their deportation only began in May 1944. At any rate, Himmler, in a speech over seven months later, on 24 May 1944, at Sonthofen, stated the following (30):

"At the present time... we will first take 100,000, later another 100,000 Jews from Hungary into concentration camps, with which to build underground factories. Not one will thence return into the view of the German people."

If the extermination of the European Jews had already been concluded seven months earlier, one could not possibly set 200,000 Hungarian Jews to work building underground factories!

4) In both speeches, especially the second, Himmler emphasizes the need for absolute silence, but fails to obey his own recommendation himself in the slightest; rather, he blabbers about the horrid crimes committed by his organization, and even had a wire recording made of the first speech!

If the wire recording of the first speech actually proves to be Himmler's voice, then these arguments will naturally not apply, insofar as they affect the first speech.

We shall leave the question of the authenticity of both speeches, as well as their exact meaning, open for the present. A detailed analysis of the speeches by Jack Wickoff will be published in the near future (31).

#### **c) The business letter relating to the ordering of "gas testers"**

As the "final proof" for homicidal gassings in Auschwitz, Pressac cites a business letter dated 6 March 1943 from the oven construction firm Topf & Söhne to the Central Construction of Auschwitz. The firm confirms receipt of a telegram ordering 10 gas testers (32).

Faurisson considers the letter to be genuine, but most revisionists consider it a falsification. We tend to the forgery theory, on the following grounds, stated by Walter Rademacher, among others (33):

- Devices for the detection of hydrocyanic acid residues are not called "Gasprüfer", but rather, "Blausaeurerestnachweisgeraete". The instructions for the use of Zyklon B, dated 1942, mention these devices no less than six times (34);

- if the health service responsible for the delousing action ran out of hydrocyanic acid detection devices, they would certainly not have ordered them from an oven construction firm which had nothing to do with their manufacture;

- "Gasprüfer" are understood to be devices for the analysis of CO or CO<sub>2</sub> combustion gases which arise during the carburization of coke in the generator of a crematory oven. According to Rademacher, the number of Gasprüfer ordered -- ten -- indicates precisely this application, since crematoria II and III possessed 10 flue gas channels.

This indicates that the document cited by Pressac is a forgery which "mixes apples and oranges"! Since neither the ordering of "hydrocyanic acid residue detection devices", nor the ordering of "gas testers" represents even the slightest proof of the gassing of human beings, the document lacks the slightest probative value even in the event of its authenticity.

## Undoubtedly genuine but falsely interpreted documents

Indisputably genuine documents which are subjected to a meaning arbitrarily altered from the meaning expressed, play an important role in Holocaust literature. Here are a few examples:

### **a) The passage on the "Hebraic race perverters" from *Mein Kampf***

In Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* it says (35):

"If twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebraic race perverters had been held under poison gas at the beginning of the war, as hundreds of thousands of our best German workers from all classes and professions were forced to endure it in the field, then the sacrifice of millions at the Front would not have been in vain."

A correct interpretation of this passage requires a knowledge of Hitler's biography. Hitler was temporarily blinded by a gas attack in 1918; to him, gas warfare involved personal trauma. He held the (mostly Jewish) Marxist leaders responsible for Germany's defeat during WWI. The passage therefore has the following meaning: "If the Marxist leaders had been sent to the front, where they would have been exposed to poison gas attacks like all the other soldiers, instead of being allowed to agitate in the rear, then we wouldn't have lost the war". That Hitler is not speaking of the extermination of the Jews here, is obvious from the quoted figure of "twelve to fifteen thousand".

When historians use this passage as proof of a "plan to gas the Jews", a plan alleged to have taken shape in his mind as early as the 1920s, they involve themselves in an inextricable contradiction. If you ask them why there are no documentary proofs of the Holocaust, they reply that the Germans either drew up no documents, or destroyed them all, just in time to conceal their crimes. According to the same historians, however, Hitler is then supposed to have announced his genocidal intentions to the entire world!

### **b) Documents on the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question"**

In a series of wartime German documents, the concept "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" arises. Thus, Göring wrote to Heydrich on 31 July 1941 (36):

"Supplementing your order already issued by decree of 24.1.1939, to bring the Jewish question to the most satisfactory possible solution in the form of emigration or evacuation in accordance with the time circumstances, I hereby assign you with responsibility for finding all the necessary conditions in an organizational, technical and material regard for an overall solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe... I furthermore assign you with responsibility for presenting me soon with an overall draft of the organizational, technical, and material preconditions for the execution of the desired overall solution of the Jewish question."

This letter is quoted to the point of exhaustion by the Holocaust peddlers, always with the allegation that Göring entrusted Heydrich with the organizational preparation of

the genocide. Again, the ruling clique is reading something into the document which is not there.

What the National Socialists understood by "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" is made very clear in this document: the emigration, by force if necessary, of all Jews from Europe. Madagascar was originally intended to serve as the home of the Jews (see, in this regard, the above mentioned entry in Goebbels' diary of 7 March 1942), but this plan could not be realized. After conquering extensive territories in the East at the beginning of the Russian campaign, the creation of at least a provisional Jewish settlement area in each zone was considered. That a considerable number of Jews were actually sent to White Russia and the Baltic states, is admitted even by the exterminationists (37). Of course, such deportations make nonsense of the exterminationist argument: why send Jews right past six "extermination camps" running full tilt, all the way to White Russia and the Baltic states, if a decision has been made for the complete extermination of Jewry?

In his book *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft*, Steffen Werner collects a number of clues indicating that considerable numbers of Jews were in fact sent to White Russia and settled there (38). That Auschwitz was used as a transit camp for the Eastern settlement of Jews not registered at Auschwitz and therefore assumed by exterminationists to have been gassed, has been shown by the Spaniard Enrique Aynat (39).

The character of German policy towards the Jews is clearly revealed by a document drawn up by Martin Luther, an official of the Foreign Office, on 21 August 1942 (40):

"The evacuation of the Jews from Germany has begun on the basis of the... mentioned instruction of the Fuehrer (on the resettlement of the Jews). It was considered whether to include the Jewish citizens of countries which had also taken Jewish measures... the number of Jews shifted to the East in this manner does not suffice to cover the labour requirements. The Reichssicherheitsamt approached the Foreign Office, upon the instructions of the Reichsführer SS, to ask the Slovakian government to make 20,000 strong young Jews from Slovakia available for transfer to the East."

Hans Heinrich Lammers, Director of the Reichschancellory, was asked about his knowledge of the Final Solution by attorney Dr. Thoma during the Nuremberg Trial. In 1942, he had asked Himmler what the "Final Solution of the Jewish question" was to be understood to mean; after which Himmler informed him that this meant the evacuation of the Jews to the East. In 1943, rumours came to Lammers' attention according to which the Jews were being exterminated. He investigated the matter, and returned to Himmler, who reacted as follows (41):

"He (Himmler) brought out a lot of pictures and albums and showed me the work that was being done in these camps by the Jews and how they worked for the war needs -- the shoemakers' shops, tailors' shops, and so forth. He told me: 'This is the order of the Fuehrer: if you believe that you have to take action against it, then tell the Fuehrer....' I once again reported this matter to the Fuehrer, and on this occasion he gave me exactly the same reply which I

had been given by Himmler. He said, 'I shall later on decide where these Jews will be taken and in the meantime they are being cared for there.'

The following dialogue took place between Dr. Thoma and Lammers (42):

**Thoma:** Did Himmler ever tell you that the Final Solution of the Jewish problem was to take place through the extermination of the Jews?

**Lammers:** That was never mentioned. He talked only about evacuation.

**Thoma:** When did you hear that these five million Jews had been exterminated?

**Lammers:** I heard of that here a while ago.

The chief of the Reichschancellory, who, according to the *Enzyklopaedie der Holocaust*, received "all anti-Jewish measures" across his desk, (43), therefore only learned at Nuremberg that the Final Solution of the Jewish question was to take place through their extermination!

### **c) Documents on "Special actions", etc.**

All German documents in which words appear bearing the prefix "Sonder" (Sondermassnahmen, Sonderaktionen, Sonderbehandlung, etc.) are trotted out as proof of the extermination of the Jews. Now, it is true that such concepts could relate to executions (44), but this was by no means always the case. Thus, Pressac mentions in his second book, that the concept (Sonderaktion" was used in Auschwitz for the police investigation of the grounds for a strike of the civilian workers (45) -- a STRIKE in an EXTERMINATION CAMP! Pressac furthermore quotes an order from the SS concerning "Sondermassnahmen" for the improvement of the sanitary conditions in the Birkenau camp (46). Thus, the Sondermassnahmen here were to prolong life, and not to shorten it.

To sum up: among the many millions of documents from the era of the Third Reich, there is NOT ONE which delivers a single proof for the gassing of even one JEW in Auschwitz or elsewhere!

### **d) The Korherr Report: master example of misinterpretation**

A report drawn up by the SS statistician Richard Korherr (47) in early 1943 for Dr. Rudolf Brandt of Himmler's staff is constantly quoted by the orthodox historians as "proof of the Holocaust". According to the report, the number of European Jews in Europe had been reduced by nearly half in the time period between 1933 and 1943. 1,873,549 Jews are stated to have been lost as the result of "evacuations including Theresienstadt and including Sonderbehandlung" (Theresienstadt was a ghetto for mostly elderly and privileged Jews).

Korherr then lists the Jews evacuated from Baden and the Pfalz to France, from the territory of the Reich, including the Protectorate and Bialystock, to the East, and from the territory of the Reich and the Protectorate to Theresienstadt, presenting his statistics as follows:

4. Transport of Jews from the Eastern provinces to the Russian East: 1,449,692 Jews

- Transit through the camps in the General Gouvernement 1,274,166 Jews

- Through the camps in the Wartegau 145,301 Jews

If one considers the number of the Jews transported to the East, one notes that they correspond very exactly to the numbers listed in the Holocaust literature as having been exterminated in the "pure extermination camps" at that time, of Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Chelmno. The first three of these "extermination camps" were located in the General Gouvernement, Chelmno lay in the Warthegau (i.e., in the territory which was originally German, but is today Polish, having been annexed by Poland after WWI and reincorporated into Germany in 1939). The strategy of the falsifiers of history is obvious: to deliberately misinterpret the unambiguous expression "transport" as a code word for "murder", and then claim that the "transit camps" were "extermination camps".

The Korherr Report has been examined by Georges Wellers from the exterminationist point of view (48), and by Stephen Challer (49) and Carlo Mattogno (50) from the revisionist point of view.

### Documents which contradict the extermination theory

But it gets even worse for the Holocaust scribblers. A flood of indisputably genuine documents namely prove that NO extermination of the Jews was planned.

If the National Socialists had planned the physical extermination of the Jews at any time, there should have been no more documents, dated later, speaking of the use of the Jews for their labour; yet such documents exist by the ton. We already discussed one of them, the Luther Memorandum; here are a few more examples.

At the end of 1942, Himmler wrote to KL Inspector Richard Glücks (51):

"Prepare to accept 100,000 male Jews and up to 50,000 female Jews in the concentration camp in the next 4 weeks. Great economic tasks will arise in the concentration camps in the coming weeks."

Hadn't Himmler yet been informed about the decision to exterminate the Jews, made at the Wannsee Conference by subordinates, or was "large economic tasks" a camouflage term for "gassing"?

On 18 November 1943, the Auschwitz camp administration received the order from WVHA (Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt) of the SS to grant premiums to good workers, INCLUDING JEWS (52). What Jewish workers? According to the Himmler speeches at Posen of October 1943 and quoted in Holocaust literature a thousand times over, all the European Jews had already been exterminated by that time!

On 9 March 1944, as the extermination of the Hungarian Jews was already running full tilt, according to the legend, Himmler wrote to the Chief of the SS Main Office as well as to the SS Economic Main Administration Office stating (53):

"The Fuehrer has ordered the transfer of 10,000 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, to supervise the 200,000 Jews being transferred to the concentration camps of the Reich in order to put them to work on large construction projects for the OT [Organization Todt] and other projects of importance to the war."

What did they need to supervise gassed Jews for?

On 15 August 1944, the WVHA reported the above mentioned delivery of 612,000 persons, INCLUDING 90,000 HUNGARIAN JEWS, to the work camps (54). And the Hungarian Minister for the Interior Gabor Wajna reports, Himmler is said to have reported that the production of fighter planes had been increased by 40% due to the assignment of Hungarian Jews.

How was this possible? All 438,000 deported Hungarian Jews, including the 28,000 registered in Auschwitz, were gassed between May and July in Birkenau (56)! How could these gassing victims still work on the manufacture of fighter planes?

The absurdity of the notion that the Germans could even think of exterminating huge numbers of people capable of working at precisely a time when they were in desperate need of manpower, has even dawned on a few Holocaust writers. Hannah Arendt wonders (57):

"The inconceivability of the horror is closely related to its economic uselessness. The Nazis drove this uselessness to the greatest extremes, even to open anti-utilitarianism, by building gigantic and expensive extermination factories in the middle of the war and transported people back and forth, despite the lack of building materials and rolling stock. In the eyes of a strictly utilitarian world, the obvious contrast between these actions and all military necessity gave the whole undertaking an appearance of insane unreality."

It appears to us that there is an "appearance of insane unreality" floating over the theories of the orthodox historians.

In conclusion, we wish to comment on two Auschwitz documents reproduced here (Figs. XXX and XXXI).

The first of these documents is dated 30 June 1943. It was prepared by a doctor at Auschwitz who reported that an inmate, Jaroslaus Murka, had been "admitted to the HKB (main hospital) with numerous haematoma on the skull, in the face, upper arm and breast, disturbances of vision and concussion". The doctor then asks that the guilty parties be punished.

In a camp in which between 470,000 and 9 million Jews were murdered, according to which historian you believe, the Germans, therefore, took the trouble to write up a report about a beaten inmate, and to demand punishment for the guilty party. The victim was admitted to hospital -- what the devil was a HOSPITAL doing in an EXTERMINATION CAMP?



The second document reproduced here proves that an inmate, Jan Kristian, was detained at Auschwitz from 3 May to 8 June 1944 and was released on the last mentioned date, on the condition that he report immediately to the Auschwitz labour office for new arrangements.

This release is no isolated case. Carlo Mattogno and myself found 56 such release certificates in Moscow covering a period of only a few days in June and July 1944. In almost all cases, these were Poles having served short sentences in Birkenau "labour education camp" for violating their labour contracts, and were sent to a factory after completing their sentences.

The releases occurred at just the point in time, according to official Holocaust literature, when the extermination of the Hungarian Jews was running full blast; around 400,000 of these people are supposed to have been driven into the gas chambers within the short period of less than two months. Jan Kristian and the numerous releases over that same period are therefore supposed to have permitted to witness the gassing of the 400,000 Hungarian Jews "live", after which they were released so that they could blabber all about it in their factories! This is the sort of rubbish which has been touted by the media whores, court historians, and politicians for decades; and we believe it.

In reality, Auschwitz was used as a transit camp for the deportation of the Hungarian Jews, with the exception of the 28,000 who were registered there. This is proven by German documents, and is confirmed by a totally unimpeachable authority, Jean-Claude Pressac; he reports, referring to documents located in the Yad Vashem, that 40,000 to 50,000 Hungarian female Jews were sent to the work camp of Stutthof alone (58). Pressac thus involuntarily reinforces the basic theory of the revisionists -- that the transport of a large part of European Jews for compulsory labour is a historical fact, but that the "extermination of Jews in gas chambers" is the most enormous, most impudent swindle of all time.

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## Notes:

1) Hilberg, Introduction.

2) André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, Polémiques, Ogmios Diffusion, 1986; see also the abridged German edition *Die 'Geständnisse' des Kurt Gerstein*, Druffel, 1986.

3) Filip Mueller, *Sonderbehandlung*, Steinhausen, 1979.

4) After the battle of Sedan, the Germans attempted to cremate the bodies of the fallen in graves. They laid three layers of bodies in the graves, covered them with tar, and set them on fire. The upper layer was charred, the middle layer was slightly singed, and the lowest layer was not even affected (Harald Froehlich, "Zur Gesundheitspflege auf den Schlachtfeldern", *Deutsche Militärärztliche Zeitschrift*, I, 1-4, 1872, p. 109/110, quoted by Carlo Mattogno in *Auschwitz, The End of a Legend*, IHR, 1994, p. 19).

- 5) In this regard, see Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. p. 318 ff.
- 6) Newsday, Long Island, New York, 23 February 1983, quoted by Robert Faurisson, "Mon experience du révisionnisme", in: *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, no. 8, p. 31/32.
- 7) Klarsfeld, p. 5 (private numbering; Klarsfeld's *Mémorial* has no page numbers).
- 8) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia 1994.
- 9) Quoted here according to Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 220.
- 10) The document concerned in the Moskow Special Archive bears the archive number 502-I-316, sheet 431.
- 11) Robert Faurisson in *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 3, as well as R. Faurisson, *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac*, RHR, 1993.
- 12) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, The End of a Legend*.
- 13) *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten*, published by Herbert Verbeke, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem, Belgium
- 14) Pery Broad, *Erinnerungen*, in the anthology *Auschwitz in den Augen der SS*, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Katowice, 1981, p. 195.
- 15) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, p. 197
- 16) Carlo Mattogno, *La soluzione finale*, Edizioni di Ar, 1991, p. 64/65.
- 17) The (alleged) protocol of the Wannsee Conference is reproduced among others by Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos* (Grabert, 1978), p. 39 ff., and in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 182 ff.
- 18) See, for example, Staeglich in *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, p. 38 ff; Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen*, no. 35; Ingrid Weckert in *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, no. 40 (1992); Johannes P. Ney in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 169 ff.
- 19) The document is now mentioned in Brigitte Bailer-Galanda/Wolfgang Benz/Wolfgang Neugebauer (publishers), *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge*, Deuticke, 1995, p. 71.
- 20) Hilberg, p. 946.
- 21) Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 300 ff.
- 22) Quoted in Fraenkel/Manvell, *Goebbels - eine Biographie*, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1960, p. 257 ff.
- 23) Nuremberg trial document volumes IMT XXXIX p. 122 ff.

- 24) Quoted according to Stäglich, p. 95 ff.
- 25) David Irving, *Hitler's Krieg*, F.A. Herbig, 1986, p. 252.
- 26) Staeglich, p. 89 ff.
- 27) Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 45.
- 28) Oral communication from G. Rudolf and A. Schimmelpfennig to the author.
- 29) Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Franz Eher Verlag, Muenchen 1943, p. 13/14.
- 30) Stäglich, p. 100.
- 31) Wickoff's analysis of the speech is scheduled to appear sometime in 1997 in the *Vierteljahreszeitschrift für freie Geschichtsforschung*.
- 32) Quoted, among others, by Pressac, *Les crématoires...* p. 71 ff.
- 33) Rademacher in Gauss, *Grundlagen*, p. 55 ff.
- 34) Nuremberg Document NI-9912.
- 35) Hitler, p. 772.
- 36) Nuremberg Document NG-2586/PS-710.
- 37) See for example Reitlinger, p. 100 ff.
- 38) Steffen Werner, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft*, Grabert, Tuebingen, 1992.
- 39) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia 1994.
- 40) Nuremberg Document NG-2586.
- 41) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XI pp. 82/83 (German text).
- 42) *ibid*, p. 83.
- 43) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 848.
- 44) An example of this is provided by Kogon/Rückerl on p. 17.
- 45) Pressac, *Les crématoires...* p. 63.
- 46) *ibid*, p. 82.
- 47) Nuremberg documents NO-5194 and NO-5193.

- 48) Georges Wellers, *La solution finale et la Mythomanie néo-nazie*, published by Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Paris, 1979.
- 49) Stephen Challen, *Richard Korherr and his Reports*, Cromwell Press, London 1993.
- 50) Carlo Mattogno, *Dilettanti allo Sbaraglio*, Edizioni di Ar, Padova, 1996, p. 112 ff.
- 51) Nuremberg Document NO-500.
- 52) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, no. 6, 1962, p. 78.
- 53) Nuremberg document NO-5689.
- 54) Nuremberg document NO-1990.
- 55) Nuremberg document NO-1874.
- 56) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1467.
- 57) Hannah Arendt *Le origini del totalitarismo*, Milan, 1967, p. 609, quoted by Carlo Mattogno in *La soluzione finale*, p. 106 (retranslated from English to Italian to German to English).
- 58) Pressac, *Les crématoires...*, p. 147.

## CHAPTER IX

### EYEWITNESSES TO THE GAS CHAMBERS AT AUSCHWITZ

This chapter is a slightly amended version of an article published by the author in the periodical *Aurora* (Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland, July 1995).

Anyone with a serious interest in the Holocaust is strongly recommended to take a trip to Auschwitz. All sorts of peculiarities are immediately apparent to the critical visitor: piles of "women's hair from victims of mass gassings" are displayed behind plate glass windows; yet the hair is all ash-blonde in colour, and looks like flax or hemp. Piles of shoes are presented as proof of mass murder, although the only thing they really prove is that somebody piled up a load of shoes (1). Above all, however, are the absurdly small dimensions of the "gas chambers" in which between 470,000 and 9,000,000 people were murdered and cremated beyond a trace (according to which historian you believe).

According to the exterminationists, the Auschwitz camp complex possessed the following gassing installations:

- block 11 in the main camp of Auschwitz I, where only one single gassing procedure is alleged to have taken place (see above);
- The morgue alleged to have been used as a gas chamber in the Krematorium of the main camp (Auschwitz I);
- Two farm houses allegedly converted into gas chambers, located to the west of Birkenau, three kilometres west of the main camp;
- The rooms designated as "Morgue I" in the Krematoria II and III at Birkenau (identical in construction);
- several rooms inside Krematoria IV and V of Birkenau, undesignated in the blueprints, but alleged to have been used as gas chambers.

Now compare Figs. II and III.

According to Pressac, 10,000 people -- both Jews and Soviet prisoners of war -- are supposed to have been murdered in the gas chambers of the main camps in early 1942. That there is no documentary evidence of this, but only eyewitness reports, is openly admitted by Pressac (2). From the spring of 1942 until the spring of 1943, gassings are supposed to have taken place in the farm houses, also called the "red" and "white" houses, or bunkers 1 and 2. From the spring of 1943, the gassings are

supposed to have taken place in the crematoria of Birkenau, when the gas chambers of Krema II are supposed to have become the main murder factories of the Third Reich.

In our book *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* (3), we collected and analysed 30 of the most important eyewitness reports and confessions. The official historical writers should have undertaken such a task decades ago, but no; they left the job to the revisionists. The idea for this undertaking, by the way, was suggested by Gerhard Förster, a certified engineer.

23 or 24 of the eyewitness reports which we evaluated date back to the years 1944 to 1947. 22 of them originate from Jewish "Holocaust survivors", two from non-Jewish Poles, and six from German criminals.

Some of the technical and scientific impossibilities in the eyewitness testimonies

If we examine the testimonies carefully, we soon discover that they contain a number of scientific and technical impossibilities which hopelessly shatter their probative value. Here are only a few of these absurdities; we will be satisfied in most cases with a single example only.

a) Blue vapour over the bodies of the victims. The witness, Richard Boerk, a lower-ranking SS lorry driver during the war who was considered especially credible by the Auschwitz Trial in Frankfurt (1963-1965), states as follows: (4):

"A short time later (i.e., after the death of the victims) the door was opened by the prisoners, and we could still see a blue vapour floating over a gigantic pile of bodies."

Boeck cannot possibly have seen this blue vapour, since hydrocyanide gas is entirely colourless. Its name comes from the blue colour of the pigment arising from its compound with iron.

b) Blue coloration among the victims. "Holocaust survivor" Milton Buki reports (5):

"Two minutes after opening the doors, we received the order to carry away the bodies, and we loaded them on carts. The bodies were naked, some had blue spots."

Hydrocyanic acid blocks the oxygen supply to the cells. The haemoglobin in the blood can no longer give off oxygen to the cells, and the blood becomes saturated with oxygen, which leads to a red colouring of the skin (6). Buki was a member of the Sonderkommando and in Auschwitz from December 1942. The Sonderkommando allegedly had to drag the bodies out of the gas chambers. Since the gassings allegedly continued until well into October 1944, Buki had almost two years in which to observe that victims of hydrocyanic gas asphyxiation exhibit red coloration, but no, he speaks of blue pigmentation. So does Hilberg's star witness, Filip Mueller (7), who was a member of a Sonderkommando for almost two years. There can be no doubt that Buki and Mueller never saw the body of a person having died of cyanide gas asphyxiation.

c) Impossibly great numbers of victims packed into the gas chamber per square meter. According to star witness Höss, around 2,000 victims (9), were packed into the gas chambers of Krema II -- the surface area measures 210 square metres (8) -- according to key witness Vrba 3,000 (10), or even 4,000 victims, according to key witness Broad (11), all crammed in at one time. The Nazis would have needed a steam shovel to get them in, and they could have saved the money they spent on Zyklon B (which was expensive).

d) Flames shooting out of the crematory chimneys. Henryk Tauber, Pressac's star witness, tells us the following story (12):

"In general, we burned four or five bodies in one muffle, but we often put more bodies in the ovens... Great numbers of bodies were burned at one time, without the knowledge of the director of the crematorium, whenever the air raid siren went off. The especially high flames shooting out of the chimneys were to attract the attention of the pilots."

Walter Lüftl, former president of the Austrian Federal Chamber of Engineers, and forensic expert at innumerable trials, remarks to this effect:

"Coke is a short-flamed fuel. For this reason, the flames cannot even exit the combustion chamber. Between the oven and chimney, there is an exhaust channel, the flue. The chimney only comes after that. The combustion of short-flamed solid fuels gives off no flames, but only, at the most, hot exhaust gasses at 180 degrees Centigrade; otherwise, the chimney would soon be ruined."

e) Impossibly great numbers of bodies burnt at once in one muffle. Sonderkommando member Alter Szmul Faynzylberg is even more audacious than Henryk Tauber. He claims (13):

"There were three ovens; there were two openings in each one. There was room for twelve bodies in each of these openings."

The muffles he is talking about measured 200 x 70 x 80 cm. It must have been very difficult to cram 12 bodies into a space that size, to say the least.

f) Cremation of bodies without fuel. We will allow Pressac's star witness Henryk Tauber describe this one again (14):

"...when one cremation followed another, the ovens used the embers given off during the cremations as fuel. For this reason, we usually extinguished the fire during the cremation of fat bodies."

Bodies consist of more than 60% water and only burn by themselves, without fuel, in the fairy tales of Holocaust survivors.

g) Cremation of bodies in ditches. This fairy tale appears in the accounts of many "eyewitnesses", such as that of Szlama Dragon (15):

"On the other side of the huts, there were four ditches, each 30 m long, 7 m wide and 3 m deep... First we laid big logs on the floor of the ditch, then increasingly smaller pieces of wood laid cross-wise, and finally, dried branches. After all the bodies had been dragged out of the hut and placed in the ditch, Moll poured petrol all over them at all four corners of the ditch, and set them on fire, by throwing in a burning rag."

Due to the insufficient oxygen supply, the cremation of bodies in ditches will only char them; they cannot be completely burnt (16). One should also note that Dragon has built his bonfire upside down. Every Boy Scout knows that fires are lit by putting the most easily combustible material, i.e., small twigs, etc., at the bottom. Dragon's pile of wood would never catch fire, since the fire would go out after burning the more easily combustible material at the top. Bodies have always been burnt in the open, on pyres, not in ditches.

h) Use of boiling human fat flowing down from the cremation fires, as additional fuel. This monstrous fairy tale is taken to an extreme by Filip Mueller (17), but it is also found in innumerable other reports, giving rise to the suspicion that "Holocaust survivors" simply repeat the same nonsense over and over, copied from each other. In 1995, a book on the Sonderkommando appeared by the Israeli "expert" named Gideon Grief (18). As soon as we got hold of his book, we immediately looked for the story of the boiling human fat. It only took a few minutes -- and sure enough, there it was: right there in the introduction (p. xxvii).

i) Use of methanol as fuel. Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss wrote in his Krakow prison (19):

"The bodies were first spattered with oil residues, then methanol."

The stupid yarn about burning bodies with methanol is found in the accounts of both "victim" Filip Mueller (20) and "criminal" Pery Broad (21). Walter Lüftl, President of the Austrian Chamber of Engineers, once attempted to burn a dead sparrow with methanol. The attempt failed, although the quantity of methanol, by weight, exceeded the weight body of the sparrow itself.

The four central impossibilities of the eyewitness testimonies

We now come to the four central impossibilities of the eyewitness testimonies, which in turn destroy whatever credibility is left.

a) Impossibly short cremation times per corpse

In the Basel crematorium, the cremation of a corpse takes an average of one hour (22); in the Freiburg crematorium, it takes one and a half hours (see Fig. IV). According to our witnesses, the same procedure at Auschwitz took place in a fraction of that time (23). According to Dov Paisikovic, it only took a total of four minutes to reduce a corpse to ashes (23). Star witness Miklos Nyiszli, whose best seller has appeared in many languages and editions, reports that the 46 muffles of the Birkenau crematoria burnt 20,000 corpses PER DAY (24). According to the same Nyiszli, 20,000 Jews were gassed every day, and another 5,000 to 6,000 were shot or burnt



alive. This makes 435 bodies per muffle, which means that the cremation process was eighteen times faster than in modern crematoria in 1996. More modest is Rudolf Höss, who wrote (25):

"The two big crematoria I and II (usual numbering today: II and III) were built in the winter of 1942/1943 and put into operation in early 1943. They had five 3-chamber ovens each, and could each burn 2,000 bodies in 24 hours."

According to this, the daily capacity of one retort amounted to 133 corpses, and was therefore five times higher than in a modern crematorium. Carlo Mattogno was correct in stating, in his trail-blazing study on the crematoria of Auschwitz (26):

"The eyewitnesses wish to persuade us that the crematory ovens of Auschwitz-Birkenau were independent of the laws of nature: diabolical instruments, not ordinary crematory installations subject to the chemico-physical and thermo-technical laws of nature which ordinarily apply to such installations. The historians have decided to trust the witnesses blindly, and therefore allowed themselves to be dragged along by the current of totally misleading testimonies."

#### b) Introduction of Zyklon through non-existent openings

Most of the Jews are supposed to have been murdered in the "gas chamber" of Krema II of Birkenau, and there are by far the most "eyewitness testimonies" about this gas chamber. The layout of the crematorium is shown in Fig. III. So how did the Zyklon get into the death chamber? The witnesses have told the story in five different variants, all of which are radically impossible:

**1. Variant no. 1:** the Zyklon was introduced into the interior of the gas chamber through shower heads. This variant, which continues to haunt popular superstition to the present day, appears, for example, in a book by an Austrian Jewess named Jenny Spritzer (27). It is so extremely stupid that it has never been accepted by any official historian. Zyklon B is a granulate and cannot move through pipes!

**2. Variant no. 2,** from Zofia Kossack (28):

"A shrill scream, and the gas began to rise through openings in the floor. From a balcony enabling them to see over the doors, the SS men eagerly observed the death struggle: the terror, the convulsions, of those condemned to die. For these sadists, it was a spectacle of which they never grew tired. The death struggle lasted 10 to 15 minutes... The team loaded the bodies on carts, of course, working as fast as they could. Others waited. But it happened that the dead began to come back to life. At this dosage, the gas only stupefied them, it didn't kill them. It often happened that the victims began to regain consciousness on the carts... They rushed down the ramps and unloaded their cargo into the ovens."

First, the ovens were located above the gas chamber, so that they could not possibly "rush down the ramps"; second, there were no "balconies" from which one could overlook the morgues; third, dead people do not usually regain consciousness; fourth,

there were no holes in the floor through which the gas could rise. As every visitor to the ruins of the crematorium may observe today, the only thing beneath the floor of the morgue is solid earth.

**3. Variant 3**, from the Slovakian Jew Rudolf Vrba (29):

"A command was issued in a sharp tone to the SS man (on the roof of the crematorium). He raised a circular lid and dropped the little pellets on the heads below him."

At the time of the alleged mass killings, there were no openings in the roof of the morgue, with or without lid. As German Rudolf has irrefutably proven in his expert report (30), the two openings visible in the roof today were clumsily made by the Soviets or Polish communists after the demolition of the crematoria and the Germans retreat, in order to fake the appearance of Zyklon introduction holes. The openings are quite irregular in shape, and impossibly large (a slim adult can climb through them into the morgue). The iron reinforcement rods were simply bent back; there are no cracks running through the holes, which would be the case if the holes had existed before the building was blown up.

**4. Variant no. 4**, from Miklos Nyiszli (31):

"The content of the container... is poured into the opening, from which it reaches the gas chambers through sheet metal pipes in the underground gas chamber. The substance: Zyklon B. In contact with the air, the substance gives off a gas which penetrates the many thousands of holes in the sheet metal pipes and diffuses into the room packed with people."

As in variant 3, this would require openings in the ceiling, which did not exist.

**5. Variant 5** is another Hendryk Tauber inspiration (32):

"The roof of the gas chamber rests on cement columns, which were located in the midst of the longitudinal sides. Next to these columns stood four others, two on each side. The sides of these columns, which led out of through the roof, were of heavy wire grid. Within this grid was another, of finer wire. Further inside, was still a third grid, of very fine wire. Inside this third and last wire grid was a can, which could be tipped upwards with a wire to allow the pellets to fall out, from which the gas streamed outwards."

This would have prevented the granulates -- which would have continued to release gas for two more hours -- from becoming entrapped beneath the bodies and endangering the lives of the Sonderkommando. But even if one hundred thousand witnesses confirmed the existence of such a wire grid, the story would still collapse due to the non-existence of any holes in the ceiling.

Zyklon is also supposed to have been poured through holes in the roof at Krematorium I in the main camp, which attracts far more visitors than the ruins of the Kremas at Birkenau. These openings were also made after the war, as has been admitted by the administration of the Auschwitz Museum; and since the crematorium

ceiling, apart from this, is still indisputably in the original condition, it would be easy to see traces of the original holes if there had ever been any; but no such traces exist (33).

"No holes, no Holocaust", is Robert Faurisson's neat way of summing up the matter.

c) Opening the gas chamber doors and removing the bodies after impossibly short ventilation times

The insecticide Zyklon B, used in Auschwitz to combat infectious diseases carried by lice, consists of liquid hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a carrier base (a granular mass). At a temperature of 15 degrees Celsius and low humidity, wartime Zyklon B gave off approximately 50% of its hydrocyanic acid in approximately half an hour. Its entire content of hydrocyanic acid was only released after approximately two hours (34). Even if the homicidal gas chambers had possessed efficient ventilation systems -- and such systems existed only in the delousing chambers, not in the gas chambers (35) -- it would have been necessary to wait at least two hours before turning on the ventilation.

There is only one single example of a case in which the witnesses describe a long death struggle and a long period between the introduction of the gas and the emptying of the gas chamber. This description relates to the alleged gassing of Soviet prisoners of war in Block 11 of the main camp. This gassing used to be considered to have occurred in September 1941, but, according to Jean-Claude Pressac, it should be considered to have taken place in December 1941 (36). But one of the most important witnesses, Rudolf Höss, says that the victims died "immediately after introduction" of the Zyklon B (37), so that the witnesses contradict each other. That any gassing of Russian POWs is a myth, has been proven by Carlo Mattogno in great detail (38).

Apart from the special case mentioned above, the time elapsing between the introduction of the Zyklon and the death of the victims, as described by the "eyewitnesses" varies from "immediately" to 20 minutes. Since the granulate only gives off its gas content slowly, immediate death would have been an impossibility, even if ridiculously high quantities of Zyklon had been used; death within 20 minutes, on the other hand, would have been quite possible. The short time intervals alleged to have elapsed between the death of the victims and the emptying of the gas chamber nevertheless remain quite unrealistic. The longest delay mentioned by any witness that we know of -- apart from the alleged, one-time only gassing of Russian prisoners -- is 50 minutes (39), which would have been less than half the minimum required time.

Let us now quote an unusually ingenious "eyewitness" report. It comes from Dr. Charles Sigismund Bendel, a Roumanian-French doctor of the Islamic faith. Bendel helped frame two totally innocent men, Dr. Bruno Tesch and Karl Weinbacher, of the DEGESCH (Deutschen Gesellschaft für Schädlingbekämpfung); both were hanged (40). Here is Dr. Bendel's testimony on the gassing procedure in Krema IV (41):

"About 12 o'clock the new transport arrived, consisting of some 800 to 1,000 people... Then the door was opened, and the people were packed into the gas chambers, which gave the impression that the roof was falling on their heads,

as it was so low... One heard cries and shouts and they started to fight against each other, knocking on the walls. This went on for minutes and then there was complete silence. Five minutes later the doors were opened, but it was quite impossible to go in for another 20 minutes. Then the Special Kommandos went to work. When the doors were opened a crowd of bodies fell out, since they were compressed so much. They were quite contracted, and it was almost impossible to separate one from the other... Anybody who has ever seen a gas chamber filled to a height of one and a half metres with corpses will never forget it... At this moment the proper work of the Sonderkommandos starts. They have to drag out the bodies which are still warm and covered with blood, but before they are thrown into the ditches they still have to pass through the hands of the barber and the dentist, because the barber cuts the hair off and the dentist has to take out all the teeth... People who had human faces before, I cannot recognize again. They are like devils. A barrister from Salonica, an electrical engineer from Budapest -- they are no longer human beings because, even during the work, blows from sticks and rubber truncheons are being showered over them... After an hour and a half, the whole work has been done and a new transport has been dealt with in Crematorium no. 4."

What Bendel described can only have been dreamed up in his sick brain.

- The doors were said to have been opened after only seven minutes, when the granulate would only have released a fraction of its gas content. The ventilation therefore took place into the very corridor in which the cyanide-resistant Sonderkommandos and SS men were waiting!
- after another 20 minutes, the Sonderkommando are said to have entered the gas chambers WITHOUT GAS MASKS -- otherwise he would not have been able to recognize their devilishly distorted faces -- and worked in the midst of clouds of gas which continued to be released!
- When the Jews died in these gas chambers, which are supposed to have been cramped to bursting point (remember, they were "tightly packed together"), they are supposed to have collapsed, but in such a way as to form a layer of bodies one and a half metres high!
- There were supposed to be ONE BARBER and ONE DENTIST for 800 to 1,000 bodies. The whole job is said to have been finished after one and half hours, i.e., the dentist pulled out all these teeth in 5,400 seconds. Even if we assume that every victim (assuming 800 victims, the lower figure) were missing four teeth, this means the dentist is supposed to have pulled 22,400 teeth ( $800 \times 28 = 22,400$ ), almost four teeth per second!

This Bendel character is considered one of the "most reliable gas chamber witnesses". It is on the basis of the inventions of such liars and swindlers that an entire people have been criminalized for half a century.

d) Sonderkommandos working without gas masks in clouds of cyanide gas

We have just seen that Dr. Bendel's Sonderkommando wore no breathing equipment. This same radical impossibility is also described by other witnesses. Filip Mueller, Hilberg's star witness, describes in his first job in the main gas chamber as follows (42):

"My glance fell on a half opened suitcase, in which I saw food, which was probably intended as food for they journey. With one hand, I pretended to be busy undressing a dead body; with the other, I searched through the suitcase. As I grasped a triangular cheese and a poppy seed cake out of the suitcase, I watched out in order not to be surprised by Stark. With blood-smeared and filthy hands, I tore the cake apart and crammed it down like a greedy animal of prey."

Mueller cannot possibly have crammed anything down like a "greedy animal of prey" while wearing a gas mask. According to most other witnesses, the victims had to undress themselves before the gassing. This would have been more logical, since the Zyklon clinging to the clothing would have represented an additional source of danger for the Sonderkommandos.

To be honest, we must admit that there are other witnesses who claim that the Sonderkommandos worked with gas masks on (for example, Szlama Dragon). But gas masks would have been insufficient to provide complete protection; they would have needed complete protective clothing, because the Sonderkommandos would have sweated during their work, and sweating increases the danger of absorption through the skin. But not a single witness speaks of protective clothing.

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### Notes:

- 1) Ernst Gauss, *Vorlesungen ueber Zeitgeschichte*, Grabert, 1993, p. 21.
- 2) Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 132.
- 3) Published in 1994 at *Neue Visionen*, Postfach 5436, Wuerenlos.
- 4) Interrogation of the witness Boeck, Aktenzeichen 4 JS 444/59, sheets 6878 ff.
- 5) Quoted according to Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 163.
- 6) Germar Rudolf, *Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz*, Cromwell Press, London, 1993, p. 111.
- 7) Mueller, op. cit. 186.
- 8) Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit., p. 286

- 9) Rudolf Höss, *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, published by Martin Broszat, dtv, 1983, p. 164, Höss writes that the gassing premises had a capacity of 3000 victims each, but that this figure was never reached in practice. We assume 2000 victims per action, a figure which is also named by Höss by the way in his confession (Nuremberg document 3968-PS).
- 10) Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, Bantam, 1964, p. 10.
- 11) Pery Broad, op. cit. p. 180/181.
- 12) Quoted according to Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...* op. cit. p. 489.
- 13) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Sonderheft 1, "Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos", Auschwitz State Museum, 1972, p. 43.
- 14) Tauber in Pressac, see note 11.
- 15) Trial records relating to Rudolf Höss, Auschwitz State Museum, volume XI, appendix 17.
- 16) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, The End...* op. cit. p. 19.
- 17) Filip Mueller, op cit. p. 207 ff.
- 18) Gideon Greif, *Wir weinten tränenlos*, Boehlau Verlag, 1995.
- 19) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 161.
- 20) Filip Mueller, op. cit. p. 217.
- 21) Pery Broad, op. cit. pp. 177/178.
- 22) Oral communication by Basel crematorium technician H.H. to J.G. on 10 February 1993.
- 23) Don Paisikovic in Léon Poliakov (publisher), *Auschwitz*, Rene Julliard, 1964, p. 159 ff.
- 24) Miklos Nyiszli, *Boncoloorvosa voltam as Auschwitz-i krematoriumban*, Vilag, 1946, p. 38. The last, for the time being, of several German Nyiszli translations appeared in 1992 under the title of *Jenseits der Menschlichkeit* from the Dietz Verlag; see in this regard our book *Auschwitz...* op. cit. p. 203 ff.
- 25) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 164.
- 26) Carlo Mattogno in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. p. 281.
- 27) Jenny Spritzer, *Ich war no. 10291. Als Sekretaerin in Auschwitz*, Rothenhaeusler Verlag, 1994, p. 67-68.

- 28) Zofia Kossack, *Du fond de l'abîme, Seigneur*, 1951, quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, p. 58/59.
- 29) Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, Bantam, 1964, p. 11 ff.
- 30) Germar Rudolf, *Gutachten...*, op. cit., p. 255/256.
- 31) Miklos Nyiszli, *Im Jenseits der Menschlichkeit*, compare note 24, p. 32 ff.
- 32) Tauber in Pressac, see note 11, p. 482 ff.
- 33) Rudolf, *Gutachten*, op. cit. p. 18/19, as well as Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen*, op. cit. p. 251 ff.
- 34) Rudolf, *Gutachten...*, op. cit. p. 59, as well as Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen...*, op. cit. p. 261 ff.
- 35) On the ventilation system in the gas chambers see Rudolf/Gauss, *Grundlagen...*, op. cit. p. 267/268.
- 36) Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939/1945*, Rowohlt, 1989, p. 117.
- 37) Rudolf Höss, op. cit. p. 126.
- 38) Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, la prima gasazione*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1988.
- 39) Buki in Pressac, *Auschwitz, Technique...*, op. cit. p. 163.
- 40) William Lindsey, "Zyklon B., Auschwitz, and the Trial of Bruno Tesch", *JHR*, Fall 1983, p. 261, ff.
- 41) Trial of Josef Kramer and 44 Others (The Belsen Trial), William Lodge and Company Ltd. 1945, p. 130, ff.
- 42) Filip Mueller, op. cit. p. 24/25.

# CHAPTER X

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUSCHWITZ LEGEND

### How the eyewitness reports were coordinated

As the historian Ernst Nolte correctly observes, it is impossible for a considerable number of persons to invent more or less the same stories entirely independently of each other. Nolte's conclusion is that the gas chamber stories must contain at least a core of truth, even if the number of victims has been exaggerated (1). A similar sort of logical process might lead one to conclude as follows: "In the Middle Ages, innumerable witnesses testified that they had seen witches riding to the Witches' Sabbath on broomsticks; many witches even admitted as much at their trials. The story must, therefore, contain a certain core of basic truth; it may be, however, that the number of witches riding through the air has been greatly exaggerated." It obviously does not occur to Professor Nolte that eyewitness testimonies and confessions can be coordinated as much as one likes if one possesses complete freedom to torture and falsify as much as one likes -- as the Allies did after WWII.

As shown by the excellent Spanish researcher Enrique Aynat, the Polish resistance movement reported mass murders in Auschwitz as early as 1941. Zyklon was never mentioned as the murder weapon; the murders were allegedly being committed with pneumatic hammers, electrical baths, and combat gases (2). These reports attracted no attention outside Poland. While atrocity stories of steam, gas, and electrical chambers at Belzec and Treblinka were diligently spread starting in 1942, there was silence about Auschwitz until June 1944. The British Jewish author, Martin Gilbert writes,

"The secret of the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau lay hidden until the third week of June" (3).

In June 1944, the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews was in full swing; of these, 438,000 were sent to Auschwitz. 28,000 of them were registered there, while the others were sent on to other work camps and factories (4). The alleged extermination of the Hungarian Jews in the gas chambers at Birkenau was the starting point for the legend of the extermination camp Auschwitz.

In November 1944, this legend took concrete form. At that time there appeared in Washington the WRB report, based on the testimonies of Auschwitz escapees Rudolf Vrba, Alfred Wetzler, Czeslaw Mordowicz, Arnost Rosin, and Jerzy Tabeau, not all of whom were cited by name in the report (5). According to the WRB report, Zyklon was being used as the murder weapon; the gassings were taking place in two farm



houses west of Birkenau, as well as within the four Birkenau crematoria. There was no talk of murders in the main camp crematorium. We will return to this report below.

On 2 February 1945, shortly after the liberation of Auschwitz, *Pravda* reported a "conveyor belt of death", on which hundreds of people were murdered at one time. This "conveyor belt" disappeared immediately; no eyewitness has ever mentioned it. Gas chambers also existed, according to *Pravda*, but they were located them in the wrong place -- not at Birkenau, but in the "Eastern part of the camp". Quite obviously, the conference between the Western powers and the Soviets had not been entirely successful: the Russians knew they were supposed to find "proof" of mass murders, but Washington and London seem to have forgotten to provide the full details; so the *Pravda* reporter, a Jew by the name of Polevoi, permitted his fantasy to run amuck.

In April and May 1945, several former Auschwitz inmates appeared as witnesses before a Polish commission. These inmates included the following Jews, commonly cited in holocaust literature: Alter Szmul Faynzylberg -- who also went by the name of Stanislaw Jankowski, Kaskowiak, and Alter Feinsilber, and who changed his date of birth as often as his name -- Szlama Dragon, and Henryk Tauber (6). After the flop with the *Pravda* article, the Polish Communists took care to coordinate the testimonies, at least very generally. So the witnesses placed the gas chambers in the right location, and were unanimous as to the murder weapon: no more combat gas, no more electrical baths, no more pneumatic hammers, but rather, Zyklon B. Apart from this, the Holocaust survivors were allowed to allow their perverted imaginations to run amuck as usual; for this reason, their factual reports are highly entertaining.

The myth took on formal shape with the "confession" of the first Auschwitz commandant, Rudolf Höss. He disappeared after the end of the war, and, assuming the name Franz Lang, hid out on a farm in Schleswig-Holstein. In March 1946, the British found him. His confession -- representing the core of the Auschwitz yarn which continues to be defended with the viciousness of a cornered rat right down to the present day -- was obtained by a British team of torture specialists under the leadership of the Jewish sergeant Bernard Clarke as follows (7):

"Höss screamed in terror at the mere sight of the British uniforms. Clarke yelled: 'What is your name?' With each answer of 'Fritz Lang', Clarke's hand crashed into the face of the prisoner. The fourth time that happened, Höss broke and admitted who he was... He was then dragged naked to one of the slaughter tables, where it seemed to Clarke the blows and screams were endless... It took three days to get a coherent statement out of him."

The Höss confession (8) has been analysed and torn to shreds so many times and in such great detail by revisionist researchers so that we need not go into further detail; we will content ourselves with a few comments:

- Höss confessed to gassing 2.5 million people, with a total death count of 3 million, at Auschwitz during his period as commandant (until the end of November 1943). Not a single historian believes these figures today. Was Höss so eager to be hanged as to incriminate himself untruthfully to such an extent?

- according to his confession, Höss visited Treblinka as early as 1941. The extermination camp of Belzec is therefore supposed to have been in existence as early as 1941. In reality, however, the Belzec camp was only opened in March 1942, while the Treblinka camp was opened in July 1942 (9). Höss also mentions an extermination camp, Wolzek, which nobody has ever heard of, either before or since. He can't possibly have confused it with Belzec, since both camps are mentioned in the same sentence.

- in our book *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse...*, we listed a total of 45 absurdities, impossibilities, and improbabilities contained in the Höss confession, as well as in the Höss memoirs in the prison of Krakow (Höss was delivered to the Poles after his appearance at Nuremberg). The list is most certainly far from complete.

### How the courts faked "evidence" for the Holocaust

Auschwitz played an important role in the Nuremberg Trial. The objective of the trial was to provide "legal proof" of the crimes of the Germans, alleged to be "unique in world history". Especially significant are articles 19 and 21 of the London Agreement of August 1945, which created the so-called legal basis for the trials (10). According to article 19, the court was "not bound by technical rules of evidence"; article 21 stated that "the court need not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof". Just what constituted "a fact of common knowledge", was, of course, to be decided by the court itself! Since the extermination of the Jews and the other crimes of which Germany stood accused -- such as the mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn, committed by the Bolshevik butchers and blamed on the Germans, hanging German soldiers for their own crime (11) -- "were facts of common knowledge", the tedious task of producing actual proof could conveniently be dispensed with.

The innumerable trials of Nazi war criminals in the Federal German Republic were held on the same model. Ever since the 1950s, the US puppet regime in Bonn has assigned the "German" justice system the task of conjuring up the Fata Morgana of a mass murder of millions of people in gas chambers, of which not the slightest evidence remains. This was achieved in the following manner:

Before the trial began, the accused was vilified in the controlled media as a "beast in human shape". Proof was not required, since "crime" and "criminal" were, for the most part, considered to have been established from the outset. The witnesses were allowed to lie a blue streak, since nobody was allowed to subject the former "victims of persecution" to emotional torment with sceptical questioning; the only chance for a lenient sentence for the accused lay in evading any dispute over the existence of the gas chambers and the reality of the genocide, while merely disputing one's own participation in the killings, blaming everything on persons already dead, missing, or superiors who had already been sentenced. Anyone in a war crimes trial who disputed the basic version of events at Auschwitz (i.e., the Holocaust yarn) -- a version already accepted as "proven fact" -- found himself in a totally hopeless position: his stubbornness only got him a tougher sentence. This is how the confessions came to be given. Anyone wishing further information should consult chapter 4 of Wilhelm Stäglich's book *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, Manfred Koehler's article on the value of

Holocaust testimonies and confessions in the Gauss anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, and the chapter on the trials in our book *"The Holocaust Swindle"*.

Many people may wonder why every post-war German government from Adenauer to Kohl has allowed these show trials to be carried on in order to incriminate their own people with fake atrocities. The reason is that the Bundesrepublik is not a sovereign state. The trials are intended to pursue definite objectives in domestic as well as foreign policy.

First, every such trial allows Bonn to prove its anti-fascistic convictions to foreign powers, thus proving the Bonn regime to be a prime ally of the USA. In addition, the trials help "re-educate" the German people. In this respect, all German governments have played a decisive role as the bootlickers and thugs of Washington. By repeatedly "proving" the unexcelled brutality of the National Socialist regime, they legitimize their own "democratic" parliamentary system, which continues to suffer from the minor defect of having been introduced solely as a result of German defeat in WW II. Dragging crowds of young people through the courtrooms to witness the trials destroys the national pride and self-respect of the young, and thus creates acceptance for Bonn policies, which provide for a complete subordination to American interests. In so doing, the trials contribute greatly to strengthening the post-war New World Order, which is based upon two dogmas: sole German guilt for WWII, and the cruelty of the National Socialist regime (unique in world history, don't forget), a cruelty most clearly expressed in the extermination of the Jews.

### A perfect example: Dr. Johann Paul Kremer

Let us illustrate the above with a particularly notable exemplary case.

Dr. Johann Paul Kremer is one of the star witnesses of exterminationist historians; hardly a single work of Holocaust literature appears without mentioning him and his diary entries on Auschwitz. Here are the facts:

Kremer, born in 1883, was a professor of medicine at the University of Muenster. From the end of August to the middle of November 1942, he was sent to Auschwitz as the replacement for a camp doctor who had fallen ill. While he was at Auschwitz, he made the diary entries which were later to be quoted thousands of times as proof of genocide. He was then sent back to his university. This means that the Nazis were stupid enough to allow Kremer to witness the mass murders at Auschwitz first hand -- they were allegedly in full swing at that time -- and then go back and blabber all about it to his students! This is just the first thing to note in considering the credibility of this Holocaust "star witness".

The ominous entries are very short, and read as follows (12):

"2. Sept. 1942. For the first time outside at 3 o'clock early at a special action. In comparison to this, Dante's Inferno is almost a comedy. It's not for nothing that Auschwitz is called the camp of annihilation!...

5. Sept. 1942. Today after noon at a special action of the F.K.L. (Mohammedans): the most horrible of horrors. Hschf. Thilo -- military

physician -- was right when he told me we were in the anus mundi here. Evening around 8 o'clock again at a special action from Holland. For the special rations given in so doing, consisting of fifth of a litre of brandy, 5 cigarettes, and 100 g sausage and bread, the men volunteer for such actions in droves...

F.K.L. meant "Frauenkonzentrationslager" (women's concentration camp) and "Mohammedans" was camp slang for living skeletons. HSCHF stood for "Hauptscharführer", "anus mundi" means "anus of the world" in Latin.

On 12 October, Kremer entrusted his diary with the following entry (13):

"Protective inoculation against typhus; afterwards strong general reaction towards evening (fever); nevertheless present in the night at a special action from Holland (1600 persons). Horrible scenes in front of the last bunker. This was the 10th special action."

It might be noted that Kremer did not destroy his diary after the war, but rather allowed it to fall intact into the hands of the British.

According to Holocaust literature, the "special actions" were gassings. The "last bunker" was accordingly one of the two bunkers designated as farm houses in Birkenau (the red and white house), which are supposed to have been used as gassing stations before the erection of the Birkenau crematoria.

The doctor himself confirmed this version of the facts before a Polish court in Krakow in 1947 (after the British handed him over to the poles). He was accused of having participated in gassing a group of women. He was sentenced to death, then the sentence was commuted into life imprisonment. In 1958, he was finally [released?] due to his advanced age and good conduct. Soon afterwards, he was hauled into court in the BRD and sentenced to ten year's imprisonment for aiding and abetting murder, which sentence he was, however, considered to have already served. At the age of 80, Kremer took the stand on 4 July 1964 during the Auschwitz Trial and confirmed this story once again. The Holocaust scribblers rely upon such confessions, and argue that the criminals could not have disputed the murders in the gas chambers anyway.

A very convincing discussion of the Kremer case was provided by Robert Faurisson in his work *Mémoire en defense* (14): The following is his discussion summarized in a few points:

- Auschwitz could easily have been called the "camp of annihilation" in late summer of 1942 even without gas chambers and mass murders, since typhus was claiming 300 victims a day at that time;
- no gassing can have been meant by "special action", since Kremer writes that it took place "outside". (Several Holocaust scribblers, for examples, Wellers, Klarsfeld and Poliakov, have revealingly deleted this word in their reproduction of the dairy entries.) The words "last bunker" cannot possibly have meant one of the two Birkenau farmhouses, otherwise Kremer would have spoken of the "second" bunker, and not the "last" one;

- in reality, the special action could have consisted of cleaning dirty train carriages after the arrival of new inmates. Special rations were distributed for such unpleasant work;
- Kremer must have attended about 30 executions during his time at Auschwitz. The horrid scenes could have involved something of this nature.
- that Kremer confirmed the reported gassings before his Polish judges is easily explained: he wanted to save his life, and finally succeeded. If he had disputed the official version, he would inevitably have been hanged;
- even his testimony at the Auschwitz Trial was given on understandably opportunist grounds: at the age of eighty, he simply had no desire to spend the last years of his life behind bars, which is what would presumably have happened to him if he had disputed the gassings.

This is how the confessions came to be given. In any case, Kremer mentions gassings expressly in his diary at one point (entry of 1 September): "afternoon at the gassing of a block with Zyklon B against lice."

Not even Holocaust literature has ever claimed that "lice" is just a camouflage term for "Jews". At least not yet!

### The father of the Auschwitz lie

If one were to bestow the disreputable title of "Father of the Auschwitz Lie", Dr. Rudolf Vrba, today a retired university professor in Vancouver, Canada, would have justifiable claim to that honour. As a young man, the Slovakian Jew was deported to Auschwitz, where he succeeded in escaping on 7 April 1944 with his compatriot and fellow Jew Alfred Wetzler. Together with the testimonies of Czeslaw Mordowicz, Arnost Rosin, and Jerzy Tabeau, a report by Vrba and Wetzler appeared in the WRB report of November 1944.

A careful examination of the Vrba-Wetzler report leads to the conclusion that the two Slovakian Jews never laid eyes on the interior of the crematoria where the gas chambers are supposed to have been located. In particular, they describe the Kremas II and III of Birkenau (designated I and II in the report) as follows (15):

"From the midst of the oven room, a gigantic chimney rises into the sky. Around are 9 ovens with 4 openings each. Every opening takes 3 normal bodies at once, which are fully burnt within one a half hours... On the flat roof are 3 openings, which can be hermetically sealed from the outside by means of lids. From the gas chamber, rails lead through the hall to the oven room... After 3 minutes, everyone in the chamber is dead... The chambers are then ventilated, aired, and the Sonderkommando takes the bodies on railway cars to the oven room, where the cremation takes place."

First, the two Kremas didn't have "9 ovens with 4 openings each", but rather, five three-muffle ovens; secondly, there were no "3 windows which can be hermetically sealed from the outside by means of lids" on the roof of the morgue I (the "gas

chamber"); third, there were never any "rails" to the oven room, but rather, an elevator, since the ovens were located on the floor above. In addition to all these obvious errors, the Vrba-Wetzler report contains a number of other gross errors. With great probability, the two authors received their "information" from members of the Resistance, who never had access to the Kremas.

In 1964, Vrba published his book *I Cannot Forgive* (6). On pages 10 to 13, he describes the gassing of Krakow Jews in great detail; this is supposed to have taken place in Krema II of Birkenau in January 1943 in honour of Heinrich Himmler, then visiting Auschwitz. If Vrba had studied the Holocaust literature somewhat more carefully, he would have known that Krema II was not opened in January 1943 for the first time, but in March 1943 (17); Himmler visited Auschwitz in July 1942 for the last time (18). In his book, Vrba replaces the "rails" leading to the oven room with "special elevators" (in reality, there was only one elevator). The cremation time for 3 bodies in one muffle shrinks down to 20 minutes in contrast to the WRB report. This is an absolute physical impossibility, but it accords with the testimony of Rudolf Höss. There is no longer any mention of three openings in the roof, but only one. Vrba has also "improved" his testimony as compared to his 1944 testimony on a number of other points.

As emphasized by Robert Faurisson (19), it took fully 40 years before any Jewish "eyewitness to the gas chambers" was subjected to cross examination in any trial, as would be the case in any ordinary murder trial to start with. Until that year, these swindlers were free to tell their lies before a court, give presentations and interviews, one after the other, as much as they liked, without any need to answer any embarrassing questions: who would dare torment people with awkward questions? After all, they've suffered so much and only escaped death by a miracle! In 1985, in Toronto, Canada, Rudolf Vrba appeared as star witness in the first trial of a German Canadian, Ernst Zündel, indicted on the basis of a complaint from a Jewish organization by the name of the Holocaust Remembrance Association for dissemination of a revisionist text. Vrba was mercilessly cross-examined by Zündel's combative defence lawyer Douglas Christie; here are some excerpts from the cross-examination. First Christie asks Vrba about the Himmler visit described in his book (21):

**Q:** I would like to ask you whether you mean to say that you actually saw him arrive in January 1943, or is this only...

**A:** In September 1943 or January?

**Q:** Now, in the book it says January 1943.

**A:** No, I saw him in July 1943, and then once in 1943 [sic!].

**Q:** But here it says January 1943.

**A:** Then that's an error.

**Q:** An error?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** But you saw him arrive on this occasion?

**A:** The first time I saw him arrive, because he was as close to me as you are.

**Q:** He was as close to you as I am now?

**A:** About.

**Q:** I understand. And you were...

**A:** He came a step closer to be polite [!].

**Q:** Uh-hum.

**A?** But the second time I saw him in a car, the same as the first time. He drove a black Mercedes and was all surrounded by his subordinates who used to accompany him. I saw him only from about 600 yards away, and I heard it was him, but he didn't come up to me this time, to shake my hand and introduce himself [!]. Perhaps it was him, perhaps it was only a representative, and I do not believe that that makes a big difference...

**Q:** And you want to tell this Court that you actually saw Heinrich Himmler peeking through the door of a gas chamber, isn't that right?

**A:** No, I didn't say I was present when he peeked through the door of the gas chamber, but I put together a story which I had heard several times from various people, who were present had told me all about it... There were many Sonderkommando and SS men with him.

**Q:** Were you there?

**A:** No, I was in the quarantine camp at that time, and I talked with a number of them and hear, and I know that every unfortunate victim had to wait a long time for the gassing, because the big shots don't die that fast, so they had to wait in the gas chamber.

**Q:** But in your book you write that you had seen everything, and you don't mention that you heard the story from other people.

**A:** But in this special case I told what I heard from other people.

Vrba still insisted that he had seen 1,765,000 Jews disappear into the crematoria with his own eyes; this included 150,000 French Jews. Christie mentioned that a total of slightly more than 75,000 French Jews were deported from France, to which Vrba asked "Where did you get that figure? From the Nazi newspapers?" Christie replied calmly that he didn't get them from the Nazi newspapers, but from the standard work on the subject by the French Jew Serge Klarsfeld (22).

The debacle of arch liar Vrba was a turning point in the legal demolition of the Holocaust. Except for the Demjanjuk trial in Jerusalem, at which five liars swore they watched the Ukrainian drive hundreds of thousands of people into the gas chambers with his own hands (23) -- the evidence was so poor that Demjanjuk finally had to be acquitted -- no "eyewitnesses to the gas chambers" have dared to testify in court since 1985.

Ernst Zündel was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment in 1985 and then 9 months imprisonment on appeal in 1988; the basis for the charge was a law against "spreading false news". In August 1992, the Supreme Court of Canada acquitted him and declared the "false news" law unconstitutional. There are two excellent books on the Zündel trial, which are highly recommended to anyone interested in the Holocaust (24, 25).

## The "murder weapon" Zyklon B: refutation of the lie

Death sentences have been carried out with hydrocyanic acid in the United States since 1924; the active ingredient of Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid. The execution of a single convict with this poison gas is a complicated matter. The gas chamber must be hermetically sealed to perfection, otherwise the execution will become a gamble with death for penitentiary personnel and witnesses. Fig. VIII shows the door of a US gas

chamber. The adjacent illustration, Fig. IX, shows the doors of the gas chamber of the main camp of Auschwitz. These pictures speak volumes. The sealing of the death chamber and the disposal of the gas would be an impossibility, and the first mass gassing would have turned into a catastrophe for the SS.

The practical dangers of the use of hydrocyanic acid are revealed in the following report, which appeared in the local newspaper, the *Boeblinger Bote* of 16 November 1995 (and no doubt in other newspapers as well):

### "Pest Exterminators in Botch Job

"Three local residents were nearly asphyxiated while an infestation of wood worm survived intact. This was the final score of a completely botched vermin extermination job in a church in a Croatian holiday resort of Lovran in Rijeka. Several hundred residents of the area had to be evacuated due to the pest exterminators' botched job.

"The exterminators attempted to eradicate woodworm in the church of the Holy Juraj using highly toxic gas in Lovran during the night. Improper hermetic sealing of the church, however, allowed the gas to penetrate surrounding houses in which people were asleep. 'Due to the sudden onset of nausea, the people fortunately woke up immediately. Only this rescued them from certain death', the local newspaper *Vecernij* reported. 'Nevertheless, three residents suffered from severe intoxication. The Mayor decided to evacuate the area. The pest exterminators were arrested, and the woodworm survived.'"

Robert Faurisson was the first to describe the technical impossibility of the mass gassings in the areas designated as gas chambers with Zyklon B, as testified to by eyewitnesses (26). The following sentence is a clear statement of the core of Faurisson's argument (27):

"If the Nazi gas chambers were to work at all, they would have needed the following: absolutely perfect hermetic sealing; a special introduction and distribution system for the gas; a fantastic ventilation system to eliminate the gas from the chambers after the mass murders; a system to neutralize the exhausted gases; and then, quite separately, a device, incredibly clever in design and construction, to eliminate the gas which would adhere stubbornly to the bodies, making touching and carrying them a deadly business. The ventilation and exhaustion of cyanide gas is very time-consuming and difficult. It adheres to the human body, and penetrates the skin so easily that it would be hazardous to touch the body of a person killed with high concentrations of cyanide gas with the bare hands. Contact through the skin alone may lead to intoxication."

These technical considerations refute all "eyewitness reports" on mass gassings with Zyklon B without exception. That the inventors of the gas chamber lie had no knowledge of chemistry and made the mistake of choosing an insecticide as the murder weapon, was to prove a fateful error. First, an assembly line murder of human beings utilizing this poison gas in the areas designated as the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz would be impossible for technical reasons. In addition, the use of Zyklon



B in these premises, if any such had occurred, could be proven by a chemical analysis of samples taken from the masonry, even today. The masonry samples would contain significant quantities of cyanide residues, even after half a century, if mass gassings had really taken place in the areas indicated as homicidal gas chambers. But significant concentrations of cyanide residues are entirely absent (see the following article, points a and b).

Zyklon B is mentioned in the eyewitness reports, the confessions of the accused, trial records, and history books. The exterminationists would dearly like to forget about it, and substitute something else, but it is too late. The lie will stick in their throats, and the liars will choke on their own poison.

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### Notes:

- 1) Ernst Nolte, *Streitpunkte*, Propylaen, 1993.
- 2) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios...*
- 3) Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Allierten*, C.H. Beck, Muenich, 1982.
- 4) As reported by Pressac, the Struthof camp alone contained 40 to 50,000 Hungarian Jews after the war who had been deported in 1944 via Auschwitz (*Les crématoires...* p. 147).
- 5) The complete text of the WRB report is reproduced in Enrique Aynat's *Los protocolos de Auschwitz: Una fuente historica?*, Garcia Hispan, Alicante, 1990.
- 6) Excerpts from the testimonies of these men are reproduced in our book *Auschwitz...*
- 7) Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death*, Arrows Book Limited, 1983, p. 235 ff.
- 8) Nuremberg document 3868-PS.
- 9) See the entries on Belzec and Treblinka in the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*.
- 10) Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militaergerichtshof. Published at Nuremberg, Germany. Photomechanical reprinting by Delphin Verlag, 1984, introduction to volume I.
- 11) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT VII p. 469 (German text).
- 12) Quoted according to Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en defense*, La Vieille Taupe, 1980 p. 124.
- 13) Ibid, p. 35.
- 14) See note 12.

- 15) Quoted according to Enrique Aynat, *Los protocolos...* appendix I.
- 16) Published by Bantam in 1964.
- 17) See, in this regard, any book of Holocaust literature, for example, Hilberg, p. 946.
- 18) See, for example, Pressac, *Les crématoires*, p. 43/44.
- 19) Faurisson in Gauss, *Grundlagen*, p. 99 ff.
- 20) Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die?* reproduced in the book of the same name by Barbara Kulaszka; see following note.
- 21) Vrba's testimony appears in the trial record of the first Zündel trial in Toronto, 1985, p. 1,244 ff; excerpts from it are reproduced in our book *Auschwitz...* p. 251 ff.
- 22) Klarsfeld, *Le memorial...*
- 23) On the Demjanjuk trial, see for example, Hans Peter Rullman, *Der Fall Demjanjuk*, Verlag für ganzheitliche Forschung und Kultur, 1987.
- 24) Robert Lenski, *Der Holocaust vor Gericht*, Samisdat, Toronto, 1993.
- 25) Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Samisdat, Toronto, 1992.
- 26) See, in this regard, Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, La Vielle Taupe, 1980. The book was written by Thion in collaboration with Robert Faurisson. It appeared in 1995 under the title *Historische Wahrheit oder politische Wahrheit?*, published by the Verlag der Freunde, Berlin. The French original version contains a long interview with Robert Faurisson, given in August 1979 to the Italian periodical *Storia Illustrata*.
- 27) According to Robert Faurisson in his introduction to our book *Der Holocaust Schwindel*, Guideon Burg, 1993, p. ix.

# CHAPTER XI

## AUSCHWITZ: SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF THE CRIME SCENE

### The Leuchter Report

During Ernst Zündel's appeal trial (1988) Zündel and Faurisson assigned the US gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter, responsible for the construction of the gas chambers for the execution of criminals as used in several states, to write a report on the areas designated as gas chambers in Auschwitz I, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Majdanek. Leuchter flew to Poland with a small crew in February 1988, and made the necessary examinations in the former concentration camps. He then drew up the Leuchter Report, the first forensic report on the murder weapon in the "greatest mass murder of history" (1). The conclusions were divided into three principal sections:

- the "gas chambers" were never planned as such, and could not be used as such due to its features of technical construction;
- the capacity of the crematoria would have been insufficient to cremate more than a small fraction of the alleged victims;
- the analysis of mortar samples taken from the walls of the "gas chambers" (and analysed, not by Leuchter, but by an independent laboratory chemist named James Roth) showed no significant quantities, or insignificantly small quantities, of cyanide residue; the findings of the analysis did however indicate an enormously high cyanide content in a sample taken from a delousing chamber at Birkenau, a chamber which is acknowledged to have been simply a delousing chamber.

The Leuchter Report does have undeniable weak points; for example, he erroneously states that the "gas chambers" possessed no ventilation system, and his data on the crematory capacity is faulty, since he had no competence in that field. The exterminationists could have exploited these weaknesses in the Leuchter Report, but neglected to do so due to a lack of competence on their part. They therefore directed their attacks chiefly against Leuchter personally.

Although the Leuchter report is out of date, its effectiveness as an ice-breaker can hardly be overestimated, since it inspired the later, much more detailed, report by Germar Rudolf.

## The Rudolf Report

Germar Rudolf, a certified chemist employed at the Max-Planck Institut, has verified the Leuchter Report in a detailed report of his own (2). He came to the conclusion that the alleged mass gassings in Auschwitz could not have occurred due to technical construction features and chemistry.

### **a) A study of the technical construction features**

Examinations of the technical construction are principally concerned with the alleged Zyklon B introduction holes in the areas designated as "execution chambers" in Krematorium I (main camp) as well as II and III (Birkenau) of Auschwitz. Pressac assumes that the crematoria were originally designed without criminal intent, i.e., planned only for the cremation of corpses, particularly the victims of epidemic disease. The gas chambers are alleged to have been installed there only later, by piercing Zyklon introduction holes in the roofs of the morgues. As usual, the "proof" of these assertions consisted of the usual contradictory eyewitness testimonies.

In the autumn of 1944, after having been put out of operation in July 1943, Krematorium I of the main camp was converted into an air raid shelter through the installation of a few partitions. The Zyklon B introduction holes are supposed to have been sealed at that time. After the end of the war, the officials of the Auschwitz Museum attempted to "recreate" the original conditions, but in so doing, they made so many mistakes that the French magazine *L'Express* (25 January 1995) commented angrily that "everything in it is a fake". For example, the washrooms adjoining the original morgue ("gas chamber") were incorporated into the new, reconstructed museum "gas chamber", presumably to make it bigger and more terrifying. During the reconstruction, the "Zyklon B introduction holes" visible today were also broken through the roof, but not in the original locations, which are alleged to be unknown. If any other openings had ever existed in the reinforced concrete ceiling, there would have been visible damage to the concrete structure of the unplastered ceiling at the corresponding locations. No such previously existing, but now sealed, Zyklon B introduction holes exist. The "Zyklon B introduction ports" testified to by "eyewitnesses" never existed; therefore Zyklon B poison gas could not have been introduced in the manner described.

Allied air photos are often produced as evidence of the existence of Zyklon B introduction holes in the roofs of morgue I of Krematoria II and III at Birkenau -- the buildings containing the alleged "gas chambers". But to the critical observer, it is obvious that the "shadows" on the roofs of morgues I of both crematoria could not have been caused by Zyklon B introduction holes:

- the alignment of the shadows is not consistent with the alignment of the shadows of the crematory chimneys;
- on a picture taken on 13 September 1944, the spots on Krematorium III retain their initial direction and shape, although the sun has changed position;
- in the same picture, the spots on the morgue I of Krema III are missing;

- the length of the shadows indicate that they were thrown by objects 3 to 4 metres higher than the roof and 1.5 metres wide, i.e., that they are the shadows of large chimneys; they are not, however, the shadows of the Zyklon B introduction ports with lids existing at the present time, which are approximately 50 cm high;
- the only two holes to be found in the ceiling of morgue I of Krema II are entirely different, in both location and size.

Both the above mentioned holes bear visible chisel marks along the edges, an indication that the holes were broken through the roof at a later time. Furthermore, one of the holes is completely intact, although it should have been totally destroyed when the building was blown up by the SS in early 1945. In addition, the reinforcement rods running through the hole have not been removed, so that their use as Zyklon introduction ports is impossible. It is absolutely certain that these holes were made after the end of the war, to create the illusion of Zyklon B introduction holes.

To summarize, it is therefore established that there was no way to introduce the poison gas into the alleged gas chambers of Krematoria I and II and III at Auschwitz and Birkenau in the manner described by the witnesses. Faurisson is right when he says, "No holes, no Holocaust." All other considerations relating to the chemistry of the alleged "mass murders with poison gas" are, therefore, simply theoretical exercises.

## **b) The chemical analyses**

First a few remarks on hydrocyanic acid. Hydrocyanic acid must be used in high concentrations (1 % by volume) for several hours' application time to kill the most resistant lice, larvae and eggs with certainty and without special technology. If, however, special technology (circulation procedure) is utilized, enabling the gas to penetrate the minutest cracks and borders of the clothing to be fumigated, the process can be performed in considerably shorter periods of time and with lower concentrations (0.5% by volume and one hour exposure).

This is the only procedure comparable to the gassing of human beings. Human beings are warm-blooded, and more susceptible to hydrocyanic acid gas than insects, in addition to which the hydrocyanic acid gas reaches the victims in an execution gas chamber immediately. Executions in the USA have showed that the victim may take more than 15 minutes to die (*The News and Observer*, Raleigh, North Carolina, 19 June 1994).

Zyklon B insecticide releases its gas slowly, especially when the ambient air is saturated with humidity, as it must have been if the room was cram-packed with human beings. In such cases, the preparation would only have given off 5 - 10% of its content after 10 minutes, 20 - 30% after half an hour, and 50% of its content after one hour (see, in this regard, R. Irmscher, *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie und Schädlingsbekämpfung*, 1942, p. 36). To kill the victims in a few minutes in accordance with the eyewitness testimonies would have required ridiculously large quantities of Zyklon. Under these circumstances, the area would have been exposed to very high concentrations of hydrocyanic acid, comparable to those of a delousing

chamber. Furthermore, a ventilation of the chambers could only have taken place many hours after complete release of all the gas. Thus, the exposure times and contact concentrations between the poison gas and the walls of the chamber would have corresponded to those of the delousing chamber.

Hydrocyanic acid forms a extremely stable pigment (ferric-ferrocyanide) with the iron-bearing components of the masonry itself. This pigment decomposes over time, but in a period comparable to the decomposition of the masonry itself, as shown by long-term experiments over decades. High concentrations of cyanide compounds can still be found in the delousing chambers of Birkenau and Majdanek. Cases in which extensive damage has been caused by these ferric-ferrocyanide compounds during gassings with hydrocyanic acid gas to destroy vermin are reported in the technical literature (for example, G. Zimmermann, Bauschaeden Sammlung, Band 4, Forum-Verlag, Stuttgart 1981, p. 120 ff.).

Analyses of samples from the alleged gas chambers, professional delousing chambers, and other buildings at Auschwitz have shown that the delousing chambers are the only structures to exhibit significant, or even extremely high, residues of hydrocyanide compounds.

It therefore appears certain that, due to the technical construction features of the alleged "execution gas chambers", especially Krematoria II and III -- (humid, cool cellar areas; entry into operation shortly after construction; alkaline, highly-absorbant cement plaster; mediocre ventilation), as well as the conditions described by eyewitnesses (use of very high cyanide concentrations) -- that cyanide residues similar to those found in the delousing chambers should have formed precisely in the areas designated as "homicidal gas chambers", if mass gassings had really taken place. But no significant residues are found there.

This leads to the inescapable conclusion that no mass gassings of human beings ever took place in the areas in question.

So much for Rudolf's conclusions. While the exterminationists have never even attempted to examine Rudolf's arguments relating to technical construction features, they have made all sorts of clumsy attempts to counter his chemical demonstrations. Their favourite argument is that the victims inhaled the entire quantity of hydrocyanic acid before they died (3). The Third Reich must obviously have possessed remote-controlled, heat-seeking hydrocyanic acid molecules which shot directly into the mouths and nostrils of the victims upon orders from the SS, and never even came into contact with the walls of the chamber (4). Moreover, the granulate, as noted above, continues to release its poisonous vapour for at least two hours; but according to the eyewitnesses, all the victims were dead after half an hour at most. Did the corpses continue to inhale the gas for another hour and a half?

The objections raised against Rudolf's expert report by a chemist named Dr. Josef Bailer (5) were answered by Rudolf personally (6), so that interested persons may compare the arguments on both sides.

In the absence of any conclusive arguments, the exploiters of the gas chamber legend could only resort to a personal vendetta against Rudolf. On the order of the Central

Jewish Council, he was fired from the Max-Planck Institut and sentenced to 14 months imprisonment for insulting Jews, slandering the dead, incitement to racial hatred, and other Kafkaesque points of the indictment (7). On the prior history of the trial, see the brochure by Wilhelm Schlesinger (8), as well as Rudolf's own account, published two years later (9); both accounts show how "free democracy" deals with independent thinkers with critical minds.

In May 1996, Rudolf received a summons to appear for another trial, against the publishers and authors of the Grabert anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*. But Rudolf had already turned his back on the "freest state in German history".

### **c) Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana: the crematoria**

The last large gap in technical holocaust research was filled by the Italian researcher Carlo Mattogno.

Mattogno studied the following:

- the real maximum capacity of the crematoria in view of the operating time periods (due to technical defects, the installations were in constant need of overhaul, so that all five crematoria never functioned simultaneously at any time);
- the coke deliveries to the Auschwitz crematoria; the quantities of coke delivered are known with absolute certainty for most of the camp's existence; since we know the average coke required for the cremation of one body, the maximum number of cremations may be calculated for any given period;
- the fact that the fire-resistant refractory brick masonry in the crematory ovens was never replaced, which would have been necessary after 3,000 cremations at the most.
- the technical impossibility of mass cremation of corpses in ditches as described by eyewitnesses.

Mattogno comes to the conclusion that the crematoria could have cremated 162,000 bodies at most. When we consider that Mattogno estimates the number of Auschwitz victims, based on the available documents, at approximately 170,000 (11), and that many thousands of typhus victims were doubtlessly burned in the open (on pyres, not in ditches), the picture is complete.

These studies are conclusive. An anti-revisionist anthology entitled *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge* published in 1995 by Simon Wiesenthal, Wolfgang Benz, Wolfgang Neugebauer, Josef Bailer, Brigitte Bailer-Galanda and others, fails to mention these studies with so much as a single line. Only that corpses in Auschwitz burnt "all by themselves", as testified by that incredible Holocaust survivor, Henryk Tauber.

### **John Ball's Evaluation of the air photos**

From December 1943, the Auschwitz camp complex was photographed repeatedly by Allied reconnaissance planes (doubtless due to its economic significance: Monowitz camp, east of the main camp, was the location of branches of numerous firms, of

which IG Farben was the most well-known). Several of these photos fall into time periods during which, according to the eyewitnesses, mass murders were being carried on. The most important photo is dated 31 March 1944 (Fig. XXX).

At that time, the extermination of Hungarian Jews was supposed to be running full tilt: 400,000 people are supposed to have been gassed between May and July and, for the most part, burnt in the open. None of the events reported by eyewitnesses is visible in the photo. There are no lines of people waiting before the crematoria; no gigantic, blazing fires; no smoke-blackened sky. There is no sign of the gigantic piles of wood and coke which would have been necessary for the cremation of 400,000 corpses in less than two months.

The Canadian air photo specialist John Ball has worked on the evaluation of the photos (13). His studies administer the coup de grace to a focal point of the Auschwitz legend, the alleged extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

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### Notes:

1) Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, Focal Point Publications, 1989, available from Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton St. Toronto, Canada, an abridged German translation appeared in Heft 36 of the *Historische Tatsachen*, but was prohibited by the "freest state in German history".

2) Rudolf, Gutachten... An abridged version appeared in the Gauss-anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*.

3) This nonsense, among other things, was delivered by Klara Obermueller in her introduction to a talk by Deborah Lipstadt on "Holocaust denial" at the University of Zurich on 1 June 1994.

4) Faurisson speaks of "molecules with heat-seeking warheads".

5) Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer (publishers, *Wahrheit und Auschwitzluege*, Deuticke, Vienna 1995).

6) Herbert Verbeke (publisher), *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem-2, Belgium, 1996, p. 93 ff.

7) Trial of Germar Rudolf in Stuttgart 1994/1995, Atkenzeichen 17 KLs 83/94.

8) Wilhelm Schlesinger, *Der Fall Rudolf*, Cromwell Press, 1994.

9) *Kardinalfragen...* (see note 6).

10) Mattogno/Deana in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit.

11) *ibid*, p. 305/307.



12) see note 5.

13) John Ball, *Air photo evidence*, Ball Resources Service, 1992, available from Samisdad Publishers, (see note 1).

## CHAPTER XII

### THE OTHER "EXTERMINATION CAMPS"

#### Preliminary remarks

After disposing of the core of the Holocaust lie -- the Auschwitz lie -- we can deal with the other five "extermination camps". Not so much has been written about them, so a considerably shorter discussion will suffice.

Majdanek, according to most Holocaust historians, was a combination work and extermination camp, and to this extent comparable to Auschwitz. By contrast, Chelmno, Sobibor, Treblinka and Belzec are all alleged to have been pure "death factories". These camps are supposed to have been dismantled by the Germans without a trace, even before the end of the war, and all evidence destroyed. This is supposed to be why there are [no?] documents: the Germans destroyed them!

Let us run through the list very briefly.

#### **Majdanek**

Majdanek, a large work camp, lay immediately on the edge of the city of Lublin, after which it was named; the name "Majdanek" was initially used only by the Poles.

The figures of murdered Jews quoted for Majdanek fluctuate between 50,000 and 1.38 million (1). A few Holocaust writers, for example, Gerald Reitlinger (2) and Wolfgang Benz (3) do not even consider it an extermination camp. In fact, the gas chambers there are only defended in a lukewarm manner. That the premises still shown to tourists as "gas chambers" today were nothing of the kind, has been irrefutably shown by Germar Rudolf (4). The camp is really not worth wasting much of our time.

#### **Chelmno**

At Chelmno, in western Poland, 1.35 million Jews are supposed to have been murdered, according to the *Jewish Year book* (volume 47, p. 398); 400,000 according to Claude Lanzmann (5); 300,000 according to Wolfgang Scheffler (6); 150,000 according to Raul Hilberg (7). That none of the authors makes even the slightest attempt to prove the figures cited, is quite normal practice.

In Chelmno, the murders are supposed to have been carried out exclusively by means of "gas vans". The whole extermination camp stands and falls with the existence or

non-existence of the gas vans. The evidence for their existence will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Sobibor**

Sobibor is mentioned in a short exchange of correspondence between Heinrich Himmler and the Inspector of Concentration Camps, Richard Glücks from 1943. Glücks suggested converting Sobibor into a "concentration camp". Himmler rejected this suggestion on 5 July 1943 (8). So what kind of camp was it? The exterminationists say it was an extermination camp. The number of victims is generally estimated at 200,000 to 250,000 victims. With regards to the murder weapon, it took decades for the ruling cliques in the world to decide which one it was. One of the eyewitnesses, a Soviet Jew named Alexander Pechersky, described the mass murders as follows (9):

"At first glance, as one entered, it like a normal shower: hot and cold taps for running water, wash basins... as soon as everyone was inside, the doors slammed shut with a loud noise. Out of holes in the ceiling, a heavy, blackish substance poured down in spiral shapes..."

To drown out the pitiful cries of the victims, the Germans at Sobibor kept a flock of geese [!] which were made to quack (or whatever noise it is that is made by geese), very loudly, whenever the blackish substance was introduced (10). Historians were not too hot on this version, so they soon changed it into a gas chamber yarn. According to Poliakov, the murder weapon was a Diesel motor (11); Hilberg replaced the Diesel motor with a gasoline motor (12); the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust* finally put an end to the debate by declaring that the murder weapon was a Diesel motor, and that settles it (13).

Sobibor and Chelmno play quite a subordinate role in Holocaust propaganda. The names are often unknown, even to people familiar with contemporary history.

## **Belzec**

600,000 Jews are supposed to have been murdered in Belzec between March and December 1942. According to which "historian" you read, between one and five Jews survived the camp (14), so that the monstrous Nazi machine proved itself especially efficient at Belzec. Star witness for the mass murders at Belzec is naturally Kurt Gerstein, who, it will be remembered, reported 20 - 25 million gassing victims, 35 - 40 m high piles of shoes and underwear, and 28 - 32 gas chamber inmates per square metre. Apart from Gerstein, there is only one "witness" to the gas chamber, a Polish Jew named Rudolf Reder, who is supposed to be one of the one to five survivors of the camp. Reder, however, spoke of three million gassing victims at Belzec (15).

For decades, the murder weapon at Belzec was supposed to have been a Diesel motor. During the initial development phase of the Holocaust yarn, nevertheless, all sorts of imaginable variants on this tale were current, ranging from Dr. Stefan Szende's submergible platforms to Jan Karski's quicklime cars, and even an electrical oven mentioned by Abraham Silberschein (16). All these tales have since disappeared into the rubbish bin of history.

## Treblinka

For the largest of the "pure extermination camps", the exterminationists throw numbers around ranging from 750,000 to 3,000,000. At the Jerusalem trial of John Demjanjuk (17), there was talk of 875,000.

According to the classic book *Die Hölle von Treblinka* by the Soviet Jew Vassily Grossman (18), the following methods of murder were used:

- suffocation of the victims by pumping air out of the death chambers. This technically quite impossible horror story -- the chambers would have collapsed due to the underpressure -- immediately disappeared from the arsenal of the Holocaust propagandists;
- baking the victims with hot steam. This variant was decided upon by the Nuremberg tribunal on 14 December 1945 (Nuremberg Document PS-3311);
- killing them with Diesel exhaust gas. This variant pushed the others off the stage of history. In February 1946, a Jew named Samuel Rajzman testified at Nuremberg that, in Treblinka, there were three, later, however, another ten additional gas chambers (Nuremberg trial transcript IMT VIII p. 361, German text). Since then, the exterminationists no longer wish to hear anything about the "steam chambers" (also described at Nuremberg three months earlier), or the air-pumping vacuum chambers, or the chlorine executions and assembly line shootings at Treblinka, of which there was some talk for a while (19).

As at Chelmno, Sobibor and Belzec, the bodies at Treblinka are supposed to have been buried in mass graves, but dug up in 1943 and cremated without a trace under the open sky. The Israeli "specialist" Y. Arad reported (20).

"The men responsible for the cremations noted immediately that the bodies burnt well, even without additional fuel."

This method is supposed to have been developed by a technically ingenious SS man by the name of Herbert Floss, who is said to have discovered that old bodies of fat women burnt best. He then used these ideally combustible cadavers as fuel for the others (21). It is unfortunate that this efficient method of corpse destruction has not yet been discovered by the inhabitants of the Indian sub-continent, who have chopped down a large part of their forests just to burn corpses. Perhaps the reason for it is that bodies only burn by themselves under the SS system of hatred and violence; under "free-democratic" conditions, they just won't burn by themselves, due to their high water content (over 60%).

According to documentation drawn up during the war by Jewish groups, there were 10 gas chambers in Treblinka, which could hold a total of 6,000 men at a time. The path to these death chambers was surrounded by hedges and only 1.5 m wide (22), which means, that only two men could march side by side. Assuming an interval of half a metre between every person marching and the person in front, this would mean a line of people waiting 2 kilometres long! According to Adalbert Rückerl, the former director of the Ludwigsburg Central Office for the Prosecution of NS Crimes, there

were only 35 to 40 SS men employed at Treblinka (23), which means that each SS man was responsible for at least 150 Jews! Fortunately, the Jews proved unusually cooperative; instead of running away or overpowering the pair of SS men, they marched, according to a witness at the Düsseldorf Treblinka Trial, "naked and meekly into the gas chamber" (24).

During the Jerusalem trial against John Demjanjuk, Treblinka returned to the spotlight of the world's attention. Demjanjuk, a US citizen of Ukrainian-origin and automobile worker, was extradited from the United States in violation of all democratic procedures to Israel, where he was hauled before the court as "Ivan the Terrible", murderer of hundreds of thousands at Treblinka. Five Jewish "eyewitnesses" swore they had seen him pushing Jews into the gas chambers after cutting off their ears, cutting women's breasts off with a sword, and cutting open the stomachs of pregnant women with a sword. Demjanjuk was first sentenced to death, but was acquitted on appeal for lack of proof, and released in September 1993; once again proving the "credibility" of such eyewitnesses (25).

## The scientific studies

### **a) Friedrich Paul Berg's study of the murder weapon**

The alleged murder weapon in the four pure extermination camps, the Diesel motor, has been studied chiefly by the German-American engineer Friedrich Paul Berg (26). Berg clearly shows the technical absurdity of the Diesel motor legend:

It is, of course, not impossible, as some revisionists have erroneously reported, to kill people with Diesel exhaust, but it is tedious and considerably inefficient, because these exhaust gases are very poorly suited as murder weapons due to their high oxygen and very low carbon monoxide content. While a gasoline motor can easily produce exhaust with a carbon monoxide content of seven percent or more, a Diesel motor cannot even produce a carbon monoxide concentration of one percent, even if the motor is incorrectly adjusted to increase the carbon monoxide content. Ironically, the introduction of Diesel exhaust gases into a chamber cram-packed with people would only prolong the death struggle of the victims, since these gases contain an oxygen content of approximately 16%, which is sufficient for survival. Instead of introducing the exhaust gas, the executioners could have simply allowed them to suffocate. In any case, all the available oxygen would have been breathed up before the carbon monoxide took effect!

Any gasoline motor, not to mention the gas generators already mentioned elsewhere, would have been incomparably more efficient as a murder weapon than a Diesel.

Exactly like the Zyklon B story, the Diesel story was quite obviously invented by technical morons -- to the detriment of the exterminationists, since the Diesel motor story is in the history books, and there's no way to make it disappear.

### **b) Arnulf Neumaier's study of the cremations**

The manner in which the bodies at Treblinka were allegedly disposed of has been studied in detail by the certified engineer Arnulf Neumaier (27). Neumaier assumes

875,000 bodies, the figure given at the Demjanjuk Trial. For Belzec and Sobibor, where the cremations are supposed to have taken place on the same model, the number of victims mentioned in the following must be reduced correspondingly.

To burn 875,000 bodies in the open would have required at least 200 kg wood per corpse, i.e., a total of 195,000 tons. This is equivalent to a forest 6.4 km long and 1 km wide. The cremation actions, which are supposed to have lasted from early March until late August 1943, would have required 2,800 wood cutters per day, assuming that it takes one man to cut down one tree, cut the branches off, and saw it up. According to Holocaust literature, there were only 500 "working Jews" in total at the camp, only 25 of whom, according to a Holocaust survivor named Richard Glazar, were on wood-cutting detail, i.e., less than 1 1/2% of the number required. Deforested terrain of the corresponding size does not, and did not, exist in the vicinity of Treblinka; the transport of 195,000 tons of wood to the camp would certainly have been noted in the records of the Reichsbahn, if the wood had been brought from someplace else.

Further, the 875,000 bodies would have left 2,900 tons of ashes in addition to 1,000 tons of wood ash. These ashes would have contained millions of unburnt pieces of bone, in addition to 20 to 30 million teeth -- even if we assume that each of the 875,000 victims lacked one tooth on average. If the Soviets and the Poles had found only a fraction of these ashes, bones, and teeth, they would have drummed an international commission together with a huge blare of propaganda, and the entire world would have been presented with the proof of German bestiality. So why didn't they?

What were the "pure extermination camps" in reality?

Quite undisputedly, hundreds of thousands of Jews were deported to Treblinka after the defeat of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto revolt alone. What kind of camp was Treblinka?

Revisionists assume that it was a transit camp. It couldn't have been an extermination camp in which the arriving Jews were gassed and burned, because of the technical impossibility of mass gassings with carbon monoxide and cremations using the methods described, quite apart from the fact that the "eyewitness testimony" as to the properties of the camp are not in accordance with the air photos. Nor was it a work camp, since it was much too small to hold to these masses of people. (We are speaking here of the "extermination camp", also called Treblinka 2. Hardly three kilometers away lay so-called Treblinka 1, which was quite undisputedly a work camp, and has never played any role in the holocaust literature.)

The transit camp theory is also supported by the fact that Jews are known to have been deported from Treblinka to other camps. Holocaust literature even mentions Jews who were transferred from Treblinka to Majdanek (29). Why all these unnecessary transports from one "extermination camp" to another?

Presumably, Treblinka served as a transit camp on the way to settlements located further east in the Baltic and White Russia); the existence of these settlements is admitted even by authors like Reitlinger and Hilberg.

In our view, Sobibor and Belzec were transit camps, too; this is supported, among other things, by their location in the outermost east of the General Gouvernement. A clue to this possibility, with regards to Belzec, is furnished by a German document dated 17 March 1942, stating that the Jews "were sent over the border and were not to come back" (30).

Chelmno was presumably a transit camp, too, and was located in the Warthegau; according to the Korherr report, many Jews were transferred from this area to the Eastern regions.

Did the Germans destroy the documents relating to these camps, as stated in Holocaust literature? We cannot exclude this possibility. But if so, why did they carelessly leave all the documentation from Auschwitz and Majdanek just lying around to be captured? It seems much more probable to us that the documents were either destroyed by the Soviets or the Poles, or that they were stored in a safe place because they contradicted the extermination legend. Some interesting revelations may be expected over the coming years.

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### Notes:

- 1) The first number is named by Lucy Dawidowicz (p. 191) and the second by Raul Hilberg (p. 956).
- 2) Reitlinger, p. 512.
- 3) Wolfgang Benz, (publisher), *Dimension des Voelkermords*, R. Oldenburg, 1991, p. 470.
- 4) Rudolf In Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 276 ff.
- 5) Claude Lanzmann, *Shoa*, dtv, 1988, p. 17.
- 6) Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich*, Colloquium, 1964, p. 40.
- 7) Hilberg, p. 956.
- 8) Nuremberg document NO-482.
- 9) Alexander Pechersky, La rivolta di Sobibor, in Yuri Suhl, *Ed essi si ribellarono*, Milan, 1969, p. 31.
- 10) *ibid.*
- 11) Léon Poliakov, *Bréviare de la Haine*, Éditions complexe, Paris, 1986, p. 224.
- 12) Hilberg, p. 941.
- 13) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 1496.

14) Compare, in this regard, the comments on Belzec in the next chapter (Six Million Miracles).

15) Reder's book Belzec (Krakau, 1946) was summarized in Carlo Mattogno in *Il rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di un falso* (Sentinella d'Italia, 1985, p. 129 ff).

16) Compare, in this regard, our book *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand*, 1992, p. 47, ff.

17) On the Demjanjuk trial, see Rullmann.

18) Vassili Grossmann, *Die Hölle von Treblinka*, Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Moscow, 1946, excerpts quoted in number 44 of *Historische Tatsachen*.

19) Arnulf Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit.

20) Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka. The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*, University Press, Bloomington USA, 1987, p. 174.

21) Jean-Francois Steiner, *Treblinka, Die Revolte eines Vernichtungslagers*, Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1966, p. 294 ff.

22) See, in this regard, Neumaier in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*

23) Adalbert Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, dtv, 1977, p. 206.

24) FAZ, 2 April 1965.

25) Hans Peter Rullmann, *Der Fall Demjanjuk*, Verlag fuer ganzheitliche Forschung und Kultur, Vioel, 1987.

26) Friedrich Paul Berg in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*

27) See note 22.

28) Richard Glazar, *Die Falle mit dem gruenen Zaun*, Fischer, 1992, p. 126.

29) Alexander Donat (publisher), *The Death Camp Treblinka*, Holocaust Library, New York, 1979, p. 24.

30) Reuter-Memorandum of 17 March 1942, published by Helmut Schwege, Kennzeichen J, Berlin (Ost), 1966, p. 243.



# CHAPTER XIII

## THE GAS VANS AND MASS SHOOTINGS

### The gas vans

The so-called gas vans are supposed to have been used for the extermination of Jews in Serbia and Russia, in addition to their use at Chelmno. Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, in their book *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, discuss these vans at considerable length, for a total of 64 pages (1).

In reading the above books, the observant reader will note the following inconsistencies:

- no physical evidence at all is produced for the existence of these vehicles. There have never been any reports of the capture of such a vehicle, nor its presentation in evidence in any trial. Perhaps this is the reason why no illustration of any gas van ever appears in the literature.
- there are only two (alleged) documentary proofs of the existence of the gas vans;
- all the other "evidence" consists of "eyewitness testimony".

Two leading German revisionists, Ingrid Weckert and Udo Walendy, have made a particular study of the two particular documents which are supposed to prove the existence of the gas vans (2). A detailed study by the French automobile builder Pierre Marais appeared in 1994 (3).

Let us consider the first of these two documents. It was introduced at Nuremberg under number PS-501. This is allegedly a letter supposedly written by a Lt. Dr. Becker to Walter Rauff, Leader of Section II D, Technical Matters, of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). The document discusses technical deficiencies in the murder vans. We will quote a couple of sentences from the original text, paying careful attention to the original style of the German (4).

"I furthermore order that all men be kept as far away from the van as possible when people are being gassed, so as to avoid endangering their health by possibly out streaming gas. Upon this occasion, I would like to draw your attention to the following: several Kommandos have had the vans unloaded by their own men after the gassing. I have drawn the attention of the commander of the Sonderkommando to the terrible damage to their emotions and health which this work may have later, if not immediately, on the men... Despite this, I will not deviate from this order, since it is feared that prisoners withdrawn

for the work may take a suitable opportunity to flee. In order to protect them men from this danger, I request that corresponding orders be issued."

[Translator's note: the style of this is impossible to imitate in English.]

What German would write like that?

The letter is not signed. Instead of a signature, the name Becker is written by typewriter. To the left of the typewritten signature stands the abbreviation (Sgd), which means "signed" in English! Did SS men use English abbreviations when writing letters to each other?

The various hand-written umlauts over the letters (ä) and (ö) leave no doubt about it: the letter is a primitive forgery, probably from an American lie factories.

Hardly less pitiful is the second "documentary proof" for the gas vans, an alleged letter from correspondence between the RSHA and the automobile firm Gaubschat. The letter begins as follows (5):

"Berlin, 5 July 1942

Einzigste Ausfertigung ["Only copy"]

Regarding: technical changes in the special cars used in operation and found in manufacturing themselves [sic].

Since December 1941 for example 97,000 were processed without the appearance of defects in the vehicles."

First, in correct German, it ought to read "einzige Ausfertigung" instead of "einzigste Ausfertigung"; and secondly, it ought to say "an den in Herstellung befindlichen" instead of "an den sich in der Herstellung Spezialwagen"; third, no normal person begins a letter with "for example", and fourth: what the devil were they "processing"?

So much for the "documentary proofs": What the exterminationists offer us as "proof" in terms of "eyewitness reports", is even more idiotic. Adalbert Rückerl outdoes himself in appealing to eyewitness reports in German trials on the "extermination" camp of Chelmno (6):

"These gas vans were large, grey-painted lorries of foreign manufacturer, with closed chassis construction, separated from the driver's compartment, and approximately 2 m wide, 2 m high, and 4 m long... The Sonderkommando had three of these available, two of which were in constant use, and the third used temporarily."

According to which historian you read, between 150,000 and 1.35 million Jews were gassed in two -- or, temporarily, three -- gas vans, with a useful surface area, according to the above, of 16 m<sup>2</sup>. Rückerl furthermore permits a witness named Johann I. to report as follows: (7):

"The gas vans came five or ten times a day, carrying bodies. In the smaller gas vans, there were always an estimated 50 bodies and in the larger, approximately 70 bodies."

How could the "witness" have spoken of "smaller" and "larger" vans, when there were only two, or, temporarily, three of them, all the same size?

The manner in which the legend arose has been revealed by Ingrid Weckert. In revenge for the German revelation of the Soviet massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest, the Soviets accused German prisoners of war in 1943 of murdering Soviet citizens in gas vans. At the Kharkov and Krasnodar trials, several of the accused were identified by eyewitnesses, and executed. A fatal error was that, according to the witnesses, Diesel exhaust gas was relayed to the interior of the vans.

This is why Hans Fritzsche, Assistant to Josef Goebbels in the Propaganda Ministry, testified as follows at Nuremberg (8):

"That was the moment when the Russians, after they had captured Kharkov, started legal proceedings, in the course of which killing by gas was mentioned for the first time. I ran to Dr. Goebbels with these reports and asked him just what was going on here. He stated he would have the matter investigated and would discuss it with both Himmler and Hitler. ...Dr. Goebbels explicitly informed me that the gas vans mentioned in the Russian legal proceedings were a pure figment of the imagination and that there was no actual proof to support it."

With the death vans, Chelmno disappears from history, because the mass murders are supposed to have been carried out exclusively in these vehicles.

### The Einsatzgruppen and the "Massacre of Babi Yar"

The four Einsatzgruppen were formed after the German preventive attack (9) against the USSR. Their principal task consisted of fighting the partisan bands operating behind the front. Total Einsatzgruppen personnel, including radio operators, drivers, translators, nurses, etc., amounted to a total of only approximately 3,000 persons (10). According to the exterminationists, these were responsible, not only for fighting the partisans, but for the pitiless extermination of all Jews in the conquered Soviet territory. According to the *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, the Einsatzgruppen killed 1.25 million Jews, and "hundreds of thousands of other Soviet nationalities" by the spring of 1943 alone (11), i.e., a total of least one and a half million people. This means that every member of the Einsatzgruppen, including radio operators, drivers, translators, and nurses, would have had to kill an average of 500 Jewish and non-Jewish people each -- nearly one a day, if we consider Sundays and holidays.

Miraculously, the nearly two million bodies (since the Einsatzgruppen are supposed to have continued murdering people even after the spring of 1943, after all) disappeared without a trace. Under normal circumstances, of course, this is not so. Disposing of the body is the nightmare of every murderer. After the murder of the family of the Russian Czar, the bodies were burnt and acid was thrown on them, but they could still be identified.

The Holocaust scholars report (12):

"The task of the Sonderkommando... was to open the mass graves, remove the bodies, burn them, and scatter the ashes.

According to the above, the murder victims were first buried, then dug up again later, and then burnt! But the former location of mass graves can be identified by aerial photographs quite easily, even years later, due to the disturbance in the terrain. Even if the Germans had succeeded in burning two million bodies and eliminating the bone fragments and teeth, the location of the mass graves could still be found. Where are they?

Thus, there is no physical evidence of the two million murders on the Eastern front. The documentary evidence consists of the "Event Reports" from the Einsatzgruppen in the USSR to the RSHA in Berlin. These reports are alleged to have been found by the Allies in the RSHA files after the war.

According to the exterminationists, the reason why no documents on the gas chambers have ever been found, is because the Nazis wanted to cover up their crimes; they therefore issued their murder orders only orally, or at least destroyed all the existing documents. But the incriminating Einsatzgruppen reports, revealing a monstrous murder programme in the East, were left lying around where they could be found! They could have burnt the few files on the subject in no time, easily! How very strange.

Babi Yar.

The massacre at Babi Yar is mentioned in the Einsatzgruppen reports (13). After the withdrawal of the German army in September 1941, there was a series of explosive attacks causing fires and hundreds of deaths. In reprisal, the Germans are alleged to have taken 33,000 Jews to the edge of the city of Kiev, shot them, and thrown them into the ravine at the end of September. During the war, tens of thousands more Jews were allegedly murdered there. Exactly two years later, as the Red Army approached Kiev, the bodies are supposed to have dug up and burnt without a trace, so that there is no physical evidence of this, either.

Several revisionist authors, principally Herbert Tiedemann and Udo Walendy (14), have investigated the evidence relating to Babi Yar in great detail. The eyewitness reports contradict each other on all possible points. In addition to shootings, there is much talk of stabbings with bayonets, live burials, killings with land mines, hand grenades, drownings in the Dneiper, and other similar nonsense. The number of victims mentioned over the course of the years rose to 300,000.

At the time of the German entry into Kiev in 1941, there were no 33,000 Jews in Kiev, must less 300,000 Jews for the Germans to murder, in any manner at all, since by far the majority of the Jews of Kiev had abandoned the city (15). Air photos of the ravine of Baba Yar taken during the war and evaluated by John Ball were the coup de grace to the Babi Yar legend (16). A comparison of photos taken between 1940 and 1944 shows that the mass graves -- which were allegedly dug up, filled in, later dug up again, and then resealed -- never existed, since otherwise the ravine would have

shown massive topographical changes. These are in no way revealed by the air photos.

So the mass murder of Babi Yar turns out to be just another swindle. No other accusation of crime made against the Germans on the Eastern front has been made with such great propaganda effect; no other atrocity is supposed to have claimed so many victims. Since this invented massacre appears in the Einsatzgruppen reports, the reports were either totally falsified, or at least manipulated on a massive scale. Thus the only "documentary evidence" of the millions of murders on the Eastern front crashes to the ground.

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### Notes:

- 1) Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl, op. cit. p. 81 ff.
- 2) Ingrid Weckert in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 5.
- 3) Pierre Marais, *Les camions à gaz en question*, Polémiques, Paris, 1994.
- 4) The letter was reproduced in Gauss, *Grundlagen, ...* op. cit., Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no. 5.
- 5) *ibid*, p. 216, ff.
- 6) Adalbert Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, dtv, 1977, p. 266/267.
- 7) *ibid*, p. 272.
- 8) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XVII p. 201 (German text).
- 9) On the preventive nature of the German march into the USSR, see Viktor Suvorov, *Der Eisbrecher*, Klett-Cotta, 1989, as well as Walter Post, *Unternehmen Barbarossa*, Verlag E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1995.
- 10) *Enzyklopaedie des Holocaust*, p. 397.
- 11) *ibid*, p. 399.
- 12) *ibid*.
- 13) Einsatzgruppen report 106 of 7 October 1941, Document R-102 in IMT XXXVII p. 291 ff.
- 14) Herbert Tiedemann in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* op. cit. Udo Walendy in *Historische Tatsachen* no 51.

15) In Kiev, practically all the Jews had left the city with the Red Army. Only the elderly remained behind." Institute of Jewish Affairs, Hg. Hitler's ten years' war, New York, 1943, p. 186.

16) John Ball in Gauss, *Grundlagen...* p. 238/239.

# CHAPTER XV

## WHERE DID THEY GO?

### The origins of the mythical Six Million figure

The mythical Six Million figure naturally collapses with the gas chambers and gas vans, since we now must subtract 2.7 to 5.37 million gassing victims, according to which historian we read (1). Let us look at the history of the origin of the Six Million figure.

First of all, the Six Million figure is based on the confessions of two National Socialists of only minor importance, namely Dieter Wisliceny and Wilhelm Höttl. Wisliceny, Gestapo leader of Bratislava, gave his confession first at Nuremberg and then again in Communist Czechoslovakian imprisonment. The value of such confessions is nil.

Wilhelm Höttl was a collaborator of Adolf Eichmann in the section for the Jewish Question of the RSHA (Reichs Main Security Office). He pretended to have heard the six million figure from Adolf Eichmann (2). The latter then disappeared, and Höttl took the opportunity to place himself in a favourable light by accusing Germany in any manner desired. This was rewarded, since he was never again bothered. Eichmann was kidnapped from Argentine exile in 1960 in violation of international law, and an ordinary bureaucrat was transformed into a "monster of the century" in a show trial played out before the entire world. Eichmann was executed, i.e., murdered, in 1962.

If we go back to 1942, we discover the remarkable fact that the Zionist activist Nahum Goldman, later President of the Jewish World Congress, had already reported, in May of that year, at an event in the Biltmore Hotel in New York, that, of eight million Jews in Hitler's tyranny, only two to three million had survived (4). But the Holocaust was allegedly only just beginning. How did Goldman know the exact number of Jews to be killed in the future?

Our astonishment takes on huge proportions when we find an article from the 31 October 1919 in the US Jewish newspaper *The American Hebrew* (Fig. XXX).

The article mentions a "Holocaust" (sic!) of "Six Million Jewish men, women, and children". How and where this Holocaust is supposed to have taken place, is not even apparent from this feeble-minded drivel, but the Six Million figure appears no fewer than seven times!

At this point, if not before, the suspicion becomes a certainty: Six is the holy figure of Judaism, and the Six Million figure is, therefore, a delusion probably derived from the Talmud.

### Wolfgang Benz and Walter Sanning

If we keep in mind the overwhelming importance played by the Six Million figure in the propaganda of the past five decades, it is surprising that one single remotely scientific attempt has ever been made to support it. In 1991, a large book appeared under the name of *Dimension des Völkermords*, edited by a collective of authors under the leadership of the professional anti-anti-Semite Wolfgang Benz (head of the Institute for Research on Anti-Semitism in Berlin), according to which between 5.29 and 6.01 million Jews were killed in the Third Reich (5). In his study *Die Auflösung* (6) published eight years before, the German-American Walter Sanning came to the conclusion that there were never more than a few hundred thousand Jews were ever in German-controlled Europe.

Since the books of Benz and Sanning, as well as an accurate comparison of both works by Germar Rudolf (7), are available to everyone, we will satisfy ourselves with only a few sentences on this topic here.

In order to arrive at the figure of Six Million dead Jews, Benz and his team indulge in all sorts of manipulations, such as double counting, resulting from the shifting of territories during the Second World War. Rudolf shows that Benz is guilty of counting 533,193 people twice. In addition, the Polish Jewish victims of Stalinist purges and deportations are calmly added to the German side of the ledger. The number of Polish Jews at the beginning of the war is exaggerated by 700,000. In addition, which is worse, Benz acts as if no Jewish emigration ever took place: every Jew who no longer lived in the same place after the war, is simply counted as "exterminated"! If this were true, a book like *Exodus* by Leon Uris could never have been written.

In contrast to Benz, Sanning pays Jewish emigration the attention it deserves. His book, based almost entirely on Jewish and Allied sources, shows that approximately 1.5 million Jews emigrated to the USA, to South America, Australia, etc. after 1945.

Of course, these one and a half million post-war emigrants do not yet solve the statistical problem. The solution to the riddle is to be found in the USSR. According to the census of 17 January 1939, the Soviet empire had 3.02 million Jews. The first post-war census, in 1959, showed only 2.267 million, but the Zionists all agree that this figure is unrealistically low. First, every Soviet citizen could list his nationality as he wished; wholly or partially assimilated Jews often called themselves simply "Russians", and secondly, the Soviet regime had an obvious motive to support the Holocaust story by deliberately reducing post-war Jewish population figures. On 1 July 1990, i.e., long after the beginning of the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to the West, the *New York Post*, referring to Israeli specialists, spoke of over 5 million Jews living in the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that natural increase on this scale for this particular population group would have been impossible due to its progressive trend towards assimilation and the very low Jewish birth rate, there must have been nearly 6 million Jews in the USSR before the emigration, i.e., almost three million "too many".



What happened? In 1939, after the division of Poland, a huge flood of Polish Jewish refugees moved West to East. After the beginning of the German-Russian campaign, most of the Soviet Jews, at least 80% of them according to Sanning, were evacuated, and the German troops never even came into contact with them. In December 1942, a David Bergelson, Secretary of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committees, reported in Moscow (8):

"The evacuation has rescued the great majority of Jews from the Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, and Latvia. According to information from Vitebsk, Riga, and other large cities, which were captured by the fascists, only a few Jews remained there, when the Germans invaded."

Thus, a large part of Polish as well as Baltic Jewry were absorbed by the USSR. Nevertheless, a British-American Commission reported in February 1946, when hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews had already moved west, that 800,000 Jews were still living in Poland. (9).

So much for the myth of the "extermination of Polish Jewry" in the "extermination camps".

The exemplary case of one "gassing victim": Jenny Spritzer

In his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Serge Klarsfeld calculates that 75,721 Jews were deported from France. To our knowledge, this figure is not disputed by anyone. According to Klarsfeld, no more than 2,500 of them survived the war (10). He found 2,200 such survivors in France, Belgium and elsewhere, 805 of whom reported to the French Ministry of War Veterans at the end of 1945 and were officially declared "survivors"; he rounds the number off at 2,500.

The following, of course, are simply forgotten:

- Jews who only returned to France after 1945, and, for that reason, could not report to the French Ministry of War Veterans at the end of 1945, and, for that very same reason, do not appear on the "official survivor" list;
- Jews who returned before the end of 1945, but did not report to the French Ministry of War because they were in no way required to do so;
- Jews who simply never returned to France. This category must be by far the largest. The overwhelming majority of Jews deported from France -- approximately 80% -- held foreign passports or were stateless persons with no ties to France. Faced with the possibility of emigration overseas, most of them naturally preferred the latter to return to a war-torn country. A book on Bergen-Belsen -- a camp which was used as a reception camp for displaced persons after the war -- states that the Jews, who represented the great majority of these displaced persons, almost always wanted to emigrate to Palestine or another non-European country (11).

### An exemplary case:

In his *Mémorial*, Klarsfeld writes that he found only 14 survivors of transport 8, and that all the survivors were men (12). As a result, Klarsfeld assumes that all the other members of this transport were gassed. But as shown by the Spanish revisionist Enrique Aynat, there was also a woman among the survivors, a Jewess named Jenny Spritzer (13). Spritzer was a native of Austria. Before the war, she emigrated to Holland. When the Germans invaded Holland, she fled to Belgium and then emigrated to France. In 1942, she was arrested in France while preparing to travel on to Spain, and was deported to Auschwitz. After the war, she emigrated to Switzerland and wrote her memoirs, slathering away about three to four million Auschwitz victims, flames shooting out of crematoria chimneys, and gas streaming out of shower heads (14).

As may be observed from the example of Jenny Spritzer, the fact that Jews deported by the Germans did not necessarily return to their former place of residence, doesn't necessarily prove that they were killed. Most of the Jews returning from German camps or settlement areas in the East preferred the USA or Israel to their former countries, and were then entered into the statistics as "gassing victims" or "exterminated Jews".

### Carl Nordling's research

The Swedish Professor Carl Nordling compared the fate of a total of 722 Jews, mentioned in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, who lived in areas of German controlled-Europe (15). Of these Jews, 44% emigrated before the end of 1941, 13% died, 35% remained unaffected by deportation or internment; the rest were deported or interned, but survived.

If we assume 4.5 million Jews living in German-controlled Europe -- a majority of the Polish Jews fled to the Soviet Union after the German attack on Poland 1939 -- and a death rate of 13%, this means 600,000 victims. Sanning concludes a figure of approximately half a million, the English revisionist Stephen Challen 750,000 (16). The parts of the mosaic thus fit together into a more or less complete picture.

### 300,000 "Holocaust survivors" in Israel in 1996

Based on German actuarial statistics (i.e., a table from the Lexikon Institut Bertelsmann, *Ich sag dir alles*, Guetersloh 1968), it is possible to determine just how many people from a population group of all age groups (under conditions comparable to those of the Bundesrepublik) must have been alive in 1945 if 750,000 of them are still alive 51 years later. Germar Rudolf has done this in a still unpublished article (17). As his starting point, he used the Amcha Report, prepared by an Israeli foundation for the psychosocial care of Holocaust survivors, in which Amcha asked all German mayors, in a circular letter on 22 August 1996, for a contribution for 300,000 surviving holocaust survivors.

Since only approximately 40% of the Jews who emigrated from Europe in 1945 or later chose Israel as their new home, and since many Jews remained in Europe, the world-wide "survivor" figure must be at least twice as high. Based on the statistics

mentioned above, it may be calculated that there were 3,500,000 surviving Jews in former-German controlled Europe. Since according to Sannings' most meticulous calculations, only 4,500,000 Jews could have been living in the territories in question at the time of the greatest territorial expansion of the Third Reich, the Amcha Report is further proof that the number of Jewish victims might have amounted to one million at most, but most probably very much less.

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that between half a million and one million Jews lost their lives during World War II. This conclusion is supported by four different studies -- the Sannings study, Challens' research, the Nordling statistics, and the Amcha report.

### Questions still open

There is still a lot of work to do in the field of Jewish population shifts during World War II and afterwards. For example, the question of how many Jews were deported via Auschwitz and other transit camps to the transit camps in the occupied Eastern territories, and what happened to the survivors after the war, remain unanswered.

That the Germans deported Jews to the territories in the East was known to the Western allies by 1943 at the latest. In that year, the US demographer Eugene Kulischer wrote a book about population shifts in Europe since the beginning of the war (18), in which he emphasized that the ghettos and work camps of the East were being increasingly used as destinations for Jews from Western Europe including Poland.

Thus, the Jews transferred from the Warsaw Ghetto in the spring of 1942 were being sent "to work camps on the Russian front, to work in the swamps near Pinsk or to the ghettos of the Baltic, White Russian, or the Ukraine" (19). Well-informed observers among the Allies never accepted the fairy tale of the extermination of the Jews in "extermination camps" in the East; on the contrary, they were very quick to recognize the true nature of the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question".

The details, of course, remain largely in the dark.

After the valuable studies by Steffen Werner, Enrique Aynat, and Jean-Marie Boisdefeu (20), a broad field remains open for the revisionists. No court historian will ever do this work. No one knows where the documents are, if they still exist, or even whether they were destroyed by the victorious Allies after the war.

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### Notes:

- 1) The first figure is mentioned by Hilberg, the second by Davidowicz.
- 2) Nuremberg trial transcript IMT XI p. 255 ff, 285 (German transcript), as well as Nuremberg trial document volumes IMT XXXI p. 85 ff.

- 3) On the Eichmann trial, see Paul Rassinier's *Was ist Wahrheit?*, Druffel, Leoni, 1980.
- 4) Martin Gilbert, p. 398.
- 5) Wolfgang Benz, *Dimensionen des Voelkermords*, R. Oldenburg, 1991.
- 6) Walter Sanning, *Die Aufloesung*, Grabert, 1983.
- 7) Germar Rudolf in Gauss, *Grundlagen...*
- 8) Sanning, p. 114
- 9) "Keesings Archiv der Gegenwart", 16/17. Jarhgang, Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Verlagskontor, Essen, 1948, p. 651, report of 15 February 1946.
- 10) Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, Delphi Politik, Hamburg 1989, p. 331.
- 11) Paul Kemp, "The Liberation of Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in April 1945", *Imperial War Museum Review*, no. 5 (1990), p. 28-41.
- 12) Serge Klarsfeld, *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Transport 8 (publication without page numbers).
- 13) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el Holocausto*, Graficas Hurtado, Valencia, 1994, p. 65/66.
- 14) Jenny Spritzer, *Ich war no. 10291*.
- 15) *R.H.R.* no. 2, 1990, p. 50 ff.
- 16) Stephen Challen, *Richard Korherr and his Reports*, Cromwell Press, 1993.
- 17) The article is to be published in 1997 in the *Vierteljahreszeitschrift für freie Geschichtsforschung*.
- 18) Eugene Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe*, International Labour Office, Montreal, 1943.
- 19) Kulischer, p. 110/111.
- 20) Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, *La controverse sur l'extermination des juifs par les allemands*, Au Roseau Pensant, Brussels, Part 2, 1996.

# CHAPTER XVI

## THE INVISIBLE ELEPHANT

Several authors, principally Martin Gilbert, Walter Laqueur, and Jean-Claude Favez, have occupied themselves with the question of what the Allies, the Vatican, and the Red Cross knew about the fate of the Jews during the war (1). Their thick books puzzle endlessly about why no one lifted a finger to rescue the Jews. It is said to be unthinkable that no one in Washington, London and Moscow, in the Vatican, or in Geneva, knew what was going on at Auschwitz and the other extermination camps. In view of this fact, the American David Wyman openly expresses the suspicion that they deliberately acquiesced in the extermination of the Jews (2). For this reason, the German translator of the work gave it the title *Das unverwünschte Volk* [The Unwanted People].

From 1942, innumerable rumours were current about the Jewish extermination in Jewish or Jewish-controlled newspapers (3). But the atrocity stories about steam chambers, gas chambers, gas vans, quicklime vans, underground electrical execution installations etc. were no more taken seriously by the Allied governments than by the International Red Cross or the Vatican. Even in August 1943 -- when, according to the official version of history, millions of Jews had already been gassed -- the US Secretary of State Cordell Hull asked the US Ambassador in Moscow by telegram to delete any mention of the gas chambers from the draft of a joint-Allied declaration on "German Crimes in Poland", since there was no proof of their existence (4).

In his richly documented book *Auschwitz und die Allierten* (Martin Gilbert states (5):

"The names and the geographical location of the extermination camps of Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec were known in the Allied countries by the summer of 1942 at the latest. On the other hand, the secret of the gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau remained hidden from the first week of May 1942, when they were put into operation, until the third week of June of 1944."

As we noted earlier, there were extraordinarily large numbers of transfers from Auschwitz to other camps, as well as releases -- even in early summer 1944, when the extermination of the Jews is supposed to have reached its climax. Every single one of these transferred or released inmates -- tens of thousands of civilian workers in total -- would have been eyewitnesses to the most systematic and brutal extermination of human beings that the world ever saw, if the Holocaust story were true.

According to drawings based on ground and air photos by John Ball (see Fig. XII), the alleged chief extermination locations -- Krema II of Birkenau -- was surrounded

only by a barbed wire fence. This means that the entire camp would have witnessed the daily killing procedure: the introduction of the Zyklon granules through the holes in the roof of morgue I (holes which in reality did not then exist). Right next to Krema III -- the allegedly second largest murder installation -- was a football field, where the inmates regularly played football (6) (no. 15 in Fig. III).

News of the mass murders in the gas chambers would have spread across Europe like wildfire. The Allied capitals would have known all about it within weeks. The Allies would have dropped millions of leaflets over Germany to inform the German people of the crimes of its government. But nothing of the kind occurred.

The Auschwitz camp complex was repeatedly photographed by the Allies from the air, beginning in late 1943. If air reconnaissance photography had revealed proof of any mass extermination, American bombers would have destroyed the only rail connection which still existed between Hungary and Auschwitz in the early summer of 1943, thus preventing the extermination of the Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz. So why didn't they?

Martin Gilbert and Walter Laqueur come to the following conclusion in their weighty tomes:

- the mass murders in Auschwitz couldn't have remained secret for long;
- the Allies, the Vatican, and the International Red Cross said nothing about mass murders in Auschwitz and never lifted a finger to rescue the Jews from the gas chambers;
- ergo, the Allies, the Vatican, and the International Red Cross were guilty of complicity in mass murder.

There is another conclusion, and it is the only one which is logical. It has been best expressed by the American revisionist author Arthur Butz (7):

"I see no elephant in my cellar. If there were an elephant in my cellar, I would certainly see him. Therefore, there is no elephant in my cellar."

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## Notes:

1) Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Allierten* (C.H. Beck, 1982); Walter Lacqueur, *Was niemand wissen wollte* (Ullstein, 1982); Jean-Claude Favez, *Das IKRK und das Dritte Reich* (Verlag NZZ, 1989).

2) David Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews. America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, New York, 1984.

3) In his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz quotes numerous corresponding reports from the *New York Times*.

4) Laqueur, p. 237.

5) Gilbert, p. 44

6) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, State Museum Auschwitz, no. 15 (1975).

7) Arthur Butz, "Context and Perspectives in the Holocaust Controversy", *J.H.R.*, Winter 1982.

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE NESSUS SHIRT

### The Revenge of the Centaur

A Greek myth tells of the Centaur Nessus, who dared to lay a hand on Deianira, the wife of Hercules, and was wounded by the enraged warrior with a deadly arrow soaked in the poison of the Hydra.

As he was dying, Nessus begged Deianira to collect his blood and soak her garment in it. If Hercules was ever untrue to her, she was to ask him to try on the garment. This would renew his old love.

Deianira did as Nessus requested. One day, when Hercules turned away from her in favour of a paramour, she remembered the Centaur's advice and asked Hercules to try on the Nessus shirt. For a short time, the hero was pleased with the magnificent garment. Then it began to burn into his flesh; he suffered horrible torment, but he could not remove the cursed shirt. It clung to his body and could not be extinguished as he perished in agony.

Those with more insight among Jewish leaders might well remember this tale from Greek mythology. The Nessus shirt of the Jews is the lie of the gas chambers, invented more than half a century ago by the Jews to revenge themselves upon the wicked Pharaoh of Berlin who had broken the power of Zionism in Germany and visited the Jews with deprivation of rights, confiscation of property, deportation, and exile. After the war, the Zionists discovered that atrocity propaganda could be continued to make a profit.

No matter how important German reparations may be for Israel and the Zionist organizations, the immeasurable psychological benefits derived from the legend are incomparably more important to the Jews. Before 1945, criticism of Jews was permitted; since 1945, any criticism of Jews has been impossible. Any questioning of Jewish methods and Jewish power, no matter how timid, is immediately branded as anti-Semitism and may easily land a person in court or even prison.

The game could go on forever -- if it weren't for the revisionists! Just as the gas chambers enabled Zionism to rise to unprecedented heights after 1945, the refutation of the gas chamber lie, together with other factors which are beyond the scope of the present work, will lead to the downfall of the Jews in the not too-distant future. The same lie which has done such magnificent service as the miracle weapon of the Zionists -- until now -- will [be] a millstone around their necks.



With the exposure of the lie, people will ask why we have been so shamelessly lied to since 1945, and [in] whose interests. People will start to ask questions like: how did WW II actually start? Who actually started it? What mysterious powers brought it about? Were they the same mysterious powers that caused the First World War?

When that day comes, people will examine the real Holocausts of the twentieth century, Holocausts claiming incomparably more lives -- the crimes of Marxism, and the identity of the true Marxist leaders behind the scenes. Mr. Gunnar Heinsohn, who is mentioned elsewhere in this work in another connection, nevertheless reveals a few truths (almost despite himself) in his book *Warum Auschwitz?* These truths are usually passed over in embarrassed silence. Heinsohn mentions that innumerable millions of Soviet citizens fell victims of the Red Terror. Unfortunately, he forgets to raise the question of the ethnic background of the butchers of the Soviet Union. Other historians have done so. One is the Russian Yuri Begunov, who states that, in 1920, 83% of the Bolshevik leaders in the USSR were Jews (1). Or Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who describes the six top architects of the Communist slave labour camp system in the second volume of his *Gulag Archipelago*. Their names are Aron Solz, Naftali Frenkel, Jakov Rappaport, Matwej Berman, Lazar Kogan, and Genrich Yagoda. All six were Jews.

Facts like these will return to public discussion with a vengeance with the collapse of the Holocaust house of cards.

The refusal of the exterminationists to retreat one single inch

Until the second half of the 1960s, the official version of the Holocaust appeared invincible. Of course, there were a handful of courageous men who denounced the lie. In addition to the pioneer Paul Rassinier, the following authors should be mentioned - for example, Maurice Bardèche, who in the beginning naturally believed in the gas chambers, and only considered the numbers to be exaggerated; Thies Christophersen (author of the brochure *Die Auschwitz Lüge*), Emil Aretz, Erwin Schoenborn, Heinz Roth, Dr. Franz Scheidl, Wolf Dieter Rothe, Richard Harwood, and a few others. But their arguments were not scientific enough to achieve a breakthrough in the wall of lies. The weakest point of the Holocaust story -- its technical absurdity -- was hardly attacked by the early revisionists.

But the Holocaust bore its own refutation in itself because of its historical and technical absurdity. Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, in which a US electronics professor proved how the legend arose, was a decisive step forward in revisionist research. In early 1979, Wilhelm Stäglich published *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, mercilessly demonstrating the fragility of the Auschwitz image. Shortly before, Robert Faurisson entered the scene with a few articles in which he referred to the technical and physical impossibility of the gas chamber yarn. Together with Ditleb Felderer, who conducted on-the-spot research at the former "extermination camps", at that time hardly taken into consideration, Faurisson was the pioneer of material-scientific research on the Holocaust. Without Faurisson, no Leuchter; without Leuchter, no Rudolf.

Butz, Stäglich, and Faurisson, in particular, sounded the death knell of the myth. Over thirty years had elapsed since the end of the war, and the Zionists and their lackeys in

the politics, culture, the media, and the historical profession have made any retreat impossible: the gas chambers had long since become a symbol of the unique depravity of the National Socialists and the unique suffering of the Jews -- a symbol which could not be jettisoned without threatening the foundations of the Orwellian world of the Permanent Lie called "Free Democracy".

Thus, the profiteers of the Big Lie could only retreat forwards, in a full-scale suicide attack. They have turned up the volume of Holocaust propaganda in the controlled media to the point of insanity. The further the war retreated into the past, the more feverish the incitement, the more desperately they attempted to force the passage of totalitarian laws designed to destroy all freedom of expression and punish "thought crimes" in more and more countries. Scientific revisionism has been criminalized in the Banana Republik of Deutschland, as well as in Austria and France. Anti-revisionist laws have also been passed in Belgium and Spain, but have not so far (April 1997) led to any trials. A rubber-stamp anti-"racial discrimination" law with a disguised anti-revisionist clause was passed in Switzerland in early 1995, and may possibly lead to a trial against the present author, as well as against the publisher of three of his books in 1997. But that's nowhere near enough, of course: Italy needs an Auschwitz Law, too! In England, Labour has actually promised to pass such a law in the event of its winning the election. Denmark is said to need such a law, and Sweden, too -- not to mention, of course, the USA, where revisionism had made very rapid progress thanks to the Institute for Historical Review and its highly effective director, Mark Weber. Anti-revisionist thought-crimes laws are needed very, very urgently (or so we are told): in the words of a desperate call for help (and fund-raising appeal) from Jewish whisky billionaire Edgar Bronfman: "We need to stop revisionism before it's too late!"

We hate to say so, but it's already too late, Bronfman. No doubt the Profiteers of the Lie will put a few more revisionists in prison or even murder a few, if needs be, in the short time remaining to those who profit from it -- but the breaking of the Zionist information monopoly by means of the Internet, as well as spectacular conversions to revisionism such as the Garaudy case, will speed up the demise of the Lie.

Of course, the Zionists now wish that they had only mentioned three million Jews having died mostly of epidemics and malnutrition, instead of Six Million Jews, mostly gassed. But the gas chambers with their millions of gassing victims not only appear in the history books, school books, and dictionaries, but as a "proven fact" in court cases.

### The Garaudy Case

Roger Garaudy is one of the most famous French philosophers. He has changed his ideology on numerous occasions; he was a Catholic, a Protestant, a Stalinist Communist (and as such a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party) before he converted to Islam in the early 1980s. No one cared. After all, we live in a "Free Democracy"; we enjoy freedom of opinion and freedom of religion, you know. Garaudy had published over 40 books by the end of 1995; publishing houses competed for the privilege of decking their shelves with his books. But this book -- *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* -- found no publisher other than Pierre Guillaume's La Vieille Taupe, largely operating underground, which distributed the first edition of the work as "a confidential bulletin

to its friends". Part of the work concerned itself with religious questions, such as the Zionist policies in Palestine, but the core of the book (the Myth of the Justice of Nuremberg, The Myth of the Holocaust), was clearly revisionist. Garaudy showed the fragility of the proofs presented for the Holocaust, explained the Six Million figure as a crass exaggeration, and, without expressly disputing the existence of the gas chambers, tacitly made it clear that he did not believe in them. For those familiar with the material, the Garaudy book offered nothing new; the illustrious philosopher had simply copied from other revisionists, particularly Faurisson, without, of course, mentioning his sources, as scientific decency would have required. In the second edition, which was self-published in the spring of 1996, Garaudy defused the revisionist part of the book, without advising the reader that he had done so. Thus, all references to Butz, Stiglich, and Faurisson -- briefly mentioned in the first edition -- disappeared without a trace in the second edition. Garaudy enjoyed the peculiarity of being a revisionist who, because of his Communist past, could not possibly be dismissed as a Neo-Nazi. The French Zionist mafia howled like a dog whose tail has been trodden on; for months, the media dragged Garaudy through the mire, without, of course, the slightest discussion of the content of his book. Above all, the professional liars kept quiet about the fact that Garaudy doubted the existence of the gas chambers. The situation became even more dangerous for the exterminationists when a cult figure of the Left, the Franciscan priest Abbé Pierre, declared his solidarity with Garaudy in April 1995. Abbé Pierre knew nothing about revisionism, and still knows nothing; to him, it was a matter of freedom of opinion. The Abbé, who is unfortunately a bit short on courage, was frightened into retreating in the face of the witch hunt which now exploded all around him, and begged forgiveness, after showing some feeble resistance at the outset; in July, he finally debased himself before the Jews (*La Croix*, 23 July 1996). As the result of the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affaire, the broad masses of the French population knew, for the first time, that freedom of opinion had been abolished in their country, and that a minority of perhaps two percent of the French population prescribes what the other 98% may say, write, read, and think. In the meantime, increasing numbers of well-known people are demanding the abolition of the anti-revisionist Law Gayssot, including Simone Weil, in the newspaper *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, 27 June 1996. (Weil is a Jewish "mass gassing victim" who was later discovered to be alive after all, and become President of the European Parliament.) For more information on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair, see the article by Robert Faurisson on the Internet (3).

### The confession of an orthodox historian

The French historian Jacques Baynac, a rabid enemy of revisionism, became the first orthodox historian anywhere to admit that there is no proof of the existence of the Nazi gas chambers. This spectacular admission appeared in two consecutive articles in the Lausanne, Switzerland, daily newspaper, *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of 2 and 3 September 1996. The second of the series of two articles read in part:

"Either we grant predominance to documents as against eyewitness testimony, and in this case, we can stop calling the historiography a science and start calling it an art; or we can stick to the predominance of documents, and in this case, we must admit that the absence of documents implies the impossibility of presenting direct proof of the existence of the homicidal gas chambers."

Robert Faurisson comments on this admission as follows (4):

"Jacques Baynac: There's no proof, but I believe it. Robert Faurisson: There's no proof, so I don't believe it."

For the first: Freedom of expression. For the second: Imprisonment for a term of up to one year; fines of up to 300,000 francs, as well as other penalties."

Roger Garaudy is supposed to appear in court in France in 1997. A new trial is scheduled for Robert Faurisson (his eleventh so far). In the country which produced a Voltaire, men are hauled into court because they dare to doubt (Garaudy) or dispute (Faurisson) the reality of something -- a "Nazi gas chamber" -- whose existence cannot even be proven, according to the admission of an orthodox, anti-revisionist historian!

### Korzec and Goldhagen: a new version of the lie

Even before the Garaudy affair, the Zionists understood that it was time to jettison the ballast. The second Pressac book, in which the number of Auschwitz victims was massively reduced, was [an] attempt to do this. The Jewish professor Michel Korzec and Daniel J. Goldhagen went significantly further in late 1995 and the spring of 1996, respectively, by abruptly declaring the gas chambers to be merely a peripheral phenomena, without, of course, ever reducing the total number of five to six million Holocaust victims. On 15 December 1995, a long article by Michel Korzec, a Jew of Polish origins, appeared in the Dutch newspaper *Intermediar*, the title of which, in translation, was "The Myth of the Efficient Mass Murder", and in which the number of gassed Jews was reduced to a total of 700,000 to 800,000. The rest of the Holocaust victims (five million, according to Korzec) were killed by German soldiers, everywhere, wherever they were found, "shot, beaten to death, hanged, allowed to starve to death". With unprecedentedchutzpah (also known as Jewish shamelessness), Korzec attempts to exploit the debacle of traditional historiography in order to accuse the Germans. If the majority of Jews had been gassed in extermination camps, he argues, only a handful of criminals would have been involved in the crime. If, on the other hand, most of the Jews were murdered outside the camps using manual methods of primitive cruelty, a much greater number of Germans would have had to participate in the mass murders. This, in the Talmudic logic of Mr. Korzec, is precisely why "doubting the gas chambers" is criminalized by German courts of law. It distracts attention from the fact that it was not just a handful of criminals who are guilty for the Holocaust, but a large part of the German people!

The nauseating little tome, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, by the American Jew Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (5), follows the same line, by claiming that the entire German people participated gleefully in the Holocaust, since "extermination anti-Semitism" was deeply rooted in German tradition. For his Doctoral thesis, presenting a shorter version of the same argument, Mr. Goldhagen, a docent at the Harvard Minda-de-Gunzberg Center for European Centre, was awarded the Gabriel A. Almond Prize of the American Association for Political Studies (according to the cover blurb). The *FAZ* of 30 April 1996 summarized the book as follows:

"Germany is fundamentally anti-Semitic and willfully committed the murder of the Jews with complete approval. If the country had possessed the means to do so, the extermination of the Jews would have occurred in the 19th century. Under another political system, it would still be capable of another such genocide even today."

Just you keep that in mind, Helmut Kohl, Roman Herzog, Hochmuth, Günter Grass, and all you other belly-crawlers and boot-lickers, you're all Jew-killers too -- just like Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler! On p. 10, Goldhagen writes:

"...A multiplicity of myths and erroneous notions as to the criminals are current in the popular belief as well as in scientific circles, such as the following: it is generally believed that the Germans murdered the Jews mostly in gas chambers, and that the Germans couldn't have been able to kill millions of Jews without gas chambers, modern means of transport, and efficient bureaucracy."

That's a good one. Who spread the "myths and erroneous notions" mentioned by Goldhagen? No one but his fellow Jews: Raul Hilberg and Lucy Davidowicz, Leon Poliakov and Gerald Reitlinger, Yehuda Bauer and Deborah Lipstadt, Georges Wellers, and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Israel Gutman and Gerald Fleming, Yitzak Arad and Serge Klarsfeld, Shmul Krakowski and Nora Levin, Walter Laqueur and Martin Gilbert; in addition to a few Gentiles, such as the American (paid by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre) Christopher Browning, the Frenchman (paid by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation) named Jean-Claude Pressac, and a couple of German "researchers" like Wolfgang Scheffler, Eberhard Jäckel, and Wolfgang Benz, who understood, with an infallible instinct, that, in the "freest state in German history", the way to make a name for oneself very quickly is to spew forth filth upon one's own country, at all hours of the day and night. And who, then, were the "eyewitnesses" upon whom these "scholars" mistakenly relied? Why, nobody but Goldhagen's fellow Jews, almost exclusively -- except for a few SS men tortured by Jews, like Rudolf Höss. Goldhagen becomes even more explicit with regards to the gas chambers on page 521:

"... without regard to the erroneous scientific and popular notion of the Holocaust, gassing was really epiphenomenal to the German mass murder of the Jews."

5.37 million Jews were gassed according to Lucy Davidowicz, and 2.7 million according to Raul Hilberg. Is this sort of slaughter really "epiphenomenal"? In revisionist trials, defence applications are routinely rejected on the grounds that the Holocaust as hitherto described is "a proven fact". Thus, the vindictive sentence passed on NPD leader and revisionist Günter Deckert -- merely for interpreting a technical speech by the American gas chamber expert, Fred Leuchter -- was justified by the Federal Court of Karlsruhe as follows: (6):

"The criminal court (the State Court of Mannheim) correctly assumed that the mass murder of the Jews, COMMITTED ABOVE ALL IN THE GAS CHAMBERS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS, were a proven fact."

It would appear that the mass murders, committed ABOVE ALL IN THE GAS CHAMBERS, might not be such a "proven fact" after all, since the gassings were merely EPIPHENOMENAL according to the admission of the Jewish historical researcher Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Professor at the Minda-de-Ginzburg Centre, and winner of the Gabriel Almond Prize! How will the jurists in the "freest state in German history" get out of this one? In my conviction, the Daniel Goldhagen book, preceded by Korzec's little exercise inchutzpah in Holland, which served as a trial balloon for Goldhagen, marks a change in course and strategy on the part of the leading Zionist authorities. They are shifting course to a radically new version of the Holocaust, according to which almost everything that the "expert historians" have written and taught for half a century will be jettisoned. A moment afterwards, of course, the world's "Free Press" will all parrot the same line over night, with their usual unanimity, just as soon as they get the order to do so from their central control office. A few hundred thousand "gassing victims" will be retained to make things look good, the former figures of total gassing victims, which used to be a "proven fact", will now be depicted as a lie, for which the Germans or the Poles or the Communists may be guilty, but never, never, the poor Jews. And furthermore: does it make any difference to the Six Million victims how they were killed? As in George Orwell's *1984*, history is constantly being rewritten; in our "Free Democracy", one piece of nonsense simply takes over for another when the latter is withdrawn for proven defects.

### The evolution of the Holocaust lie: a summary

We may now distinguish five stages in the evolution of the Holocaust Lie, which are, of course, not strictly segregated, but which merge gradually into each other in turn: 1) from 1942 to around the beginning of 1946, the story was that the Nazis were killing the Jews -- mostly in extermination and concentration camps -- with steam, electricity, fire, acids, pneumatic hammers, quicklime, combat gasses, Diesel exhaust gases, Zyklon B, boiling water, blood poisoning, suffocation, conveyor belt shootings, etc. etc. Even as late as 14 December 1945, at the Nuremberg Trial, it was claimed that Jews at Treblinka were killed with hot steam. 2) between 1946 and 1960, the story changed somewhat; during the Nuremberg Trial, a decision was made to claim that poison gas was the murder weapon: all the other killing methods in the extermination and concentration camps were relegated to the Memory Hole. The claim was now made that almost every camp had one or more gas chambers. 3) from 1960 to 1983, the story was that the Nazis killed the Jews with gas, mostly in five or six extermination camps located on Polish soil. The gas chambers in the Western camps were jettisoned. 4) in the period between 1983 and 1996, the gas chambers in the Western camps (except for Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and Dachau) made a miraculous come-back in Kogon/Langbein/Rückerl masterpiece *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*. In the West, or so the story goes, there were relatively few gassings; the Jews were gassed by the millions in five or six extermination camps in Poland. 5) in 1996, a radical new version of the Holocaust appeared in the form of the Goldhagen book, preceded by the Korzec trial balloon in Holland. The gassings are now to be explained away as an insignificant "epiphenomenon". Everywhere the Germans went, they murdered Jews with primitive cruelty, out of a hatred for Jews rooted in German history and tradition. But how will the ruling cliques explain how we got the story wrong for half a century? The Goldhagen rescue attempt will backfire on the Zionists even more seriously than the

Pressac rescue attempt. The attempts of the desperate "Democratic System" to keep the lie afloat with even crazier, increasingly grotesque and irrational propaganda and cruder forms of intimidation, are only too understandable under the circumstances. But the World Enemy, the destroyers of all freedom in the name of fighting "hatred", are wearing the Nessus shirt; they will be unable to take it off after putting it on. It is burning into their flesh even more deeply with each passing day.

## Notes

- 1) Juri K. Begunow, *Tajny sily w ishorij Rossij*, Petersburg, p. 221 ff.
- 2) Roger Garaudy, *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne*, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1996, 2, amended edition, available from Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem-2, Belgium, or from LibreR, Avenue des Alpes 22, CH-1820 Montreux/Switzerland.
- 3) On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affaire, see Faurisson's article "Bilance der Affaere Garaudy/Abbé Pierre", which appeared on several Internet Homepages, for example <http://www.webcom.com/-ezundel/english>.
- 4) See Robert Faurisson's Internet article on the subject, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Admits that There are No Proofs for the Existence of Nazi Gas Chambers" (see also note 2).
- 5) Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, Little, Brown, and Company, London, 1996.
- 6) 1 StR 179/93, BGH Karlsruhe, decision of 15 March 1994 (trial of Günter Deckert). Afterword by Bruno Monitorio.

A question to which revisionists would like a convincing answer: What is the explanation for the irrational behaviour of an entire people which apparently believes in an absurd legend?

The Holocaust -- with its gas chambers which constantly change location; its millions of victims who disappear without a trace into blue vapour at Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka, after being murdered by Hitler's SS butchers, either with Zyklon B insecticide or Diesel exhaust, not to mention mass shootings Babi Yar-style (where the victims also disappear without a trace) -- is, and remains, first and foremost a unique proof of the monumental stupidity of our age. In the early 1980s -- when the major absurdities of the Holocaust swindle had already been exploded, with the exception of a few details -- most revisionist researchers thought it inconceivable that the legend could persist more than a few more years. Since then, more than fifteen years have elapsed, and the Lie continues to drag out its existence, filthier and more luxuriant than ever! Cracks are appearing in the edifice of lies, doubts are appearing -- here and there, in the press, in a few articles, in many private conversations -- as to the truth of the Establishment version of the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich. People mention the possibility of minor errors or exaggerations; but almost everyone continues to accept the story as basically correct. It is precisely this general acceptance which is the biggest puzzle to revisionists -- and to any reasonable person

with a minimum knowledge of history. Really, how can anyone of normal intelligence, for example, view the room which is shown to millions of tourists on the grounds of the former camp of Auschwitz as the "only Nazi gas chamber remaining in original condition", without immediately realizing that the physical capacity of the room -- not to mention its immediate surroundings, for example, its proximity to the hospital located nearby -- would make any mass execution using a highly dangerous poison gas impossible? The unspeakable atrocity stories spewed forth to visitors by officials of the Auschwitz Museum, deserve only ridicule. But the very opposite occurs: in these shrines dedicated to the Holocaust religion, people become intellectual cripples: awe-struck, their senses paralyzed, they gape at everything as if it were plausible, and solemnly swallow nonsensical fairy tales! Even the generation of Germans which lived through the war -- i.e., the "generation of criminals", those who supported the National Socialist system which is now slandered all over the world, who remained true to that system and fought for it to the bitter end, with unprecedented self-sacrifice and devotion of spirit -- that generation no longer knows what to believe after half a century of filth and lies. They confuse their personal first-hand experience, that which they saw and experienced themselves, with that which they think they should have seen or experienced (according to the official version of history). Faced with the accusations and ignorance of succeeding generations, the generation of the war years joins in with the chorus of self-incrimination or takes refuge in resigned silence. And yet, - if the gas chambers were technically impossible and the whole story is therefore a lie; - if no material evidence of the crime remains, since the Nazis "destroyed all traces of their crimes at the last moment"; - if millions of bodies simply disappeared into blue vapour, so that not a single body of a single gassing victim has ever been found; - if the official version of history is based on nothing but contradictory "eyewitness testimonies" of witnesses who were never subjected to cross-examination, and confessions extorted from "criminals"; - if a forensic report, including a reconstruction as is ordinary practice in an ordinary murder case, has never even been attempted; - if expert reports on the technical feasibility of the mass gasings are never performed by the courts, but only on behalf of private parties, and if no technical refutation of these reports can be produced. Then how is it then possible for the world to believe this series of grotesque hallucinations? If you ask these questions, most people are either surprised or shocked. But some people, particularly, young people -- who often react spontaneously and emotionally - - immediately and spontaneously declare their conviction that the Holocaust is absurd. One hears remarks like the following: "How could I have believed such nonsense for all those years?" The revisionist may perhaps be pleased in the belief that he has won a new adherent. But in most cases, this is a great mistake. When the shock wears off -- the shock which sets in following the discovery of a new truth, the new convert returns to his old environment, where it is almost impossible to find any information on the subject other than all-pervading Holocaust propaganda. The average person lacks the courage to deviate from his environment; the mass media, of course, are all around us. Upon the slightest expression of doubts, the inevitable reply will be that he has spoken with a horrid, lying Nazi, that he has heard a load of lies, and that he had better forget everything he heard. This is particularly true, unless the convert is a hero willing to jeopardize his social and professional position for historical truth. Since even the crudest lie can be obfuscated and explained away, the heretic falls away from his new belief and returns to the shrine of the incredible. *Credo quia absurdum est.* What at first seemed absurd -- in comparison to reasonable information about the absurdity of the Holocaust religion -- once again seems convincing. In a society in



which propagandists control the media, those who stray from the fold are quick to permit themselves to be persuaded once again that the unanimous opinion (Vox Populi, Vox Dei) which confirmed the reality of the mass extermination of the Jews for over a half a century, bears incomparably more weight than the statements of a single "Nazi".

This abandonment of the elementary duty to seek the truth can, however, have unexpectedly unpleasant results. Today, even re-educated Germans -- despite their anti-fascist fanaticism -- are regarded with mistrust, even hostility, by many people in all parts of the world.

The Zionists and their stooges are skilful at ensuring the perpetuation of this hostility, for example, through hundreds of films, largely produced by Jews, which depict German soldiers either as simple fools or sadistic beasts.

The passivity and cowardice of the majority of the German people today is their decisive contribution to the perpetuation endless hatred. All of German contemporary history has been turned into a sort of crime sheet by the Allied victors. The Germans swallow everything in complete passivity.

A person who refuses to defend himself, ought not to wonder if he is found guilty. He deserves no respect, and should expect none. Germans compete with each other in vomiting upon their own people and themselves at the same time. Do they really expect to gain any sympathy abroad in this way?

Let us nevertheless attempt to understand the reasons for this apparently illogical behaviour on the part of the German people.

Perhaps the main reason for it is the knowledge, or instinctive sense, that any critical discussion of the so-called Holocaust is dangerous; it can cost the victim his job, his position in society, and even destroy his family. In addition, many people don't want to know much about the Holocaust, which is the principal accusation against the German people, since they intuitively feel that many things about it simply cannot be true. They are afraid to know whether the Holocaust is a pack of lies, or just a lie or two; anyone doubting the details of the official version of history runs the risk of being compelled to question the story as a whole.

And that is just what our contemporaries, set on their peace and quiet and comfort at any price, do not want.

On the other hand, it is not easy to live with a lie which one should long ago have recognized as such, and, at the same time, to act as if it were no lie at all. For example, how should the mother of a family, who knows to a certainty that the gas chamber yarn is a lie, answer a child who asks, eyes wide-open with wonder: "Mama, teacher told us that German soldiers gassed the Jews. Did Grandpa gas the Jews, too?" The best way to evade a question like that, which is complex and painful, is simply to know nothing. So the mother simply tells the over-curious child, "I don't know, ask your teacher."

Anything for a peaceful life! Wilful ignorance enables people to conceal doubt, which would inevitably arise if they were to study the facts.

In their own justification, they cast about for excuses: "Why should I worry about all these old stories? I don't know if it's all true, but it can't be all lies, not everything the politicians, professors, and preachers all tell us. After all, there's no smoke without fire."

Another excuse, which at bottom is pure self-delusion, runs as follows:

"Instead of worrying about ancient history, we should worry about the present. There are enough problems in the world today; let's leave the past alone".

Anyone who argues in this fashion should be asked whether the controlled media, with their unceasing campaigns of hysterical hatred, the politicians, with their statements of national guilt and reconciliation, the intellectuals, with their whining rhetoric and rituals of suffering, the criminal justice system, with its witch-hunt for eighty and ninety-year old "Nazi war criminals", are "leaving the past alone".

There are parallels to the present situation in past history: four hundred years ago, the doctors and scholars preferred not to know whether witches really rode broomsticks through the air or had sexual intercourse with the Devil. Intelligent men of their age, like our own, must surely have told themselves that the stories of the Witches' Sabbath may not have been true in every detail, but after all, "there's no smoke without fire"!

Another decisive point: anyone expressing doubt in the Holocaust is immediately suspected of harbouring secret sympathy for the Nazis!

And, of course, no German wants to be a Nazi, because the Nazis were the greatest criminals in history, because of the Holocaust!

Thus the circle closes.

Lastly, it should be noted that acquiescence in the orthodox Holocaust True Faith spares one the humiliation, even in the privacy of one's own mind, of having been a fool for believing absurd nonsense for x number of years, nonsense of the purest sort, nonsense which collapses at the slightest serious examination.

# CONCLUSIONS

The Holocaust is not just a lie, it is a crime.

It is a crime because it not only justifies innumerable other crimes, but because it create a huge mass of hatred, which in turn contains the potential for new crimes.

People whose souls have been drenched in the hatred of the Holocaust Lie must be counted among its victims. This includes the millions of twelve to fifteen-year old school children dragged through the memorials of former concentration camps, often weeping uncontrollably at the atrocity stories and lies vomited up at them.

How much suffering, how much heartbreak, how many tragedies are due to the so-called "Holocaust", this hair-raising Lie of the Century, which the Jews invented, crammed down our throats, and have defended tooth and nail, with fines, with abuse, with imprisonment, for over half a century?

It is painful to think of the thousands, indeed tens of thousands, of people who have been humiliated, persecuted, imprisoned, or even executed in the name of this shameless swindle.

It is pathetic to see the once-great German people, having lost its pride, its sense of direction, its self-respect, to such an extent that it no longer dares to defend itself against a flood of slander and is too ashamed to look itself in the face.

One single mention of the "gas chambers", the extermination of the Jews, was enough to justify purging entire cities and provinces of their German population. Almost 17 million people were driven from their homes between 1944 and 1948 in an unbroken series of atrocities during which over two million died.

"After what they did to the Jews, they had it coming to them", is the classical justification.

It is truly disgusting to think of the millions of people all over the world watching Marvin Chomsky, Claude Lanzmann, Steven Spielberg and all the others -- *Holocaust*, *Shoa*, *Schindler's List*, etc. -- in the cinemas, on television -- and taking it all seriously.

The Jews -- or, more exactly, those who claim to speak for the Jews -- invented a story which they've called the Shoa or the Holocaust, and which they now claim is the history of their people.

The Holocaust money-making machine has brought them such tremendous advantages, that they can no longer live without it. But they made one fatal error: the Holocaust swindle is so endlessly absurd that its inventors can only take refuge in a suicide charge; having lost all sense of proportion, they have gone too far and will soon come crashing down.

To suppress all open debate on the subject appears an impossibility in the long run, despite all manner of repression.

From minor explanations to wholesale re-writing, including whole new "Revised Versions", the profiteers of the myth continue to entangle themselves in increasingly greater numbers of contradictions; the fables of today contradict the fables told yesterday; the defenders of the official version of history are being compelled to make so many concessions that more and more people are starting to wonder about it all.

Doubts expressed in private conversation no longer shock as much as they did a few years ago; it is getting easier for revisionists to gain a hearing.

In brief: for the exterminationists, the time is running out. Increasingly hysterical repression is an unmistakable sign of growing panic.

It is also a sign of weakness.

Instead of listening to the discussion, they simply grab for a truncheon. But how long can they get away with it?

The revisionists must not hope for quick victory; it will not come overnight. They should remember the wisdom expressed in the phrase from the Czech philosopher, Karel Capek, who said:

"Truth must be smuggled. It must be distributed in small doses. A drop here, a drop there -- until people get used to it. Not all at once.

At a time when the Lie appears to be triumphing without hinderance, we would like to close with an optimistic message. We wish to make the following appeal:

All of you, all friends of the truth, both known and unknown, from many European countries, those who, like Günter Deckert and Gottfried Kuessel, sit in German and Austrian prisons for "denying the existence of the gas chambers", or who have been compelled to go into exile like Remer and Rudolf, all persecuted revisionists and nationalists -- do not lose your courage, since your struggle against state-ordained lies is not in vain.

Your courage, the sacrifice of a few, will help to free entire nations and peoples, including the German and Russian peoples -- from the darkness which has so long covered them.

"But no-one would say anything publicly ... for fear of the Jews."  
(The Bible, John 7:13)

# The Trial of Jürgen Graf

## PART I

The criminal trial of Gerhard Förster and Jürgen Graf for  
"Racial Discrimination" in Baden!

(Baden, Switzerland) on 16 June 1998)

Based on Xavier Marx's report on the trial for RECHT + FREIHEIT(22 July).

Presiding judge: Andrea Stäubli  
State prosecutor: Dominik Aufdenblatten  
Sentence Graf: 15 months + fine  
Sentence Förster: 12 months + fine



## GERHARD FÖRSTER'S APPEARANCE AS DEFENDANT

Preliminary remark: this report is based on notes. Since its editor cannot take shorthand, his notes are rudimentary in nature. When the participants are quoted directly in the many passages which follow, it is quite obvious that they may not have spoken word for word as given below. It is just as obvious that the editor has made extensive abridgements. The reader is nevertheless assured that the meaning of the corresponding statements has been correctly given.

## INTRODUCTION

Switzerland's most important political trial to date for violation of the "Anti-Racism law" was held on 16 July 1998. Passed in 1995, application of article 261bis of the Criminal Code ("Racial Discrimination") had been only hesitatingly applied during the first two years of its existence; an avalanche of such trials then began in early 1997 (see, in this regard, the brochure "Abschied vom Rechtsstaat. Das 'Antirassismugesetz' als Instrument zur Errichtung einer totalitären Diktatur in der Schweiz" [Farewell to the State of Law: The 'Anti-racism law' as an Introduction for the Creation of a Totalitarian Dictatorship in Switzerland], edited by Presseclub Schweiz, Postfach 105, 4008 Basel). Judgment was pronounced on 21.7.1998. Graf and Förster were found guilty on the principal counts of the indictment, as was expected in view of the recently created state of totalitarian hysteria with regards to conscientious Holocaust research. Graf was sentenced to 15 months and Förster to 12 -- without probation -- as well to fines of 8,000 Swiss Francs for Graf and 12,000 for Förster. Graf has filed an appeal, Förster died four weeks after the verdicts were handed down.

Presiding judge Guido Näf had previously delayed proceedings for two years, obviously because he was aware of the very weak basis for the indictment filed by Dominik Aufdenblatten (the principal indictment dated 4 April 1996 was later supplemented by several additional counts). Judge Näf was withdrawn from the case in April 1998, and disciplinary proceedings were filed against him, the results of which remain unknown due to official secrecy. A new judge, a woman, Andrea Stäubli, was finally assigned to the case.

The prosecution demanded 17 months imprisonment without probation and a fine of 22,000 SF for Förster, and 18 months imprisonment without probation and a fine of 27,000 SF for Graf. The sentence was the stiffest so far against alleged violators of the "Anti-Racism Law" [ARG]. Graf was indicted for publishing four books ("The Holocaust under the Scanner", "The Holocaust Swindle", "Auschwitz Tatergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust" [Auschwitz Criminal Confessions and Eyewitnesses to the Holocaust] -- only available in German], "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" ["Cause of Death: Research into Contemporary History"] -- only available in German], as well as a brochure "Das Rotbuch" ["The Red Book"], also known as "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit" ["The Decline and Fall of Swiss Freedom"]. He was furthermore indicted for sending several texts on diskette to Ahmed Rami in Sweden, as well as to Ernst Zündel in Canada, who then disseminated those same texts on the Internet. Förster was indicted for publishing the Graf books "Auschwitz..." and "Todesursache", as well as "Das Rotebuch", in addition to other books by Erich Glagau and Harald Cecil Robinson, by means of his publishing company "Neue Visionen" (Postfach, 5436 Würenlos).

The trial began at 8:00 A.M. in the Saal Roter Turm, and ended at 9:00 P.M.. The courtroom (seating approximately 60 persons) was fully occupied, mostly by supporters of the two defendants. Apart from about 10 journalists, the Jewish plaintiffs only succeeded in mobilizing a few sympathizers. All the representatives of the revisionist camp came from western Switzerland or foreign countries.

## DR. URS OSWALD MOVES FOR DISMISSAL

Immediately after the opening of the proceedings, Dr. Urs Oswald, defence attorney for J. Graf, made an application to quash the proceedings. Under the European Convention on Human Rights, the two defendants had a right to a defence, as well as the right to defend themselves. The peculiar wording of the "Anti-Racism Law"[ARG], however, made this quite impossible. If he, Dr. Oswald, as attorney, penetrated to the core of the subject matter under discussion and introduced evidence accordingly, he himself risked indictment for alleged violation of the ARG. If the trial nevertheless continued despite his application for dismissal, the motion continued, he intended to call Dr. Robert Faurisson from France as well as certified engineer Wolfgang from Austria as defence witnesses.

The court adjourned for approximately twenty minutes for consultation. As expected, the court rejected the application to stop the trial. On the other hand, however, it approved Fröhlich's appearance as an expert witness. Dr. Oswald had naturally notified the court prior to trial that two witnesses were to appear, but had not revealed their names. Robert Faurisson is one of the world's best known experts with regards to research into the subject of gas chambers in relation to the Third Reich. Due to the trial's political bias, it was of course expected that the court would refuse to permit Faurisson's appearance. On the other hand, certified engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich is only known in Austria. Peter Liatowitsch (Basel), a Jewish attorney present in the courtroom and acting for assistant prosecuting attorney, Walter Stegemann (Basel), obviously had no idea who Fröhlich was, and raised no objection against Fröhlich's appearance as a defence witness. Liatowitsch must have regretted this afterwards.

## WOLFGANG FRÖHLICH, CERTIFIED ENGINEER, TAKES THE STAND AS DEFENCE WITNESS

The witness, a certified engineer, described himself briefly. His field of specialty was the technique of procedure and handling of toxic gas. He had carried out gassings on innumerable occasions – for the extermination of vermin, but chiefly for the elimination of disease organisms.

Presiding judge Andrea Staubli warned the witness that perjury was punishable by law with imprisonment. She then asked him whether Jürgen Graf's books, in his opinion, were scientific in nature.

Fröhlich answered that, as a non-historian, he was unable to form an opinion with regards to the historical parts of the books. On the other hand, the technical aspects of the mass exterminations as alleged were absolutely untenable from a scientific point of view.

State prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten requested the presiding judge to remind Fröhlich once again of his duty to testify truthfully; this was done. In substance, the following exchange then followed:

Aufdenblatten: In your opinion, were mass exterminations with Zyklon B technically possible?

Fröhlich: No.

Audenblatten: Why not?

Fröhlich: The insecticide Zyklon B consists of hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a granulate carrier substance. The hydrocyanic acid is released through contact with the air. The boiling point of hydrocyanic acid is 25.7 degrees C. The higher the temperature, the faster the evaporation rate. The delousing chambers in which Zyklon B was used in National Socialist camps and elsewhere, were heated to 30 degrees C or more, so that the hydrocyanic acid left the carrier granulate rapidly. On the other hand, much lower temperatures are said to have prevailed in the half-subterranean morgues of the crematoria at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where, according to eyewitness accounts, mass murders are supposed to have taken place using Zyklon B. Even if one assumes that the rooms were warmed by the body temperature of the hypothetical occupants, the temperature should not have exceeded 15 degrees, even in the warm season. The hydrocyanic acid in Zyklon B would therefore have taken many hours to evaporate.

According to the eyewitness accounts, the victims died very rapidly. The eyewitnesses speak of time periods ranging from "immediately" to "15 minutes". To kill the occupants of the gas chamber in such a short time, the Germans would have had to use absurdly large quantities of Zyklon; I assume from 40 to 50 kilos per gassing procedure. This would have made any work in the gas chamber radically impossible. The members of the Sonderkommando -- who, according to the eyewitnesses, were responsible for removing the bodies from the chamber -- would have collapsed immediately upon entering the chamber, even if they had worn gas masks. Immensely great quantities of hydrocyanic acid vapour would have streamed into the open air through the open doors, contaminating the entire camp.

Fröhlich's testimony was greeted with applause by members of the public attending the trial.

Prosecutor Aufdenblatten then jumped up, his face flushed red, and shouted:

"I hereby request the court to bring an indictment [against witness Fröhlich] for racial discrimination under article 261; otherwise I will do it myself."

Jürg Stehrenberger, defence attorney for defendant Förster, then stood up and informed the court that, in view of the intolerable restrictions placed upon the defence, he would consider resigning his brief as defence attorney. Together with Dr. Oswald, he then left the courtroom for a few minutes. Finally, the two lawyers announced that they strongly protested against the attitude of the prosecuting attorney, but would nevertheless continue in their duties; otherwise, the last vestiges of a formal defence would be lost to the defendant, and the defendants would be assigned court-appointed attorneys. Court-appointed defence attorneys, by the very nature of the situation, were known to dance to the tune of the state prosecutors, acting as de facto second prosecutors, as was the case in the show trials of the Soviet Union. It was



precisely this which defence attorneys Stehrenberger and Dr. Oswald wished to avoid by not resigning their briefs.

Prosecutor Aufdenblatten's demand for a criminal indictment against defence witness Fröhlich brutally unmasked the true nature of the situation. In point of fact, it amounted to the criminal offence of attempting to intimidate the witness.

Gerhard Förster, managing director of Neue Visionen GmbH, is 78 years old and a sufferer from osteoporosis and other disabilities; he is a widower. His father, along with approximately two million other Germans from the Eastern territories, died during the mass genocide of the mass expulsions of 1944-46. A Silesian by birth, he was a certified engineer, the holder of approximately 50 patents, and has long been a Swiss citizen. Due to his extremely precarious state of health, he was brought into the courtroom in a wheel chair. His examination as a defendant lasted over two hours, visibly tiring the seriously ill old man.

Presiding judge Andrea Stäubli asked the defendant whether he considered himself a "revisionist". Förster rejected the expression, since it had negative connotations, being associated with "right-wing radicalism". He was a searcher for the truth, with a mathematical turn of mind. In reading Holocaust literature, he was struck by the widely divergent figures given in relation to the number of Jews having died during WWII, and sought complete clarity as to the correct number. So far, no one had ever been able to give him an answer to this question.

Did he personally believe in the Holocaust and the gas chambers, the prosecutor then hammered away. Förster replied that he had not been there, and that faith was not his business. Rather, he wanted to know as much as possible, answered Förster. The presiding judge herself had shown that these trials were a matter of the imposition of compulsory belief, that is, modern religious trials, without regard to the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of belief.

Since Förster's memory was, by the nature of things, no longer what it used to be, and in view of his serious illness, he was unable to answer many questions, and got several dates confused. But he held up remarkably well, enduring the ordeal courageously. After about 11:00 A.M., however, his strength visibly waned; he no longer had the strength to speak audibly. This did not prevent the presiding judge from tormenting the mortally ill man with additional questions.

Förster stated that he had sent female federal prosecuting attorney Carla del Ponte a copy of "*Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse...*" prior to the entry into effect of the AGR [on 31 October 1994 to be exact], asking whether the contents were in violation of the ARG. He never received an answer, despite repeated requests. After six months, the Federal prosecutor's office disclaimed competence to answer. Under the circumstances, he felt he was entitled to assume in good faith that there were no objections to the book from the point of view of criminal law.

The examination of the defendant ended at 12:00 A.M., and the proceedings were adjourned until 2:00 P.M. Förster was discharged from any further participation.

## THE PROSECUTION FINAL STATEMENT

After a pause, prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten began his final summation. His miserable performance was purely rhetorical, and, as one trial observer expressed it, speaking crudely, "unter allen Sau" ["really lousy"]. Aufdenblatten made no attempt to show any relation between the passages in the books published by Förster and which were the subject of the indictment, and the wording of the ARG; rather, he contented himself with reeling off an endless litany of phrases ("pseudoscience", "anti-Semitic incitation", racist propaganda", etc.). Graf was said to be an intelligent man, and, therefore, doubly dangerous. Graf was said not to have sought the truth, but to have knowingly distorted the truth. His writings were said to have incited anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Since Graf was unreasonable, and fully acknowledged his revisionist views, there could be no favourable social prognosis. He could not therefore be given merely a suspended sentence. The same was true of Förster, who was just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health was allegedly no reason why he should not be sentenced to imprisonment without probation, since it was not the court's responsibility to determine the defendant's fitness to endure imprisonment; that was the responsibility of a doctor.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY PETER LIATOWITSCH FOR THE CIVIL PLAINTIFF

Jewish attorney Peter Liatowitsch confirmed that his client, Professor Stegemann, felt himself seriously libelled, both professionally and personally, by the dedication to the book. He demanded compensation for his client in the sum of 1000 SF, to be paid into a "Solidarity Fund". Stegemann described himself as "somatized" (whatever that might mean) by Graf's book and its mocking dedication.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY JÜRIG STEHRENBARGER

G. Förster's attorney Jürg Stehrenberger spoke for approximately one and a half hours, demanding acquittal for his client in an extremely rapid and passionately delivered final summation. He began by emphasizing that the mere presentation of any defence at all involved the danger of a stiffer sentence or another indictment, even for the defence lawyers and witnesses, effectively denying the defendant of his basic right to a defence.

It was not the court's responsibility to decide what happened 50 years ago, but rather, what the citizens of Switzerland were to be permitted to read and write today. Article 261bis was in conflict with fundamental constitutional rights such the right to the freedom of expression, freedom of scientific research, and freedom of the press.

According to article 1 of the Criminal Code, no one could be punished for committing an act not expressly declared to be punishable. The wording of the Anti-Racism Law was extremely vague, as is openly admitted in the relevant literature, particularly, in the commentary by Professor Marcel Niggli. In doubtful cases, it was the duty of the court to hold for the defendant.

The text of the law spoke of a "systematic denigration" of the members of a "race, ethnic group, or religion". This element of the offence was nowhere to be found in the books in question.

The text of the law spoke of "Leugnen" [to deny] the Holocaust. But "Leugnen" meant "to dispute against better knowledge". Disputing the Holocaust based on subjective conviction must, therefore, remain unpunishable, as emphasized by Stratenwerth in the commentary quoted by Niggli. (Stratenwerth speaks of "stubbornness" or "zeal".)

The concept of "gross trivialization" gave rise to further questions. Niggli's commentary states that human suffering cannot be quantified, and that the number of victims was therefore legally irrelevant to the qualification of a crime as genocide. Before one can trivialize anything, it is first necessary to know what happened. But anyone who arrives at a lower estimate of the number of Holocaust victims than the figures established by certain special interest groups was liable to punishment! This in itself was a contradiction. According to this logic, Jean-Claude Pressac, who arrives at an estimate of 631,000 Auschwitz victims in his book, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Piper 1994), would be liable to criminal indictment in Switzerland.

In view of the class action suits pending against Switzerland in the United States, filed by Jewish organizations for a total of 40 billion Swiss Francs, there was immense public interest in determining what Swiss officials actually knew of the fate of the Jews during WWII. How was it possible for the Red Cross official Rossel, who visited the Auschwitz concentration camp on 29 September 1944 with other fellow workers, to write in his report (quoted in "Documents sur l'activité du Comité international de la Croix Rouge en faveur des civils détenus dans les camps de concentration en Allemagne", Geneva 1947), that he had seen no confirmation of the rumours of mass gassings, and that the inmates questioned had not themselves mentioned them. The visit took place, it must be remembered, in SEPTEMBER 1944!

No one, not even the prosecutor, claimed that Graf had falsely quoted or mistranslated the statements in "*Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse...*". The state prosecutor's office never reacted to Förster's mailing of a copy of the book in October 1994; never expressed an opinion on it, even after repeated inquiries. Finally, six months later, it disclaimed competence to answer the question as to the legality or illegality of the book. This was inconceivable; in any event, it proved that the state prosecutor's office did not consider the book to be automatically in violation of the ARG. The prosecutor at trial flatly, and without justification, dismissed the book as "pseudoscientific"; this was impermissible. "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung", the story of a fictitious secondary school classroom debate, contained references to innumerable works of historical literature, clearly stating the sources in every case. Imbedding these references in a literarily invented project week on the subject of contemporary history was in itself nothing objectionable.

Defendant Förster had already been condemned by ceaseless media hysteria. Although he had served only six weeks at the front as a Wehrmacht lance corporal, the press depicted him as an SS officer; he was constantly smeared as a Nazi. His German ancestry made him a target for the violence of self-styled "anti-racists",

which in itself is the "racism" in its purest form. "My client must therefore be acquitted".

# The Trial of Jürgen Graf

## PART II

The criminal trial of Gerhard Förster and Jürgen Graf for  
"Racial Discrimination" in Baden!

(Baden, Switzerland) on 16 June 1998.

Based on Xavier Marx's report on the trial for RECHT + FREIHEIT (22 July).



According to the 17 July *Aargauer Tageblatt*, Graf's interrogation was "much livelier" than Förster's; this was undoubtedly true. The cat-and-mouse exchange of questions and answers lasted more than two hours.

Graf defended the views expressed in his books with great forcefulness.

Judge Stäubli: Was there a holocaust?

Graf: That is a matter of definition. If, by 'Holocaust', you mean brutal persecution, mass deportations to camps, and the death of many Jews through epidemics, exhaustion, and malnutrition, then, of course, it is a historical fact. But the Greek term 'Holocaust' means 'total burning', or 'victim of fire', and is used by orthodox

historians for the alleged mass gassing and burning of Jews in 'extermination camps'. That is a myth.

Judge Stäubli: Do you consider yourself a revisionist? What does this expression mean?

Graf: Yes, I consider myself a revisionist. In general, the term revisionist is applied to historians who subject the official version of history to critical examination. The Holocaust revisionists under discussion here dispute three central points: 1) the existence of a plan for the physical destruction of the Jews; 2) the existence of extermination camps and execution gas chambers 3) the number of 5 to 6 million Jewish victims. The exact number of victims is unknown, since the documentation is incomplete. Personally, I assume less than a million.

Judge Stäubli: Are you a trained historian?

Graf: No. I must, however, point out to you that the two best-known representatives of the orthodox 'Holocaust' literature, the Jews Gerald Reitlinger and Raul Hilberg, were not, or are not, trained historians either. Reitlinger was an expert in the history of art, while Hilberg is a jurist. The Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac, whom the media have praised as the rebutter of revisionism, is a pharmacologist. If an art historian, a jurist, and a pharmacologist have the right to express themselves on the Holocaust, then a philologist has that right, too.

Judge Stäubli: What was your motivation in writing these books?

Graf: My central motive is not the defence of the German people, although I like the Germans. My central motive is a love of truth. I cannot tolerate lying.

Judge Stäubli: What is your definition of scientific writing?

Graf: The characteristics of scientific writing is that all counter arguments must be taken into account and examined before formulating one's own opinion. Only the revisionists do this.

Judge Stäubli: Would you term your own books as scientific?

Graf: I would classify them in three categories. *Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust*, as well as the book on Majdanek, written by myself in collaboration with Mattogno, which will soon be published, are scientific books. *The Holocaust Swindle* and *The Holocaust Under the Scanner* I would call popular science. In these books, for the most part, I do not set forth my own knowledge; rather, I present a general summary of revisionism. *Todesursache: Zeitgeschichtsforschung* is, finally, quite simply a novel, and as such is not scientific.

Judge Stäubli: What moved you to write your Auschwitz books?

Graf: There is no technical or documentary proof of the reported mass gassings at Auschwitz, but rather, only eyewitness accounts. This suggested the idea of collating

the most important eyewitness statements, quoting them, and analysing them. If no historian ever thought of this before, that is not my fault.

Judge Stäubli: Do you consider the eyewitness statements incredible?

Graf: Yes. Let us assume that three witnesses describe an alleged automobile accident. The first witness says the automobile left the highway, caught fire, and exploded; the second says the automobile had a head-on collision with an on-coming car; while the third says that the automobile hit a bridge, the bridge collapsed, and the automobile fell into a river. What do you do? And what do you do when there is no wreckage of any automobile to be seen anywhere around, and there is no bridge and no river? The eyewitness testimonies on gassings contradict each other on all possible points; and where they agree, they repeat the same impossibilities over and over again, depriving them of all credibility. For example, many witnesses claim that, in Auschwitz, three bodies were burnt in one oven muffle in three quarters of an hour. The actual capacity was one body per muffle per hour; the capacity stated by the witnesses is therefore exaggerated twelve-fold. This proves that the eyewitness testimonies were coordinated in advance. The exact manner in which these testimonies were coordinated, is known in complete detail.

Judge Stäubli: In the introduction to the Auschwitz book, you write that there is no documentary proof of the extermination of the Jews in the extermination camps. Do you stand by that statement?

Graf: The anti-revisionist historian Jacques Baynac, in the "Nouveau Quotidien" on 3 September 1996, wrote that the absence of evidence makes it impossible to prove the existence of the gas chambers. In 1995, I spent almost two months in two Moscow archives, together with Carlo Mattogno, where we viewed 88,000 pages of documents from Auschwitz, and thousands of pages from other camps. Not one document refers to the gassing of a single Jew. This did not surprise us, since if such document had existed, the Communists would have triumphantly displayed them to the world in 1945. But no, the documents disappeared for 46 years and were only made available to researchers in 1991. Why? The German documents set forth the objectives of National Socialist Jewish policy quite clearly. They wanted to transfer the Jews out of Europe, and, in the meantime, during the war, they used their labour power.

Judge Stäubli: In "The Holocaust Swindle" you write: "After the war, the Jews were still there." What do you mean by that?

Graf: I mean that most of the Jews in the German sphere of influence survived. Rolf Bloch, President of the Holocaust Fund, in the "Handelzeitung" of 4 February of this year, said that more than one million Holocaust survivors were still alive today. Any actuary can easily compute that there must have been more than three million survivors in February 1945. As shown by Walter Sanning in his study "The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry", published in 1983 and based almost exclusively on Jewish sources, there could not have been more than four million Jews at most in the German sphere of influence at the time of its broadest geographical expansion. Of these, as admitted above, over three million survived. How can one arrive at a figure of Six Million victims?

Judge Stäubli: Can you imagine that Jews may feel offended by your books?

Graf: Yes, and also many non-Jews. The brain-washing is so complete that anyone who accidentally stumbles across the truth is easily upset.

Judge Stäubli: And don't you care whether Jews feel offended by your books?

Graf: Edgar Bronfmann recently said that Switzerland was like a man who needed to have his feet held in the fire to make him see reason. Can you imagine that a Swiss citizen could be offended at that? Why is there only talk of the feelings of the Jews, and never the feelings of other people?

Judge Stäubli: The ARG (Anti-Racism-Law) was approved by a democratic referendum. Don't you have to respect that?

Graf: The people of that time were told that the law was to protect foreigners from racist violence. In reality, it is used exclusively to protect Jews from any criticism. This is irrefutably proven in the brochure "Abscheid vom Rechtsstaat", to which I participated with two short papers. Not one Swiss citizen has ever been indicted or sentenced for criticizing blacks, Arabs, or Turks. The only people indicted and sentenced are people who criticize Jews.

Judge Stäubli: Did the events described by yourself in your "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung", depicted as a debate in a German high school classroom, really take place?

Graf: The events are obviously invented.

Judge Stäubli: But in your introduction, you describe it as if it really took place.

Graf: That is an ancient, and well-known, literary technique. Many authors pretend to have found an old manuscript or a letter in a bottle.

Judge Stäubli: In the book, one school girl, Marietta, says that, if the Germans had had more Zyklon, fewer inmates would have died. Please explain that statement!

Graf: The main reason for the extremely high mortality rate in Auschwitz was typhus fever, which is transmitted by lice. In the late summer of 1942, this epidemic disease caused 403 deaths in a single day. The documents show that the Germans constantly demanded more and more Zyklon to eliminate lice, but that the stocks were nevertheless insufficient. Thus, Marietta's statement is nothing less than historical fact. Moreover, I must inform you that deliveries of Zyklon were also made to Switzerland, Norway, and Finland during the war. Does that mean that Jews were gassed in these countries too?

Judge Stäubli: In the brochure, "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit", you write that, to the Jews, the Holocaust has become a religion. What is your comment?



Graf: An estimated one third of all Jews today no longer believe in God, but they all believe in the gas chambers. The Holocaust faith is the mortar binding Jews together today.

Judge Stäubli: In the same brochure, you say: "The march into the police state has begun." Why do you speak of a "march into a police state"?

Graf: If we already had a total police state, I would be in prison or dead, and could not speak freely here today. We still possess the possibility of protest today. In five years, that will no longer be true, if present developments continue.

Graf described the trial of Förster and himself as a "classical political trial". The defendants had not been indicted for their actions, but rather, for their opinions. The oppression of dissenting opinion through criminal law was the classic characteristic of dictatorship.

Judge Stäubli: Did you inquire whether the publication of your books violated the ARG?

Graf: No revisionist can be convicted under the ARG in correct legal proceedings in a state of law, since the wording of the law is not specific; no one can be punished for any action not expressly stated to be punishable. But I knew ahead of time that our adversaries have no concept of fairness or justice, and that sooner or later, there would be a trial.

In addition to "Racial Discrimination", Graf was also indicted for "Intimidation", and "Libel". The offence of "Intimidation", according to the state prosecutor's office, was alleged to have consisted of sending the manuscript of an article entitled "How Many People Died at Auschwitz?", in February 1995, to numerous university history professors, among other people, asking them to reply, indicating any errors it might contain. If no errors were reported by a certain date, the article would be published in the newspaper "Aurora" [Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland]. In fact, no errors were ever reported; several of the recipients nevertheless replied, that, as specialists in ancient history or as medievalists, they were not competent to express an opinion on the matter. Graf answered questions from the presiding judge in this regard by stating that his procedure in this matter testified to the seriousness of revisionist attempts to determine the truth. He wanted to know whether there were any errors in his text, and if so, where. If no one told informed him of any errors, that was not his fault.

The offence of "Libel" was said to have been committed in the autumn of 1997, when Graf sent a copy of the book "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" to the theology professor Ekkehard Stegemann, with a dedication reading, "To Professor Stegemann, so that he may serve Christ in future instead of the foes of Christ". Stegemann is one of those theologians who make the guilt of Christian churches for anti-Semitism the central point of their theology, and are rewarded for this by rapid career advancement.

Judge Stäubli: Why did you send Prof. Stegemann this book?

Graf: I knew that he had long engaged in discussion with the well-known revisionist Arthur Vogt, and I therefore considered him ready for dialogue.

[Stegemann later stated that he had not known that Vogt was a revisionist; otherwise he would not have engaged in discussion with him.]

Judge Stäubli: By means of this introduction, did you wish to imply that Prof. Stegemann did not take his duty as a theologian seriously, and did not serve Christ at all?

Graf: Prof. Stegemann calls himself a Christian. To a Christian, Jesus Christ must be more important than anything else. But his only commitment is to serve the interests of Jewry. In front of me, I have a book written by the Israeli professor Israel Shahak, published in 1994 and entitled "Jewish History, Jewish Religion". Shahak shows in great detail that Jewish hatred for all non-Jews, and, in particular, for Christians, is the central motive of the Jewish Religion. According to the Talmud, a book which many Jews place higher than the Torah, Jesus Christ is in Hell, boiling in excrement..."

[Graf's attempts to introduce further evidence of Jewish hatred of Christ from Shahak's book were interrupted by the presiding judge.]

Graf: A person for whom Jesus Christ should be more important than anything else, should not toady up to people who claim that Jesus is in Hell, boiling in excrement."

Judge Stäubli: Then, by "foes of Christ", you mean the Jews?

Graf: Not individual Jews as persons, but the Jewish religion.

## THE PROSECUTION FINAL STATEMENT

After a pause, prosecutor Dominik Aufdenblatten began his final summation. His miserable performance was purely rhetorical, and, as one trial observer expressed it, speaking crudely, "unter allen Sau" ["really lousy"]. Aufdenblatten made no attempt to show any relation between the passages in the books published by Förster and which were the subject of the indictment, and the wording of the ARG; rather, he contented himself with reeling off an endless litany of phrases ("pseudoscience", "anti-Semitic incitation", racist propaganda", etc.). Graf was said to be an intelligent man, and, therefore, doubly dangerous. Graf was said not to have sought the truth, but to have knowingly distorted the truth. His writings were said to have incited anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Since Graf was unreasonable, and fully acknowledged his revisionist views, there could be no favourable social prognosis. He could not therefore be given merely a suspended sentence. The same was true of Förster, who was just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health was allegedly no reason why he should not be sentenced to imprisonment without probation, since it was not the court's responsibility to determine the defendant's fitness to endure imprisonment; that was the responsibility of a doctor.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY PETER LIATOWITSCH FOR THE CIVIL PLAINTIFF

Jewish attorney Peter Liatowitsch confirmed that his client, Professor Stegemann, felt himself seriously libelled, both professionally and personally, by the dedication to the book. He demanded compensation for his client in the sum of 1000 SF, to be paid into a "Solidarity Fund". Stegemann described himself as "somatized" (whatever that might mean) by Graf's book and its mocking dedication.

## FINAL SUMMATION BY DR. URS OSWALD

Dr. Urs Oswald, court-appointed defence attorney for defendant Jürgen Graf, spoke for more than an hour, sharply attacking state prosecutor Audfenblatten. Although he respected Audfenblatten as a human being, and recognized his competence, he felt it his duty to state that the indictment was very badly written and completely untenable.

According to the principle of "nulla poena sine lege" (no punishment without law), the books, which were written before entry into effect of the ARG, should never have been the subject of an indictment. For that reason, he would not discuss the content. "Auschwitz. Tätergeständnisse..." was undeniably written in May 1994, and published in August of the same year. No one claimed that Graf had marketed the book himself. The prosecutor's claim to justification on the grounds that Graf had not expressly forbidden the publishing firm from further distribution after 1 January 1995, and even declared himself to be in agreement with such distribution, was insufficient in law, and contrary to all customary legal practice.

Nor was Graf subject to punishment for continuing to sell his first two books after entry into effect of the ARG, since the "public" element of the offence prescribed by the text of the law, was entirely lacking. Graf carried on no advertising for these two books; he had sent no copies libraries or other places where they might have been available for inspection by the public. On the contrary, he sent them only to people who ordered them. How could this constitute the "public" nature of the offence, as required by the text of the law? In customary legal practice, not even a small group of friends was considered to be "public", much less so a single individual.

There was no proof that Graf had written "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" after 1.1.95. (In this, Dr. Oswald was in error, an error which Graf later corrected.) The brochure "Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit" was, of course, indisputably written after entry into effect of article 261bis, but the passages which were the subject of the indictment, in which the author summarizes his Auschwitz books, were written in his own defense. Had he been granted a court-appointed attorney at that point in time, he would not have needed to write the brochure.

That Graf admittedly sent diskettes to Ernst Zündel in Canada and Ahmed Rami in Sweden, who then posted the texts on the Internet, was not a punishable offence, since the crime, in this case, was not committed in Switzerland. The texts were posted on the Internet in Canada, the USA, and Sweden, where there were no laws against revisionism. Any text on the Internet can be retrieved anywhere in the world; they

cannot be expected to conform to the laws of every nation in the world. An extensive study recently published by a jurist named Widmer -- of course, not available to the state prosecuting attorney prior to trial -- showed very clearly that only the provider is responsible for the content of the texts. In the case at issue, however, the provider was in a foreign country.

The count of the indictment mentioning "intimidation" was untenable. Asking historians to report any errors in a text did not constitute the crime of intimidation. No prejudice was caused to any of these historians by the subsequent publication of the article; yet the threat of prejudice was the central characteristic of intimidation (Note: Graf was acquitted on this charge in the first instance.)

The count of the indictment relating to "libel" was civil in nature, and actually had no place in the present trial. In addition, Prof. Stegemann and his attorney had missed the cut-off date; the accusation was now barred by the statute of limitations. Graf was acquitted on this point, as well.

Graf's motive was not to degrade the Jews, but rather, to search for truth. The prosecutor alleged the contrary, but was unable to provide any proof, having made no effort to justify his accusation of "pseudoscience" in any manner whatever.

Dr. Oswald demanded that Graf be acquitted on all points.

Dr. Oswald's summation, like Stehrenberger's, was greatly appreciated by the majority of persons attending the trial, who were favourably disposed towards the defendants. Both lawyers did as much as they possibly could for their clients without jeopardizing their own position, displaying true commitment.

## FINAL STATEMENT BY JÜRGEN GRAF:

"Your Honour, the court, ladies and gentlemen. I would first like to make two remarks. I would like to thank the presiding judge, for the fair manner in which you have conducted this trial [editor's comment: for rejecting Robert Faurisson's appearance as defence witness!?] You have permitted me to speak and defend my statements without hinderance, and you deserve thanks for so doing.

I would like to thank my attorney, Dr. Oswald for his excellent summation, but I would like to permit myself to correct one error. "Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung" was written mostly in 1995; I say so openly, because I despise lying.

An eminently qualified engineer appeared here today as a defence witness, an expert on the construction of gas chambers for the extermination of vermin and the eradication of viruses. Wolfgang Fröhlich was expressly warned of his duty to tell the truth and took due note of that warning. The state prosecuting attorney Aufdenblatten asked him whether it was possible to gas human beings in gas chambers using Zyklon B in the manner described, and if not, why not. In accordance with his profound technical knowledge and true to his duty to testify truthfully, Fröhlich answered the question in the negative, and justified his answer in detail. What did the state

prosecuting attorney do then? He demanded an indictment for "Racial discrimination" (but not for perjury). That is pure Stalinism, ladies and gentlemen! I know that this is a serious accusation, but I maintain it. Your Honour, you made an effort to ensure a fair trial, but that is not true of the prosecutor.

A few words about myself, although I do not like to call attention to myself. I knowingly exchanged a well-paying job in a state school for an uncertain future [as a revisionist researcher]. Yet the prosecutor has the nerve to attempt to read my mind, and makes the accusation that I never sought the truth, but instead, lies. Do you believe that anyone would willingly risk the destruction of his existence [and jail] for a known lie?

We revisionists make an effort to approximate historical truth insofar as possible. We demand nothing else than to be shown our errors. Of course, there are errors in my books, but do you know who showed them to me? Other revisionists! From the other side, the sole reaction has consisted of insults, incitement, threats, indictments, and trials.

The statements of the prosecutor or Prof. Stegemann betray absolute helplessness in the face of revisionist arguments; this helplessness is as visible here as it was, for instance, in the article published in the "Weltwoche", not long ago, by the famous Hans Stutz. There are never any factual arguments, but rather, empty phrases such as "pseudoscience, anti-Semitism, racist incitement, etc."

Sigi Feigel [Swiss Jewish leader] and his people want to imprison Förster and myself, and to prohibit our books. I would never dream of imprisoning Sigi Feigel [for his incitement against Switzerland]. If he ever wrote a book, I would never dream of prohibiting it. I challenge Mr. Feigel or Mr. Stegemann, or any other spokesman for the official view of the Holocaust, to a factual, dispassionate open debate, on radio or television, as to the existence of the gas chambers and the number of Jewish victims.

In living memory, no one in Switzerland has been arrested for the non-violent expression of an opinion. The last example dates far back into the last century. Ladies and gentlemen of the court, shortly before the end of the 20th century, do you want to break with this tradition? If you absolutely must jail someone, then please jail me; not the mortally ill Mr. Förster!

Jailing me would bring no shame upon myself. But it would bring shame on our country, Switzerland. A Switzerland in which the freedom of expression has been abolished, in which 0.6 percent of the population may decide what the other 99.4% can read, write, say, and think, is a dead Switzerland.

I would like to end my remarks with a quotation from my friend Gaston-Armand Amaudruz from western Switzerland, against whom a trial similar to that held today against Mr. Förster and myself, is now pending in Lausanne.

In number 371 of his "Courrier du Continent" Amaudruz wrote:

"As in earlier historical times, it is a sign of weakness to attempt to enforce a dogma by force. The exponents of the Jewish extermination thesis may win trials based on

censorship law today; but they will lose the last trial before the court of future generations."

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The following bibliography naturally makes no claim to completeness. The most complete revisionist bibliography to our knowledge appeared in no. 42 of the Italian publication *L'Uomo Libero* (Casella Postale 1658, I-20123 Milan, Italy).

Most of the titles mentioned here can be ordered from the publishers in each case, or from Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem-2, Belgium.

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*National Journal*, P.O. Box 62, GB-Uckfield/E. Sussex, TN22 1ZY

*Aurora*, Postfach 386, CH-8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland.

In French:

*Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste*, appeared from 1987 to 1990 in a total of eight issues. These can still be ordered from B.P. 122 - F-92704 Colombes Cedex, France.

A.N.E.C.B.P. 21, F-44530 St Gildas des Bois, France

*Nouvelle Vision*, appeared in a total of 36 issues until 1995. These can still be ordered from A.N.E.C. (see above).

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Translated by Carlos W. Porter

Note: some of the quotations are retranslations back into English, from German, of quotations which originally appeared in English (Hannah Arendt, Daniel Goldhagen).



























