

If you would like more information or would like to join the Anti Nazi League then send off the slip below to: ANL, PO Box 2566, London N4 2HG. Telephone: 071 924 0333

Address

Telephone

Organisation/Trade Union

Affiliation fees: £5 individuals/£1 concessions. £25 local groups. £50 national organisations. Donations warmly welcomed. Make all cheques and POs payable to Anti Nazi League.

'Never Again! the Anti Nazi League album, is well worth having. Together with Shamen and Bomb the Bass, there are around a dozen other bands, including Pop Will Eat Itself, The Proclaimers, Plowered Up, Soho and the new ex-Madness combo, the Nutty Boys, showing a wide range of tempos and tempters. Buy it for barmitzvah presents, for birthday presents. Just buy it, on CD or cassette, and help keep the Nazis in the gutter where they belong.' Jewish Gazette, 11 September 1992 'Excellent.' Roger Huddle/Red Saunders, Rock Against Racism Available from all good record shops

Stop Holocaust denial badges: 50p each or 50 for £20 • ANL badges 30p. Various badges 50p, stickers 25p a sheet (yellow, red and black), T-shirts £6 large/X-large (front: ANL logo, back: Pastor Neimoeller poem), posters £1 for 10, £6 for 100, various leaflets £5 for 100.

Send all monies to Ernie Roberts, ANL Treasurer, PO Box 2566, London N4 2HG. (Add £1 or more for postage when ordering bulk.)

Appeal for money

This pamphlet has been produced by the ANL. We are an organisation which unites all those who want to prevent the rise of fascism regardless of their race, colour, religion or sexuality.

The small band of Nazis in Britain are nowhere as influential as their colleagues on the continent. Yet they gain confidence from their actions and attempt to build on those successes here. We can ensure they are stopped and that they remain insignificant and on the margins of society.

We cannot allow the Nazis to gain respectability for their ideas. We must expose them for what they are - lovers of Hitler who dream of a return to mass persecution and concentration camps.

This needs money. The ANL relies on its members for its survival, you are our only source of income. We need funds in order to respond to the many attacks we face — Holocaust revisionism, racist murders and the Nazis organising and demonstrating.

Please join today and send a donation towards the cost of producing this pamphlet.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL: THE NEW AZILE



Many people have agreed to sponsor Holocaust Denial: The New Nazi Lie.

They include:

Rabbi Hugo Gryn Auschwitz survivor

Ester Brunstein Auschwitz survivor

Ben Helfgott Holocaust survivor

Morris Beckman of the '43 Group of Jewish anti-fascist fighters which helped to destroy Mosley's fascist organisation after the war.

Neal Ascherson, Julia Bard, Steven Berkoff, Harry Cohen MP, Professor Lord Desai, Sarah Dunant, Rabbi Colin Eimer, Southgate & District Reform Synaguogue, Professor Ernest Gellner, Bernie Grant MP, Peter Hain MP, Robert Harris, Michael Ignatieff, Miriam Karlin, Glenys Kinnock, David Kossoff, Hyam Maccoby, Harold Pinter, John Rose, Professor Harold Rosen, Michael Rosen, David Rosenberg, Arthur Scargill, Raphael Scharf, Antony Sher, Professor George Steiner and Arnold Wesker.

Sponsors are still welcome. If you would like to be a sponsor either personally or through an organisation, eg community, trade union or student union, please contact the Anti Nazi League (see address back page).

We would also like to thank **Dr David Cesarani**, principal researcher for the report of the all party parliamentary war crimes group, and **Martin Gilbert**, Britain's leading historian on the Holocaust, for their invaluable advice.

Cover photograph: The march to the *Umschlagplatz*. After the defeat of the Warsaw ghetto uprising Jews are rounded up for deportation to the camps.

gro.

ver since the full horror of the Nazi death camps and concentration camps was revealed to the world, fascists, old Nazis and neo-Nazis have been infuriated by the huge wave of sympathy for the Jewish people. For those who have devoted their whole lives to hating Jews, who saw their wildest and cruellest dream come true in the nightmare of the Holocaust, that sympathy cannot be tolerated.

So they started to deny that the Holocaust ever happened. Six million Jews, they said, didn't really die. For most of the last forty years, Holocaust denial has been the activity of a few violent cranks, but recently they have won publicity for their ideas. Their leaders have broken through into the daily press. In Britain, the *Sunday Times* has promoted David Irving as some kind of unique expert on Nazi history. *The Guardian* gave him half a page in which he announced that it would soon be shown that the Holocaust did not happen.

This latest flurry of anti-Semitism has caused pain and distress to hundreds and thousands of Jews. There is hardly a Jew in Britain today who cannot tell you how relatives of theirs

were murdered or persecuted sometime between 1933 and 1945. And this isn't a problem for Jews alone. Many people know that an attack on a minority is an attack on society as a whole.

But there is still a terrible ignorance. There was a double shock for the people who have written this report: how ghastly and sickening the Holocaust actually was, and how frightening that there were episodes and events we didn't know about.

Could the unthinkable be happening? Is Holocaust denial becoming respectable and believable?

ith these thoughts in mind, a group of Jews in the Anti Nazi League have come together to produce this pamphlet. It attempts to explain Holocaust denial, to remind us all what the Holocaust was and to show ways in which these liars and killers can and must be stopped.

We urge you to read it, display it in your workplace, use it for discussion in meetings, trade union branches and anywhere there is so much as a breath of Holocaust denial.

We attempt to explain
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Vulture.

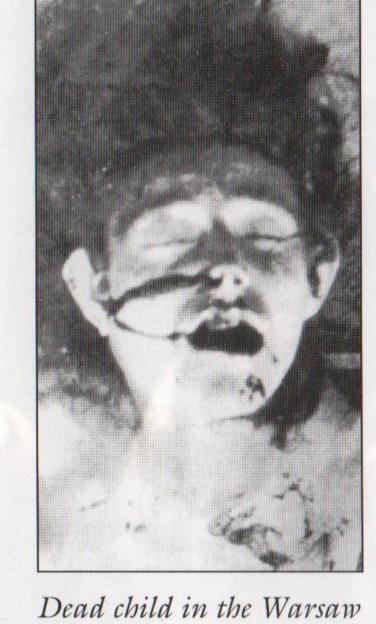
Vultures cackled over our corpses: their old dreams had taken shape: we were carrion at last.

Vultures scoured and cleaned tidied up the carnage, wanting no leftovers.

Vultures are looming now —
they hover over high-rise wrecks
and hungry queues,
hunting bodies,
screeching, 'Corpses? What corpses?
We're pretty boys!'

Parading as parrots, they don't fool us because we are the leftovers, the ones that poison vultures.

Michael Rosen



Dead child in the Warsaw ghetto.

Jews were not killed by the Nazis and those under their command. The deniers claim there was no Nazi plan of genocide.

They say:

• all evidence of the extermination camps is

faked.

• the Nazis who confessed to carrying out the extermination did so only because they were tortured.

- the judges were prejudiced because they were Jews, communists or dupes.
- gas used to kill Jews was really disinfectant.
- Jews who died in concentration camps did so as a result of diseases such as typhus.

Who makes this kind of statement?

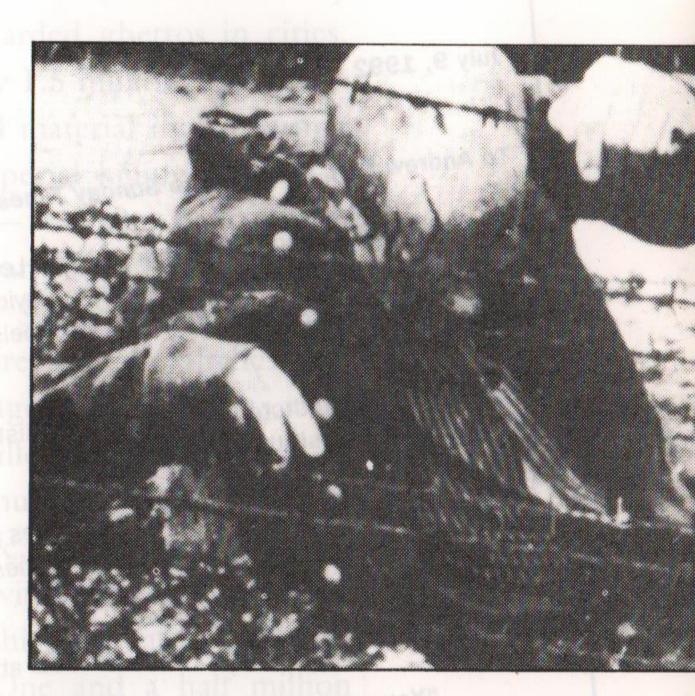
People who belong to fascist, racist, anti-Semitic, white supremacist and neo-Nazi organisations in the USA, France, Britain, Germany, Russia and elsewhere.

They write books and pamphlets with such titles as:

The Six Million Swindle,
The Myth of the Six Million,
The Hoax of the Twentieth Century,
Debunking the Genocide Myth.

To hardcore Nazis like themselves they are speaking in code. When they say the Holocaust didn't happen, they mean *it does not matter that it happened*. As the French fascist leader, Le Pen, put it, the Holocaust was "a mere detail of history".

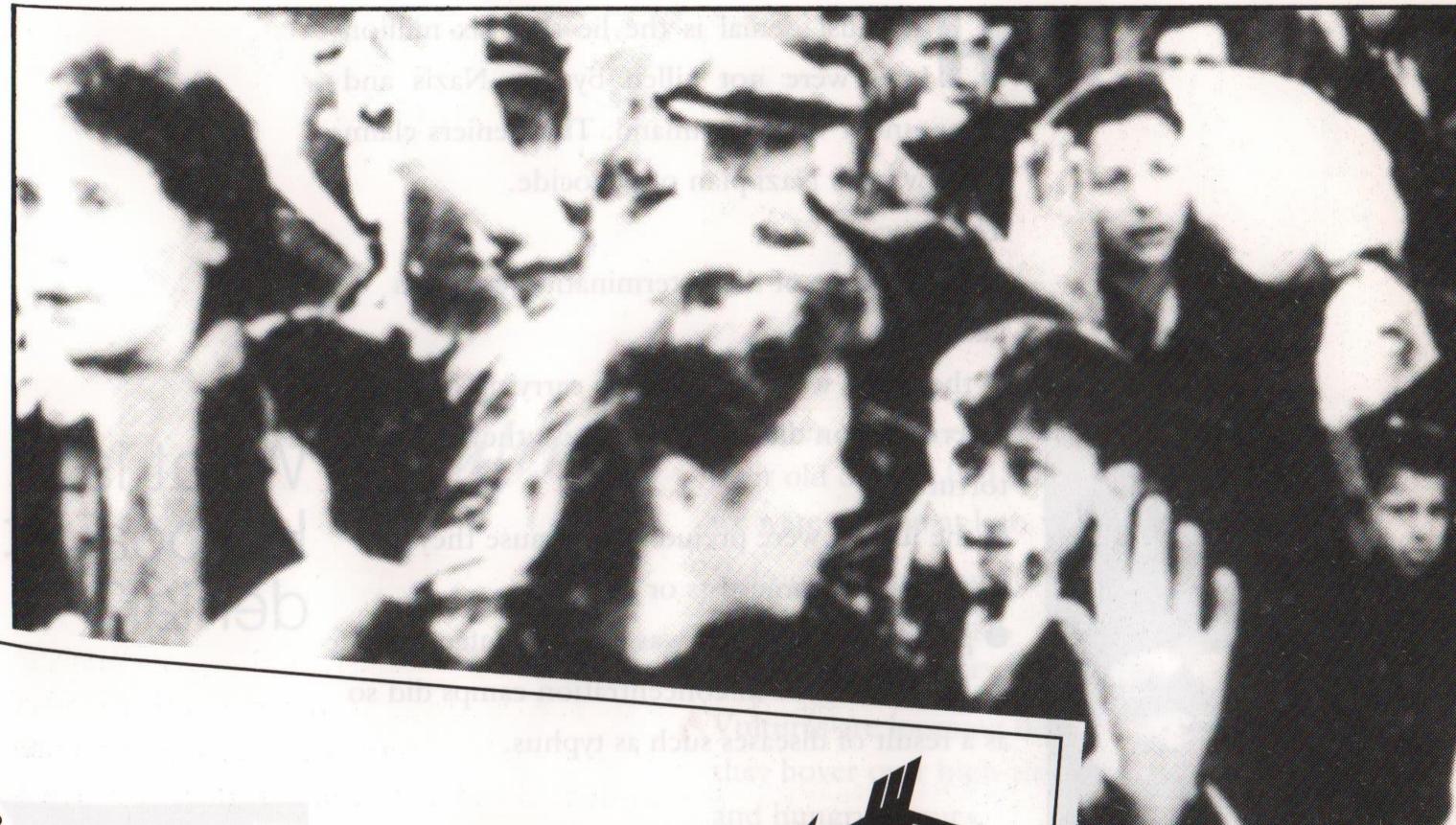
What is Holocaust denial?



Concentration camp victim.

Holocaust Denial / Anti Nazi League





July 9, 1992

To Andrew Neil, Editor of the Sunday Times,

We are Jewish supporters of the Anti Nazi League and we are writing to express our distress at the willingness of the Sunday Times to hire David Irving, Holocaust Revisionist and neo-Nazi, to assist with the newspaper's serialisation of the Goebbels' diaries. The claim that only Irving can read Goebbels'

The respected Instititute of Contemporary History in Munich has a contract with the Moscow archive to

There is nothing wrong with the Sunday Times publishing a newly-discovered Nazi archive. There is something wrong indeed with the Sunday Times lending credibility to a Nazi sympathiser to do the job

There can be no doubt about Irving's political attitudes:

"You can call me a mild fascist if you like...l...visited Hitler's eyrie at Berchtesgarden. I regard it as a shrine." (Irving speaking at an Oswald Mosley rally, Imperial College, 1959).

"This myth of mass murders of Jews in the death factories of Auschwitz etc etc which in fact never took place...a ghost which will be laid." (Irving speaking to a Hamburg audience in 1991 predicting that within two years the Holocaust would be proved to be a myth).

You, as the Editor of the Sunday Times, have unwittingly given a tremendous boost to orchestrated efforts to make Holocaust Revisionism respectable. This is a process already well underway in North America and Western Europe. It is of course linked to neo-Nazi electoral advances in Europe and widespread racist, anti-immigrant and increasing anti-semitic violence, symbolised by the desecration of

Signed

Esther Bronstein, survivor of Lodz Ghetto, Auschwitz & Bergen-Blesen concentration camps. Perec Zylberberg, survivor of Lodz Ghetto, Buchenwald & Theresienstadt concentration camps. Julia Bard, Harry Cohen MP, Steven Berkoff, Miriam Karlin, Simon Louvisch, John Rose, Professor Harold Rosen, Michael Rosen, David Rosenberg, Alexei Sayle, Raphael Scharf, ANL, PO Box 2566, London N4 2HG.



Above: Jews being taken from the ghetto. Left: Anti Nazi League letter to the Sunday Times.

What was the Holocaust?

he Nazis' 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' was an act of genocide of such systematic ferocity and on such a scale that it became known by a single word: the Holocaust.

Millions were killed in the gas chambers, their bodies burned in vast ovens that worked day and night. Others were starved in forcibly created, closed and guarded ghettos in cities. Over a million (possibly 1.5 million, as indicated by newly discovered material in the former USSR) were shot by special killing squads the Einsatzgruppen — in the first month States of 'Operation Barbarossa', the invasion of eastern Poland, the Soviet Union and the Baltic states. They were shot in ditches and burnt alive in their synagogues. Huge pits were dug in the forests and filled with corpses.

Two million were murdered in killing centres (Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz) under 'Operation Reinhart' in 1942-3, which virtually eliminated the Jews of Poland. One and a half million Jews from Western Europe, south east Europe and those in the remaining ghettos of Poland were transported and slaughtered between the spring of 1942 and the summer of 1944. For those who did not die in the gas chambers the appalling conditions in the Nazi concentration camps meant that many more died of hunger, disease and arbitrary murder.

The Nazis' ideas

Anti-Semitism was at the core of the Nazi ideology. The Nazis blamed Jews for all society's ills. They made them the target for the fury and despair of millions who had lost their jobs,

Holocaust Denial / Anti Nazi League



From Atlas of the Holocaust, Martin Gilbert, page 244

their savings and their businesses in the great slump.

The Nazis exercised a brutal oppression over were also murdered.

But the obscene logic of Nazi ideology reserved for Europe's Jews a terrible place as the foremost victims of fascism. As early as 1920, Hitler demanded 'the removal of the Jews from the midst of our people'.

How it happened

In 1933 the Nazis enforced a boycott of Jewish riage between Jews and non-Jews.

Attacks and murders escalated. On 9 few months. November, 1938, Kristallnacht, 30,000 Jews been forced to flee.

In the war against Russia, the Nazis moved under the command of the SS.

Einsatzgruppen killed 33,771 Jews in two days. ashes and teeth of the victims, and the buried A witness recalled how they 'forced the people to messages of the Sonderkommando (Jews forced undress, to form columns in hundreds and then to pull the bodies from the gas chambers go in twos towards the mouth of the ravine. . . on before they too were killed) were left to tell the opposite side were the German machine guns. the horrific truth. The killed, wounded and half-alive people fell down and were smashed there. Then the next survived the slaughter of 600,000 at Belzec in hundred were brought. . . The policemen took the less than a year:

children by the legs and threw them alive down into the Yar.' [Gilbert 203]

The mass killing of whole Jewish communithe overwhelming mass of the population, Jews ties in the east started in July-August 1941 and and non-Jews alike. Among their victims they the decision to extend this to all of Europe was counted gays, lesbians, trade unionists, social- probably made later in the autumn, in ists, communists, members of religious sects, September-October 1941. This was at the the mentally and physically disabled and half of height of Germany's military power. The 11 Europe's Gypsies. Millions of Slavs and Poles million Jews throughout Europe were now targeted as part of the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question'.

> Jews under Nazi rule were transported in cattle trucks and goods wagons to the concentration camps and the extermination camps. They were told they were going to work in the east, and most could not believe that they would suffer a worse fate than in the ghettos.

On arrival at the extermination camps, most businesses, and in 1935 the Nuremberg Laws Jews were marched straight to the gas chamtook away Jews' German citizenship, barred bers. According to historian Lucy Dawidowicz, them from university and forbade sex and mar- two million met their deaths at Auschwitz-Birkenau — 430,000 Hungarian Jews in just a

Many concentration camps, including were rounded up and sent to concentration Auschwitz, were slave camps as well as extermicamps. One thousand were murdered, and syn-nation centres. Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and agogues, homes and businesses were destroyed. Treblinka were constructed for the sole pur-By the outbreak of war, half of Germany's pose of exterminating human life. Of the esti-Jewish population, some 230,000 people, had mated two million who entered these four camps, barely a hundred survived.

Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec were dismaninto the territory where most of Europe's Jews tled in the autumn of 1943 after prisoner lived and there they began the systematic revolts, but mainly because their work was slaughter of the Jewish population now under done. Majdanek, a concentration camp and their control. The task was carried out by spe- extermination centre, was overrun and capcial killing squads, the Einsatzgruppen, formed tured intact by the Red Army in the summer of 1944. At Auschwitz a systematic attempt At a ravine called Babi Yar, near Kiev, the was made to blow up the gas chambers. The

Rudolf Reder was one of only two Jews who

'The most horrible thing for me was to pile the bodies up. . . thick black blood flowed out and flooded the ground like a lake. We had to walk along the ledges from one pit to the next, and our feet were soaked with our brothers' blood. . .

Thirty or forty of us were shot every day. A doctor usually prepared a list of the weakest men.

We worked either at grave digging or emptying gas chambers. We worked like this from early morning until nightfall. Only darkness halted our work.' [Gilbert 414-417]

not only survivors and prisoners, but also civilians, camp guards and SS officers including the Commandant of Auschwitz and local and national authorities. A German engineer working for the SS described a visit to Belzec ...

'SS men pushed the men into the chambers. "Fill it up," Wirth ordered. Seven to eight hundred people in ninety-three square metres. The doors closed. . . All were dead after thirty-two minutes.

Jewish workers on the other side opened the wooden doors. They had been promised their lives for doing this horrible work. . . The people were

standing like columns of stone, with no room to fall or lean. . . The bodies were tossed out, blue, wet with sweat and urine, the legs smeared with excrement and menstrual blood. Two dozen workers were busy checking mouths which they opened with iron hooks. . .

Dentists knocked out gold teeth, bridges and crowns with hammers.' [Gilbert 427-428]

Jews did fight back. There were many heroic acts of resistance. In 1943 the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto rose up and held off a siege for 28 days. Eventually the Nazis were forced to burn the city streets to the ground.

One survivor described the camp revolt at Sobibor:

'No one thinks of his own life. We free still more guns. The heavy machine gun we've got is unstoppable. . . spitting fire at the Ukranian barracks and the Germans. His [the Jewish machine gunner] cries are heard: "This is for my wife! And for my child, who never saw the

The mock train depot. . . is burned to the Many others have testified to the Holocaust, ground. The barracks. . . go up in flames. The perimeter fences are cut through and the posts uprooted... the gas chambers are burnt down, and then the "bath"!' [Trunk 267-68]

> As the war ended, the allied armies arrived in the extermination and concentration camps and the world discovered the full horror of the Nazi extermination system. Using the full power of the German state, the Nazis had adopted the most modern industrial methods available in order to attempt genocide — the systematic killing of a whole people — throughout Europe and North Africa. And the whole terrible slaughter had been based on racist ideology. The condemnation and revulsion were worldwide.

avid Irving calls himself a 'professional historian'. Sunday Times editor, Andrew Neil, who employed Irving to transcribe the Goebbels diaries, has, under pressure, called him a mere 'technician'.

But only one description fits Irving. He is a Nazi.

His life has been devoted to sanitising the crimes of Hitler to make it easier to build a new Nazi movement today. The Sunday Times gave publicity and credibility to a man who denies the Holocaust. Irving says:

- 'The Jews are very foolish not to abandon the gas chamber theory while they still have time.'
- 'The kind of evidence against [Hitler] would not be sufficient to convict a Gypsy in an English magistrates court of stealing a bicycle.'
- 'I think ordinary Jews are enraged with me because I've detracted from the romance of the Holocaust.'
- 'The infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz, Treblinka and Majdanek did not exist — ever - except as the brainchild of Britain's wartime Psychological Warfare Executive.'
- 'I think the eyewitnesses [death camp survivors] are an interesting problem for psychiatrists.'
- 'I would be grateful if I could be as magnificent an orator as Hitler.'
- 'You can call me a mild fascist.'

Irving admits: 'The weakness in my education is that I was unable to obtain a degree.' That is the least of his shortcomings.

His first book, The Destruction of Dresden (1963), adds a zero to the estimated casualties. Irving admitted he was wrong in a letter to The Times in 1966, then went on to repeat the error in the 1971 edition of the book.

A High Court judge described Irving as a 'grasping, conceited and foolish young man' while awarding record libel damages against him following allegations made in his 1967 book, The Destruction of Convoy PQ17.

In Hitler's War (1975) Irving's claim that the Führer had no knowledge of the Holocaust rests on his inability to find a signed order from his hero. In the German edition he was forced to pay damages after asserting that The Diary of Anne Frank was a forgery.

In another book he even manages to find a wounded 18-year-old Adolf Hitler at the Battle of Verdun. Hitler was 27 at the time of the Battle of Verdun and was wounded on the Somme. Irving's politics and methods have long been exposed for what they are. The Sunday Times itself attacked Irving in 1977, accusing him of doctoring a Hitler translation to make it seem like the Nazi leader had vetoed the liquidation of the Jews, and it called his interpretations of other sources, 'absurd' and 'ridiculous'.

azi groups are on the rise across Europe. In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front won 15 percent of the vote while opinion polls show its policies have the support of up to 32 percent of the electorate. In Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium and what used to be the Soviet Union and its empire, fascist groups are growing. In August 1992 fascist gangs attacked and destroyed refugee hostels in Germany. And here in Britain Nazis like the British National Party hope to emulate this growth on the continent.

But all these groups face a massive obstacle — the fact of the Holocaust. For the last two decades Nazis have operated a twin-track strategy to overcome that obstacle. They have tried to disguise their beliefs by posing as 'respectable patriots' and they have fostered an industry devoted to denying that the slaughter of six million Jews ever took place.

The practitioners of Holocaust denial describe themselves as 'revisionist historians', and David Irving is one of their leading lights. When the Sunday Times struck a deal with him over the Goebbels diaries, it gave Britain's Nazis a major boost. And when the Daily Mail paid thousands to another Nazi sympathiser, Francis Genoud, to beat the Sunday Times to the story, the Hitler apologists couldn't believe their luck.

Both papers claimed to be performing a public service. They said they were really warning against allowing another fascist dictatorship to emerge from world chaos. Such claims are rubbish. All they were interested in was boosting their circulation.

'It's my job to get scoops,' Sunday Times editor Andrew Neil told the Jewish Chronicle. 'If that means upsetting people, I'm sorry. I have no problems sleeping at night.'

Irving had no regrets either. 'I regard payment from the Sunday Times as being in two forms, cash and prestige,' he said. 'My reputation is more important than the money.'

The Sunday Times not only uses a Nazi to sell newspapers, it also has a tendency to gloss over the past crimes of fascists. Andrew Neil employed the Oxford professor Norman Stone to supervise Irving and make sure his pro-Nazi bias didn't slip into the paper. It was the same Norman Stone who told readers of the Sunday Times that 'Chile is now a model for the rest of Latin America, and the victims of Pinochet's terror, such as it was, probably counted fewer than those of the recent riots in Los Angeles.

'And there are a great many people, not of the extreme right or even of the right at all, who found the Spain of the old days [under fascist dictator General Franco] a great deal more agreeable than the Spain of today.'

In fact, Pinochet murdered up to 30,000 people after his 1973 coup, and Franco killed 500,000 after he won the Spanish Civil War. With the world in turmoil and the revival of fascism across Europe, denying these truths is irresponsible and dangerous.

How Holocaust revisionism is used



...and the fight There are important lessons in all this about how we disrupt the process that tries to offer a cloak of respectability to those who peddle the lie of Holocaust denial. Newspapers like the Independent did an excellent job in exposing the link between Irving and the Sunday Times, but the critical press coverage was not enough. More important was the storm of protest that bombarded the letters columns and brought people onto the streets to demonstrate.

> The dignified mass protest outside Irving's Mayfair home, called by the Jewish Board of Deputies, the Union of Jewish Students and the

The Sunday Times reeled as regular readers cancelled their orders and anti-Nazis attacked posters advertising the Goebbels diaries. The Jewish Chronicle reported:

anti-Nazis in a march on Irving's 'seminar'.

'Members of the Anti Nazi League have been defacing hoardings all over London - plastering over the Sunday Times message with images of death camp inmates and the slogan "Never Again". One Jewish member of the ANL said she had been part of a team that had ruined ten poster sites in North London.'

The Sunday Times had to apologise for the posters. Andrew Neil was compelled to send personal letters of explanation to many of the people who protested. Neil promised a special feature exposing Holocaust denial which appeared on Sunday 26 July 1992. This was clearly a product of the extreme pressure that Neil had been subjected to.

The Sunday Times was not forced into breaking its contract with Irving, but it was certainly squirming. The message that the paper had dirtied its hands was heard loudly and clearly. Next time the protests must be even more determined.

The lessons are clear enough. All the many forms of mass public protest need to be used to deny a platform to those who deny the Holocaust. And Jews must not be left to face this evil by themselves. Non-Jewish solidarity is essential, just as white anti-racists must unite with black people in the struggle against racism.

With people in Britain and the rest of Europe facing soaring unemployment, rising homelessness and deteriorating health and education services, the Nazis have seen the opportunity to raise their heads. By denying the Holocaust they hope they can hide, especially from young people, the true face of Nazism. They must not be allowed to get away with it.

Atlas of the Holocaust by Martin Gilbert (Michael Joseph London 1982)

The Holocaust the Jewish Tragedy by Martin Gilbert (Fontana 1990)

The War Against the Jews 1933-45 by Lucy Dawidowicz (Penguin)

The Holocaust in History by Michael Marrus (Penguin London 1989)

Holocaust Denial, Anti-Semitism, Racism and the New Right by Gill Seidel (Beyond the Pale Collective)

Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution by Isaiah Trunk (Stein & Day, New York 1982)

Documents of the Holocaust edited by the Yad Vashem Institute, Jerusalem

Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals by David Cesarani (Mandarin 1992)

If This is a Man by Primo Levi (Abacus) Night by Elie Weisel (Penguin)

Fight back with the Anti Nazi League

he Anti Nazi League seeks to mobilise the great antifascist traditions in Britain which halted Mosley's Blackshirts, Britain's pre-war fascists, at the battle of Cable Street in 1936. The Blackshirts tried to march through the Jewish areas of London's East End but 150,000 people formed a mass blockade united behind the famous slogan: They shall not pass. Forty one years later in the summer of 1977 Britain's new fascists, the National Front, tried to march through an area of Lewisham in south London where many black people live. Ten thousand demonstrators stopped them. The National Front had recently won 100,000 votes in London. They were predicting millions of votes in a general election.

After this the ANL was formed and set itself two tasks:

- To inform as many people as possible of the Nazi nature of the National Front.
- To draw as many people as possible into active opposition to them.

Two carnivals organised by the ANL and Rock Against Racism in 1978 were the biggest anti-racist demonstrations since the 1930s.

In two years over nine million leaflets were produced ramming home the anti-Nazi message. The Nazis crumbled in the face of powerful protests. In the early 1980s, NF leader Martin Webster admitted in court that the ANL had ruined their organisation.

Now once again the Nazis are trying to regroup. In response the Anti Nazi League was relaunched at the beginning of 1992. It organised a nationwide campaign against the intervention of Nazi candidates in the April 1992 general election and it has called demonstrations and organised mass leafleting of housing estates, shopping precincts, workplaces, schools and colleges every time Nazi activity surfaced — especially in the west Midlands, Halifax, east and south London.

In a council by-election in October 1992, on the Isle of Dogs in the shadow of Canary Wharf, the Nazi British National Party obtained over 600 votes — 20 percent of the electorate.

We have been warned. Now is the time to act.