



PAUL RASSINIER (1906-1967)

SOCIALIST, PACIFIST AND REVISIONIST

BY JEAN PLANTIN

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By Jean Plantin

Université de Lyon-III
Faculté des Lettres

Masters Paper of History
Director of Essay: Régis Ladous
Essay sustained on June 30, 1990. Mention "very good".

We thank the members of the teachers body of Lyon-III, who willingly gave us a copy of this document. It is considered untraceable in the libraries of the Lyons universities. One even saw emerging in certain newspapers a rumor giving to believe that the purpose of the fire in the university library in 1999 was to remove this document from the shelves... Information pleasantly provided by *History's Forgers*, (éd. Golias), p. 15.

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

This is the first of a number of French revisionist articles that I hope to translate into English.

This paper was written by Jean Plantin as his thesis for his master's degree in contemporary history. In 1990 he was awarded it, and awarded it with distinction; later he was awarded another master's degree for his research into typhus epidemics in Nazi concentration camps. Plantin paid a terrible price for these writings.

After university, Plantin began publishing *Akribieia* (the Greek word for "exactitude"), a bi-yearly review with the sub-heading "History, Rumors and Legends". The review impartially examined history as published both by mainstream and revisionist historians regarding World War II and Nazi history, as well as unrelated issues. In the first few issues, Plantin noted the existence of three revisionist publications whose sale, display and advertisement are forbidden by the French Ministry of the Interior.

And so, on January 13, 1999, Jean Plantin was arrested, and his personal archives seized. A slander campaign was initiated against him by both the mainstream and leftist press. In the course of this campaign, Plantin's two masters theses, this one and *The Typhus Epidemics In The Nazi Concentration Camps*, for which he was awarded, in 1991, the prestigious Diploma of Advanced Studies (DEA) were discovered. Almost immediately, Jewish and left-wing organizations began demanding that his degrees be rescinded, and the professors who supervised them censured. The professors who judged his papers, Régis Ladous and Yves Lequin, were both forced to resign from their positions overseeing the DEA program.

On May 27, 1999, Jean Plantin was convicted of "negationism", and sentenced to six months imprisonment (suspended), a 10,000 franc fine, and ordered to pay 39,000 francs in damages to three Jewish organizations who felt they had been insulted by him. He was also *banned from any further publishing activities*, and his archives were permanently confiscated. In 2000 and 2001 his degrees were revoked. In 2003, Monsieur Plantin won his appeal to have them restored, only to be sentenced again to six months in prison for violating the 1999 order that forbade him from publishing. The interdiction to publish was later quashed by the French Supreme Court. In the end he totally defeated his adversaries in court.

In translating and presenting his fine and meticulously researched biography of Paul Rassinier, I freely and proudly confess that one of my motivations is to engage in an act of defiance, to demonstrate to the forces of repression the futility of their actions, in the hope that others will be encouraged to defy them as well; and as an expression of my disgust and contempt at the individuals and organizations who, in their arrogance, would try to suppress Monsieur Plantin and many, many other authors and historians in an obvious attempt to deceive and manipulate history by keeping me and other people in ignorance.

It is possible that, even here in America, there will be organizations and individuals that will be tempted to exact a price from me for translating and publishing Monsieur Plantin's work, and bringing awareness of Paul Rassinier's writings to the public. I dare them to do their worst.

In translating Monseieur Plantin's paper, I made a decision some will find curious. I've translated

not only the body of the text, but also the names of articles and books that he references. For instance, *Lectures Francais* is here listed as "French Readings". Translating the titles of magazines, books, and newspapers may seem odd, but the titles, once rendered into English, give a surprisingly large degree of context to the world that Paul Rassinier wrote in. For those who find that my choice makes it difficult to actually reference those sources, I'll refer you to Monsieur Plantin's French original, which is listed online with the AAARGH archive at:

<http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/archRassi/depr/jp900630.html>

Vive la France. Vive la vérité. Vive Jean Plantin.

KAM

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA

May, 2006

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INTRODUCTION

For more than ten years, one can follow in practically all the countries of Western Europe and North America the development of what is called "revisionism"¹. It is not a question here of the recent "quarrel" of the German historians², although some of them, Ernst Nolte for example, were qualified as "revisionists"³. The revisionists of which we speak affirm that there were never homicidal gas chambers in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and that the leaders of the Third Reich, and in particular Hitler, never wanted to exterminate the Jews (and other populations such as the Gypsies) nor did they implement a methodical and systematic program to this end. The revisionist authors, the majority of whom are not historians by profession⁴, have many reviews and publications throughout the world. In France, it is necessary to quote the editions of *The Old Crone* and *Annals of Revisionist History*⁵ followed, recently, by the *Review of Revisionist History*⁶. In various other countries of Europe revisionism is present: in Spain with the review *Revision*⁷, in Belgium with *V.H.O.-Nieuwsbrief*⁸, Austria with the reviews *Sieg* and *Halt*⁹. However, it is in West Germany that one finds the largest number of editors and revisionist reviews: *Druffel-Verlag*, *Grabert-Verlag*, *K.W. Schütz-Verlag*, *Kurt Vowinckel Verlag*, *Historische Tatsachen*¹⁰ by Udo Walendy, *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*¹¹, and *Code*¹². The greatest revisionist complex seems to be located in the United States, in Torrance, California, a few miles from Los Angeles. It is there that the Institute for Historical Review was created in 1978. This institute has published dozens of works and its catalogue comprises several hundred titles. In parallel, it publishes a quarterly review of 128 pages, *The Journal of Historical Review*¹³, alternated with a news bulletin, *The IHR Newsletter*¹⁴.

The arguments developed in the reviews we have just quoted are reproduced and utilized by certain political newspapers of a nationalist bent. This is why there is a tendency to generally classify the revisionists as being among the right-wing extremists and Neo-Nazis. BUT - astonishing as it appears at first glance - the man who is considered to be, at least to some extent, the "father of Holocaust revisionism"¹⁵ - both by his continuators and his adversaries¹⁶ - does not correspond at all to this stereotyped image.

Perhaps this only seems to be a paradox, for Paul Rassinier, the "pioneer of world revisionism" as a Spanish review¹⁷ describes him, is not the only revisionist who did not come from the political right wing. Rassinier, an old communist and former socialist, a pacifist and anarchistic deputy, was moreover a Resistance fighter and a deportee to Buchenwald and Dora, where he spent nearly fifteen months. It is thus particularly interesting to examine his political and ideological course even if we do not have all the elements necessary for this study. The personal papers of Rassinier going back to before the war are very small in number and those which exist are, so to speak, not exploitable. A similar remark could be made for the post-war period. In addition, the files of the political parties are not easy to consult. Those of the socialist party of Belfort would not exist any more for the pre-

war period. But there are innumerable articles written by Rassinier himself. Along with those, we can add the autobiography he published in 1955 titled *Candasse, Or The Eighth Capital Sin*. Written as a fable, it is a work lacking in precise detail, dates and anybody's true name¹⁸.

If Rassinier is described as "revisionist", it should be noted that he never employed this term to describe himself. What he wrote seemed for him to come from himself. His historical approach is indissociable from his pacifist convictions, as his books and articles abundantly prove. One can nevertheless legitimately question other possible motivations. Among these last, the assumption of an anti-semitic prejudice can be excluded *a priori* but some still find it necessary, in these matters, for simplistic explanations and the intention of lawsuits.

We believe that Rassinier can rightly be regarded as the "father of Holocaust revisionism". Almost all current revisionism germinates from his work¹⁹. Putting aside, perhaps, the problem of the *Häftlingsführung*, which was important in the eyes of Rassinier and that only a former prisoner could undoubtedly approach with full knowledge of the facts, everything else is there: the refutation of testimonies of deportees and the skepticism with regard to the confessions of former Nazis, an evaluation that criticizes sources and disputes the authenticity and credibility of certain documents, the outlines of a physical, chemical and technical refutation of the crematoriums and the gas chambers, etc. Thus it is important to know the arguments of Rassinier in this field, even if his work is partial and fragmentary. From his works, and some additional information, which we know, we can be informed on his working methods.

Footnotes to Introduction

1 We reproduce in Appendix I the preliminary (edited by Pierre Guillaume) of the n° 1 of the A.H.R. (spring 1987, pp. 5-14) which gives a definition, rather correct as a whole, of what is, in theory, revisionism.

2 See. The collective work "In Front of History". The documents of the controversy on the singularity of the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis, foreword by Luc Ferry, introduction by Joseph Rovin, Éd. du Stag, Paris 1988, 355 p.

3 Ernst Nolte was also in liason with French revisionists. See. the exchange of correspondence in the article of Pierre Guillaume "the abominable venality of the press", A.H.R., number 7, spring 1989, 7-14.

4 In France, Robert Faurisson is a professor of literature; in Germany, Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich is a retired judge; in the United States Arthur R. Butz is a professor of electrical engineering. Other examples could be quoted but it should be noted that it is the United States that seems to have the most revisionist historians.

5 8 numbers published from May 1987 to April 1990.

6 1 number published in May 1990. We do not consider the monthly bulletin Revision, published by Alain Guionnet calling himself "The Black Eagle", to be a revisionist review, to be strictly accurate. The person in charge asserts the label of "post-revisionist" and "anti-Jew".

7 10 numbers since January 1985. Also announced the news bulletin Revi-Info.

8 Semi-monthly, 6 numbers published in 1989. There was before the review Taboe (10 numbers between 1983 and 1985).

9 These two newspapers of nationalist tendency are not truly revisionist but revisionist articles are often found.

10 42 numbers since 1976. It is actually the single completely revisionist review of the FRG.

11 Published by Grabert-Verlag.

12 A monthly magazine, published by Verlag-Diagnosen, which contains a revisionist heading of a score of pages. Probable creation January 1989.

13 37 numbers published since 1980 including one triple edition triple published more than six months after the case of arson of July 4, 1984 which completely destroyed the buildings of the Institute for Historical Review. The Editorial Advisory Committee of the last number (Spring 1990) is composed of 24 people.

14 73 published numbers

15 Translation of "Father of Holocaust Revisionism". See. The 1990 catalogue of the I.H.R., p. 8

16 Carlo Mattogno speaks about "the precursor of the current historical revisionism" in: "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews - Historico-Bibliographical Introduction to Revisionist Historiography", A.H.R., n° 1, spring 1987, p. 61. Cesare Saletta qualifies it "capostipite del revisionismo" in the L'onestà Polemica del Signor Vidal-Naquet. A Proposito dell'edizione Italiana di un suo Libro, published by the author, Bologna 1985, p. 7. P. Vidal-Naquet says that Rassinier is the true father of the current revisionism (Assassins of Memory, p.111). Nadine Fresco speaks about the "father founder" (Course of Resentment, Lines, n° 2, February 1988, p. 50).

17 Eduardo Pardo Stream, "Que es el revisionismo?", Cedade, n° 169, August 1989, numeros monograficos n° 3, series revisionista, p. 16. We could not take note of the book of Heinrich Malz, "The Big Swindle of the Six Million" (New York. "privately printed", 1954), announced on p. 34 of the I.H.R. Special Report (1985), Worldwide Growth and Impact of "Holocaust" Revisionism.

18 Here some characters of the book: the Small Fatty, the Small Redhead, the Large Curly One. France becomes Franconie, Switzerland Neustrie, Italy Mandolinie, etc. The titles of certain local newspapers were also modified.

19 Still should it be specified that the works in question subsequently make account of documents set in the days of Rassinier's books.

PART I

The Political Militant

Chapter 1: Orthodoxy and Dissidence

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is greeted with enthusiasm in the Rassinier family; so is the German revolution of 1919. The young Paul reads with interest the newspapers which his father brings to the house or to which he has subscribed¹. In 1922, at age sixteen, he joins the Communist Party under the influence of Victor Serge. Also at this time, he affirms his commitment to non-violence².

The first printed article that we have from him dates from December 11, 1926. It is in fact a letter addressed to *The Sower* (the Communist newspaper of Belfort) entitled: "I show and I protest!..." and signed by "Paul Rassinier, temporary teacher with Valdoie".

His failure in July to secure the Superior Diploma (graduation test) did not prevent Rassinier, like his fellow graduates, from making a request for station. In September, he received a nomination under substitute at a station for teacher at Valdoie, to replace a teacher on leave, whereas three of his fellow graduates, who had obtained the Superior Diploma in July, remained without station. The explanation was that Emile Rassinier, the Mayor of Charmois, godfather and uncle to Paul, had intervened in favor of his nephew with André Tardieu, Deputy of Belfort and Public Minister for Labor. He had approached Mr. Deléage, Director of Primary Education and Teaching, and thus Paul Rassinier was named a temporary teacher. Paul Rassinier was noted for favorably specifying that he had nothing in common with the Radical Party and publicly showed Mr. Deléage to have supported him to the detriment of his fellow graduates, and that on the authority of Mr. Tardieu, his hometown politician.³

A - Moroccan interlude

It is his political opposition to André Tardieu that will earn him his posting to Morocco to carry out his military service. If you can believe what he writes in *Candasse* about it, Paul Rassinier that summer had had a presentiment that he would become a reserve officer⁴. However, during an election campaign, Communist Paul Rassinier and his comrades had

protested against Tardieu at the time of several meetings. Some time later, Rassinier *"accepted notification of an order in Council that the informant was unworthy to form part of the body of the reserve officers, stripping him from the manpower of the establishment preparing there, and requesting him to await another assignment"*⁵.

That assignment was Morocco, and it happened in 1927. The War of Rif had been finished for a few months, but in the Moroccan South, the area of Tafilalet was in full boil. Belgacern tried to make a success there of what Abd-el-Krim had failed to make a success of in the North. For the French occupation troops, Morocco was divided into two zones by the Atlas Mountains. Some strongpoints were in the south of the Atlas Mountains: Ouarzazate, Erfoud, Ben Denib, Ksar es Souk, etc. They could not be supplied and communications between them was only achieved by armed columns, preceded, flanked and followed by armored cars. The most advanced station was Erfoud, whose staff had decided to review support of the conquest of Tafilalet. To supply it with food, weapons and ammunition, a motor-road was to be built which would start from Midelt and would arrive there by Ksar es Souk, while following the Wadi Ziz. It was to Erfoud that Paul Rassinier was sent, in a semi-disciplinary regiment, around May of 1927. By chance, the captain of the company had taken a liking to him and had made him his secretary-telephone operator, which meant he avoided being employed with terra cotta brick construction, as had been planned⁶.

Demobilized, Paul Rassinier returned to France on January 28, 1928. His stay in Morocco enabled him to be an eyewitness to the treatment that the French colonizing power held for the colonized. He made a severe criticism of it in an article of June 21, 1930:

*"Imperialism is not satisfied with the exploitation of human material; it is not restricted to taking the resources of the country and to using arms. With the least gesture of revolt, with the least protest, it represses, it represses hard. We became deadened to scandalous scenes of torture, which had no reason to envy those of the Middle Ages, and we saw the apparatus of dictatorship not retreating, but even advancing **in the face of an assassination!**"*⁷.

B. The Independent Communist Federation Of The East

We have few precise details about Paul Rassinier's activities within the P.C.F. The first article carrying his signature appears in March 1930 in *The Sower*. He is not yet 24 years old. The issue of February 15, 1930 informs the readers that those which wish to join the Party can address themselves to Paul Rassinier, 15, Rue de Manage, Belfort.

Political and trade union meetings are the rhythm of life for the militants. Very quickly, Rassinier rejoins the opposition within Party⁸. The rupture intervenes in 1932.

Lucien Carre, the Communist Youth Secretary of Belfort, was condemned for anti-militarist propaganda and being an envoy to the hard-labor prison of Mecheria, reserved for common criminals. A Committee of Defense for Lucien Carré was formed in which the PC (Parti Communist) takes part, the C.G.T.U. and the International Red Help (S.R.I.). Henri Jacob, a secretary of the C.G.T.U., proposes that the other leftist organizations join it. The S.F.I.O., the U.D.-C.G.T., the Labor Market, Semeuse and the League of Human Rights then

join the Communist organizations within the committee. On January 25, 1932, a great meeting in support of Carré brings together more than 1,000 people. Various representatives of various organizations speak there to stigmatize militarism and to demand the immediate release of Lucien Carré: Rassinier for the PC, Jacob for the C.G.T.U., Lorach for Semeuse, Doctor Lévy for the League of Human Rights, Rene Naegelen for the S.F.I.O. and Blonde for the C.G.T.⁹ While acting in liaison with the Social Democrats, Jacob transgressed the instructions of the PC, worked out during the last two Congresses. His candidature for the legislative elections of May 1932, which had been ratified on January 30 in the presence of Thorez, was rejected by the Political Bureau.¹⁰ Jacob does not capitulate and is expelled from the Communist Party in company with Rassinier. Expulsion is announced in *l'Humanity* on April 9, 1932:

"After having examined the attitude of Henri Jacob and Paul Rassinier, The Political Bureau:

1) Regards that the political line of Jacob in support of the Socialist Party, in support of fraternization with the torturers of young workmen, now logically concludes that he was leading us to pass openly into the camp of the class enemy, into the camp of Tardieu, Deputy of Belfort and Chief of the Government of War and Misery. The "economies" of Jacob can come only from the middle-class, which may find it beneficial to try to weaken our Party and of which Jacob is from now on the agent and the executor;

2) Consequently, Henri Jacob is expelled from the Communist Party for betraying the interests of the working class;

3) Paul Rassinier, Secretary of the Department of Belfort, is also expelled from the Communist Party for having joined the acts of treason of Henri Jacob"¹¹.

[Picture, not printed here. A reproduction of an article of the newspaper *The Worker*, n° 45, March 25, 1933, p. 3: *When Paul Rassinier fought propaganda revisionists...* This "revisionism" relates to the communist doctrines of the revolution.]

In spite of his expulsion, Jacob presented himself at the elections, opposing the Party candidate, Armand Carré, father of Lucien. In the Canton of Belfort, Jacob collects 564 votes and Carré 33.¹² Those expelled from the Party hold, on May 29, 1932 in Belfort, a Regional Conference and create an independent Communist Party whose Secretary is Rassinier, with Jacob as the Assistant Secretary.

At the same time, others expelled from the Communist Party, Hérard and Ducret of Besancon, and Renard in Montbéliard had provided the foundations of an Independent Communist Federation of Doubs and had published two numbers of a monthly newspaper, *The Worker*. From June, the F.C.I. of Doubs becomes the Independent Communist Federation of the East and *The Worker*, *Communist*, *Trade Unionist* and *Cooperative* become the press organs of the Federation¹³. *The Worker* is a weekly magazine, it appears on Saturdays on four large size pages. More than one hundred numbers will be published. In the n° 3 (June 18, 1932), Henri Jacob is introduced as the magazine's political director and Paul Rassinier as the editor. Beginning with n° 21, it is Rassinier who will ensure the management of the journal¹⁴.

The direct idea of the communal meeting on May 29, 1932, which brings together sixty-

three people, is to gather all the parties with various names, which claim to follow the fundamental principles of Communism. Optimistically, Paul Rassinier wrote, in conclusion of the minutes of the meeting of Belfort: "*that the unified Communist Party will be born in France and perhaps on an international scale. It will be the great party of the workers, the true Communist Party, the Party of the Revolution!*"¹⁵.

On November 20 1932, is held, with the Cooperative of Valentigney (Doubs), The Congress of the Independant Communist Federation of the East. On this occasion the Democratic Communist Circle of Paris, sending a guest to contact the Federation, is represented by Boris Souvarine and Charles Rosen. Souvarine is invited to speak about the situation in Soviet Russia¹⁶.

We are lucky to have on this transitory communist experiment (it will end in April of 1934) the critical testimony of Paul Rassinier himself. Pierre Guillaume notes on this subject that in this text he "*prefigures the attitude he will adopt in his account of his own deportation*"¹⁷.

It is a true acknowledgement of failure that Rassinier draws up on February 10, 1935, in *Proletarian Revolution*. On the one hand, according to him, the F.C.I. could not have had a viable existence. For Rassinier, that is primarily due to the peculiar geographic character of the area of the East. Admittedly, one finds industrial population centers there, but the country is a crossing point. The population there is too mobile, too heterogeneous. "*Consequently, the man passes, the ideas with him*".¹⁸ The manpower of the Federation was never very important. It would have counted no more than 125 members in November 1932.¹⁹

It could have been a different newspaper for him. In August 1932, *The Worker* publishes with 3,000 copies, and counts approximately 800 subscribers and 1200 readers with this number. The budget of the newspaper is three quarters advertising. In April 1934, at the time it disappears, *The Worker* publishes with 1,500 copies: it has 486 subscribers and 100 readers with that number. Rassinier places a lot of the blame for the failure of the newspaper on Boris Souvarine. Even if he recognizes his intellectual qualities and his talent as a writer, he makes a severe assessment of Souvarine, denouncing his "sectarianism". He shows Souvarine to have wanted to monopolize the newspaper to the profit of his Parisian group.²⁰

The study of Rassinier of February 10, 1935 in *Proletarian Revolution* results in a collective letter from former members of the Independent Communist Federation of the East in the number of April 1935: Louis Fox, J. Carrez, E. Dabin, Mr. Ducret., E. Ferrand, E. Mourlot.²¹ They dispute several points of the version given by Rassinier. In the same issue he refutes the advance of these arguments, which in his view generally concern only the quarrels of people.²²

In conclusion, Pierre Monatte (1877-1964), one of the founders of *Proletarian Revolution* adds "some remarks". He states the two errors, which, according to him, led to the failure of the newspaper. First point: *The Worker* was not regional enough and did not grant enough interest to the local chronicle. Being too national, it was deprived of its regional base, it's only solid element. The second error was to have counted too much on advertising. It is

necessary for a newspaper, which wants to be the body of a revolutionary movement, to live by its sales and subscriptions. That best guarantees independence.

Footnotes To Part I, Chapter 1

- 1 Candasse, p. 99. His father was imprisoned during the Great War for his pacifist activities.
- 2 Idem, p. 126. Information of the preceding sentence appears in the biographical note joined to *The Lie*, p. 258-259. We cannot guarantee the truth of it.
- 3 "I show and I protest!...", *The Sower*, n° 194, December 11, 1926, p. 2.
- 4 Candasse, p. 127-128.
- 5 Idem, p. 131.
- 6 See. Rassinier's article, "Sakiet Eternal. The Blockhouse of Erfoud ", *Defense of Man*, n° 113, March 1958, pp. 6-9, as well as the chapter XI (headed "Where it is a question of the Bulgarian Morrocans. First misadventures") of the 1st part of Candasse, p. 133-158.
- 7 "Colonization. With the help of the Colonial Proletariat ", *The Sower*, n° 376, June 21, 1930, p. 1. One can usefully read, about the French left and Morocco, the work of George Ove, , "The French Left and Moroccan Nationalism, 1905-1955" in the first volume, "Morocco, Test Base of Anticolonial Actions and Doctrines", Éd. Harmattan, Paris 1984, 482 p.
- 8 In his study of February 10 1935 of "Proletarian Revolution" (reproduced in the A.H.R. spring 1988, n° 4, p. 79-101), Rassinier announced that, since 1930, he "had resolutely engaged with the Direction of the Party" after the departure of Louis Renard, who assumed the responsibility for the Fraternity of Valentigney (A.H.R., n° 4, p. 84).
- 9 This information is drawn in particular from the report of history head Rene Grillon, "The Workers Movement in the Territory of Belfort of 1914 to 1936", Besancon, June 1963, 208 pages (Archives of Belfort: dimension 8 usual 33-2), pp. 182-183.
10. See. The note devoted to Henri Jacob in the biographical "Dictionary of the French Worker's Movement" by Jean Maitron, Éd. Workers (From now on: Maitron).
- 11 "Counteracts to the attack of the middle-class. Henri Jacob and Paul Rassinier driven out of the party ", *l'Humanity*, April 9, 1932, p. 2.
- 12 Maitron s.v. Jacob (Henri), p. 98.
- 13 A.H.R., n° 4, p. 84.
- 14 the last article of Jacob is published in n° 28, December 10, 1932.
- 15 "After the conference of Belfort. The Communist Unit ", *The Sower*, n° 7, June 4, 1932, p. 1. Eight numbers of the dissenting *Sower* appear after the expulsion of Jacob and Rassinier from the PC.
- 16 "Congresses of the Independent Communist Federation of the East", *The Worker*, n°26, Nov. 26, 1932, p. 2.
- 17 "Presentation", A.H.R., n° 4, p. 63.
- 18 A.H.R., n° 4, p. 88.
- 19 Maitron, s.v. Jacob (Henri) p. 99.
- 20 A.H.R., n° 4, p. 92.
- 21 "In connection with the Independent Communist Federation of the East. I - Letter of several comrades of Doubs", *Proletarian Revolution*, n° 196, April 10, 1935, p. 133-134.
- 22 "II - Response of Rassinier", *ibidem*, p. 134-135.

Chapter 2: Socialist and Inhabitant of Munich

Rassinier published the last number of *The Worker* on April 24, 1934. The Stavisky riots and attempted right-wing coup d'etat against the Third Republic on February 6, 1934 and its consequences seem to him to open new prospects for the development of the labor movement. It is most probably at that time, in the wake of the events of February, when he joins the S.F.I.O.

In 1935, the newspaper of the Socialist Federation of the Territory of Belfort, *Germinal*, whose publication had been stopped in 1934 reappears. Rassinier collaborates with it as of the second number. The number of March 23 1935 teaches us that its political direction is jointly assured by René Naegelen, Emile Géhant and Paul Rassinier. Under the impulse of Rassinier, who became the Secretary of Federation S.F.I.O., there is created in Belfort a section of "Socialist Youths" which takes part in various demonstrations, but which lasts hardly more than two years.¹

Paul Rassinier is presented as a candidate at the time of various electoral polls: in November 1934 (possibly cantonal elections?), in April 1936 with the legislative elections, October 1937 with the cantonal elections, all without success.

On the ideological level, he belongs, within the socialist party, to the tendency of Marceau Pivert rather than of Paul Faure. He is to say that he adopts, in 1938 and 1939, when at the horizon of Europe the spectre of war is unceasingly profiled, resolutely pacifist dispositions. During the past few years, Rassinier has never spared his criticisms of the dictatorial régimes of Italy and Germany. He says that the governments of these countries do not hesitate, at the proper time, to disavow their promises. Nevertheless he thinks that peace can be preserved, and that it must be preserved.

"There is no choosing between war and constraint because war always involves constraint, and because it is always with constrained people that one makes war".²

He denounces the arms race. On the interior level, it compromises the financial standing of France. On the external level, it offers arguments to Hitler who in vain play points out that France and England did not respect, on this point, the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles relating to disarmament. Moreover, this policy of armament is useless and dangerous: *"You know well that we will not make war for Czechoslovakia! ... We would be, of all Europe, the only ones to want to make it!..."³ "What is necessary, is to remake Europe".⁴* He argues that it is urgent to fix some some of the errors of *"the abominable, iniquitous, the criminal Treaty of Versailles"*⁵ which carved out of the European continent a series of non-viable states for the multiple ethnic minorities.

Optimistically, Rassinier thinks that the war will not take place. *"I refuse to believe that*

even Mussolini after Ethiopia, even Hitler who makes blood run in the company of Spain, will risk such a madness".⁶ This war, indeed, would be the ruin of all civilization, taking into account the enormous technical means implemented. Rassinier naturally approves of the Munich Agreements of September 1938, *"without much pride, it is true, but without any shame"*⁷ and declares himself ready to subscribe to a new Munich. He is and remains pacifist and enjoys quoting this reflection of Paul Faure, made in his presence:

"There is no merit to be a pacifist in calm weather, when the world looks peaceful, when nothing disturbs the international rapport. To cease being a pacifist when, abruptly, the threat of war appears, is to resemble a fireman who gives his resignation at the moment when the fire bursts out".⁸

For Paul Rassinier, his standpoint is known as have generated for him letters of encouragement, but also insults. Some even reproach him for being nothing more than a disguised Hitlérien.⁹ He is nevertheless estimated in good company, with writers like Jean Giono and Bernard Shaw, or trade unionists like Rene Belin, Raymond Froideval and André Delmas, or an economist like Francis Delaisi, or the famous women in the pacifist mediums like Madeleine Vernet and Magdeleine Paz, etc. However, he regrets not finding more people of the left *"on this side of the barricade"*.¹⁰

In an article of July 1939 - one of his last of the pre-war period - he intends to be placed beyond nationalism. Recalling how, in the handbooks of history, the formation of the French nation is told, he hopes that one day the Fatherland Europe will be carried out. *"My fatherland, to me; it is Humanity, or, at the very least, Europe"*.¹¹ Is the realization of this vision of Europe possible as of now? No, because the foreign policy of Germany and Italy is *"a policy of gangsters"*. But it is not useless to recall, according to Rassinier, how England conquered India and the Transvaal, how she made war in China for a market for opium, etc. The same applies to France in Morocco. In these matters, no country has the right to give lessons to another. The way which carries Europe out of danger will not be travelled without a number of clashes, but Rassinier refuses to believe in the appearance of a general war.¹¹

At the end of August 1939, after the signature on August 23 of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Rassinier, shown *"to attack the morale of the Nation"*¹² because of his pacifist attitude, is arrested. He will be released a few days later thanks to the intervention of Paul Faure. The disorganization which reigns at the time of the rout in May 1940 means he avoids being made a prisoner of the Germans.¹³

[Not reproduced here, a Photocopy of Paul Rassinier's certificate of membership of the resistance signed by Henri Ribère, General manager of the SDECE, secretary-general of the movement "Liberation-North", member of the Main Committee of the Road of Resistance, on January 11, 1950.]

Footnotes To Part I, Chapter 2

- 1 Emile Géhant (mayor of Belfort of 1977 to 1983) with the author, letter of Nov. 28, 1989, p. 1.
- 2 "The Policy. Simple Reflections of an Inhabitant of Munich" ", *The Territory*, n° 51, March 1939, p. 7.
- 3 "Turning Dangerous ", *Germinal*, number 158, April 9, 1938, p. 1.
- 4 "It is necessary to remake Europe ", *Germinal*, number 171, September 17, 1938, p. 1.
- 5 "To say what one thinks. Winds of Madness... ", *The Territory*, n° 45-46, September-Oct 1938, p. 5.
- 6 "It is necessary to remake Europe", Article cit., p. 1.
- 7 "The Policy". Simple reflections of an Inhabitant of Munich", Article cit., p. 7. One will remember that Leon Blum wrote, regarding the Munich Agreements, in *The Popular One* of September 27, 1938 that he "was divided between a cowardly relief and shame".
- 8 *Idem*, p. 7.
- 9 Rassinier reports in "Candasse", p. 228-230, about a visit which he accepted from a member of counter-espionage charged to inquire into the resources of the press. Because of his pacifist positions, Rassinier was suspected of receiving funds from Germany.
- 10 "The Policy. We count four!", *The Territory*, number 4, June 1939, p. 5.
- 11 "Foreign policy. Beyond nationalism ", *The Territory*, number 55, July 1939, p. 5.
- 12 *Ibidem*.
- 13 "Candasse", p. 247-248 and 271-273.

Chapter 3: Resistance and Deportation

A. Liberation-North

Contrary to a certain number of Socialists of Munich, who entered the ranks of collaboration¹, Paul Rassinier chose to resist. In June 1941, he joins the movement "The Volunteers of Freedom", Republican and Socialist, then in January 1942, with "Liberation", whose organizer in the Northern zone was Henri Ribière. This man entrusts to him the direction of the movement for Alsace and the Territory of Belfort. We know relatively few things about the activities of Rassinier within the movement "Liberation-North", because of his necessary discretion during the war and his modesty, once the hostilities were completed.² Faithful to his pacifist ideals, he refuses armed resistance. He is aware that the assassination of "*a German soldier in a dark and deserted street*" causes only "*the arrest of hundreds of hostages and an aggravation of the statute of occupation*"³, when it is not a question of bloody reprisals. Rassinier does not feel it is right "*to play with the skin of the others*", to employ a familiar expression.

His non-violent activities consisted primarily, if one believes what he writes of them in *Candasse*, of the manufacture of false identity cards and in smuggling people across the Swiss frontier, an operation "*which functioned with wonder and to which all those who had recourse to it were tracked by the franco-germanienne police force*".⁴

On November 1, 1943 is launched n° 1 of the clandestine newspaper *Fourth Republic* (printed in Schraag printing works in Valdoie, close to Belfort). In addition to Rassinier, several people will have a part in the drafting of this newspaper: J.L. Bruch, Pierre Cochery, Tschann.⁵ Rassinier will write after the war that radio broadcasts from London and Algiers sent their congratulations at the time for the *Fourth Republic*, (circulated with 200,000 copies throughout France).⁶ We're not sure what it was or if it was the same newspaper, but it is necessary to note the appearance in Algiers, at the same time, the n° 1 of a newspaper entitled *Fourth Republic*, which was followed by other numbers in 1943 and 1944.

The *Fourth Republic* "*poses the theory that all those who will survive the war together can and must rebuild peace together, and thus save the country from a civil war*".⁷

The judgment which will be made on the war, once completed, will undeniably hold Germany and Italy accountable and responsible for Nazism and Fascism; but will not ignore the Treaty of Versailles and the "*politically free Anglo-American countries that created it*". Any thesis of Germany's unilateral responsibility for the war will be rejected, as well as the possibility of a new Treaty of Versailles.⁸

Fourth Republic invites the accredited representatives of the resistance movements to join within a departmental framework to form Committees for the Fourth Republic. On the

trade-union level, it is demanded that the worker and trade-union organizations must be free and independent, contrary to the Charter of Work of October 4, 1941.

B – Dora, The Time Of The Night⁹

In Belfort, Paul Rassinier is exposed to the hostility of the local Communists, who condemn him to death.¹⁰ In an ironic twist of fate, he will be saved by the Gestapo, which arrests him, in his classroom, on October 30, 1943 and thus unknowingly saves him from the killer's bullets.¹¹ Following two attacks against a pharmacy and a coffee house, a security police raid had resulted in the arrest of a person in possession of a false identity card. Under torture, the holder of the card had acknowledged how he had gotten it ¹², and thus Paul Rassinier found himself in prison, in the company of his wife and his son Jean-Paul, 2 years old.¹³ Tortured for eleven days by the Gestapo and the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD, Nazi Party security service), his hands were crushed, his jaw broken and a kidney was ruptured.

From November 1943 to January 1944 (fifty-nine consecutive days), he is imprisoned first in Friedrich then in Compiègne¹⁴ and, from there, deported to Buchenwald concentration camp. His transport lasts three days and three nights, a hundred individuals per coach, with little food and water. The arrival at Buchenwald takes place on Sunday January 30, 1944.¹⁵ The newcomers are put in Block 48 for quarantine, which lasts three to six weeks depending on whether or not there is a declaration of epidemic disease.

On March 13, 1944, Rassinier, prisoner number 44364, formed part of a transport to Dora, the concentration/labor camp where engines or fuselages of airplanes are built, but especially famous for construction of the V1 and V2 "secret weapons" which represent for the Third Reich the ultimate and illusory hope to reverse the course of the war. The conditions of existence and employment within Dora are terrible, to which the death rate easily testifies. One of the more gruesome tasks for the prisoners consists of digging, under the blows of the S.S. and the Kapos, two parallel tunnels, connected by galleries of approximately 200 meters where V1 and V2 rockets are assembled. These two tunnels, from 4 to 5 kilometers long, connected Dora to Ellrich.

[Graphic Representing Mortality Within Buchenwald. Years 1943-1944-1945. Source: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, vol. IV, Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946, p. 832-833.]

In Dora, in the tunnels or the open air, pneumonia, dysentery and many other diseases rule. If Rassinier manages to survive it is initially because every day his wife sends him a food parcel, in spite of her mother's opinion, who thought that her son-in-law had died and that it was quite useless to thus lose his money. Moreover, by his attitude at the time of reception of his first parcel (on April 4, 1944), he attracts the benevolence of his Block Chief (a German with the black triangle, i.e. a vagrant, or "work-shy") who promises him that his parcels will not be plundered, as was often the case, before being given to him.

In addition, his very bad health will enable him to make six stays in the Revier (the camp infirmary), in spite of the poor quality of the care. On the whole he will remain more than two hundred and fifty days in the infirmary: in 1944, from April 8 to April 27, May 5 to

August 30, September 7 at October 2, October 10 to November 3, November 6 to December 23 and, in 1945, from March 10 to his release.

Towards the end of December 1944, he is employed in *Schwung*¹⁶ for the S.S. Oberscharführer who commands the guard dog company. This is due, he says without more precise details, from the "*chance of exceptionally favorable circumstances*".¹⁷ This period enables him to take a little rest. His work, indeed, is easy: to wax the boots, to brush the clothes, to make the bed, etc. Every morning, his day finishes after eight hours. It is on this occasion that he has direct contact with the S.S.

He is replaced in *Schwung* following the arrival, on March 10, 1945, of a convoy of women *Bibelforscher* (Jehovah's Witnesses). On April 3 and 5, 1945, he assists in the infirmary during the bombardments of Nordhausen. On April 7 he is taken in a deadly evacuation convoy. Taking advantage of a favorable circumstance, he manages to jump off of the train, and thanks to a dead angle, avoids the S.S. gunfire.¹⁸ He will return to Belfort only on June 18 of 1945, sick and weakened, and with nightmares for the remainder of his nights. He will be classified 95% an invalid (revised to 105%) and will receive the Vermilion Medal of the French Recognition and the Rosette of Resistance.

He will be put into premature retirement on October 27, 1950.¹⁹

Footnotes To Part I, Chapter 3

1 See., for example, the work of Rémy Handoutzel and Cyril Dresser, "Collaboration... on the left also", foreword by René Rémond, Academic Bookshop Perrin, coll. "Truths and Legends", biographical Paris 1989, 276 p.

2 Note on Paul Rassinier, "Political profession of faith for the legislative elections of June 2, 1946". The information provided by this text is probably not of very rigorous scholarship.

3 Trial, p.107.

4 Candasse, p. 287, note 1. Cf Drama, p. 161-162 and 194.

5 These names are indicated to the B.D.I.C. of Nanterre on the card devoted to the Fourth Republic (marked number 4 P 721 abstr. A). The three people mentioned were arrested in company with Rassinier. One will note that Tschann will assist, in July 1967, with Rassinier's funeral.

6 Lie, p. 232-233, note 3.

7 Fourth Republic, p. 1.

8 Ibidem.

9 This is the subtitle of a book by Jean Michel, "Hell with Stars. Dora, the Time of the Night", Éd. Plon, Paris 1985, 300 p.

10 Candasse, p. 288.

11 In October 1987, Jean-Pierre Allali and Haim Musicant published "Free Men - Extraordinary stories of the history of the L.I.C.R.A." [International League Against Racism and Antisemitism] (Éd. Bibliophane, Paris, 274 p.), this work devotes a chapter to the "Forgers of History" which questions Paul Rassinier. On p. 175, without referring to the quality of resistance of Rassinier they write that he "was arrested by the Gestapo" and add in a note: "the politically extreme-right-wing generally presents Rassinier as "a resister from the first hour ". According to Jean Pierre-Bloch he was condemned for black-market trafficking during the Second World War" (discussion with the authors, October 26, 1986). This is pure invention.

12 Candasse, p. 289-291.

13 Placed in another cell, they will be released after two months.

14 Drama, p. the 182-183.

15 All details which follow are drawn from the account of Rassinier in "Crossing The Line", included in 1955 in the "Lies of Ulysses", as in all the later editions of this work.

16 Rassinier translates "Schwung" as "orderly" (Lie, p. 84). Jean Michel, in his work (See. note 65), translates it as an "intermediate employment between the servant and the manservant" (p. 152). Wilhelm Stäglich assure us that the good orthography is "Schwung" and not "Schwunk" (letter of March 24, 1990).

17 Lie, p. 84.

18 This episode is told in the chapter entitled "Ground of the free men" in "Crossing The Line"(the epilogue). [Editor's Note: Prologue in the English edition, under the title "The Author's Experience ".] This chapter does not appear in a certain number of French and foreign editions. See. "Primary Sources" (Books section at the end of this biography.)

19 Let us recall that after having been a teacher Rassinier ensured the courses of history and geography in a C.E.G. of Valdoie.

Chapter 4: Deputy And Witness

A - Return To Politics

Very quickly, Paul Rassinier again takes his place as the head of Federation S.F.I.O., directed from Belfort. As of July 13, 1945, there appears the n° 2 (2nd year) of *Fourth Republic*, first a weekly magazine then twice-weekly starting from the n° 22 (November 30, 1945). It publishes ten numbers, from December 28, 1945 to January 29, 1946, a press campaign against "the 'ludicrousness' of 'the purification'" concerning the case of Alsthom. The directors of this factory are shown to have slowed down, during the pre-war period, the production for national defense. He acts, for the newspaper, in a case of "*desertion disguised with an economic face*".¹ Moreover, under the Occupation, by practicing a policy of low wages and holding people to account for delays in the social policies of the Vichy government, Alsthom would have contributed to a kind of voluntary support of the French workmen for Germany. As noted in *Fourth Republic*, "*the Territory of Belfort remains, to our great shame, the department which provided the largest quota of voluntary workers for Germany*".² Much more seriously, Mr. Hochstatter, general manager of the Alsthom factories of Belfort, is shown to have openly incited his workmen to leave for Germany. He would have stated, during a meeting on July 16, 1942, the idea that "*we should play the German card*".³ In its concluding article⁴, the newspaper launches a call for justice that would seriously address this case of economic collaboration.

In spite of the opinion of his wife, who did not maintain any illusions about the world of politics, Rassinier presents himself as a candidate at the legislative elections. Beaten as a candidate for the Constituency in October of 1945, he is elected on June 2, 1946 as a substitute for the S.F.I.O Deputy Rene Naegelen, but is again beaten on November 10, 1946, the Communist Party having carried his votes with their radical candidate.

B- The Book Of The Scandal

In September of 1949, Paul Rassinier's first book, *Crossing The Line*, appears⁵, which will be praised by the Trade Union of Journalists And Writers. This work is an account of his deportation in Buchenwald and Dora. His testimony is almost unanimously commended for its objectivity. It is described as "*the objectively detailed indictment from a pacifist and internationalist socialist against the judge and the soldier. It is also on this subject, which remains of extreme topicality, the first testimony coldly and calmly written against the demands of resentment, idiotic hatred or chauvinism*".⁶ The reading of this book is also recommended by the Socialist Party.

It is with the *Lie of Ulysses*⁷, published in October 1950, that trouble starts. The foreword, written by Albert Paraz, an unclassifiable writer but also an admirer of Celine⁸, is

offensive enough for the Resistance. Edmond Michelet is thus indirectly blamed there for his activities during the Occupation.⁹ Some will not go further in their reading. Others, in particular in the pacifist and anarchistic media, while sometimes issuing reservations on specific points, still recognize it as being of great value as a work which wants to give everybody a "*glance at the literature of the concentration camp inmates*". Rassinier examines there some books, which he considers representative, on the concentration camps. He particularly highlights and condemns the part played by the Communists within the *Häftlingsführung*¹⁰ (self-government by the inmates), he denounces the exaggerations, however tiny they are, the nuanced remarks and interpretations of certain deportees, and especially expresses some doubts of a general nature on the existence of the gas chambers and on the reality of a plan of extermination decided in high places.

Maurice Guerin, appointed M.R.P. of Lyon, devotes himself to a violent attack against this work on the platform of the French National Assembly on November 2, 1950.¹¹ The justice system gets involved in its turn. A complaint is filed by Edmond Michelet and three associations, including the F.N.D.I.R. (National Federation of the Deportees, Internees and Resisters).¹² Discharged in its jurisdiction, Rassinier is condemned by the Court of Appeal of Lyon to 15 days of prison (deferred), with 100,000 francs fined and 800,000 francs awarded as damages for "*insult and slandering*". In addition, the seizure and the destruction of all copies of the book is ordered. The Supreme Court of Appeals reverses the judgment of the Court of Appeals of Lyon in 1954.¹³ A new edition of *The Lie of Ulysses* can be published in February, 1955.¹⁴

However, as of December 12, 1950, Rémy Sicard, of the National Commission of the Conflicts, had informed Rassinier that he was the subject of a request for control "*on behalf of Comrade Debeaumarché*".¹⁵ Rassinier is finally expelled from the party, "*in spite of the respect which his person imposes*" which is what the sentence of marked expulsion will say on April 19, 1951.

Supported by eleven departmental federations and Marceau Pivert, a request for rehabilitation was presented in November 1951 at the Congress of Asnières and rebuffed after the intervention of Daniel Mayer and Guy Mollet.¹⁶ Paul Rassinier then approaches the more pacifist and anarchistic mediums.

Footnotes To Part I, Chapter 4

- 1** "...III. "Saboteurs of 1939-40", *The Fourth Republic*, n°32, 4 January 1946, p. 1.
- 2** "... IV. "The methodical organization of "volontariat", *The Fourth Republic*, n° 33, Jan. 8, 1946, p. 1.
- 3** "... VI. "The Case Of Mr. Hochstetter", *The Fourth Republic*, n°35, January 15, 1946, p. 1.
- 4** "... X. "Justice Has The Word", *The Fourth Republic*, n°39, 29 January 1946, p. 1.
- 5** "Crossing The Line: Human Truth", Editions Bressanes Borough-in-Bresse, 1949, 200 p. Divers newspapers printed extracts of this. It was the case of *Proletarian Revolution* in July 1949, pp. 30-31 and of the *Socialist Comtois* (n° 68, July 1-15, and n° 69, July 16-31, 1949). The *Worker of Ain* of Borough-in-Bresse published the entire account of Rassinier in 24 episodes, of March 5 through September 3, 1949. It is possible that other newspapers or reviews published extracts of *Crossing The Line*.
- 6** *Proletarian Revolution*, n°32, November 1949, 4th from cover.
- 7** "The Lies of Ulysses". A Glance at the literature of concentration camp inmates", foreword by Albert Paraz, Bressanes Editions, Borough-in-Bresse 1950, 240 p.
- 8** On Albert Paraz, See. "Albert Paraz, with Counter-Current", *Lérot Dreamer*, n°42, May 1986, 89 p. Paraz had mentioned *Crossing The Line* in his *Valsez Sausages*, Amiot-Dumont, Paris 1950, pp. 289-291.
- 9** the Foreword of Paraz was republished in the *Minuet of Kidney-Bean* (of Paraz), Éditions To Know, Geneva 1958, 115 p., p. 79-100. This foreword not having been reproduced in the later editions of the *Lie*, it appeared useful to us and interesting enough make an appearance here as an annex. [Translators Note: Not Included]
- 10** Robert Antelme speaks about "intermediate apparatus" in *Mankind*. We will have the occasion to return at greater length to the *Häftlingsführung*.
- 11** Official Journal, Parliamentary Debates, Assemblée Nationale, year 1950, n°108 A.N., Friday November 3, 1950, p. 7387-7
- 12** *Defense of Man*, n° 72, October 1954, p. 25 and n° 74, December 1954, p. 30.
- 13** "Crossing The Line" becomes the first part: "The Experience Of Those Who Lived" and the "The Lies of Ulysses" the second part under the general title "The Experience of Others".
- 14** *Defense of Man*, n° 72, October 1954, p. 25 and n° 74, December 1954, p. 30.
- 15** Letter of Rémy Sicard to heading of socialist Party S.F.I.O. in Paul Rassinier, December 12 1950.
- 16** *The Lies Of Ulysses*, p. 233, note 5.

PART II

THE MILITANT PACIFIST

Chapter 1. The Way of Peace

No longer teaching, and consequently having lots of free time, Rassinier was a very prolific author. Before the war, he had written a number of articles, as his bibliography demonstrates.

From 1949 to 1959, he collaborated with *Defense Of Man*. This monthly review, founded in October 1948, was directed by Louis Lecoïn (1888-1971), an anarchist and pacifist, who was the defender of conscientious objectors. Located at Vence (in the maritime Alps) in 1951, he entrusted its editing to his friend Louis Dorlet (1905-1989) in 1955. Rassinier also formed part of a national committee for the legal recognition of conscientious objection which gathered personalities like André Breton, Albert Camus, Jean Cocteau, Jean Giono, Lanza del Vasto, and the Pierre priest, Robert Treno. On August 13, 1958, this committee addressed a letter to General de Gaulle, President of the Council, with the result that he released Edmond Schaguené, imprisoned for ten years.¹

The articles of Rassinier published in *Defense Of Man* are very often devoted to the economic and monetary aspects of the topic. One easily understands why it is useful for a pacifist to also be an economist, anxious to control the amount of the national expenditure and raising awareness as to which sectors of the economy they are allotted.

Finally, it's notable that n°156 (a) of October, 1961, is written entirely by Paul Rassinier and is devoted to revolutionary ambiguity. At the end of this study, where it is a big question of the origin and the course of the events of the Hungarian Insurrection of 1956, Rassinier supports the idea that, in the claims of the protestors, "*nothing was aimed either at the political structures, nor the economic structures, nor the social structures in their fundamental principles: nothing, in any case, rose there above a desire for some reforms here and there, in the direction defined by Imre Nagy in 1953, just a little more liberalism in national independence*".² This revolt thus does not engage in the acts of a revolutionary movement but, rather as a reformist movement.

Another monthly newspaper in which Rassinier collaborated was *The Way of Peace*, created in January 1951 by Emile Bauchet (1899-1973). Founder of the National Committee of Resistance to War and Oppression, he was also a co-secretary of the Pacifist Union of France, and this newspaper was the official organ. The articles of Rassinier were devoted to the most various aspects of political news; the interior of France, the economy, education, justice, elections; foreign and international politics: the independence of Algeria, the Belgian Congo, disarmament, the relaxation. Rassinier was interested in the Middle East and the "war of oil". The pacifist people of *The Way of Peace* were in particular liaison with the Italians of the anarchistic review *Volontà* which published three Rassinier articles in 1963, and with pacifist Germans, to whom Rassinier returned a visit in 1963 for ten days.³

At the end of 1964, Rassinier was constrained to cease his collaboration with the body of the Pacifist Union when it was revealed, during a lawsuit that had been brought against him for slander, that he had written several articles under the pseudonym of Jean-Pierre Bermont in the nationalist weekly magazine *Rivarol*.⁴ This sad business did not create a rupture between Paul Rassinier and Emile Bauchet, with whom he remained on very good terms. Besides, Bauchet was the person in charge of *The Way of Peace*, and wrote the text of the eulogy pronounced on the tomb of the pacifist historian in July 1967 by Tschann, an old friend and the chair of the U.D.F.O., Territory of Belfort.⁵

In 1961, Rassinier, through some acquaintances at the Anarchistic Federation approached the Anarchistic Working Alliance (A.O.A.), an anarchistic group created in 1954 following a schism within this Federation. This Alliance, which publishes *Anarchy*, a newspaper of monthly or irregular publication, has or had as its principal organizers Fernand Robert and Raymond Beaulaton who shared and still share the revisionist positions of Rassinier.⁶

In 1958 and 1959, they started, in Nice, a small bimonthly review (seven issues of June 1958 to April 1959) called *The Social Order*, published by the group Elisee Reclus, which had already been the title of a bulletin (published in Nice from 1950 through 1953)⁷. The principal writer of the second period of the review was Paul Rassinier but since no article is signed it is impossible to precisely determine who wrote what.

In addition to some articles published in the *Libertarian*, Rassinier also collaborated episodically in the bulletin of the S.I.A. (International Solidarity Antifascist). The number of the first half of the year 1956 contains a long article by him entitled: "When the parliamentary institutions lead to fascism".⁸ Also let us note that the libertarian review *Counter-Current*, founded in 1952 and run by Louis Louvet and André Maille, devoted, under the pen of Paul Rassinier, three special numbers to his study entitled "Parliament in the Hands of the Banks".⁹

Following up on more of his articles, Rassinier carried out many lecture tours throughout France on the most varied of subjects: the economy, monetary policy, the problems of oil, etc.

In 1953 with the editions of *The Way of Peace* his "Speech of The Last Chance - Test of Introduction to the Doctrines of Peace" appeared. Reviewing the economic and social causes

of the wars, Rassinier concludes that it is necessary to undertake a complete recasting of the system of distribution of wealth. The work is also to some extent a response to the theories of Sartre and those of Raymond Aron. Between Communist peace and American peace, he opposes what looks like a very short peace. There one finds the principles of integral pacifism precious to Paul Rassinier. As a whole, this introduction to doctrines of peace was very favorably received in France by all the nonconformist publications. It also had echoes in Great Britain, in the United States and in Germany where various pacifist movements, pledged neither to America or Russia, used it for their propaganda.¹⁰

Footnotes To Part II, Chapter 1

1 See. *The Social Order*, n°5, October 1958, p. 3.

2 *Defense of Man*, n° 156 (a), October 1961, p. 71-72.

3 See. "Ten days in the Company of Pacifist Germans", *The Way of Peace*, n° 129, April 1963, p. 5.

4 Rassinier ceased this collaboration voluntarily. We have a copy of the draft of the letter addressed to Emile Bauchet.

5 See. "The Eulogy of Emile Bauchet for Paul Rassinier", *The Way of Peace*, n° 180, August-Sept. 1967, p. 2.

6 See. The letter of Paul Rassinier to Raymond Beaulaton of November 15, 1964. This letter, of which Raymond Beaulaton graciously communicated us a photocopy, was reproduced in the monthly magazine *Revision*, n° September 7, 1989, p. 11-12.

7 See. The study of Sylvie Galli, "The Social Order": An Anarchist Newspaper", *Master's Paper*, Aix-en-Provence, 1985, 85 p.

8 "When the Parliamentary Institutions lead to Fascism", *Bulletin of S.I.A.*, 1st half of 1956, p. 4.

9 Respectively in October 1955, November 1956 and October 1957.

10 the fourth cover of the second edition of *The Lies* (February 1955) draws up an almost complete list of the newspapers and reviews which gave an account of it.

Chapter II. Pius XII, The Papal Outrage¹

A - Polemic Around A Book

In the margins of his pacifist articles in various reviews, Rassinier believed it necessary to devote a whole book to defend the memory of Pope Pius XII. The occasion is given to him by the polemic caused by a play performed in several countries during 1963 and 1964. Its French title: *Vicaire*² [English title: *The Deputy*], its author: Rolf Hochhuth, a young German Protestant. This dramatic work intended to denounce the silence that the Pope supposedly observed during the war concerning the fate of the Jews. According to the young German's thesis, the Pope had known and had not said anything. He had known, primarily thanks to the efforts of S.S. officer Kurt Gerstein, who Rassinier had already lengthily studied, along with his testimony, and to which he did not grant any value or credibility.³ What was generally reproached to the Pope was that he was, at the time, "pro-Nazi", and to have to some extent regarded Nazism as a rampart against Bolshevism. The thesis of Rolf Hochhuth is taken up again and developed by others: Jacques Nobécourt in the *Vicar and History*, Saul Friedländer in his *Pius XII and the Third Reich*⁴, not to speak of many other articles published in the international press. The methods employed by these authors to accredit the thesis of the "guilty silence" of Pius XII roused the indignation of Rassinier, however viscerally atheistic he was. In the attacks on the Pope, Rassinier sees many insinuations, assumptions, and second or third hand testimonies, but very little that is, by any reference, likely to seriously support the thesis of the accusation.⁵

The response of Rassinier on this point is clear: "*It is odious to charge [the Pope] and to allege a "silence" to him because he definitely spoke out, and as highly as possible*".⁶ Any Pope is compelled, in public, to diplomatic language and this is even truer in times of war than in times of peace. Rassinier points out that the protests of Pius XII against the horrors of the war were always formulated in such terms as to condemn all such horrors from wherever they came. Moreover, his protests were not always without consequences: "*In December 1939, the Polish priests in the German zone, just like in the Russian zone, begged the Pope to put an end to the broadcasts of Radio-Vatican, the only effect of which was to worsen their fate. In June 1942, a pontifical document freely reproduced for the use of the faithful had worsened the fate of Jews and half-Jews in Holland*".⁷

In fact, Rassinier regards all this as a non-problem. Through the person of the Pope, not only were Catholics reached but all the pacifists, and that makes the defense of the Pope worthwhile, for when one throws himself into the water to defend his memory, it is "*without risk since, in this water there was, under the nature of the historical truth, an unsinkable buoy*".⁸

B - Pius XII and Peace

What Rassinier appreciates among Popes of the twentieth century is their actions in favour of peace. Pius X, who died on August 20, 1914, did everything possible to try to save peace. The newspapers of the time were unanimous in paying homage to him on this point. Benedict XV continued the work of Pius X, during and after the Great War. He did not accept the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, which he found to be unjust and filled with reasons to start a new war. Under the pontificates of Pius XI and Pius XII, the Holy See more and more firmly gave opinions in favor of international negotiations, at the same time by a principled plan to avoid recourse to weapons.

"Peace had become, since Pius X, a constant theme of Vatican policy and consequently, the need for the amendment of the Treaty of Versailles another constant theme".⁹

The motto of Pius XII could have been: *Si vis pacem, para pacem*. He tried to prevent the war and was the "Jaurès of the Second World War".¹⁰ All his efforts were aimed at regulating the disputes between all European States which had disputes between them. After having proceeded with various soundings by his diplomatic services, he had to recognize the failure of his attempts at mediation. However the beginning of hostilities did not dissuade him from trying to stop the war. He will reaffirm several times his positions of principle¹¹, *"towards the conclusion of a peace fair and honorable for all"*.¹² Rassinier quotes on this subject the English historian Anne Armstrong who pointed out that *"the requirement of an unconditional surrender (...) was incompatible with the doctrines of Christ"*¹³, something the Pope himself explained to Myron Taylor, envoy of President Roosevelt, in June 1944.

C - The Motives of the Accusers of Pius XII

Rassinier tries to expose the motives of those who joined the denunciation of "the silence" of the Pope. Re Rolf Hochhuth, he wrote in January of 1964 that he was *"the son of a manufacturer of shoes who fitted, during all the war, the Hitlerian armies in pursuit of the Jews"*.¹⁴ For Rassinier, the Protestants were seeking to give each other a good conscience while trying to make everyone forget the attitude of the majority of them with regard to National Socialism and Hitler. Rassinier points out that the German Protestants were a factor of success for Hitler in his accession to power. According to the American journalist William L. Shirer, though Rassinier never regarded him as a serious historian, *"the majority of Protestants greeted with satisfaction the advent of Adolf Hitler to the Chancellery in 1933"*.¹⁵ The constitutional project of the Protestant Church in the Church of the Third Reich had the approval of the Protestant hierarchy as a whole. It was in September 1933, with the Synod of Wittenberg, that Ludwig Müller, a friend of Hitler, was named the head of the new Church.

Pastor Martin Niemöller seems to be, in the eyes of Rassinier, the most typical case of the bad conscience of the Protestants. Rassinier had already quoted, in *The Drama Of The European Jews*, some passages of the biography which Paul Heinz, who was one of his close relatives, had devoted to him. He points out certain episodes of his life. The Reverend Niemöller had contributed to create an association of pastors, *Der Pfarrernotbund* (Union of Pastors Against the Distress - literal German translation, Emergency Minister Federation) of

which he had become the president. Following the appointment of Dr. Ludwig Müller to the head of the Church of the Reich, he addressed to all the pastors a circular in which it was made known that: *"the Members of the Union of Pastors Against the Distress line up unconditionally at the side of Führer Adolf Hitler"*. On July 1, 1937, Niemöller was arrested after having given a public sermon where his opposition to the government appears. Condemned to seven months in prison in March of 1938, he is arrested again by the Gestapo while exiting the courtroom and dispatched to a concentration camp (Sachsenhausen, then Dachau) as a *"personal prisoner of the Führer"*.

In September 1939, while imprisoned, and just after the war has started, he writes to his friend, Grand Admiral Raeder, presenting himself as a volunteer and requesting to be assigned to unspecified employment in the service of war. Rassinier makes the following remark: *"Volunteering for the armies of National Socialism, in full knowledge of the cause and the goals that it pursued; here, in one day, is a singular cast on the nature and the sincerity of his opposition to the régime"*.¹⁶ The operation of the Protestants appears clear: in addition to their traditional antipapism, they seek to fight in West Germany the political influence of the Catholics while making everybody believe in public opinion that they, the Protestants, were one of the essential elements of resistance to Hitler.

For Rassinier, two other forces supported the Protestants in their enterprise. The actions of Bolshevism - which is, for him, a modern form of Panslavism - and the international Zionist movement.

*"Each time that a step is taken in direction of the rehabilitation of West Germany - and even of that of the East, by means of the reunification of both - throughout the community of the European people, the successors of Stalin spread invectives against German militarism, the Néo-Nazis revanchists of Bonn, and that Germany is responsible for the Second World War, and reminders of the war criminals, etc."*¹⁷

For its part, the Zionist movement intends to reaffirm the singular culpability of Germany and, by the same occasion, *"to justify the payment of the allowances which enable them to consolidate the State of Israel and to rebuild Jewish life"* in the world.¹⁸ It is a point to which Rassinier returns on several occasions in his other works.¹⁹

D - Catholics And National Socialism

The standpoint of the Catholic Church against Nazism strongly contrasts with the attitude of the majority of the German Protestants. Rassinier points out, quoting William Shirer, that the Catholics had especially voted for Hindenburg - however Protestant he was - in the various elections of 1932 and 1933. With each one of its elections, the Conference of the Catholic Episcopate had met in Fulda for a political standpoint, and each time it had ended with a collective public declaration which condemned National Socialism in virulent terms, like a return to paganism. Its partisans were regarded as *"renegades of the Church with which it is necessary to refuse the Sacraments"* and prohibitions were made *"for Catholics becoming members of National Socialist youth organizations, or any others"*.²⁰ In Austria, Dr. Johannes Sfoellner, the Bishop of Linz, had published on January 23, 1933 a pastoral letter in which he condemned National Socialism as hostile to the Church.

On March 14, 1937, the encyclical *With Burning Concern* was published, a pitiless judgment of Nazism, and the true author of this was none other than Cardinal Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII. To Pacelli's initiative is owed the negative judgment by the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office to books like *The Myth of The Twentieth Century* ²¹ by Alfred Rosenberg and *The German National Church* ²² by E. Bergmann, just as decisions by the Government of the Reich such as the sterilization of people inflicted with hereditary diseases and the program of euthanasia of irremediably disabled people are considered to be a heavy indictment for society. Rassinier also notes that all the speeches that Pius XII held during the war condemn both Nazism and Communism at the same time as "*enemies of God*" and "*from where the atrocities of the war come*". These condemnations made it possible for the two camps in the war to interpret the remarks of the pope in their favour. And it is what made it possible for some to accredit their theses, that Rassinier will shortly refute as evil.

The work of Rassinier was as a whole, well received in the Catholic press and among the higher realms of the Church.²³ As a conclusion to this question of the "Vicaire", it appears interesting to us to quote an extract of the letter of October 24 1965, that Monsigneur George Roche, Superior General of Opus Cenaculi of the Vatican, addressed to Paul Rassinier:

"I have just read your book "Operation Vicar", and this reading upset me. You are aware of the Gospel of Saint Luke and the parable of the good Samaritan (the schismatics and the atheists of their time...) Though an atheist and free-thinker, you are, in my eyes, the good Samaritan. You are and will be for a long time the living reproach for all these priests and all these Levites who, in the manner of Pilate, washed their hands of this criminal "Operation Vicar" and, by their silence and their cowardice were made, in front of history, the accomplices of "brigands" who, not being able to kill Pius XII, want to kill his memory..."

"With all the enthusiasm of my heart, I thank you, in the name of all those who, while faithful to the incorruptible memory of Eugene Pacelli, do not have your historical culture, your literary talent and perhaps (I say it while blushing) your courage, as admirable as it is untameable ".²⁴

Footnotes To Part II, Chapter 2

1 This is the title of a book by Alexis Curvers published at Robert Laffont (Paris) in 1964 and whose second re-edited and corrected edition was published in 1988 by the Editions Domenica Martin Morin (Bouère). Paul Rassinier addressed his work to Alexis Curvers and dedicated it in these terms: "To Alexis Curvers who spoke in the name of the Faith, this which could enable him to also speak in the name of history" (letter of Alexis Curvers to the author, November 30, 1989). The two men had the occasion to hold in Belgium, in 1966, a rather surging conference on Pius XII and his attitude during the war.

2 Its title of origin is: Der Stellvertreter. The French translation appeared in editions of the Threshold.

3 We will have the occasion to explain in detail in the third part of our study the arguments of Rassinier on this subject.

4 Rassinier knew of this work only by the paraphrase "The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany", published by McGraw-Hill (New York, 1964).

5 Rassinier carried out his own research in the Vatican. On his return from Rome, he wrote to Maurice Bardèche: "I was very well received in Rome and I believe to have brought back a certain number of very important pieces of new information." (Paul Rassinier to Maurice Bardèche, letter of June 15, 1964).

6 Operation, p. 23.

7 Idem, p. 32, note 2.

8 Idem, p. 94.

9 Idem, p. 111.

10 Idem, p. 123.

11 Idem, pp. 147-149.

12 Idem, p. 146.

13 Anne Armstrong, "Unconditional Surrender", Presses of the City, quoted by Rassinier in Operation, p. 150.

14 Letter of Paul Rassinier to New Candide, n° 140, 2 to January 9, 1964, p. 2.

15 Cited in Operation, p. 190.

16 Operation, p. 204.

17 Idem, p. 217.

18 Idem, p. 218.

19 See. Appendix V of his work on Pius XII is devoted to the "The Problem of Reparations due by Germany" (pp. 263-266).

20 Operation, p. 190.

21 Index Librorum Prohibitorum 9-2-1934.

22 Index Librorum Prohibitorum 14-2-1934.

23 One will find some reactions in the n° 104, November 1965, of French Readings, p. 8.

24 "An opinion on "Operation Vicar ", French Readings, n° 105, December 1965, p. 13.

Chapter 3 - The Pacifist Historian

Because of his pacifist opinions, Paul Rassinier had probably read many works of revisionist character on the First World War and, in particular, those published by the Bookshop of Work.¹ Thus, *The Worker*, a dissenting communist newspaper that he enlivened in Belfort from 1932 to 1934 often contained publicity for this co-operative publishing firm. Its n° 41 of February 25, 1933 lists its catalogue²: one finds there, in particular, books of Gustave Dupin (*On the Responsibilities for the War*), of Fay and Barnes³ (*American Scientists and The Origins of the War*), of Mathias Morhardt (*England Wanted the War - The Evidence*), of Raffalovitch (*The Abominable Venality of the Press*). In *Trial*, Rassinier affirms that some of the intellectuals previously quoted and others who gave an opinion against the Treaty of Versailles and the thesis of German unilateral responsibility for the war "*were the literary or personal frequentations of his burning and enthusiastic youth*".⁴ And he draws up a list of them:

*"Hermann Hesse, spiritual heir to Bertha von Süttner, Romain Rolland, Alain, Mathias Morhardt, Victor Margueritte, Anatole France, Félicien Challaye, Jean Giono, George Demartial, Rene Gérin, Barthelemy de Ligt, Lucien Roth, the Alexandre couple, etc... With these, nobody succeeds with telling nonsense about the unilateral character of the horrors and the responsibilities for the war: they passed all through the sieve and they made life hard for the men of Versailles who were supported only by some aged intellectuals, tired or fossilized and of a line not followed anymore."*⁵

Lastly, let us announce that Rassinier had read and appreciated Jean Norton Cru and his masterly and monumental study *Witnesses: Tests, Analysis and Criticism of the Memories of Combatants Published in French from 1915 to 1928* (1929).⁶

It is in the wake and the spirit of all these characters - writers and historians - cited higher than Rassinier when he writes his works on the Second World War and the problem concentrationnaire.

Three essential and, in the last analysis, indissociable reasons appear to us to have pushed him: the desire to write historical work, his pacifism, and the concept of a socialism which would be faithful to the principles and the ideals of the Left of 1919.

A - Birth of a Historian

a) - A Historian In Search Of Objectivity

The tone is given as of his first work, *Crossing The Line*, the account of the deportation of Rassinier to Buchenwald and Dora. It is wise to reproduce *in extenso* the warning placed in epigraph at the beginning of the book:

"With a great abundance of details and more or less of happiness or talent, a certain number of witnesses have made, since their release, the table of the horrors of the concentration camps. It cannot have escaped opinion that the imagination of the novelist, the excesses of lyricism of the poet, the interested partiality of the politician or the relentless hatred of the victim, are used in turn or in concert as a background to the accounts published up to now. I thought, for my part, that the moment had arrived to explain these horrors with the cold pen - satisfied, objective, at the same time impartial and pitiless - of the chronicler - alas, him also a witness! - concerned only about restoring the truth for the historians and of the sociologists of the future".⁷

One finds this same desire for objectivity in *The Lie Of Ulysses*. Conscious that truth is the first victim of war and hardly passion-proof, he endeavors to bring an end to "*the tradition of hatred being born under (his) eyes*".⁸ As of his return from Dora, he is interested in all that is said and written on the war and the deportation. It sometimes happens that he attends trials, such that in autumn 1945, of a woman marked as a collaborator. He notes there that obviously false evidence is not the subject of any pursuit of justice, but is instead defended in an attempt to make all other testimonies conform to this one: "*My matter only aims at establishing that there had been no reason to envy anybody, even among those to whom had been judged to have had the best luck.*"⁹ Rassinier thus will endeavour to fight against what he calls the "*Complex of the Lie of Ulysses*" according to which "*humanity needs something just as marvellous in the bad ones as in the good ones, in the ugly one as in the beautiful one. Each one hopes and wants to leave the adventure with the aureole of the saint, the hero and the martyr, and each one adds to his own odyssey without realizing that reality has already largely sufficed for itself*".¹⁰

Like a new Norton Cru, but according to a methodology much less complete and systematic, Rassinier sticks to the checking of the facts. With study he criticizes documents, their authenticity and their credibility. For him, this is a return to the intellectual probity which should control the historian in normal times.

With the passing of years, he will almost exclusively devote his research to the "*Drama of the European Jews*" which is, according to his formula, "*not that six million of them were exterminated. as they claim, but only in the fact that they claimed it*".¹¹ In this area of investigation, he has the incontestable role of a pioneer.

b) The Communists Against Europe

Numbered with those who lied about the camps, Rassinier places the Communists.¹² Various reasons explain, according to him, this tendency to lie. The Communists had a triple

interest in the business. The interest of their Party is clear: the Communists claim to have behaved best inside the camps. On the personal level, it was a question of dissimulating in the eyes of the public opinion their own abuses and misdeeds - and their consequences - within the internal direction of the prisoners (*Häftlingsführung*): "*By taking by storm the bar of the witnesses and with extreme shouting, they avoided the dock.*"¹³ At the political level, and on a worldwide scale, it was a question of making the public forget about the Russian camps, about which more was starting to be spoken of in the press. Pushing his criticisms further, Rassinier reproached the Communists for proposing that the atrocities committed by the Germans during the war had dug "*an unsoundable gap between France and Germany by discrediting the German people forever.*"¹⁴ It seems to him that there was an effort to singularly compromise the future of Europe and to make a play for Communism. He was amazed to note that "*the civilized world could base a whole policy with regard to Germany on conclusions which it drew from information provided by vulgar slave-drivers.*"¹⁵

It is in particular to thwart communist propaganda and according to a pacifist view that Rassinier undertook in Germany and Austria (in Vienna) a round of fifteen conferences¹⁶, from March 21 to April 10, 1960, beginning again with his usual arguments:

- 1) It was not the Germans who invented concentration camps;
- 2) The atrocities which were committed there are not exceptional and have precedents at other times and in other countries. One could quote the camps of Karaganda (Russia), the Lipari Islands (Italy), Makronissos (Greece), Noe (France), those of Algeria, etc;
- 3) The German people are not responsible for these horrors, in any case not anymore than the French people are for those of the Algerian camps. Rassinier moreover estimated that one does not have the right to reproach the German people for having decided in favour of Nazism. For him, "*people never choose their government: in all the countries of the world, public opinion is made by the newspapers and the newspapers - as with the radio - belong to those which have the money. Under these conditions, an electoral choice is very easily, and always, an imposture and a falsification.*"¹⁷

At the end of each conference, Paul Rassinier called for the constitution in Germany to form a committee of independent historians who would have been given the goal to seek the truth on the German concentration camps [Note from AAARGH: The almost instantaneous result of this request was the unilateral proclamation by Broszat in August of 1960, that there had been gas chambers only in some camps in Poland.]

c) Socialist Always?

While returning the account of his deportation in *Crossing The Line*, Rassinier had the feeling "*to echo Blanqui, Proudhon, Louise Michel, Guesde, Vaillant, Jaurès, and of meeting with others such as Albert London (Dante Did Not Have Anything Considering), Dr. Louis Rousseau (A Doctor In Penal Servitude), Will of Ware and Belbenoit (The Companions of the Beautiful), Mesclon (How I Underwent 15 years of Penal Servitude), etc, who all posed the*

problem of repression and the penitentiary system starting from the same observations and on the same terms as him, and also why they all had received a reception sympathetic to the socialist movement of their time"¹⁸ Noting that the keenest adversaries of his book were among the leaders of the Socialist Party, he wonders whether it would not have to be explained by "*the curious and alleged law of historical fluctuations*".¹⁹ And he notes with a certain bitterness that the intellectuals of the left, in their crushing majority, approved Nuremberg in the name of the same principles which had led them to condemn Versailles. Conversely, it was especially right wing intellectuals who started to screen the horrors and the responsibilities for the Second World War. And Rassinier has this interesting comment: "*There is in any case, a rather curious change of places in the sector of principles and it is in this change of place that is registered my personal drama*"²⁰

In fact, without doing anything to disavow his socialist convictions, the author of the *Drama* maintained friendly relations with men located at the extreme-right of the ideological spectrum, such as Maurice Bardèche; another pioneer of revisionism, Henry Coston; and Pierre Fontaine. Several of his books were published first by extreme right wing editors (Publications Henry Coston, Seven Colors) then by right wing publishers (the Round Table, New Latin Editions) for want of being accepted by large publishers. In the same way Rassinier published more and more of his revisionist articles (under a pseudonym) in reviews like *French Readings* and *Rivarol*.²¹ It is appropriate to note in this respect that these articles almost exclusively relate to his work on the gas chambers and the Final Solution and do not comprise a political or ideological profession of faith. It would be at the very least imprudent to qualify Rassinier as a "Néo-Nazi" as was the case in December of 1963 when he wanted to go to the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials and was driven back at the German border. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who had an exchange of letters with Rassinier in 1959, said that Rassinier, "*through his variations, remained anticolonialist*"²². The articles signed Rassinier in *The Way of Peace* and devoted to the independence of Algeria, the Belgian Congo and the State of Israel go indeed in the direction of this appreciation.

With regard to the nature of the historical works of Rassinier, the possible question of anti-semitism arises. Certain authors, like Pierre Birnbaum, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Nadine Fresco, portrayed Rassinier as being more or less an anti-semite. The examples they provide do not, however, seem very convincing.²³

We saw that Rassinier formed, before and during the war, part of the channel of emigration for German Jews.²⁴ It is not a question of Jews in the *Lie*. It is in the *Drama* that one meets some contestable assertions in the field of scientific rigour. As follows: "*It should not, indeed, never be forgotten that was to get the funds necessary for the construction of the State of Israel (German compensations, proportioned with the number of the victims) that this lie was made*".²⁵ This declaration - which is accompanied by no demonstration - is objectionable with a great part of what Rassinier had affirmed before.²⁶ He seems to have forgotten his own remarks on the rumours inside the camps (concerning the gas chambers), the "Complex of the Lie of Ulysses", the false evidences, etc. This being said, it has been ventured by some as being enough to conclude, on the basis of such a remark, at a fund of anti-semitism in Rassinier.

There are never heinous attacks in his writings but, especially, much irony and

sometimes a rather extravagant style of writing. The starting point of his work and his bearing as a historian are foreign to anti-semitism.

B - The Nuremberg Trial

From whatever angle he considers them, the Nuremberg trials do not find grace in the eyes of the pacifist that is Paul Rassinier. In a study - with a misleading title²⁷ - he endeavours to criticize all aspects of them and to refute all the justifications of them. His argumentation is articulated around three essential points: legal, moral and historical. The arguments of Rassinier do not have anything really original in them. Many authors from varied political and ideological scenes had devoted well before him brochures, books and articles condemning the Nuremberg trials. In France, there were especially the two books of Maurice Bardèche, *Nuremberg or the Promised Land* and *It's Nuremberg, or, The Counterfeiters*²⁸ that Rassinier found "*admirable*" even if he recognized that their author "*declares himself openly - and very famously - fascistic*".²⁹ It is certainly through the second of these books that Rassinier was informed of the authors mentioned above. It quotes some of them: Gilbert Murray, a British Hellenist; the military critic Lidell Hart; the anarchist Victor Gollancz; Lord Hankey; the American Judge Wennerstrum; Senator Taft; the Lord-Bishop of Chichester; Dibelius, the Bishop of Berlin, etc. Other names could certainly be quoted.

a) Legal Arguments

Rassinier denounces the "*scandalous character*" of certain innovations of the Statute of Nuremberg, like the definition of the crime against peace matched with the crime of plotting for its preparation and its achievement. He also asserts that the nonretroactivity of the law, under the terms of the formula *nulla poena sine lege*, is "*one of the crowned principles of our culture*".³⁰ Addressing the usual reproach that that is a position of pure formalism, and the supporting assertion that the marked people were in any case criminals, he retorts that the violation of a principle of everyday usage "*is to the damage of anyone created. Once allowed, it will set a precedent which would legitimize other violations, and the law being able to be the law only on the condition of being the same one for all, the criminal also has right to justice, even purely formal*".³¹ He evokes, in his judgement, that history "*will be shattered*" with, according to him "*jurisdictions of repudiated circumstances the following day*". Lastly, he condemns the principle of collective responsibility, which would regard as criminals all members of associations considered to be criminal by Nuremberg, but to which a majority of Germans, young and old, gathered.

b) Moral Arguments

Rassinier stigmatizes the formidable hypocrisy and cynicism with a trial where the winners judged the losers.³² The defendants could not state the argument *tu quoque*³³ (except, in practice, rare exceptions) which would have allowed them to speak about crimes committed by the winners. The author of the *Trial* recalls some of these in passing. The Russians had no right to sit at Nuremberg. They deported the Poles and the Ukrainians in 1940 and 1944. They committed the Katyn massacre. Between 1945 and 1947, they deported or expelled 7,300,000 Germans from Silesia to Germany pursuant to an Anglo-American-

Soviet convention of transfer of populations. Millions would have died during "*this operation made under material conditions of inhumanity in all points comparable with those in which we were deported to the camps by the Germans during the war*"³⁴. The English have on their conscience the practice of the obliteration bombing which, for Rassinier, aimed at nothing less than "*the extermination of the civilian population of almost all the German cities*"³⁵. A flood of phosphorus bombs fell down on Dresden, Leipzig, Hamburg, and many other German cities, while, in Japan, the Americans atomized Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The French had things to reproach themselves for, as the war of the partisans was not protected by the Hague Conventions; and even a massacre of prisoners took place on August 19, 1944 in Annecy. Finally the situation of many French camps for German prisoners after May 1945 is evoked.³⁶

For Rassinier, the fact of prosecuting only the crimes which were committed by Germans is germanophobic and "*no more than any other form of xénophobia, the germanophobe belongs neither to the socialist nor the pacifist universe*".³⁷

The only rational standpoint for a pacifist, who knows that the principal responsible and culpable is the war itself, is the general amnesty: "*One erases all, one looks at ahead, one starts again while trying to do better, i.e. by borrowing other ways, in all sectors of thought and human activity. With the difference, especially, of this time renouncing xenophobia, and in this instance, of a germanophobia without shame.*"³⁸

c. The point of view of the historian.

What should a historian think of the Nuremberg trials? Rassinier puts forward two articles of the Statute of the Court of Nuremberg which appear particularly significant to him. Article 19 stipulated that "*the Court will not be bound by the technical rules relating to the administration of the evidence*" and Article 21 that "*the Court will not require that it be brought back the proof of facts of public notoriety, but will hold them for asset*". In his eyes, these facts of public notoriety are especially testimonies which he saw as trumped up, and of which he was wary.³⁹ Ultimately, for him, the facts in question at Nuremberg were not established but only held in asset for the benches, in virtue of Article 21. He tries to show the application of this in practice by evoking the deposition of January 11, 1946, by Dr. Franz Blaha, a Czech Communist, who stated that he attended a gassing at Dachau whereas one recognized, according to Rassinier, that there had been no such gassing.⁴⁰ "*The Court, which was not bound by the technical rules of the administration of evidence (Article 19) did not require any evidence from him and this fact, declared to be of public notoriety, was held in asset (Article 21) without any more formality.*"⁴¹

[TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: In English, these Articles read as follows:

ARTICLE 19: "*The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and nontechnical procedure, and shall admit any evidence which it deems to be of probative value.*"

ARTICLE 21: "*The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge*

but shall take judicial notice thereof. It shall also take judicial notice of official governmental documents and reports of the United Nations, including the acts and documents of the committees set up in the various allied countries for the investigation of war crimes, and of records and findings of military or other Tribunals of any of the United Nations".

In the French view of the law, a fact which is obvious to a court is declared "of public notoriety", the equivalent of the English "common knowledge". Rather than "judicial notice" of such facts, in a French court, evidence which has been admitted but not examined is held "in asset" of the bench.]

Another aspect of the problem concerns the defendants. Rassinier wonders about the value of their confessions and depositions. He blames physical pressure, but even more so moral and psychological pressure of all kinds, which would have been exerted on a number of them, and he states that the historian should take their declarations into account only with extreme caution. He even states that there was physical torture in the case of Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf (one of the chiefs of the Einsatzgruppen):

*"The poor fellow, on whom weighed the threat of the death sentence - and he was hung anyway in 1951, in spite of his obvious kindness and after being subjected to what treatments! - he had completely lost his head and did not know anymore which saint to dedicate himself to to escape his destiny. At his trial in 1948, when they wanted to produce against him what he had declared at Nuremberg in 1945-46, he said that all his former declarations, having been torn out of him by pressure, were without credibility."*⁴²

Rassinier also blames the fact that only documents describing the Germans were produced in front of the Court, and that the defense did not have access to files which would have allowed them, probably, to find elements which would exonerate their clients.⁴³ Moreover, he points out documents of doubtful origin like the Hossbach⁴⁴ document or PS-3319 (relative to an anti-Jew Congress which would have been held at Krummhübel on April 3 and 4, 1944).⁴⁵

In conclusion, Rassinier does not consider that historians can blindly accept the verdicts of this Court, nor any other court. In fact, the political truth supplanted and destroyed the historical truth. The trials of Nuremberg provide to the historians a grid of interpretation to which all of Rassinier's work is opposed.

Footnotes To Part II, Chapter 3

1 See Marie-Christine Bardouillet, *the Bookshop of Work (1917-1939)*, introduction by Jean Prugnot, Center of History of Trade Unionism, François Maspero, 1977.

2 "Save the Bookshop of Work!", *The Worker*, n° 41, February 25, 1933, p. 4. Many numbers of the *Worker* contain this advertisement of the Bookshop of Work.

3 He refers to Harry Elmer Barnes (1889-1968), historian, criminologist, sociologist and economist. Author of many books and revisionist articles on the two world wars, Barnes had exchanged letters with Rassinier since 1962 or 1963. He essentially shared, in private, his doubts about the existence of a plan of extermination of the Jews by the Nazis. An allusion is made to Rassinier in the article "Revisionism and Brainwashing. In Survey of the War-Guilt Question in Germany after two World Wars " and in: "The Barnes Trilogy", I.H.R., 1979. On H.E. Barnes, see Arthur Goddard, "Harry Elmer Barnes, Learned Crusader", *The New History in Action*, Ralph Myles ED, Colorado Springs 1968, 884 p.

4 *Trial*, p. 10.

5 *Ibidem*. Perhaps Rassinier knew of *Evolution*, "a monthly review of the questions of interest to the international appeasement and the bringing together of the people". In its double number of February-March 1930, n° 50-51, this review published the translation of a revisionist work by Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* ("lies in the time of war") on the propaganda of the First World War.

6 In conclusion of *The Lies*, he writes: "Perhaps even some new Norton, taking as his starting point what Norton made in connection with the literature of war, following the days of 1914-1918, will one day present to us" the critical account of "all that regards in all its aspects, everything that was written on the concentration camps" (p. 217).

7 *The Lie*, p. 6.

8 *Idem*, p. 114. To illustrate this matter, he quotes Friar Birin: "the French must know and must remember that the same errors will bring the same horrors. They must remain informed of the disreputable character of their neighbors beyond the Rhine, a race of dominators, and this is why the n° 43 wrote these lines, "The French are vigilant and never forget" "(16 Months of Forced Labor, p.117).

9 *Idem*, p. 121.

10 These remarks are actually made by the Czech Jiriczah (*Lie*, p. 28).

11 *Drama*, p. 12.

12 In *Ulysses*, Rassinier explains why he decided to write the *Lie* on the day when he had realized the terms by which, in his presence and addressing himself particularly to him, Colonel Rémy had expressed, in front of a circle of friends, his dislike for all kindnesses from which Communism (p. 11) profited.

13 *Lie*, p. 218.

14 *Ulysses*, p. 10.

15 *Lie*, p. 218.

16 The text of the conference entitled "Historical Truth or Political Truth?" is reproduced in *Ulysses*, pp. 83-120. Rassinier was forcibly stopped by the German government from attending the conference in Hamburg.

17 *Ulysses*, p. 93.

18 *Lie*, pp. 246-247.

19 *Idem*, p. 247.

20 *Trial*, p. 10.

21 See. the Primary Sources at the end of the volume.

22 *The Assassins of Memory*, op cit., p. 198 notes 69.

23 In a study on the "Anti-semitic attacks against Pierre Mendès-France", Pierre Birnbaum affirms that Rassinier would have qualified the former politician as a "wild cash clerk" and gives in note for reference the special n° of October 1955 of *Counter-Current*, without specifying the page. An attentive reading of this n° and others on "Parliament In The Hands of the Banks" did not result in us finding this reference to a "wild cash clerk" which would hardly be in the tone of the articles concerned. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in "The Assassins of Memory", p. 53, writes that Rassinier was literally obsessed by "the topic of an international Jewish plot " to have alluded, in *Drama*, to a "World Center of Jewish Documentation" (to indicate the Jewish Contemporary Resource Center), which is at the very least excessive.

24 See Drama, p. 161 and 194.

25 A certain logic would have been in accord with the respected rigour if he had said that the "lie" in question "had been exploited" or "had been used".

26 Idem, p. 13.

27 This refers to The True Eichmann Trial which comprises only about fifteen pages on the Jerusalem trial itself.

28 Both published with the Editions of the Seven Colors. The first was prohibited.

29 Trial, p. 43.

30 Idem, p. 35.

31 Ibidem.

32 In his foreword for the second and the third editions of the Lie, he speaks about "the abominable trial of Nuremberg" (p. 240).

33 "You also" (implied: "you also did it"). Article 18 of the Statute of the Court said in particular that the Court will have "to strictly limit the trial to a fast examination of the questions raised by the charges" and "to take strict measures to avoid any action which would involve an unjustifiable delay and ruling out all irrelevant questions and declarations whatsoever from the trial" Rassinier observes: "the justice which needs to postulate this cannot fail to be expeditious and, expeditious, it is not justice anymore" (Trial, p. 47).

[**Translators note - from English:** Article 18. The Tribunal shall (a) confine the Trial strictly to an expeditious hearing of the cases raised by the charges, (b) take strict measures to prevent any action which will cause unreasonable delay, and rule out irrelevant issues and statements of any kind whatsoever, (c) deal summarily with any contumacy, imposing appropriate punishment, including exclusion of any Defendant or his Counsel from some or all further proceedings, but without prejudice to the determination of the charges.]

34 Trial, p. 44-45.

35 Idem, p. 46.

36 Ibidem.

37 "The Laws of War and the German Problem", The Way of Peace, n° 144, July 1964, p. 2.

38 Ibidem.

39 These are also the official reports of the various allied commissions of inquiry on war crimes. On testimonys, see below.

40 See below, p. 65.

41 Trial, p. 78.

42 Drama, p. 41.

43 "the methods they employ to carry out this work is astonishing" he had already written in the Lie, p. 199.

44 Trial, p. 63.

45 Drama, p. 39.

PART III

THE HISTORICAL CRITIC

Chapter 1. The *Haftlingsführung*

Rassinier was not the first to raise the problem of the *Haftlingsführung* inside the Nazi concentration camps. The June 25, 1945 issue of *Newsweek* magazine in America spoke about a Norwegian prisoner who formed part of it in Auschwitz, and who profited from various privileges at the expense of the other prisoners.¹ In 1946, the British secret agent Christopher Burney, a former prisoner of Buchenwald, published *The Dungeon Democracy*² which denounced the Communist self-government in the camps. The French newspaper *Paroles* published an extract of this in its n° 24 of April 27 1946 under the title: "*When the Communists Reigned in Buchenwald*".³ Repeated by various newspapers, these revelations aroused the anger and indignation of the Communists.⁴ Among the works examined by Rassinier, it is especially necessary to note those of David Rousset, the *Universe Concentrationnaire* (Paris, 1946) and the *Days of our Death* (1947, Romance), and that of Eugen Kogon, *The Organized Hell*⁵, which devotes a whole chapter to "*the ceaseless underground fight between the S.S. and the antifascist forces in the camps*".

A - Structure and Privileges

For Rassinier, each camp knew in theory, three stages. Buchenwald was a good example: there was initially a *Straflager* (punishment camp), then an *Arbeitslager* (work camp) with a *Strafkommando*, finally a *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camp). At the beginning of any camp, there was no *Haftlingsführung*. However, as soon as the camp expanded to a certain size, the S.S., too few in number, were obliged to take from among the prisoners the complementary personnel necessary to the monitoring and the organization of the camp. This process did not astonish Rassinier, who knew that this was the same practice

in many camps and prisons.⁶ [Translators Note: Including America, especially in Southern chain gangs, where "dog-boys" and "trustees" would guard their fellow prisoner, sometimes with breathtaking cruelty.] The camps included three great services:

- The *Arbeitstatistik*, which conducted rigorous accounting practices of all the population and activities of the camp, and which was manned by a cadre of relatively privileged prisoners.
- The *Politische-Abteilung* (Political Department), which held to account the political aspects of the camp. This was, to some extent, the measurement of the purpose and function of a particular camp, and was also manned by privileged prisoners.
- The *Verwaltung* or general administration, which accounted for everything that came into the camp: food, material, clothing, etc. These prisoners, occupied with clerical work, were also privileged.

These services had at their head the *Kapo*, who guaranteed their operation under the monitoring of an SS Warrant Officer or *Rapportführer* who, each evening, submitted his report to the general *Rapportführer* of the camp. This officer communicated with the prisoners in the camp via his subordinates and the *Lagerältester* (camp elder), the senior member of the prisoners.

There were other services: the *Sanitätsdienst* or health service, including the doctors, the male nurses, the disinfection service, the *Revier* and the *Krematorium*; *Lagerschutzpolizei* (camp security police) who organized the camp; the *Küche* or cooks; the *Effektenkammer* or quartermaster's stores, attached to the *Verwaltung*, etc.⁷

The prisoners who formed part of these services were either common criminals (green triangles), or the politicals (red triangles), Communists being in the immense majority. In Buchenwald, the political prisoners little by little took possession of the rights and privileges common to the different stations of direction. Generally, it was rare that a person practiced the trade which was his before his entry into the camp. "*The concentration camp is a world where each one's place was determined by his cleverness, not by his capacities: the accountants were employed as masons, the carpenters were accountants, the cartwrights were doctors and the doctors fitters, electricians or diggers*".⁸ Thus, Rassinier considers that it was according to political criteria that the Communist Kapos chose their collaborators.

These practices had disastrous consequences for the mass of the prisoners. The length of the roll calls, morning and evening, depended less on the S.S. than on the competence of the *Arbeitstatistik* prisoners. Easter Sunday of April 2, 1944, which should have been a day of rest transformed itself into a true torment.⁹ The morning roll call lasted nine hours and when finished, showed that several tens of prisoners had died in their rows. For Rassinier, the explanation was simple: "*people employed in the Arbeitstatistik were illiterate or quasi-literate, became accountants only by favor, and were unable, on their first attempts to draw up an accurate situation of the manpower.*"¹⁰

One finds the same incompetence in the infirmary. Those who were allowed to work

there were often there for reasons foreign to their talents and skills: cleverness, backstairs influence, political need, etc. Impromptu doctors and male nurses give free reign to their imagination.¹¹

B - Thefts of food and brutalities.

The members of the *Häftlingsführung* were privileged people because they could eat to satiety. It was by the theft of food that they reach that point. These thefts were sometimes carried out with the arrival of the parcels intended for the prisoners. Rassinier made a personal experiment of it. The three prisoners in charge of the distribution of food, from the kitchens and other services stole, while paying tribute to the S.S. with the goods they stole to buy their complicity. Morning and evening, *"they insolently eat and smoke what they earlier concealed, and what we all knew were our rations: liters of soup, margarine, slices of bread, potato fricassees with onion and paprika. They do not work. They are fatty. They are repugnant to us."*¹² At the infirmary, the special food reserved for the diet of the patients was, in its greater share, diverted to the profit of the members of the *Häftlingsführung*.¹³ Food thus stolen is used as a currency of exchange and made it possible to get exemptions from work, additional clothing, and cushy jobs.¹⁴

For Rassinier, the motto of Kapos could be: *"Do with the others what one did to you."*¹⁵ Rassinier thought that the prisoners had more to fear from members of the *Häftlingsführung* than the from the S.S.: it was better to deal with God than with his saints. *Kapos*, like the servants of old in the French hard labor system, lead the prisoners with insults, threats and the cudgel.¹⁶ *"Kapos who stole more than could be measured, also struck harder than the S.S. and it was rare that a simple reprimand from an S.S. soldier did not additionally result in a shower of blows from the Kapo."*¹⁷ In every testimony he examines, Rassinier attempts to communicate to the spirit of his readers the sort of confusion which could easily take place in connection with the brutalities committed by the privileged prisoners in the *Häftlingsführung*, which are often too easily blamed on the S.S.¹⁸

Thefts of food and the brutalities of a privileged minority - the *Häftlingsführung* - at the expense of the majority of the prisoners are, for Rassinier, the two principal causes which explain the high mortality in the concentration camps. In 1955, he wrote that the thefts and the exactions of the Kapos had resulted in the death of eighty-two percent of the prisoners, *"so say the statistics"*, though he doesn't bring more precise details on this subject.¹⁹ In 1960, in connection with Buchenwald, he declared that twenty-five percent of the internees had died.²⁰ In 1964, he still explains why high mortality in the camps was due almost exclusively to the *Häftlingsführung*, and all the privileged prisoners, and their friends and favorites²¹, and this will result in a libel lawsuit against him.²² He had indeed clearly implied that Marie-Claude Valiant-Couturier and Hacha Speter-Ravine had stolen food in Auschwitz (or had profited from these thefts), since they had survived there, respectively, two years for the one and twenty-six months for the other whereas, the opinion of many witnesses at the bar of the Court of Frankfurt (1963-1964), was that it was hardly possible to survive in Auschwitz for more than four months.²³

C - Justifications after the war

Some, like David Rousset and Eugen Kogon, tried after the war to justify the behavior of the *Häftlingsführung* (Communist) in Buchenwald (and at the same time, elsewhere). For Rousset, the behavior of the prisoners in charge of the direction of camp business was necessary to preserve, for the post-war period, the elite of the revolutionaries. Kogon, offering a similar analysis, claimed that it was necessary "*to maintain a core of prisoners against the S.S.*"²⁴ Rassinier does not accept this type of explanation, because it meant that the immense mass of prisoners were condemned to a slow death. Could the majority of those have been saved without the excesses of the *Häftlingsführung*? Yes; or in any case, that is what Rassinier thought.²⁵

About the fights between green triangles (common criminals) and red triangles (politicals, especially Communist), he thinks that the first corrupted the second. "*It was the camp which inspired the political and moral direction and reaction of all the prisoners, greens or reds, and not the reverse.*"²⁶ There were hardly any differences between the green Kapos and the red Kapos. Morals did not take into consideration the internal fights of the self-government in the camps. All "committees" in the camps, politicals or not, Communist or not, initially had the character of a gang of robbers of food.²⁷

If it were necessary to draw a conclusion from all this, Rassinier would do so by quoting this sentence of Manès Sperber: "*On the political level, we did not yield, but, on the human level, we were on the side of our guards.*"²⁸ Compared to cowardly justifications which poorly dissemble degrading behavior, he prefers an admission of this kind, whose sincerity will invoke, thinks he, forgiveness on behalf of the public.²⁹

Footnotes To Part III, Chapter 1

1. "Luxury in A Horror Camp: Nazi Pets Led Fuller Life ", *Newsweek*, June 25, 1945, p. 50.

2 American edition published in New York by Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

3 Page 1. On page 2, it posed five questions for the readers concerning Burney's book ("*Our Investigation into Buchenwald*"). Also let us announce the article of Donald B Robinson, "*Communist Atrocities At Buchenwald*", *American Mercury*, October 1946 (vol. 63), p. 397-404, which is based on a preliminary report of the U.S. 12th Army Group, dated April 24, 1945. Written by Egon W Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, this report was declassified in July 1972. See Mark Weber, "*Buchenwald Legend and Reality*", *Newspaper of Historical Review*, vol. 7, n° 4 (Winter 1986-87), 405-417.

4 See Pierre Durand, Marcel Paul, "*Life of a Pitau*", *Messidor/Temps Current*, Paris 1983, 323 p., the charge of Turney aimed at Marcel Paul more particularly. To our knowledge, there is no specific study devoted to the polemic (from 1945 to our days) of the part which the Communists played within the *Häftlingsführung*, in the German concentration camps and in particular, in Buchenwald.

5 Eugen Kogon, "*The Organized Hell: The System of the Concentration Camps*", *The Young Fates*, Paris 1947, 355 p. (Translated into a German edition of 1946). The French edition of 1970 (with the Editions of the Threshold) is cut down by the two chapters which relate precisely to the *Häftlingsführung*. It gives the following explanation: "the inherent financial constraints forced us to give up two chapters devoted to the S.S.", whereas it is easy to note that another work published in the same collection, "*Threshold Points*", comprises a number of pages quite higher than the book of Kogon (384p.). See, moreover, the letter of Patrick Rotman (directing the collection "*Political Points*") to the author, January 31, 1990.

6-29 *Lie Of Ulysses, Trial etc.*

Chapter 2 - "The Final Solution Of The Jewish Question"

Before examining in detail the theses of Rassinier on the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question", it is important to know what working tools he laid out. We've seen that he had been interested as of 1945 in the trials of the post-war period. He had followed with much attention the trials of the major war criminals at Nuremberg and we know that he had forty-two (in fact forty-one) volumes of the reports of those trials. He was also interested in the Dachau trial, of which he had the analytical report.¹ He bought a great number of works - testimonies and studies on the deportation.² In spite of his health problems (he lived in a state of permanent hypertension and standing upright was dangerous for him), he often worked in libraries in France and Germany (in Frankfurt for example).³ He had also seen films such as the *Last Stage*, *Kapo*, *The Documents of Nuremberg* ⁴, *Night and Fog*⁵, etc.

He affirms on several occasions to have questioned many witnesses. Thus, after having said that no living deportee could have seen anybody proceeding to extermination by gas, he declared: "*I have personally, hundred of times seen the experience and confusion in public of the hare-brained person who claimed the opposite.*"⁶ In 1964, he brought some precise details on this subject:

*"For fifteen years, each time, in any place wheresoever in Europe not occupied by the Soviets, there had been announced to me the existence of a witness who claimed to have himself witnessed exterminations by gas, I had immediately traveled myself to the spot to collect his testimony. And each time, the experience had finished in the same way: my files in hand, I put to this witness precise questions which he could answer only by what were, even in his own eyes, obvious lies, so that he finished by declaring to me that he had not himself seen gassings, but that one of his or her good friends, who died in the adventure and whose good faith he could not question, had told the thing to him. I traveled thus thousands and thousands of kilometers through Europe."*⁷

It is possible that Rassinier returned to visit the people he speaks of, but he did not return an account of these visits in his works. We are thus not able to specify his actions.⁸

A - Orders and Decisions

No document has ever been found which would prove that Hitler gave an order to

exterminate the Jews. There is also no plan attesting to the implementation of this extermination. Such is the conclusion of Paul Rassinier.⁹ He found the confirmation of this in an unsigned article of December 15, 1960 in *The Found Earth*, devoted to the preparation of the Eichmann trial:

*"From the studied documents, it arises, according to Dr. Kubovy, that Eichmann is personally responsible for the extermination of the Jews of Europe. Whereas there is no document signed by Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich speaking to exterminate the Jews and that the word "extermination" does not appear in the letter of Göring to Heydrich relating to "the final solution" of the Jewish question, there exists nearly five hundred letters, signed by Eichman, proving that it is he who is responsible for the organization of massive massacres which were never ordered, but only suggested to him."*¹⁰

Rassinier will often make use of this passage in his works and articles.¹¹ In *Ulysses*, he examines the document called the "Wannsee Protocol", the only one which, says he, is called upon by historians in order to determine the implementation of the extermination of Jews¹². He reproduces the oft-quoted passage of this document, initially in the French translation given in France by the Jewish Resource Center¹³, then in the German original.¹⁴

Here is the French text:

"... Within the framework of the final solution of the problem, the Jews will be transferred under good escort into the territories from the East and will be assigned to the service of work. Formed in large columns of work, men on one side, women on the other, they will be brought to these territories: it goes without saying that a great part of them will be eliminated by natural decrease ... the residue which would in the final analysis remain - and which it is necessary to regard as the most resistant part - will have to be treated consequently. Indeed, the experience of the History shows that once released, this natural elite carries in it the germ of the elements of a new Jewish rebirth."

And the corresponding German text:

"...Unter entsprechender Leitung sollen im Zuge der Endlösung die Juden in geeigneter Weise im Osten zum Arbeitskolonnen, unter Trennung der Geschlechter, werden die arbeitsfähigen Juden strassenbauend in diese Gebiet geführt, wobei zweifellos ein Grossteil durch natürliche Verminderung ausfallen wird... Der allfällig endlich verbleibende Restbestand wird, da es sich bei diesem zweifellos um den widerstandsfähigsten Teil handelt, entsprechend behandelt werden müssen, da dieser, eine natürliche Andere darstellend, bei Freilassung als Keimzelle eines neuen jüdischen Aufbaues anzusprechen ist."

For Rassinier, it is clear that the two paragraphs are not written in the same style. The first is in the style of a decision, the second in that of an appreciation, i.e. commentary. The conclusion which seems to him to be essential is that they are not from the same author, or they were not written at the same time, or whereas they do not appear in the same "document"

(quotation marks are of Rassinier). For him, this text does not make it possible to affirm that the gas chambers were born this day.¹⁵ Also, this protocol shows all the characteristics of a document from an apocryphal book, if one refers to the photocopy published in the book of Robert N. W. Kempner, *Eichmann und Accomplices*.¹⁶ "No seal, no date, no signature, typewriter characters being those normal on a paper of reduced format, etc..."¹⁷

Rassinier mentions then the interrogation of Dieter von Wisliceny (assistant director for Adolf Eichmann) on January 3, 1946 in Nuremberg, by Lieutenant-Colonel Broockhart. The defendant affirmed that Eichmann had shown him a letter that Himmler had sent to him to inform him that Hitler had ordered the final solution of the Jewish problem, which consisted, according to Eichmann's explanation, in the biological and total extermination of the Jews in the territories of the East.¹⁸

Rassinier estimates that this confession was turned into the defense strategy of the defendant. Wisliceny, knowing that Eichmann had succeeded in fleeing and thinking "*of running away himself by recognizing the crime and by blaming it on another*" acknowledged what they wanted to hear, but was not hung less for it, although "*that tactic succeeded for some of them*".¹⁹ [Author's note: Actually, this reference does not appear in *Ulysses*; and Wisliceny was not hanged.]

A study of the writings of Rudolf Höss (former commander of Auschwitz) shows that Himmler would have had to have verbally given the order to exterminate the Jews. Rassinier sees there a contradiction in another passage from Höss according to which Himmler wanted to "*always have more prisoners for armament work*".²⁰ The same writings of Höss imply that extermination started locally, without orders and on the fortuitous initiative of a subordinate.²¹ This last element perhaps consolidated for Rassinier the assumption he formulated in *The Lie*, namely that the use of the gas chambers with an aim towards killing human beings could possibly have been the fact "*of one or two insane people among the S.S., and of one or two concentration camp bureaucracies they were trying to please; or vice versa, by one or two concentration camp bureaucracies, with the complicity, purchased or not, of one or two particularly sadistic S.S. men*".²²

Concerning the order to evacuate the camps at the approach of allied troops and to kill the prisoners there, it suffices for Rassinier to confront and debunk two testimonies: that of the head S.S. doctor of the hospital at Dora, Dr. Plazza, who, as soon as he was captured, confirmed the existence of the order, and the article of Jacques Sabille in the *Literary Barber* of January 6, 1951, where he wrote that : "*It is thanks to the pressure of Gunther, exerted on Himmler via Kersten (his personal doctor), that the execution order, to evacuate the camps at the approach of the Allies - without sparing the guards - remained a dead letter*".²³ In addition, Himmler's order to cease the exterminations could also never be produced by him.²⁴

B - The Camps In The Old Reich (1939 frontiers)

There were no gas chambers in Buchenwald and in Dora. For Rassinier, who was held there, this is an unquestionable fact.²⁵

In June of 1946 there appeared in an appendix of the writings of Friar Birin (*16 Months*

of *Forced Labor*), a poem by Abbot Jean-Paul Renard entitled *"I saw, I saw and I lived"*.²⁶ One can read there, in connection with Buchenwald:

"I saw pouring with the showers on thousands and thousands of people, on whom flowed, as a liquid, asphyxiating gases."

Rassinier pointed out to him, writing in a sharp voice, that it was not true. The abbot answered him: *"- but I agree it is only a literary turn...and since these things nevertheless existed to some degree, this is hardly important."*²⁷

Rassinier does not examine other testimonies on the existence of gas chambers in Buchenwald. On the other hand, one finds some interesting remarks about the belief in these gas chambers even inside of the camp. At Dora, Rassinier claimed *"to have known prisoners who never presented themselves at the showers because they were afraid of seeing the apparatuses vomiting gas instead of water."*²⁸ This applied even to the event of the "selections" in Dora. He saw a comrade leave, and thought that he had been asphyxiated, along with the rest of the convoy of which he formed part. But, in September 1946, he realized that nothing of the kind had happened: the convoy to which he belonged had been directed to Bergen-Belsen, which at that time received the invalids of all the camps.²⁹

Rassinier visited the camp of Dachau where it was claimed that tens of thousands of prisoners had been gassed in the gas chamber.³⁰ In the days after the war, many newspapers published the photograph of a sign carrying the following inscription: *"Vorsicht Gas! Gefahr!"* (Attention Gas! Danger!). However, according to Rassinier, at the door of Dachau, a guard explained to visitors

that *"in all the bookshops of Munich, one can buy a history of Dachau in which it is explained that this gas chamber never functioned, for the simple reason that it was only completed after the war by the S.S., who took the continuation of the matter concerning concentration camps into this camp."*³¹ This is why the testimony of Dr. Franz Blaha, which he has already questioned, of January 11, 1946 at the bar of the Court of Nuremberg is not credible in the eyes of Rassinier.³²

Lastly, Rassinier visited the camp of Mauthausen, and in connection with the gas chamber shown to the visitors, he has this comment:

*"To claim that tens of thousands of people were gassed there is abominable roguery; the presenter explained me that 'everything was in it's original state except the gas pipe, which was disconnected ': he did not know that in the official thesis, the gas did not arrive 'by pipe' in the gas chambers, but was produced by 'tablets of Zyklon B, that were thrown in there and which evaporated in contact with steam'."*³³

Concerning the concentration camps located in the territory of the Old Reich, the question appeared resolved when, on August 19, 1960, the German weekly magazine *Die Zeit* published the letter of Dr. Martin Broszat, a collaborator with the Institute of Contemporary History of Munich, entitled *"Keine Vergasung in Dachau"* and where one could read in particular that: *"Neither in Dachau, neither in Bergen-Belsen, nor in Buchenwald were Jews*

or other prisoners gassed. The gas chamber of Dachau was never finished and put "in service". The massive destruction of the Jews by gas started in 1941/1942 and took place only in rare locations chosen for this purpose and equipped with adequate technical installations, above all in occupied Polish territory (but nowhere in the Old Reich): in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Sobibor-on-Bug, in Treblinka, Chelmno and Belzec.³⁴ This letter, of which he was informed perhaps by reading Rivarol³⁵, is the confirmation for Rassinier of a part of his analyses. Thus all the witnesses who came to affirm in front of a court to have attended gassings in the concentration camps located in the Old Reich lied. In June 1961, certain former prisoners still came to say in front of the Court of Jerusalem that they had seen their companions leaving for the gas chamber at Bergen-Belsen, which did not exist.³⁶ Rassinier wonders then what credit can be granted to the witnesses who assert that they attended gassings in camps in Poland, in particular Auschwitz, and who spoke about them in the same terms, and with the same details as the false witnesses of Dachau and Mauthausen.³⁷

[Not reproduced here - "Bulletin From Abroad" a column of the newspaper *The World*, May 10, 1967, page 1, entitled -as usual - "*The German right wing extremists and Neonazism*". It stated, amongst other traditionally stupid things, items such as: "*Anti-semitism reappeared on the great day that a civil servant of the NPD party went about, supporting to a foreign correspondent the thesis that no concentration camp, no gas chamber had been built on the territory of the Old Reich*".

Photocopy (not reproduced here, text below). The correction to the above article, in *The World*, May 23, 1967, p. 4, following a letter from Rassinier (Source: Rassinier with Faurisson, letter of May 31, 1967).

CONCENTRATION CAMPS WITH AND WITHOUT GAS CHAMBERS

In the "Bulletin from Abroad" of *The World* of May 10: "*The German right wing extremists and Neonazism*", we reported the declaration of a civil servant of the N.P.D party, [i.e. a person in charge for the party in question] stating that no concentration camp, no gas chamber had been built on the territory of the Old Reich.

In fact, this surprising affirmation was expressed by him in a different way: "*No concentration camp in the Old Reich included a gas chamber.*" In this form, it seems accurate. The Institute of Contemporary History of Munich established on August 19, 1960 "*that there were never gas chambers in any concentration camp on the territory of the Old Reich*", gas chambers having been used only in the occupied territories. Certain Neo-Nazi Germans have tried to use this distinction for the demonstration of their theses on the "exaggeration" of the charges leveled against the Third Reich.

C - Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor, Majdanek, Treblinka

The only document that Rassinier studies in connection with these five camps is PS-1553.³⁸ He had mentioned it since 1959 in *Ulysses* (published at the beginning of 1961) but without indicating the name of its presumed author, the S.S. Obersturmführer Kurt Gerstein.³⁹

Carlo Mattogno pointed out, following George Wellers, that Rassinier had not based his critical analysis on the original text of the "Gerstein Report". While having at his disposal the text of the report of May 4, 1945, published by Rothfels, he preferred to have recourse to authors who only partially reproduced this same text.⁴⁰ This is why some of his remarks have a limited range.⁴¹ This noted, he examined the account of the question and first of all the history of Kurt Gerstein, whose Rassinier declares to us was "*Asleep on his feet, and mourning while asleep*".⁴²

Kurt Gerstein was a mining engineer (Rassinier incorrectly described him as a chemical engineer) who was interned in 1938 in Welzheim concentration camp for activities hostile to the State. But by 1941, he was in the S.S. (where it is claimed, that from the inside, he was committing sabotage against the work of extermination, and this is a matter of astonishment for Rassinier)⁴³ In 1942, he was in the Waffen-S.S., with the "hygiene section" (*Abteilung der Entwesung und der Entseuchung*) of the Central Medical Service (*Hauptamt of Sanitätsdienstes*).

For this reason, he was ordered to take charge of shipments of Zyklon B, used for disinfestation since 1924 by the Reichswehr, then by the Wehrmacht. During the summer 1942, he would visit the camp of Belzec in company with another person [Translators Note: Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel] and observe a gassing with him. It is the account of this visit and this gassing which he is claimed to have written in April and May of 1945, after having gone to the French troops in a hotel in Rottweil (Wurtemberg). Without comparing this text with other possible testimonies on the camp of Belzec, Rassinier sticks to showing the improbabilities and impossibilities of Gerstein's statement. Thus, Gerstein speaks of about 700 or 800 people in a room of twenty-five square meters, which appears impossible to him. In the same way, a train would have transported 6,700 deportees in forty-five coaches, which he finds largely exaggerated.⁴⁴ He was also astonished by the amount of time that awaited victims in the gas chamber (2 hours and 49 minutes, by the stop watch Gerstein had in hand) and how long a gassing took, using a diesel engine (32 minutes). In June of 1963, Rassinier accepted the visit of a German (it could have been Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, whom Gerstein speaks of in his confessions, and who had already testified during various trials).⁴⁵ This person declared to him that the gassings had lasted fifteen minutes. That seemed to Rassinier a radical impossibility. Rassinier claims to have studied the Gerstein document in the company of specialists in spark-ignition engines and fluid combustion, and experts in toxicology.⁴⁶ According to them, a diesel engine could not achieve, in fifteen minutes, the essential toxic concentration, in the described volume of the gas chamber. None wanted to admit to a duration of less than an hour and a half to two hours.

The figures of the victims provided by Gerstein in the German text do not appear credible to Rassinier. Here are, according to the S.S., the possible rates of extermination in three camps:

- Belzec: 15,000 people per day
- Treblinka: 25,000 people per day
- Sobibor: 20,000 people per day.

For Rassinier, since the camp of Belzec functioned for 270 days, that makes a total of

4,050,000 people who could have been exterminated in this camp. By his accounting for Treblinka and Sobibor, which would have exterminated collectively for 540 days (March 1942 through the autumn of 1943), there would have been, respectively, 13,500,000 and 10,800,000 victims. The total, for the three camps mentioned: 28,350,000 people of Jewish origin⁴⁷.

D - Auschwitz

a) Miklos Nyiszli

In March and April of 1951 the review *Modern Times* published the account of a Hungarian by the name of Miklos Nyiszli entitled "*S.S.-Obersturmführer Doctor Mengele. Journal of a Doctor Deported to the Crematoriums of Auschwitz*".⁴⁸ At once, Rassinier disputed the figures advanced by the author who claimed that 25,000 people were killed per day at Auschwitz. On the basis of five years, the total would come to 45 million people exterminated, with the result that in 1954, according to Rassinier, and according to the real capacities of crematoriums of the time, "*the furnaces of Auschwitz are still burning and that one is not close to extinguishing them!*"⁴⁹ Having written to Dr. Nyiszli to point out this impossibility to him, the answer came back: 2,500,000 victims.⁵⁰ According to Rassinier, the gas chambers ordered at the Topf Works in Erfurt on August 8, 1942 under the designation "*Leichenkeller*" {corpse cellar} and "*Badeanstalt*" (public swimming pool? Public showers?) were installed at Auschwitz only in February-March 1943.⁵¹ Moreover, the report of Dr. Rudolf Kasztner establishes that the crematoriums, all of them, were out of service from "*Autumn 1943 to May 1944*", which contradicts Nyiszli's assertion that, as of May 1944, the exterminations had been going on for four years.⁵² In 1961, the German magazine *Quick* published, in serial, the account of Miklos Nyiszli. By comparing this text with the French version published the same year at Julliard⁵³, Rassinier affirms to have detected thirty-one internal and external contradictions. Thus, the crematories incinerate 10,000 people in the German text and 20,000 in the French text; on one page victims are shaved after death, but in a later page it is claimed that the recovery of their hair was done before sending them to the gas chambers, etc.⁵⁴ The conclusion which Rassinier draws is that the account of Miklos Nyiszli is documentably an apocryphal book. Especially since the author of this testimony would have answered him, whereas according to the search carried out by Rassinier, Nyiszli must have died well before his testimony was published for the first time. "*If this were true, this dead witness, moreover, would have had this characteristic; that he would have written to me himself after his death.*" [Referring to the letter noted above that Rassinier received as a result of his inquiry directly to Nyiszli, setting the total death toll at Auschwitz at 2,500,000]

b) Rudolf Höss

In 1959 there appeared, in French, *The Commander of Auschwitz Speaks*.⁵⁶ The occasion is thus given to Rassinier to analyze this new document and to compare it with the deposition of Höss at Nuremberg on April 15, 1946. He notes that Höss was questioned by the British "*with the riding crop and alcohol*" and also notes the threats which weighed on his fate, which would have led him more or less to declare what his accusers required of him.⁵⁷ Rassinier highlights anew certain internal and external contradictions of the testimony of

Höss. For example, at Nuremberg, Höss had declared that Himmler had assisted, in 1942, with an execution at Auschwitz, whereas Document NO-4463 specifies that the gas chambers were definitely installed only by February 20, 1943.⁵⁸ In the same way, he proposes a technical impossibility in connection with the incineration capacity of the crematory furnaces.⁵⁹ Another technical point deserves to be noted because it is developed a score of years later by Robert Faurisson. About Zyklon B (the description of which does not agree between Höss and Nyiszli), Höss states that after a gassing, the gates were opened and bodies immediately removed by the members of the Sonderkommando, who at times happened to both eat and smoke while doing so, without producing any accidents.⁶⁰

Rassinier was astonished by this description, because Höss himself specified that the handling of Zyklon B was so dangerous that it was necessary to ventilate any place which had been disinfested using this gas for at least two days.⁶¹

In the last analysis, Rassinier concludes that the testimony of Rudolf Höss is written in a style "*which curiously makes it resemble the public confessions which were the mark of the famous Moscow trials, which nobody took seriously in Western Europe*".⁶²

c) Witnesses

In his books, Rassinier never studied the testimony of any Auschwitz deportee.⁶³ It is known that he granted little value to witnesses. Thus, he considers that the prisoners who spoke about gassings did it, not according to what they had seen, but according to what they had heard said about them.⁶⁴ And, to illustrate this matter, he quotes the work of Dr. Benedikt Kautsky, *Devil and Damnation*, published in 1946, in which the author states that he wants to give a description of the gas chambers that he does not have, "*not considering (him-) but even whose existence (to him) was affirmed by so many people worthy of faith*" (*die ich zwar selbst nicht gesehen habe, die mir aber von so vielen glaubwürdig dargestellt worden sind)*

[**which I did not see, but which were reliable-represented to me, howsoever, by so many*]⁶⁵.

Another interesting point in the writings of Rassinier is the remark that he makes in connection with the "selections" at Auschwitz. The purpose of the selection was, as he recognizes it, to separate the patients clearly unable to work from the ones with good bearing. But, according to him, none of the defendants at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials (1963-1964) saw convoys arriving at the gas chamber, nor did they attend an extermination operation. On the other hand, the collection of testimonies published in 1962⁶⁶ under the direction of Olga Wormser and Henri Michel, *Tragedy of the Deportation 1940-1945*, mentions a great number of accounts of deportees who saw convoys of patients coming from Auschwitz, and arriving at Bergen-Belsen, Neuengamme, Buchenwald, Dora, Ravensbrück, etc, current to the year 1943, and in particular, as of from May of 1944⁶⁷.

E - Miscellaneous

In the *Lie*, Rassinier mentioned the existence of Nazi gas vans by reproducing the report of a Second Lieutenant (Becker) to a First Lieutenant (Rauff). In an annotation, he already

wondered about a technical aspect of the gassing reported in the document. He concluded by pointing out "*that it is easier for the researchers of current documents to find some describing what occurred in Marioupol than on what occurred in Dachau; and that, for want of an ordinance emanating from a minister, they highlight this simple letter relating to the question of a second lieutenant to his first lieutenant; and that even if a text were to be found, it does not seem that the gas vans were found, - at least, if somebody did find some, that event didn't make very much noise.*"⁶⁸

Reconsidering this subject in *Trial*, he added that the Becker document was unique and that nobody had ever found those who had used or driven the gas vans. He did however announce the arrest on January 29, 1961, in Hannover, of a certain Harry Wentritt, presented as being the inventor of these trucks ⁶⁹.

Rassinier did not write, so to speak, anything concerning the *Einsatzgruppen*. We saw above that he doubted the value of the confessions of Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf. In addition, he was astonished that the chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* received only verbal orders before each mission, and announced some contradictions in the deposition of Ohlendorf in Nuremberg on January 3, 1946⁷⁰.

Footnotes To Part III, Chapter 2

1 *Trial*, p. 79.

2 *Drama*, p. 9.

3 *Ulysses*, p. 160.

4 *Drama*, p. 10.

5 *Ulysses*, p. 78.

6 *Lie*, p. 241.

7 *Drama*, p. 79.

8 Two exceptions: in *Lie*, p. 241, Rassinier speaks about a certain G... without specifying more; we also know that Rassinier returned a visit, on a date which was not specified to us, of a German or Austrian by the name of Hans Wollweber. We are unaware of what his activities were during the war (he was not a prisoner. See Letter of Eleonore Klen to the author, February 4, 1990).

9 *Lie*, p. 241.

10 Cited in *Ulysses*, p. 124.

11 Seven times by counting the articles of Rivarol of 1964. The rest of the quotation is often badly presented because, if one can believe it, that it was Dr. Kubovy who wrote the article in question (See *Trial*, p. 83 and *Drama*, p. 31). Actually, the reader is not able to know, according to the text, when or under what circumstances Dr. Kubovy formulated this conclusion (A conference? A discussion?).

12 *Ulysses*, p. 42-44.

13 Rassinier does not seem to have disputed this translation.

14 He forgets to reproduce the last sentence of the paragraph "(Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte)".

15 *Ulysses*, p. 45.

16 Europa Verlag, 1961.

17 *Trial*, p. 84.

18 *Ulysses*, p. 47-49.

19 *Idem*, p. 48.

20 *Idem*, p. 28. The work of Höss is *The Kommandant of Auschwitz Speaks*. Cf note 256.

21 *Idem*, p. 27.

22 *Lie*, p. 171.

23 *Idem*, p. 242 and *Ulysses*, p. 41. See. also *Trial*, p. 87-88, note 10.

24 *Ulysses*, p. 49-50.

25 *Lie*, p. 133.

26 Friar Birin of the Christian Schools, "16 Months of Forced Labor. Buchenwald and Dora", R. Dantelle, Epemay 1946, 142 p., p. 121-131. The poem was published again in 1947 (Editions of the author, Logier printing works, Béthune). The Abbott Renard had the honesty to announce in a note that he had not himself seen any gas chambers.

27 *Lie*, p. 133

28 *Idem*, p. 77 and *Trial*, p. 111, note 42.

29 "One can check: he questioned Mr. Mullin, employed at the station of Besancon" (*Lie*, p. 170).

30 *Ulysses*, p. 33.

31 *Idem*, p. 34.

32 *Trial*, p. 78.

33 *Ulysses*, p. 34-35, note 11.

34 "Keine Vergasung in Dachau", *Die Zeit*, August 19, 1960, p. 16. Rassinier estimated - wrongly or rightly - that it was his lecture tour in Germany in March-April 1960 which had compelled the Institute of Contemporary History of Munich to write this letter (See. *Trial*, p. 79 and *Ulysses*, p. 157, 167). A reproduction (not included here) of the photocopy of the letter of Dr. Broszat preceded by the article of R. S. (Strobel), "Weg put ihm!", appearing in *Die Zeit* of August 12, 1960 (p.66-67). Let us announce that a translation of the letter of Broszat is given in: Robert Faurisson, "Memorandum in Defense against Those who Show Me to Falsify History. The Question of the Gas Chambers", preceded by an opinion of Noam Chomsky, *The Old Crone*, Paris 1980, p. 183-184.

35 Charles Schneider, "Systematic Germanophobia", Rivarol, n° 520, December 29, 1960, p. 3. Moreover, the letter of Broszat is very badly translated. Here the passage quoted by the journalist: "Neither in Dachau, neither in Bergen-Belsen, nor in Buchenwald, was any Jew or any other prisoner gassed. The construction of the gas chambers of Buchenwald (sic) was never finished and, consequently, they could not be used. On all the territory of the Old Reich there were no executions by means of gas".

36 *Trial*, p. 79.

37 *Idem*, pp. 78-79. "Of Concentration Camps on the territory of the Old Reich ", "gas chambers having been used only in the occupied territories. Certain German Neo-Nazis tried to make use of this distinction for the demonstration of their theses on the "exaggeration" of the charges carried against Third Reich".

38 Classed at Nuremberg: PS-1553 - RF-350.

39 Ulysses, p. 30-31, note 10.

40 See. Carlo Mattogno, chap. XIII, "It rapporto Gerstein nella will letteratura revisionista" (p. 175-186), in: "It rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di a falso. It "campo di sterminio" di Belzec", Sentinella d' Italia, Monfalcone 1985, 243 p., and George Wellers, the Final Solution and Neo-Nazi Mythomania, Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, Paris 1979, p. 19-35.

41 We know today that there are at least six versions of the Gerstein document: a handwritten text of April 26, 1945 in French, a typed text of April 26, 1945 in French (PS-1553), a typed text of May 4, 1945 in German, a handwritten text of May 6, 1945 in French, a typed text of May 6, 1945 in French (exists in three printings), a typed text of May 6, 1945 in German (PS-2170). On all these problems, See. Andre Chelain, "Will It Be Necessary To Shoot Henri Roques?" With the plain text of the thesis supported in Nantes on June 15, 1985 per Mr. Henri Roques: "The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein, A Comparative Study of the Various Versions", Éd. Polemical, Paris 1986, 16-374- XX p.

42 Drama, p. 64-65.

43 Idem, p. 61.

44 Rassinier shows Poliakov to have arbitrarily modified the figures given by Gerstein (Drama, p. 63).

45 Idem, p. 79-91. The identity of this visitor is the subject of a controversy between revisionists and nonrevisionists. The revisionists themselves cannot say if it was or was not Wilhelm Pfannenstiel. See in particular Robert Faurisson, Response to Vidal-Naquet, The Old Crone, Paris 1982, p. 43. Rassinier's wife said it wasn't Pfannenstiel, because if it was, "he would have told me so".

46 Idem, pp. 84-85.

47 Idem, pp. 74-75. 5 Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, "S.S. Obersturmführer Doctor Mengele. Journal of a Doctor Deported to the Crematoriums of Auschwitz", Modern Times, March 1951, n° 65, p. 1654-1673 and April 1951, n° 66, p. 1855-1886.

48 Lie, p. 238.

49 Idem, p. 239, note 10.

50 Trial, p. 86.

52 Idem, pp. 98-99. Rassinier shows moreover, photocopies that support (p. 234-237) that the edition of July 1961 (Kindler Munich) of Der Kasztner Bericht was cut down by the portion of quoted sentences (die seit dem Herbst 1943 ausser Gebrauch waren).

53 Mr. Nyiszli, Doctor With Auschwitz. Memories of a Deported Doctor, translated and adapted from Hungarian by Tibère Kremer, Éd. Julliard, Paris 1961, 256 p.

54 Drama, p. 55-56.

55 Idem, p. 57 and Trial, appendix V, "Doctor with Auschwitz", p. 245-249. No doubt Rassinier thought that the author of Nyiszli's testimony was actually Tibère Kremer himself.

56 Rudolf Höss, The Commander of Auschwitz Speaks", Éd. Julliard, Paris 1959.

57 Drama, p. 43-44.

58 Idem, p. 47-48.

59 Idem, p. 48.

60 Idem, p. 51.

61 Ibidem. Cf Ulysses, p. 31. Rassinier does not seem to have known of the documents in Nuremberg NI-9098 (booklet entitled Acht Vorträge aus dem Arbeitsgebiet DER DEGESCH*) (*Eight Lectures For The Work Area BY DEGESCH) and NI-9912 (displays entitled Richtlinien für die Anwendung von Blausäure(Zyklon) zur Ungeziefervertilgung (Entwesung)*), (*Guidelines For The Use Of Prussic Acid (Zyklon) Relating To Vermin Disinfestation*) which directly relate to the declarations of Höss.

62 Idem, p. 51 cf. Ulysses, p. 36.

63 Putting aside, of course, that of Miklos Nyiszli.

64 Trial, p. 82.

65 Ibidem.

66 the first edition goes back to 1955.

67 Ulysses, p. 162-163.

68 Lie, p. 175-178. Trial, p. 89.

69 Trial, p. 8.

70 Drama, p. 41.

Chapter 3: Statistics of Jewish losses during the Second World War

Not believing that there was a program to exterminate the European Jews, Rassinier attempted to show that the figure of 6,000,000 Jewish dead is not credible and was obtained by erroneous methods.

The figure initially appeared with the Court of Nuremberg. On January 3, 1946, Dieter von Wisliceny, of whom he had already raised questions, answered the question of knowing how many Jews had been exterminated:

*"[Eichmann] said that he would jump while laughing in his tomb, because the idea that he would have five million people on his conscience would be, for him, the source of extraordinary satisfaction."*¹

This declaration is reinforced by that of Dr. Wilhelm Hoettl, a Major in the S.S. and reporting at the same time as assistant head clerk of Section VI of the Central Office of Reich Security. Here is the essential passage:

*"In April 1944, I had a talk with S.S. Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann whom I had known since 1938. This conversation took place in my apartment in Budapest...Because of the information which he had, he had arrived at the following conclusion: In the various extermination camps, approximately 4 million Jews had been killed whereas 2 million had found death of another manner."*²

It is starting from the deposition of Höttl that journalists begin to accredit the figure of six million. Rassinier is very critical of the value of the two testimonies which have just been quoted and considers that they are of the type "one said to me", "one" being in fact Eichmann, absent at Nuremberg in 1946 and who could thus neither confirm nor deny³.

He tries to refute the conclusions of Leon Poliakov who, in several studies, ended with the figure of six million. For him, both Poliakov and all the specialists in Jewish demography made a methodological error: they compared the respective data of the Jewish population of the various European countries before and after the war whereas, according to Rassinier, it would have been necessary to do the same work for the non-European countries⁴.

This is what Rassinier does in a detailed study on the statistics of the Jewish population⁵. His conclusion is that the number of Jews in the territories under German domination is considerably less than what has been claimed. Thus, approximately 3,000,000 Russian Jews would have escaped the Nazis and others are saved by the Soviets. His single

source on this subject is an article by the Jewish journalist David Bergelson in a Muscovite newspaper, quoted according to another newspaper published in Argentina⁶.

In the same way the majority of the Polish and Baltic Jews fled in front of the German advance⁷. Approximately 300,000 German Jews left Germany before 1939 and the majority succeeded in escaping from the Third Reich. Those who took refuge in Hungary could flee via Costanza or Constantinople⁸.

It is interesting to study the post-war population of certain countries like Israel, the United States and some countries in South America. In the United States for example, there would not be 5.5 million Jews but more than 8 million, even perhaps 10 million. The difficulty in specifying this demographic data is increased owing to the fact that the international Zionist organizations are opposed to any census of Jewish population in the United States⁹.

On the whole, Rassinier states that the number of the Jews who died during the war ranges between 1 million and 1.5 million at the maximum¹⁰.

Footnotes To Part III, Chapter 3

1 Ulysses, p. 70.

2 Idem, pp. 70-71.

3 Idem, p. 71.

4 Idem, p. 65.

5 the sources used by Rassinier come either from publications and Jewish resource centers, or from articles and demographic studies that appeared in various newspapers and reviews.

6 Drama, p. 125. Cf Trial, p. 92-93. The newspaper of Moscow is called Die Einheit (that makes Eynikeyt of it) (article of December 5, 1942). That of Argentina was Der Weg of Buenos Aires (January 1953). On Bergelson, See. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Assassins of Memory, op cit., p. 55-56 and Robert Faurisson, Response to P. Vidal-Naquet, op cit., p. 48.

7 Trial, p. 91 and 96, note 19.

8 Idem, p. 92.

9 Drama, p. 114-116.

10 Trial, p. 94.

Chapter 4: The True Direction of the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"

The Final Solution of the Jewish question never meant, for Rassinier, the extermination of the European Jews, including during the war.

Article 4 of the 25 Articles of the Nazi Party program states that: "*Only those who are our fellow countrymen (Volksgenosse) can become citizens. Only those who have German blood, regardless of creed, can be our countrymen. Hence no Jew can be a countryman*". And Article 5 concluded: "*Those who are not citizens must live in Germany as foreigners and must be subject to the law of aliens*"¹. At its term, this program envisaged the expulsion or the emigration of the Jews, who were considered a foreign minority.

Since 1933, the government of the Third Reich had encouraged the massive emigration of German Jews and on August 6 of that year, signed an agreement called *Haavara* or *Chaim Arlossarof's Transfer Abkommen* with the Jewish Agency of Chaim Weizman. He was authorized to open in Berlin a Central Office of Jewish Emigration (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung*). The *Haavara* agreement, which envisaged the immigration of Jews to Palestine was, however, limited in April 1939 by England (holder of the mandate on Palestine) which decided that it would welcome only immigrants who arrived at their destination with 1,000 pounds sterling. For the others, 75,000 authorizations of immigration to Palestine would be granted for the next five years².

The Nazis gradually facilitated a current of clandestine emigration, so that by the time of the declaration of war, approximately 300,000 Jews had succeeded in leaving Germany³.

The Night of Crystal (from November 9-10, 1938), following the assassination in Paris on November 7 of the Adviser of Embassy, Ernst Von Rath, by a young Jew by the name of Grynspan, revealed the need for the leaders of the Third Reich to bring an overall solution to the Jewish problem⁴. The expressions employed then were "*Gesamtlösung der Judenfrage*",⁵ and "*Endlösung der Judenfrage*"⁶ which both appear in the letter of Göring to Heydrich of July 31, 1941 when the first charged the second with taking all necessary steps for the realization of the Final Solution, "by way of emigration or evacuation" (*in Form of Auswanderung oder Evakuierung*). Meanwhile, the Madagascar plan, which considered the transfer of the Jews to this island, had been more or less abandoned because of the refusal of France⁷.

And the entry of the United States into the war in December of 1941 made the Madagascar plan impossible.⁸

Declared foreigners, the Jews became enemies in September of 1939. Indeed, Hitler used as a pretext a series of "*declarations of war*" on behalf of Jewish organizations throughout the world to intern a certain number of German Jews in concentration camps.

Rassinier pointed out that that is "*a measure which was the rule in all the countries of the world in a state of war...*"⁹.

The deportation of the Jews to the East had begun on October 15, 1941. The purpose of the Conference of Wannasee of January 20, 1942, was to organize the concentration of the Jews in the territories of the East. This conference decided to drive back (*Zurückdrängung*) from German vital space all the Jews, who would be forwarded to the East where they would be put to work and would await the end of the war, which would decide their fate. East Europe; about which is all the area of Auschwitz¹⁰.

The intention of the Nazis to emigrate the maximum number of Jews is attested, according to Rassinier, by the fact that even during the world war, many Jews could profit from passports real or forged (in particular Swedish, Swiss, Salvadorien).¹¹ After having gained Hungary, they were embarked for Palestine where, given the English hostility, "*the majority were directed on to the United States*"¹². After March 19, 1944, and the occupation of Hungary by the Germans, emigration became more difficult. However, there were contacts and bargainings between the German services in charge of the Jewish problem in Hungary directed by Eichmann, Krumei, Becher, etc, and the members of the Management Committee of Waada of Budapest, whose president was Dr. Rudolph Kasztner¹³. Rassinier determines besides, that the Kasztner¹⁴ report (written in Switzerland in 1945-46) establishes that "*the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem*" has "*hardly any relationship to the interpretation which it has been given and up to now, commonly allowed*"¹⁵.

In conclusion there was not, for Rassinier, any apparent continuity of solution in the Nazi position between the pre-war period and the years of the war, but only adaptation to circumstances for a single objective: the forced emigration out of Europe of the greatest possible number of Jews.

Footnotes To Part III, Chapter 4

1 Cited by Rassinier, *Trial*, p. 100.

2 *Trial*, pp. 102-103.

3 *Idem*, p. 95-96.

4 *Idem*, p. 104.

5 "*Overall Solution of the Jewish question*".

6 "*Final Solution of the Jewish question*".

7 *Ulysses*, p. 134-135.

8 *Idem*, p. 141 and *Trial*, p.109.

9 *Trial*, p. 108. See., in another context *Those Responsible for the Second World War*, p. 78, note 25.

10 *Ulysses*, p. 141-142.

11 *Idem*, p. 55-56.

12 A. Weissberg, quoted in *Ulysses*, p. 56.

13 *Ulysses*, p. 56-57. Rassinier uses with various recoveries the book of Alexandre Weissberg, "*The History of Joel Brand. Monstrous barter: a Million Jews for Ten Thousand Trucks*", Editions of the Threshold, Paris 1957, 254 p.

14 Bericht of Komitee zur Rettung der ungarischen Juden (1942-45).

15 *Ulysses*, p. 58.

Conclusion I

Version 1 [created by the author as his own choice]

Two aspects of the works of Rassinier appear to us to merit attention: His pacifism, and the conclusions he draws from his studies. We think we've sufficiently highlighted the pacifist motivations of Rassinier in his various works. Those motivations distinguish his work from the immense majority of current revisionists, who have diverse opinions. A sociological study of scale remains to be made in this field. The n°1 of the *Review of Revisionist History* lets us see, in a heading entitled "Revisionism Throughout the World"¹, the very great diversity of the increasing number of continuators of Rassinier: the Chilean Miguel Serrano, the Japanese Akira Kohchi, the Brazilian S. E Castan and the Moroccan Ahmed Rami; it is difficult to determine *a priori* the ideological or other connections which link so many people in so many countries. However, there are some revisionists of a pacifist bent in the United States. Thus, the historian Harry Elmer Barnes (1889-1968) devoted, from an anti-interventionist point of view (which makes it an important point) several articles with reports supported by historical revisionism and pacifism.²

Rassinier also constantly drew attention to the use and exploitation of the horrors of the German concentration camps by the Communists in their campaigns against German rearmament. Pierre Vidal-Naquet noted, in his *Assassins Of Memory*, concerning the *Breviary of Hatred* of Leon Poliakov, an "*amusing detail: Leon Poliakov announced to me that the translation of his book was indeed used, in 1954, by L'Unità in the campaign against German rearmament*"³. It would be interesting to examine this question in a thorough way, if it has not already been done.

The analysis that we presented of the historical work of Rassinier undoubtedly does not return an account of all its aspects and implications. Nevertheless, it clearly shows the insufficiencies, in other respects manifested, of the works of Rassinier. Rassinier, working with contestable methods and, to tell the truth, methods that were not comprehensive or universal enough ⁴, left aside innumerable testimonies and depositions of deportees and former members of the Nazi security services⁵. It is significant, in addition, that Rassinier spoke little about the gas trucks and the terrifying *Einsatzgruppen*. Is it necessary to see this as a reflection of the low number of works devoted to these questions and, more particularly, the poverty of French historiography on National Socialism?⁶ Finally, among the few documents and testimonies studied by Rassinier, it is striking to note that he seems to have intentionally chosen those which had less probative value. For instance, there are hardly any historians today who use the account of Miklos Nyiszli. This account, that Rassinier regarded as "*one of the most abominable rogueries of all time*"⁷, was the subject of an in-depth study by Carlo Mattogno, without any doubt the most serious Italian revisionist⁸. By comparing the French, American, German and Italian editions of Nyiszli's book and by using the publications of the Auschwitz State Museum⁹, the Italian author drew up a list, of nearly three

hundred paragraphs, of the near total of the improbabilities, untruths and contradictions of this testimony¹⁰. In the last analysis, the proof of a con artist at work appears clearly established. Another example is offered by the "Gerstein document" or rather the "Gerstein documents". It is extremely rare that a historian meets an account containing as much nonsense, as many contradictions, errors, exaggerations and improbabilities as the confessions of Kurt Gerstein. Carlo Mattogno listed one hundred and three¹¹. Some are of tiny importance, others, on the other hand, give birth to serious doubts as to the credibility that it possibly accords to parallel texts. French military justice was apparently not duped¹², nor the Court of Nuremberg, which relegated the account of Gerstein to the background of PS-1553¹³.

The last example is provided by Rudolf Höss. By comparing his testimony and the texts of his various depositions with the data collected, in particular by the Auschwitz State Museum¹⁴, Mattogno drew up a list of sixty internal contradictions and untruths in the declarations of Höss. He tries to give an explanation of it. Rassinier had pointed out that Höss had claimed that he was questioned *"with the riding crop and alcohol"*¹⁵. Mattogno¹⁶, following Faurisson¹⁷ proposes a revelation; at the same time confirmation is brought by the anti-Nazi book published in England in 1983: *Legions of Death* by Rupert Butler¹⁸. Butler speaks about a certain Sgt. Bernard Clarke and five other members of British Military Security who took part in the capture of Höss and whose declarations corroborate the charges of torture or, at the very least of ill treatment, undergone by the former Auschwitz commander¹⁹. The historian must thus be careful in the use of the testimony of Höss²⁰.

One of the points of the works of Rassinier which can interest the historians relates to his famous "Complex of the Lie of Ulysses", in other words the problem of forged and exaggerated testimony.²¹ The problem is current because an increasingly large importance is attached to what is called the "Memory". However, the negative aspects of this attitude should not dissimulate one.

In 1986, the Jerusalem Post published, at the time of the Demjanjuk trial, an article by Barbara Amouyal from which we extract the first three paragraphs below:

"Over half of the 20,000 testimonies from Holocaust survivors on record at Yad Vashem are "unreliable" and have never been used as evidence in Nazi war crimes trials", Yad Vashem Archives director Shmuel Krakowski has told The Jerusalem Post.

Krakowski says that many survivors, wanting "to be part of history" may have let their imaginations run away with them. "Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers" according to Krakowski.

*"A large number of testimonies on file were later proved inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian's appraisal."*²²

In 1954, the historian Germaine Tillion, an old deportee of Ravensbrück, studied this aspect of things in a penetrating article. In connection with those who freely make lies, she

noted:

*"These people are, to tell the truth, much more numerous than it is generally supposed, and in a field like that of the world of concentration camp inmates - well, alas, they were offered an exceptional sphere of activity to stimulate sadomasochistic imaginations. We know of many depraved mental cases, semi-swindlers, semi-insane exploiting an imaginary deportation; we know of other authentic deportees whose sick spirit endeavoured to try to exceed the monstrosities that they had seen, or about which one had spoken to them - and who reached that point. There were even editors willing to print some of these wild imaginings, and more or less official compilations willing to use them, but the editors and compilers are absolutely inexcusable, because the most elementary investigation would have been enough for them to expose the imposture."*²³

Germaine Tillion did not give names but the specialists in these questions and the historians know some. Pierre Vidal-Naquet quotes the names of Silvain Reiner, Jean-François Steiner, Charles Hauter and V. Grossmann²⁴. Gitta Sereny mentions the case of Martin Gray²⁵. One could also quote Rudolf Vrba²⁶. The Belgian historian Jean Stengers declared that the film *Shoah* by Claude Lanzmann contained "*scientifically untenable elements*"²⁷ and in particular blamed two witnesses: Abraham Bent and Filip Muller²⁸. The Shoah film can pose problems in the eyes of a historian²⁹. Henry Rousso made the following remark, which shows how divided opinions are on the work of Lanzmann:

*"[...] the film was the object of nothing but redoubled praises, almost too many and too marked not to reveal a certain bad conscience. Nobody criticized the method, the handling of the witnesses, the physical omnipresence of Lanzmann in his film, nor especially the implicit idea: to make projection, by its slowness, its redundancies, its length (more than eight hours), a true punishment and a path of the cross for the spectator, culpable, like the author, to be alive after Auschwitz. Written in the present and not in the past (this is its very great originality), could one criticize it without being charged with anti-semitism?"*³⁰

Concerning testimonies and - because it is a question of separating the good grain from the ryegrass, the false evidences - we think much work remains to be done. Why not establish classifications in the manner of Jean Norton Cru and launch systematic studies camp by camp, country by country, according to various categories of prisoners, etc; in other words to draw up a critical assessment, as complete as possible about deportation and the literature - good or bad - that it generated? Results of surveys carried out by restricted committees certainly sleep in certain archives, but they could be exploited by the historian. Admittedly, this work would undoubtedly involve some movements in various mediums. Indeed, as Olga Wormser-Migot writes at the end of the introduction of her thesis on *Le Systeme Concentrationnaire Nazi*:

"If we want to respect the historical truth we will undoubtedly need to desecrify many taboos, to destroy many myths born of the secrecy and the concentration camp terror, twisted by the imagination of those who created them by their anguish, and enriched them, consciously or not, with the experience of others,

with authentic testimonies, or not so authentic, which they read, to the point they allot experiences which they did not live."³¹

But one will, in this spirit, keep present the warning of Michel de Boüard, former deportee of Mauthausen, famous medievalist and a member of the Institute:

*"I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years, or even in 50, historians will wonder about this aspect of the Second World War, the concentration camp system, and of what they will discover. The historical record is rotten. There is, on the one hand, enormous "morals of a fable", inaccuracies, obstinately repeated in particular on the numerical level; of stories amalgamated, generalizations and, in addition, the studies critique closely to demonstrate the inanity of these exaggerations. I fear that these historians will not dissent at that time, that the deportation, finally, had to be a myth. Here is the danger. This idea haunts me."*³²

The historian has, more than ever, to redouble heat with work and to use "*the anvil of the historian*" in preference to the "*crucible of the novelist*".³³

Footnotes To Conclusion I

1 "Revisionism Throughout the World", *Review of Revisionist History*, n° 1, May-June-July 1990, p.161-174.

2 See. "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace", *The Newspaper of Historical Review*, vol. 3, n° 1, Spring 1982, 53-83 (appeared in *Release*, Summer 1958); "Revisionism: The Key to Peace ", *Rampart Newspaper*, vol. II, n° 1, Spring 1966, 8-74; "How" Nineteen-Eighty-Four "Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom and Prosperity", in *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Harry Elmer Barnes ED), *Institute for Historical Review*, (1953) 1982, 627-670. It is also profitable to retain the names of Percy L Greaves Jr, William Henry Chamberlin, Charles Callan Tansill and George Morgenstern.

3 p. 198, note 73.

4 Let us announce on this subject that Rassinier was in liaison with a professor of faculty in contemporary history who wanted to write a thesis on the subject of the gas chambers. See. Rassinier with Faurisson, letter of May 31, 1967.

5 Since the end of 1960, historians have carried out a full harvest of new documents unknown to Rassinier.

6 On the gas trucks, See chapters 4 and 5 in: Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl, on gas chambers, *Secrecy of State*, tr. France Henry Rollet, *Editions of Midnight-Points History*, Paris (1983) 1987. A revisionist author, Pierre Marsh, should soon publish a study on the gas trucks. See. Robert Faurisson, "My Experiment with Revisionism (2e left)", *A.H.R.*, n° 8, spring 1990, p. 61. On the Einsatzgruppen, one will especially quote Helmut Krausnick and Hans-heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe of Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und of the SD 1938-1942*, DVA, Stuttgart 1981.

7 Drama, p. 52.

8 See. "Medico AD Auschwitz" *Anatomia di a falso. The false testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli, Sfinge, Parma*, 1989. We think that it is legitimate to use revisionist work whenever necessary, but of course, with the essential reservations. Carlo Mattogno has the advantage of knowing many languages including Polish, Swedish and Hungarian.

9 For example, "Hefte von Auschwitz" and the "Contribution to the history of the KL Auschwitz".

10 One can regret the presentation of the arguments in a series of numbered paragraphs but that method is in fact effective.

11 See "It rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di a falso", op cit., p. 37-85. The study of Mattogno is more thorough and of greater value than that of Henri Roques in the sense that the Italian studied other testimonies on Belzec and Treblinka. The major criticism which was addressed to the thesis letters of Henri Roques was indeed that he had not confronted the confessions of Kurt Gerstein with other testimonies. Roques undoubtedly thought,

wrongly or rightly, that the accounts of Gerstein represented a borderline case and that the improbabilities and nonsenses which they contain were enough to remove any value they had.

12 See. the "Verbal Trial of Interrogation or Confrontation", the Jewish World, January-March 1980, 27- 34, reproduced in: Andre Chelain, "Will It Be Necessary to Shoot Henri Roques?", op cit., p. 158-164.

13 See. Mattogno, *Il rapporto Gerstein*, op cit., p. 19-25. The PS-1553 is composed in addition of two invoices of Zyklon B.

14 See. notes 304.

15 See. supra p. 73. It is Rudolf Höss himself who employed the expression quoted by Rassinier: "My first interrogation was" striking "with the exact direction of the term. I signed the official report, but I do not know what it contained: the alternation of alcohol and the whip was too sensitive, even for me "(See Rudolf Höss, the Commander Of Auschwitz speaks..., tr. France Constantin de Grunwald, (1959) 1970, p. 248-250)

16 Auschwitz: the "confession" di Höss, Sfinge, Parma 1987.

17 "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss", The Newspaper of Historical Review, vol. 7, n° 4, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403. French version: "How the British obtained the consents of Rudolf Höss, commander of Auschwitz", A.H.R., n° 1, spring 1987, pp. 137-152.

18 Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death*, Hamlyn Paperbacks, Astronaut House, Feltham, Middlesex, 1983.

19 *Legions of Death*, op cit., pp. 235-238.

20 Generally, one could point out that the fact that a person was tortured does not imply ipso facto that his declarations are false. Does that apply to the case of Höss?

21 the American academic of Jewish origin Arno J Mayer, friend of P. Vidal-Naquet, declares, in connection with the gas chambers: "Most of what is known is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and executioners, and from postwar trials and the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity ". See "Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The Final Solution in History", New York, Pantheon Books, 1988, p. 362-363. This work is sometimes very astonishing. One meets there remarks that Rassinier would not have repudiated, moreover mentioned in the bibliography (p. 469, the Lie of Ulysses, edition 1979). Thus, Arno J Mayer: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable" (p. 362) and Paul Rassinier: "It is still too early to pronounce a final judgment on the gas chambers: the documents are rare, and those which exist, vague, incomplete or are truncated, and are not free from suspicion." (Lie (1950) 1987, p. 166) The work of Mayer caused violent reactions in the United States. See. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "Perversions of the Holocaust", Commentary, October 1989, p. 56-60. Cf also Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, "False Witness", The New Republic, April 17, 1989, p. 39-44.

22 Barbara Amouyal, "Prosecution prepares case against Demjanjuk. Doubts over Obviousness of Camps Survivors ", The Jerusalem Post, August 17, 1986, p. 1.

23 "Reflections on the Study of the Deportation", Review of History of the Second World War, July through September 1954. n°15-16, 4th year, p. 30.

24 Assassins of Memory, op cit., p. 27-28 and 193, note 24.

25 Gitta Sereny, "The Men Who Whitewash Hitler", New Statesman, November 2, 1979, p. 673. Cf Odile Cemetery, "Contradiction with appointment of Martin Gray", Progress, June 18, 1987, p. 4.

26 See the article of the Toronto Sun, January 24, 1985, p. 52; Michael A. Hoffman II, The Great Holocaust Trial, Institute for Historical Review, 1985, p. 90. This work is devoted to the Zündel lawsuit of 1985 in Canada. In front of the Court of Toronto, Rudolf Vrba called upon, in Latin, the "licentia poetarum" (poetic license) when called upon to explain contradictions in his testimony about what he had seen at Auschwitz. See in addition, Robert Faurisson, "My Experiment with Revisionism", A.H.R., n° 8, spring 1990, which refers to the transcriptions of the lawsuit (p. 37).

27 Discussion with Professor Jean Stengers, in: MRAX Information, n° 52, October 1988, p. 13.

28 "Some free remarks on Faurisson, Roques and Co ", Books-Bijdragen, May 1989

29 cf. Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz, a caso di plagio*, Sfinge, Parma 1986.

30 "The Syndrome of Vichy" (1944-198...), Editions of the Threshold, Paris 1987, p. 253. On Shoah See. Coll. About Shoah, film of Claude Lanzmann, Belin, Paris 1990, 316 p.

31 Olga Wormser-Migot, *The System Concentrationnaire Nazi (1933-1945)*, University Presses of France, Paris 1968, p. 28.

32 "Discussion with Michel de Boüard", in: West-France, August 2-3, 1986, p. 6.

33 These two expressions are by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi "The Holocaust has already caused more historical research than any other event in Jewish history, but I do not doubt some of the image which emerges, far from being forged on the anvil of the historian, is actually molten in the crucible of the novelist." ("Zakhor" Jewish History and Jewish Memory, translated from English by Éric Vine, coll. "Armillaire", the Discovery, Paris 1984)

Conclusion II

Version 2 [imposed by members of the jury]

Concerning the works of Paul Rassinier, there is a question which deserves to be posed, and an observation which it is necessary to make.

The question is to know if the works of Rassinier can fall under the quarrel of the German historians, which has as an aim, to point out, the singularity or the intrinsic specificity of the German concentration camp system. Rassinier denies that there were death camps or, to be more precise, camps whose purpose, exclusively and decided in high places, was to exterminate human beings.

Ernst Nolte, whose opinions on this subject are very different, endeavoured to relativize, to some extent, the repressive system of the Third Reich by establishing comparisons in time and space. Evoking a new perspective, due to current events in which one could place the Hitlerian regime "taken overall", he writes:

*"... the reappearance of anarchistic historiography is extremely instructive: it considers that any organization structured and based on the principle of domination is basically negative, in fact repressive, that they are a modern version of the antique "polis" (city-state) resting on contemporary slavery or States belonging to "real socialism". It consequently becomes difficult to allot to the Third Reich a privileged place in the universal history of repression."*¹

It is well, ultimately, from an anarchistic point of view that Rassinier considers the German camps. His first books contain some very significant reflections and passages in this regard². Thirty years before Nolte, he compares the German camps with the Soviet camps, in particular by quoting Margarete Buber-Neumann who knew the two types of camps and for which the camp of Karaganda was worse than that of Ravensbrück³.

The essential point which summarizes his position, is that *"the concentration camp is an instrument of the State in all its manifestations, where the exercise of repression guarantees authority. Between the various camps there is from one country to another, those differences in nuance, which are explained by the circumstances - but not of essence"*⁴. Germany knew the war, and the more or less general chaos, which resulted from it, influenced conditions of existence in the concentration camps. According to Rassinier, it will thus rest to the historians to explain how the German camps *"became in fact - but in fact only - camps of extermination"*⁵.

Within the framework of a possible comparison between Rassinier and Nolte one will

observe that Nolte borrows arguments from the revisionists⁶, in more of his own way. It seems excluded, however, that Nolte evolves to the kind of revisionism comparable with the French⁷. The observation relates to the methodological step of Rassinier and more generally, the way in which the historian must treat testimonies. It is necessary to weed out the false evidences, which exist and which Rassinier has besides rebutted⁸. The historian knows how fragile testimony can sometimes be. Multiple psychological, conscious or unconscious factors contribute to their deformation and that is all the more true when the witness attests to exceptional facts, as was the case in the camps. Human memory is limited to its aptitude to perceive and restore the events which proceed under it's eyes. The extreme and rare case and is the collective hallucination about which Gustave Le Bon speaks in his fundamental work on crowd psychology (1895).

If one sticks to more ordinary examples, the error which the historian should not make is to just totally reject in block a testimony under the pretext that it comprises inaccuracies or errors⁹. It is, as much as one can judge, considering the low number of testimonys studied by him, the main methodological fault that Paul Rassinier made. It should be also noted that a testimony must imperatively be corroborated either by documents or by objective material data. Thus, the accounts of deportees can, for example, be studied using the air photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau that the American Army Air Force took in 1944 during recon missions.¹⁰ In the same way, a document such as the War Refugee Board Report¹¹ is analyzed by means of the material data offered by the plans of the camp of Birkenau and its Krematoriums. It is in this way that truth seeking historians work.

As regards testimony, the case of figures is very diverse. Certain revisionists seem to have exploited the rumours - inevitable - which traversed Europe in war to arrive at false conclusions. Thus, during many months it was not possible to determine with exactitude the procedures in the camps of Belzec and Treblinka. In this last camp, there were confusions between a gas chamber and a steam room¹², confusion which was even repeated in it's deformed version¹³. Pierre Vidal-Naquet pointed out that the errors which one meets in the whole first accounts "*existed like a solid drop shadow of reality, like a delay of the reality*"¹⁴. The example of Belzec is similar to that of Treblinka although it is difficult, in this precise case, to know the origin of the error. It is only at the beginning of 1946 that the historians were able to establish the process of execution used in this camp. Until then, it had been question of electric current¹⁵, even of a method employing lime.¹⁶

To conclude, and to return to Rassinier, it could be interesting to examine the error which he made "*plating the war of 1914 onto that of 1939*"¹⁷. One would undoubtedly then see all that distinguishes the two world wars and the critical methods used by the historians on this subject.

Footnotes To Conclusion II

1 Ernst Nolte, "Historical Legend or Revisionism? How one sees the Third Reich in 1980", in: *In Front of History*, op cit., p. 11.

2 See, for example Lie, p. 7-12 28, 159 222 and Ulysses, p. 85, 90-91.

3 Ulysses, p. 85. One will moderate however this opinion by reading the article of Pierre Rigoulot, "Hitler's Camps, Stalin's Camps: The testimony of Margarete Buber-Neumann ", in: *East & West*, n° 72, December 1989, p. 15-16.

4 Lie, p. 222.

5 Ibidem.

6 One will mention here the references made to the British historian David Irving, with the official declaration of Chaim Weizmann in September 1939 lining up at the side of England in his fight against Hitler, and the booklet of Theodore N Kaufmann, "Germany Must Perish". On this last point, see Trial, p. 109.

7 In spite of the interest which it carries to the revisionist theses. See, in addition to the article mentioned in note 3, "Die Antwort auf den" Leuchter Report "", Sieg, n° 5, 19th year, 1990, p. 18. This article of Nolte is apparently shown in review *Junge Freiheit*, February 1990, p. 7. A translation in French was carried out by the A.D.L.R.H. (Association for the Defense of Free Historical Research), a para-revisionist association created by Michel Sergeant (See. circular of April-May 1990).

8 Let us quote the cases of Miklos Nyiszli and Kurt Gerstein. On Nyiszli see Carlo Mattogno, "Medico AD Auschwitz. Anatomia di a falso. The false testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli", Sfinge, Parma, 1989. On Gerstein, see same author, "It rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di a falso", op cit., and Andre Chelain, "Will It Be Necessary to Shoot Henri Roques?", op cit.

9 Recall that Robert Faurisson, when he asks for evidence of the existence of the gas chambers and extermination of the Jews, excludes testimony from his request.

10 See. Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G Poirier, "The Holocaust Revisited. A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex", Central Agency Intelligence, Washington, 1979, 19 p.

11 Partly written by two Slovak Jews, escaped prisoners of Auschwitz, in April 1944 (Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler). The report (submits several reports from them) circulated as of July and was published in the United States in November of the same year.

12 Probably born owing to the fact that there were buildings in certain transit camps where one passed clothes into steam to disinfect them. See the document of Nuremberg PS-3311 signed by Dr. Tadeusz Cyprian (International Military Tribunal, T III pp. 570-571).

13 See. Samuel Rajzmann in: Yuri Suhl ED, "They Fought Back", New York, 1967.

14 Assassins of Memory, p. 114.

15 See. Michael Tregenza, "Belzec Death Camp", *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, n° 41-42, 1977, pp. 16-17.

16 See. Jan Karski, "My Testimony in Front of the World", Editions S.E.L.F., Paris 1948. Translation of: "Story of the Secret State", Boston-Cambridge 1944.

17 "An Intellectual Perversion", discussion with Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Lines*, n° 2, February 1988, p. 95.

I. Primary Sources

1. Special books and numbers

a. General Remarks

Contrary to what is indicated in several works of Rassinier and a number of studies and articles on this author, *Crossing The Line* was published in September 1949 and not in 1948, although the drafting of the book was completed on September 1, 1948 in Saint-Nectaire. The prologue of *Crossing The Line*, which consists of a series of newspaper extracts, was not included in the 1955 edition but only in 1961, and in the editions of 1979 and 1987. Only the table on "The Hierarchy In A Concentration Camp" (p. 20-21) was regularly reproduced thereafter. The epilogue of 1949, entitled "Ground of the Free Men..." constitutes chapter VI of the first part of the editions of 1961, 1979 and 1987 of the *Lie of Ulysses*. This chapter does not appear in the editions of 1955. We could note that no translation (German, Spanish, Italian or English) includes this chapter: *Die Lüge of Odysseus*, *La Mentira de Ulises*, the *Menzogna di Ulisse* and *Debunking the Genocide Myth*. These translations all were made apparently starting from the French edition of May 1955.

The foreword of Paraz of 1950 was not reproduced in the following editions. One can find it in: "Minuet of Kidney-Bean", Albert Paraz, Éd. "To Know", Geneva, 1958, p. 79-100.

The edition of 1980 of *Ulysses Betrayed By His* was a large series of articles that Rassinier wrote (under the pseudonym of Jean-Pierre Bermont) for *Rivarol* in 1963 and 1964 at the time of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials in West Germany. In addition to a note of the editor on this business, one can also read there a letter of Paul Rassinier to Eugen Kogon on May 5, 1960.

La Mentira de Ulises also contains the translation of the first two chapters of the edition of 1961 of *Ulysses Betrayed by His* and thirty-four illustrations.

The Real Eichmann Trial or the Incurable Victims reproduces only the first part of the *Real Eichmann Trial*, that entitled "Nuremberg". The second part, entitled "Versailles", is lacking. On the other hand, chapter VIII, "The Auschwitz Trial" was added. It acts essentially as an adaptation of the articles Rassinier published in *Rivarol*.

Was ist Wahrheit? Die Juden und das Dritte Reich is the translation of *The True Eichmann Trial*. The work comprises, in addition to the five appendices of the French version, five other documentary appendices. This remark is valid for the edition of 1982 and also, probably for those of 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981.

Debunking the Genocide Myth brings together *Crossing The Line*, *The Lies of Ulysses* and *The Drama of the European Jews*. As opposed to what the note of the editor indicates, no chapter of *Ulysses Betrayed by His* appears in this book.

We are unaware of the exact composition of the recent collection published by The Institute for Historical Review under the title *The Holocaust Study and the Lies of Ulysses*.

No book of Rassinier has, for the moment, been translated into Portuguese or Greek.

b. Translators and Postfaces

The Spanish translator Bernardo Gil Mugarza is a journalist and writer. He in particular has published on the Spanish Civil War, *España in Llamas*, Éditions Acervo, Barcelona, 1968.

The American historian Mark Weber is member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the *Journal of Historical Review* and collaborates regularly in this review. For several years he has prepared an in-depth study on the Final Solution from a revisionist point of view.

The British historian David Irving wrote many successful works on the Second World War. In particular: *Und Deutschlands Staadte starben nicht*, *The Virus House: The History of the Wartime German Atomic Research*, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe*, *The War between the Generals*, *The War Path*, and a semi-revisionist book with *Hitler's War*, a work where he supported the thesis that Hitler was held in the ignorance of the extermination of the Jews, which was known only to Himmler and of a probable group of seventy people, David Irving adopted the revisionist's thesis in 1988, at the time of the Zündel trial in Toronto (Canada), when he learned of the results of the *Leuchter Report Number 1*.

Finally, let us note that Rassinier had proposed to Jacques Benoist-Méchin that he write the preface to *Those Responsible For The Second World War* (letter of September 24, 1966). Benoist-Méchin answered him on October 4, 1966, declining the offer and explaining his reasons.

c. Books in Preparation by Rassinier

Two works announced as almost published in the *Drama of the European Jews* (1964) and *Operation "Vicar"* (1965) were never published. He did work on *The End of the Regime of Fear* (1963) and *A Third World War For Oil* (1963).

Here the list of the works "in preparation" which were never published:

- *Parties and Politicians Before The War (Critical Study)*
- *The Third Testament*
- *Les Bornes du Chemin** (*A Testimony*) [**The Side Of The Road? The Boundaries of the Path?*]
- *Memories of a Danube Peasant*
- *A History of the State of Israel*

Perhaps certain titles relate to the same work.

For an anecdote, let us note that, in 1966, Rassinier revealed that his dream for forty years had been to write the history of the Republic of Florence at the time of Machiavelli.

(Rassinier with Faurisson, letter of August 12, 1966).

The Works Of Paul Rassinier

1 - Books

September, 1949: *Crossing The Line. The Human Truth*, Bressanes Editions, Borough-in-Bresse, 187 p. Content: 1 prologue, 3 sketches and a diagram "to facilitate the intelligence of the account".

October, 1950 *The Lies of Ulysses: A Look At The Literature Of Concentration Camp Inmates*, foreword by Albert Paraz, Bressanes Editions, Borough-in-Bresse, 238 p.

January 1953: *The Speech Of the Last Chance. An Introductory Essay To The Doctrines of Peace*, Editions of the Way of Peace, Paris, printed to Borough-in-Bresse, 263 p.

February 1955: *The Lies of Ulysses*, published by the author, 2nd edition, Mason. Joins together *Crossing The Line* and *The Lies Of Ulysses*. The prologue of *Crossing The Line* does not appear in this edition. Comprised with a foreword by the author.

March 1955: *Candasse or the Eighth Capital Sin. A History Over Time*, drawings by Pierre Allin  ,

A collection *Said and Countersaid*, Editions Friendship By The Book, s.l., printed in Rennes, 303 p.

March, 1955: *The Lies of Ulysses*, 3rd edition,   d. Friendship By the Book, s.l.

May, 1955: *The Lies of Ulysses*, 4th edition,   d. French Bookshop, Paris.

October, 1955: Special of "Counter-Current", *Parliament In The Hands Of The Banks*, 64 p.

November 1956: Special number of Counter-Current, *Parliament In The Hands Of The Banks II: The Evidence*, with a forward from Henri Jeanson, 66p.

October 1957: Special Number of the Books of Counter-Current, *Parliament In The Hands of the Banks II: The Epilogue*, p. 35-56. 1959

1959: *Die L  ge of Odysseus*, Editor: J. Priester, coll. "Zeitgeschichtliche Dokumentation", T. 3, Wiesbaden, 244 p.

1960 *Was nun, Odysseus? Zur Bew  ltigung der Vergangenheit*, Ed. J. Priester, coll."Z.D.", Wiesbaden, 104 p.

1961 *Le mentira de Ulises*, translated and prefaced by Bernardo Gil Mugarza,   d. Acervo, Barcelona, 318 p. January, 1961: *Ulysses Betrayed by His*,   d. French Bookshop, Paris, 128 p.

October 1961: number 156 (a) "Defense of Man", *The Equivocal Revolutionary*, introduction by

Louis Dorlet, 96 p.

1962 *La mentira de Ulises*, 2nd   d., ED Acervo, Barcelona, 318 p.

1962 *La verdad sober el proceso Eichmann*, trad. B G Mugarza & Maria Aroca, Ed. Acervo, Barcelona, 269 p.

June, 1962: *The True Eichmann Trial Or The Incurable Victors*,   d. The Seven Colors, Paris, 249 p.

1963 *Zum Fall Eichmann. Was ist Wahrheit oder Die unbelehrbaren Sieger*, ED Druffel, Leoni amndt Starnberger See, 248 p.

1964 *Die L  ge des Odysseus*, ED Damm, Munich, 291 p.

March, 1964: *The Drama of the European Jews*,   d. The Seven Colors, Paris, 224 p.

1965 *Das Drama der Juden Europas. Eine technische Studie*, trad. Marie Adelheid, Prinzessin Reuss-zur-Lippe, ED Pfeiffer, Hanover, 271 p.

- 1965: Août: *Operation "Vicar". The role of Pius XII before history*, Éd. The Round Table, coll. "the agenda", Paris, 271 p.
- 1966 *La menzogna di Ulisse*, foreword of Prof Anton Domingo Monaco, transl. by Central Studi E Documentazione "Giovanni Preziosi", ED. Rune, Milan, 360 p.
- 1966 *Operación Vicario*, Ed Acervo, Barcelona, 264 p.
- 1966 *Operation Stellvertreter. Huldigung eines Ungläubigen*, transl. Jutta Groll, ED Damm, Munich, 244 p.
- 1967 *Il dramma degli Ebrei*, Europa Editions, Rome, 193 p.
- June 1967: *Those Responsible For The Second World War*, New Latin Editions, Paris, 288 p.
- 1969 *La mentira de Ulises*, 3rd edition., ED Acervo, Barcelona, 318 p.
- 1971 *Der Fall Rassinier: ein Prozess um das Buch Was ist Wahrheit?* Dokumentation, Druffel, Leoni amndt Starnberger See, 248 p.
- 1975 *The Drama of the European Jews*, foreword by of Michael Hardesty, Steppingstones Publications, Silver Spring. February and March: 1st and 2e impressions.
- 1976 *El drama de los Judios europeos*, trad. Maria Aroca, ED Acervo, Barcelona, 264 p.
- May 1976: *The Real Eichmann Trial or The Incurable Victims*, Historical Review Press, Brighton, 170 p. July, 1976: *The Drama of the European Jews*, 3rd impression.
- 1978 *Debunking the Genocide Myth. With Study of the Nazi Concentration Camps and the Alleged Extermination of European Jewry*, trad. Adam Robbins, introduction by Pierre Hofstetter, The Noontide Press, Los Angeles, 430 p.
- 1978 *Was ist Wahrheit? Die Juden und das Dritte Reich*, 3rd edition. Druffel, Leoni amndt Starnberger See, 284 p.
- 1979 *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 4e éd.
- March 1979: *The Real Eichmann Trial*, 2nd printing.
- April 1979: *The Lies of Ulysses*, 6th éd., the Old Crone, Paris, 263 p.
- 1980 *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 6th éd.
- January 1980: *Ulysses Betrayed by His*, new and considerably increased edition, The Old Crone, Paris, 208 p.
- 1981 *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 7th éd.
- 1982 *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 8th éd. 1983
- March 1982: *The True Eichmann Trial or The Incurable Victims*, 2nd ed. (reprint), The Old Crone, Paris, 255 p.
- 1985 (Jean-Pierre Bermont) *the verità sul processo di Auschwitz*, Éd. Sfinge, Parma, s.d., 56 p.
- January, 1985: *The Drama of the European Jews*, 2nd edition with author's proofs, reprint, The Old Crone, Paris, 224 p.
- June 1987: *The Lie of Ulysses*, 7th éd., reprint, The Old Crone, Paris, 264 p.
- July 1987: *Crossing The Line in Annals of Revisionist History Revisionist*, number 2, p. 31-128.
- 1989 *Die Jahrhundert-Provokation. Wie Deutschland in den Zweiten Weltkrieg getrieben wurde*, trans. Claude Michel, postface of David Irving, ED Grabert, Tübingen, 368 p.
- 1990 *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, introduction by Robert Countess, postface of Mark Weber, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 450 p.

2 - Articles

The list of articles by Rassinier which follows is not exhaustive, for several reasons. On the

one hand, the libraries and files where we carried out our search very seldom have the complete collection of the newspapers where Paul Rassinier wrote. One will find one overall assessment further from the various collections. In addition, we do not always know in which reviews or which newspapers, French or foreign, Rassinier could write articles in an episodic way. Thus, in *Drama*, he announces (p. 212) that he addressed a communication to the German review *Deutsche Hochschullehrer-Zeitung* (Tübingen, n° 1/2, February 1963). In the absence of additional precise details (title and pagination), we did not include this article in the bibliography.

Overall assessment. State of the collections

This assessment does not relate to the newspapers or following reviews: *The Libertarian*, *Counter-Current*, *Bulletin of the S.I.A.*, *Defense of Man*, *Defense of the Occident*, *French Readings*, *Real Europe*, *National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung*. The review *Defense Of Man* could be consulted thanks to a private individual.

Consulted libraries and files

B.N. = National Library. Department of the periodicals. Service of Versailles. 2, Street of Montbauron, 78000 Versailles.

B.D.I.C. = Library of Contemporary International Documentation, 6, gone from the University, 92001, Nanterre Cedex.

A.B. = Departmental records of Belfort, 4, street of the Old Theatre, 90000 Belfort.

A.B.B. = Departmental records of Borough-in-Bresse, Paul-Valéry Boulevard, 01012 Borough-in-Bresse.

Newspapers and Reviews

Inc = Incomplete C = Complete mq = Missing

The Sower. Communist, trade unionist, co-operative. Body of Federations S.F.I.O. from Haut-Rhin, Doubs, Haute-Saône, the Jura and Coast-in Or, then weekly regional of the Communist Party. 54 X 38 cm, then 60 X. Years consulted: 1923-1926 and 1927, mq: n° 215 (May 7); 1928, mq: number 259 (March 3), 266 (April 21), 273 (June 9), 275 (June 23). 1929 C 1930 mq: n° 272 (May 24)

The Working Sower. Regional body of the Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. then regional body of the Communist

Party. Territory of Belfort, Doubs, the Jura, Haute-Saône. Weekly magazine. October 11, 1930 - April 22, 1932, 58

X 43 cm years consulted: 1930 mq: n° 4 (November 1), 5 (November 8), 6 (November 15), 7 (November 22). 1931

C 1932 C the n° 4, 5, 6 and 7 also missing with the AB.

The Sower. Communist newspaper. Territory of Belfort, Doubs, the Jura, Haute-Saône. Weekly magazine, April 16 - June 11, 1932, 64 X 33 cm 1932, mq: n° 5 (May 21)

The Worker. Communist, trade unionist and co-operative. Territory of Belfort, Doubs, the Jura, Haute-Saône, then body of the communist Federation independent of the East. Weekly magazine, then twice-weekly. Variable formats. State of the collection: 1932, I, n°1 (mai)-19; 21-31 1933, II, n° 32-37,40-41... 43-44... 46-56... 58-72... 75-83... 1934, III, n°... 96 (January 17) 1932, mq: n° 29 1933, mq: n° 32, 38, 39, 72 1934, mq: n° 93, 97 AB: 4 J 12 E 1932, mq: n° 1, 2, 29 1933, mq: n° 36-40, 42, 54, 64-65, 67, 83-85 1934, mq: n° 93, 95-99, 105

Germinal. Weekly body of the Socialist Federation of the Territory of Belfort (S.F.I.O.) 1935, mq: n° 22 (June 22) 1936, mq: n° 69 (May 16), 80 (August 1) 1937. mq: n° 103-108, 114, 115, 129, 134, 135, 138, 145-148 1938, mq: n° 162, 165-169, 171, 173, 176, 177 1939, mq: n° 183, 184, Inc AB: 4 J 4 have 1935, mq: n° 21 1936,

C 1937, C 1938, C 1939, figure in the catalogue-file. The year 1939 is also missing with the Municipal Files of Belfort.

The Territory. Free review of the ideas, the facts and people. Monthly magazine directed by Rene Naegelen 1934, C 1935, C 1936, mq: n° 16, 17 1937, mq: n° 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 35, 36 1938, mq: n° 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43 1939, mq: n° 50, 51, 52, 53, 54 P 107 collection supplements

The Fourth Republic. Twice-weekly paper of the Socialist Democracy. Belfort 1945, mq: n° 7 (exhausted) 1946, C 1947, C. PR 11 collection complete

The Vosgean Worker is not with the BN. We are unaware of if it is with the Archives of Épinal.

The Worker of Ain years consulted: 1949, mq: n° 1, 2, 7, 12, 14, 21, 23, 24, 33 1950, mq: n° 213, 217, 227, 235, 237, 240 (old classification) 1951, mq: n° 247, 250, 261, 271-273, 276 (old classification) ABB: 1949, C

The Republican of the Saone and the Loire Newspaper probably launched by Paul Rassinier in Mason during the years 1950-1951-1952. Neither the BN nor the Files of Mason has this newspaper. A letter addressed to the Socialist Party of Mason did not get results.

The Way of Peace (1951-1961) then F°P 2212 (1962-1973) 1961, mq: n° 109 (August): Gr. Fol. OJ 6291 collection except supplements n° 109 which are missing.

The Social Order complete collection: 7 numbers (1958, n° 1-5; 1959, n° 6-7) No article of this review appears in the list which follows. With no article being signed, it is impossible to determine with certainty those which were written by Rassinier.

Volontà. Rivista anarchica mensile, then: bimestrale. Napoli. years consulted 1954-1963: C 1963-1968: C

ABBREVIATIONS

S = The Sower

SO = The Working Sower

S2 = The Sower

TR = The Worker

G = Germinal

RP = Proletarian Revolution

T = The R4 Territory = The Fourth Republic

MT = The Worker of Ain

DH = Defense of the Man

VP = The Way of Peace

DC = Counter-Current

LF = French Readings

IH = Rivarol

1926

"I show and I protest!...", S, n° 194, December 11, 2.

1930

"Hello!... Maïche? Hello!", S, n° 361, March 8, 4.

"In connection with frog", S, n° 362, March 15, 4.

"Simple question", S, n° 363, March 22, 2.

"They did not answer!", "Chronic trade-union", S, n° 366, April 12, 3, 4.

"For the room of the trade unions units", S, n° 367, April 19, 4.

"The middle-class pays its flunkies", S, n° 369, May 3, 3.

"The waltz of the million!", S, n° 371, May 17, 4.

"Bourogne. A strange business... or troubles of the veterinary surgeon Charriot ", S, n° 373, May 31, 4.

"Colonization. With the help of the "colonized" proletariat ", S, n° 376, June 21, 1.

"Herriot In Belfort!", S, n° 377, June 28, 1; "Beautiful meeting in Eldorado", 1, 2.
"Ve Congrès of the I.S.R. The great regional festival of Seloncourt ", S, n° 378, July 5, 1.
"World-wide crisis!", S, n° 379, July 12, 1.
"About August first. Across-Europe!", S, n° 380, July 19, 1.
"Against the law of swindle! Nearly 200 strikes including 50,000 workers "S, n° 381, July 26, 1; "The gas works", 4.
"Ahead the gas ones", S, n° 382, August 2, 4.
"The Congress of the radical party", SO, n° 2, October 18, 1.
"This week", SO, n° 8, November 29, 1.
"This week", SO, n° 9, December 6, 1.
"Cabinet crisis!...", SO, n° 10, December 13, 1.

1931

"This week", SO, n° 14, January 10, 1.
"capitalist rot", SO, n° 15, January 17, 1. N° 16 (January 24) with the n° 60 (November 21), heading "This week" on first page except n° 27, 28, 35, 37, 39, 42, 46, 54.
"A Belfort. Splendid Meeting ", SO, n° 61, November 28, 1.
"In Mandchourie. Towards a world war!...", SO, n° 62, December 5, 1. N° 64 (December 19) with the n° 69 (January 23, 1932), heading "This week" on first page.

1932

"This week", "the great meeting of the committee of defense of Belfort", SO, n° 70, Jan. 30, 1.
N° 71 (February 6) with the n° 80 (April 9), heading "This week" on first page except n° 73.
"After the ignominies of the direction of the Party", "We interjetons call in front of the International Communist", S2, n° 1, April 16, 1;
"How they lied and calumniated", 2. "This week", S2, n° 2, April 23, 1.
"May First of election... First month of fight!", S2, n° 3, April 30, 1.
"a date: May 29. Towards the conference of organization ", S2, n° 4, May 14, 1;
"Always from topicality", 3. "" ""The Sower" continued! Henri Jacob is accused of provocation of soldiers to disobedience", S2, n° 5, May 21, 1.
"the conference of May 29... A last word ", S2, n° 6, May 28, 1.
"After the conference of May 29. The communist unit ", S2, n° 7, June 4, 1.
"In Germany. "least evil" ", S2, n° 8, June 11, 1.
"This week", TR, n° 3, June 18, 1.
"This week", TR, n° 4, June 25, 1.
"This week", TR, n° 5, July 2, 1.
"This week", TR, n° 6, July 9, 1;
"Towards a trust of the civil servants and public services", 2. "This week", TR, n° 7, July 16, 1.
"the special unit", TR, n° 8, July 23, 2.
"This week", TR, n° 9, July 30, 1;
"the trust of the civil servants", 2. "This week", TR, n° 10, August 6, 1.
"In Germany Communists and Socialists must present a single face against Fascism!", TR, n° 11, August 13, 1;
"Trade union of the Teaching of Doubs", "Trust of the civils servant", 2.
"In bulk", TR, n° 12, August 20, 1.....
N° 13 (August 27) with the n° 16 (September 17), heading "In bulk" on first page....
"In bulk", TR, n° 17, September 24, 1; "In connection with Trust of the civils servant and the trade-union Unit", 3.
"In bulk", TR, n° 21, October 22, 1.
"In bulk", TR, n° 22, October 29, 1; "Resolution of the unit local union of Belfort", "For the trade-union unit", 2....
N° 23 with the n° 25, heading "In bulk", 1.....
"In bulk", TR, n° 26, November 26, 1; "the Congress of the Independant Communist Federation of the East", 2;
"Belfort. Where is the idea of the unified working trade unions ", 3....
n° 27 and 28, "In bulk ", 1
..... "the debate on the expiry of December 15 ended in the fall of the Herriot" ministry, "In bulk", TR, n° 29, December 17, 1
..... N° 32 with the n° 41, "In bulk", page 1 except n° 38 and 39.....

1933

"In bulk", TR, n° 42, March 4, 1; "Belfort. A resignation. Jacob leaves us ", 2.
n° 43 and 44," In bulk ", 1.....
"In bulk", TR, n° 45, March 25, 1; "Belfort. Propaganda revisionist ",3
"In bulk" n° 46 and 47," In bulk ", 1
"Belfort. And on the trade-union level?", TR, n° 48, April 15, 3.
"In bulk", TR, n° 49, April 22, 1; "Which?", 3.
"In bulk", TR, n° 50, April 29, 1; "In connection with Mr. Agard, prefect of Belfort", 3 .
"In the Bulk", n° 51 and 52,
"In bulk", TR, n° 53, May 20, 1; "Platform of discussion. "Shown, you raise!" ", 2.
"In bulk", TR, n° 54, May 27, 1.
"In bulk", TR, n° 55, June 3, 1; "one year Assessment", 1.
"In bulk", "one year Assessment. Blow of?il behind ", TR, n° 56, June 10, 1.
"One year Assessment. With foot of?uvre ", TR, n° 57, June 17, 1
"Towards a Communist Party. With the unanimity the section of the P.U.P. from Colmar its adhesion gives to the F.C.I. Is ", TR, n° 61, July 15, 1.
"Parallel", TR, n° 62, July 22, 1.
"In bulk", TR, n° 63, July 29, 1; "" erudite asses "of Socialism and Communism official", 2.
"In bulk", TR, n° 64, August 5, 1.
"In bulk", TR, n° 65, August 12, 1.
"The circular De Monzie. A challenge!", TR, n° 71, September 23, 1.
"Platform of discussion. Note PR ", TR, n° 72, September 30, 2.
"Governmental projects. Alarm!", TR, n° 75, October 21, 1.
"For the success of the Meetings of Belfort and Besancon", TR, n° 77, November 4, 2.
"Belfort. The labour market in Belfort ", TR, n° 78, November 11, 3.
"the loophole", TR, n° 85, December 20, 1.
"All our subscribers! All our readers!", TR, n° 87, December 27, 1;
"Platform of discussion. On a development ", 2

1934

"In margin of the comedy genevoise", TR, n° 89, January 3, 1; "Platform of discussion. In connection with Van der Lubbe ", 2.
"Platform of discussion. Still in connection with Van der Lubbe ", TR, n° 92, January 13, 2.
"Belfort. What that proves?", TR, n° 95, January 24, 2.
"General Strike!", TR, n° 99, February 10, 1; "the radical chiefs of Belfort do not have their place with the head of the Demonstration of Sunday", 2.
"Belfort. A demonstration of national union ", TR, N 100, February 17 2; "How to rectify the situation?", 3.
"Belfort. After our resignation of the committee antifascist ", TR, n° 103, March 10, 2.
"Maniacs and Co", TR, n° 107, April 17, 1, 2.
"The theory and practice", TR, n° 108, April 24, 1, 2.

1935

"A call", G, n° 2, February 9, 2.
"A regional experiment. The Independent Communist Federation of the East ", RP, n° 192, February 10, 6-13.
"Tendencies", G, n° 3, February 16, 2.
"The unit of action", G, n° 6, March 9, 2.
"For a single Party of the workers. Call of the socialist party ", G, n° 8, March 23, 1.
"Life of the party. The Federal Council ", G, n° 9, March 30, 2.
"Ln connection with the F.C.I. Is. II. Response of Rassinier ", RP, n° 196, April 10, 134- 135.
"A call", G, n° 14, May 1, 3.
"Federal Congress", G, n° 20, June 8, 1.
"The National Congress of the party was held in Mulhouse from the 9 to June 13", G, n° 21, June 15, 1.
"In margin of the action plan of the C.G.T.", G, n° 22, June 22, 3.
"Deflation, devaluation", G, n° 23, June 29, 1.

"Belfort. Republican Belfort will make of July 14, "an imposing festival ", G, n° 24, July 6, 2.
"Sunday July 14... Gathering In Belfort!", G, n° 25, July 13, 1.
"The remedies which kill", G, n° 26, July 20, 1.
"Belfort. With the discovery of Switzerland in company of Mr. Joseph Ligère ", G, n° 27, July 27, 2.
"More than 1000 civils servant and comparable express against the Orders in Council!", G, n° 28, August 3, 1, 2.
"Things and others", G, n° 35, September 21, 2.
"Belfort. The Congress of Disabled worker ", " Rubbish ", " E viva Mussolini!", G, n° 36, September 28, 2.
"An event which will make date. The European Public Service Union is carried out!", G, n° 37, October 5, 1.
"Senatorial Election of Sunday October 20, 1935. The aspect intimates poll of Sunday ", G, n° 39, October 19, 1; "Belfort. To the municipal theatre ", 2; "In the communes. The truth on the cooperative dairies ", 3.
"Beautiful victory of the socialist party to senatorial", G, n° 40, October 26, 1; "Belfort. Senatorial elections. Results of the poll of Sunday ", 2.
"Republican defense", G, n° 42, November 9, 2;
"Prefects of the Republic through their?uvres", 3.
"The heritage", G, n° 43, November 16, 1; "the crosses of fire have a deposit with Châtenois!", 1; "When one shot the innocent ones", 2.
"More ambiguity!", G, n° 45, November 30, 1; "Our round of propaganda", 2.
"The ordinary federal congress was held last Sunday in Valdoie", G, n° 47, December 17, 1,2.

1936

"The democracy and them his", G, n° 51, January 11, 2.
"Jokes in the corner", G, n° 52, January 18, 2.
"Birthday", G, n° 54, February 1, 1.
"The worm leaves the fruit", G, n° 60, March 14, 1.
"Life of the party. Meeting of the federal executive commission ", G, n° 64, April 11, 3.
"Dear fellow-citizens (letter)", G, n° 65, April 18, 3.
"France voted socialist", G, n° 68, May 9, 1; "evolution of the socialist thought", 3.
"Evolution of the socialist thought. Saint-Simon (1760-1825)", G, n° 69, May 16, 3.
"On June 7...", G, n° 70, May 23, 1, 2; "evolution... Fourier ", G, n° 71, May 30, 3.
"The Cabot evolution", G, n° 72, June 6, 3.
"The working class...", G, n° 73, June 13, 1; "evolution... Proudhon ", 3.
"Analogies", G, n° 74, June 20, 1; "evolution... Proudhon ", 3.
"Which will fight by the sword", G, n° 76, July 4, 1.
"The theory and practice", G, n° 77, July 11, 1.
"The Miellet citizen forgets already his engagements!", G, n° 78, July 18, 1.
"A the crossing of the roads", "After the strikes", G, n° 80, August 1, 1.
"Critical Moment", G, n° 87, September 19, 1.
"Administrative Movement", G, n° 88, September 26, 1.
"Not, the Popular Government of Face did not disavow its program!", G, n° 89, October 3, 1.
"We do not pack!", G, n° 90, October 10, 1.
"We do not walk!", G, n° 94, November 7, 1.
"They killed Roger Salengro! Let us kill the "rotted" press ", G, n° 96, November 21, 1;
"The federal congress of Beaucourt", 2.
"Horizons. To the commission of monitoring of the prices ", T, n° 24, December, 8-9; "civil Defence", 14-15.
"De Châtenois With Beaucourt... Young people of the East with Châtenois and Beaucourt ", G, n° 101, Dec 26, 1.

1937

"Tell of Christmas. The world where one is bored... ", T, n° 25, January, 8-9; "country of the smile", 15.
"Blow of?il on the future", G, n° 104, January 16, 1; "trade-union Life", 3.
"Accounts of Germinal", G, n° 106, February 6, 1.
"An example to be imitated", G, n° 111, March 13, 1.
"A history of robbers", G, n° 112, March 20, 1.
"After the electoral frauds of Reppe", G, n° 113, March 27, 1.
"Henri Saddler in Belfort", G, n° 117, April 24, 1; "federal Congress", 2.
"Radical youths of the Territory will meet soon", T, n° 29, May, 15.

"The socialist policy. This is that which they want?", G, n° 118, May 1, 1.
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APPENDIX I

**ANNALES
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PRELIMINARY

The title of this review comprises a paradoxical tautology. In its modern design, history is "revisionist" or, it is not history.

One traditionally opposes Herodotus, whose accounts tell the events, legendary or accurate, which clarifies the heart of civilizations; and prefers Thucydides, who eliminates from his accounts the details marvellous or legendary and sticks to the analysis of the causes of the events. A key sentence defines this founder attitude: "*With regard to the murder of Hipparque, the Athenians were in error.*" It is not thus a question of simply knowing what the Athenians thought of this event, it is a question of establishing, beyond the agreed and popular account, the material truth of the facts.

The historian thus revises. The controversy, the debate, the talk and the discussion of contradictory theses, the permanent criticism of the received historical accounts, the checking of the sources and the documents are the daily bread of the trade of the historian, the substance and fuel of his work. Under these conditions, how to conceive of a revisionist history, and thus a history which is not revisionist?

Why "Revisionist"?

The word "revisionist" is of recent creation. *Le Petit Robert*, the abridged French dictionary published by Paul Robert in 1967, indicates the phrase originated in 1872 and

gives this definition: *A partisan of the revision of fixed doctrines*. It was especially used to stigmatize, inside the labour movement, those who deviated more or less from well-instituted "Marxism" in spite of Marxism fixed in intangible doctrines. The term is pejorative, and was thus especially employed by the orthodox believers. The substantive was also used within the framework of the Dreyfus Affair. The partisans of Dreyfus, in favour of a revision of the judgment, called themselves revisionists, and were called revisionists by their adversaries. Political Zionism, whose doctrines had been elaborated at the beginning of the century by Theodore Herzl, also knew revisionists. The fascist ultra-nationalism asserted by Karl Jabotinsky, which preached terrorism as a necessary tool, and from which came many current leaders of the State of Israel, proclaimed itself Revisionist Zionism.

The term "revisionist" is thus linked to concepts of orthodoxy, dogma, and taboo; and to an authority which enforces doctrines.

Historical revisionism.

Historical revisionism thus simply claims to normally achieve the normal work of the historian and exists as a separate "school" only because of the dogmas and the taboos surrounding certain historical periods, which unchain passions and repression, and prevents the normal work of history.

One can compare the origins of the revisionist school to the history of the American Civil War. Some American historians become aware of the fact that academic history too often endorses the propaganda of war and the myths of the winner. They affirmed the need to deeply revise what had been held up as history. In doing so, they ran up not only against the general hostility of the historians in place and the academic authorities, but especially they became victims of heinous political campaigns. Insofar as their work led them to relativize the finer, humane feelings of the winner and to reconsider some of the atrocities allotted to the vanquished, they were marked with blacker intentions, as desiring to justify slavery, if not to wanting to restore it!

But it is around the history of the First World War that comes the true birth of historical revisionism. Not of a historical school which would intend to promote particular interpretations, or would want to define a specific methodology, but a whole body of historians who become aware of a common situation which they experienced and of the difficulty in achieving their task in the face of the prejudices that their research turned upside down.

The First World War.

It is difficult to render comprehensible the nature of the difficulties encountered by some nonconformist historians to impose, little by little, the revision of the dogmas of the time, when you consider how revisionist historiography on the First World War is now universally allowed, does not shock anybody anymore, and that on the contrary, it is difficult to imagine how the truth, sometimes so obvious, could encounter such resistance.

The culpability and the unilateral responsibility for Germany for starting the war, and the specific atrocities made by the German armies were not only the general conviction of public opinion in the victorious states, they had been registered in the treaty signed by the

vanquished and constituted the ideological base of the new European command established by the Treaty of Versailles. The work of the historian thus encountered powerful interests. But certain circumstances were favorable for him. In spite of the propaganda efforts of the victorious States, the great mass of ex-servicemen drew from the immense butchery which they had lived the idea that the war itself was an abomination, worse than the evils that each camp had claimed against the other to make it necessary, and the ideology of a crusade of good against evil had not managed to become popular. Moreover, the young Bolsheviks had published all the documents of the tsarist files on the origins of the war, and the new German Social Democrat Government had done the same with the files of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Wilhelmstrasse. Contrary to the Second World War, where the unconditional surrender of Germany had delivered all the files at the discretion of the winners, the immediately accessible documents imposed an agonizing reappraisal of the myths of war.

It will, however, take approximately ten years of fighting to bring recognition to the legitimacy, the relevance and the historiographic value of the revisionist work to which Harry Elmer Barnes, George Demartial, Gustave Dupin, Fernand Gouttenoire de Toury and Jean Norton Cru attached their names. Among them, only the American, Harry Elmer Barnes, was a university professor, and a historian by profession.

In 1919 Demartial published *The Responsibilities for the War: Patriotism and the Truth* with the Clarté editions, and, in 1922, the *Mobilization of the Consciences* with Rieder, two leftist editors. Barnes also published with Rieder, in 1926, *The Genesis of the World War. Introduction to the Problem of the Responsibilities for the War*. From the Thirties, the value of revisionist historiography is recognized and Demartial will publish in 1939, with the University Presses of France, *The Legend of the Peaceful Democracies*.

To understand the nature of the resistance, which these nonconformist and keen researchers had to overcome, one will read, from the same Demartial in 1939: *The Hatred of the Truth*, with Rieder. The various forms of resistance are analyzed as an exacerbation of the mechanisms that work in any debate and any controversy: initially the total refusal to consider innovative and disconcerting research, a refusal justified by all kinds of process of intention; then, little by little, the proper historiographic contents (documentation, established facts) are gradually integrated and become part of the pool of knowledge on the past, in common with all the honest historians, from which the infinite pallet of interpretations is spread. However, the useful and innovative character of initial revisionist research is forgotten, overlooked, and sometimes denied.

Although the battle largely proceeded on the ground of the facts and the documents, as a whole a common spiritual inspiration emerges from the revisionists writings of the First World War: horror of the war and the enrollment of the conscience that it generates, the refusal of nationalism, etc. While exhuming repressed documents, the revisionist authors intended to sap the interpretations of warmongers and those patriotic to the war by showing that these interpretations rested on blocking out a part of reality and on a selective and incomplete historiography.

Among the revisionist authors a very particular mention must be made of Jean Norton Cru who published in 1929 his monumental *Witnesses: Test of Analysis and Criticism of the*

Memories of Combatants Published in France from 1915 to 1928. This meticulous and scrupulous study of testimonies, by revealing to an unequalled depth the abyss which separates reality from "memory", will constitute a methodological headlight for the future revisionists. In addition, this book had deeply impressed a revisionist of the First World War, Paul Rassinier, who was going to become a victim of the Nazi concentration camp system during the Second World War. And this book, like those of Victor Serge, another scrupulous witness and revisionist of the war and the Russian revolution, was going to provide to Rassinier the reference and the framework of thought which will give his testimony such an exceptional quality. But let us not anticipate!

The Second World War.

At the end of the second, greater butchery of history, the situation, for the historian arose in a completely different way. On a purely technical level, the unconditional surrender of Germany had put at the discretion of the winners the totality of their files. And these files, to which accessibility was going to be carefully filtered, were especially to be exploited in a unilateral way, and initially within the framework of trials against the vanquished, whose prototype was the Trial of Nuremberg. This trial was exactly what the Attorney General of the United States said it would be to the audience of July 26, 1946: "*As a military tribunal, this court represents a continuation of the war effort of the allied nations.*"

On a more general level, the contrast is even more striking. The First World War had ended with a generalized social, political and ideological crisis. The Russian revolution, then the German revolution expressed deep fractures and the dominant ideology managed neither to unify nor to impose itself completely. On the contrary, the Second World War is completed, after the successive triumphs of the Social Democrat counter-revolution (in Germany), Stalinist (in Russia), National Socialist (in Germany again), and by the undivided triumph of the allied counter-revolutions, Stalinist and capitalist-imperialist American.

In front of the immense accumulation of ruins and the universal moral disaster, the ideology of the winners is rebuilt around a Manichaean representation: the war had initially been a crusade, the crusade of good against evil, humanity against the horror. It was necessary, according to this representation, that Nazism become the incarnation of absolute evil. This assisted, with the thread of time, in the birth of a true demonology. And the subject which lent themselves to it best, the concentration camps and the atrocities, were placed to the front of the scene and acquired a central position in the historiography of the war, as much by the quantity of works which were devoted to them as by the importance which was allotted to them; but especially by the fact that the representation of the atrocities structured the representation and the interpretation of the group. The process is then completed in the course of the Sixties inside the question of the atrocities and the camps, the specific fate of the Jews becoming the symbol *par excellence* of evil around which the direction of all the events is restructured.

However the critical spirit, therefore revisionism, therefore the history, do not lose their rights completely. Whole parts of the official vision which is worked out are disputed. And initially by historians who fall under the tradition founded by the revisionism of the First World War, like Harry Elmer Barnes himself, and in Switzerland, Aldo Dami, professor of history and geography at the University of Geneva. The case of these two academics

demands that we stop here. They are both deeply antifascist. They enjoy a great intellectual reputation. Their various works are published in reviews by prestigious editors. In addition, they completely call into question the winner's myths of war and the dominant historiography. A total silence is organized on their opinions. All revisionist work of Harry Elmer Barnes will be privately printed and their diffusion will remain for a long time confidential. Aldo Dami will manage to publish, only in 1960, *Last of The Gibelins: Heterodox Reflections on Politics*, (Editions Connaître, Geneva, probably on account of author), republished in 1973, altered and increased, under the title *Repairing History* (the Universal Thought, Paris, therefore on account of the author). These two books, with very little distribution, are now untraceable.

Still, these two authors do not initially question the reality of the policy of extermination of the Jews by National Socialism, and do not even suspect that this "fact" can be disputed. With regard to Barnes, although he had very early doubts, and he detected exaggeration and propaganda, it is only after having discovered the work of the deportee Paul Rassinier, and at the end of a long correspondence with him during the Sixties, that he will conclude, with certainty, that the gas chambers and the genocide also constitute myths. In the case of Dami, here is what he wrote:

The ignominy of the Hitlerian massacres, of the camps of slow death, the gas chambers and the crematoriums, if anything is not attenuated by the fact that, extremely fortunately, the figure articulated for their victims, already technically impossible, was knowingly and considerably exaggerated, in any case doubled¹, since in 1944 Germany, at bay, was itself famished; that at least an equal number of Germans disappeared in the East in 1945, and double that number were deported from the annexed provinces. In one case as in the other, the number does not do anything to justify the second affair, the martyrdom of only one innocent is enough for us.

It is Paul Rassinier, a militant of the revolutionary labour movement, a resister, deported to Buchenwald and Dora, who first raised the question of the reality of the gas chambers in the German concentration camps. He initially published *Crossing The Line* (Borough in Bresse, 1948), a testimony where he brings back the horror of the deportation while contradicting the myths and legends built around the reality. His book will be distributed by the sections of the Socialist Party (SFIO) of which he was member, and an appointed deputy with the first Constituent of the Territory of Belfort. Leon Blum acknowledged receipt of this book on a paperboard with the heading of the French National Assembly: "*with the moved thanks of Leon Blum*". In 1950, Rassinier publishes *The Lie of Ulysses* whose subtitle is: *A Glance At The Concentration Camp Literature*, where he reveals certain realities of the social reports and of the political confrontations inside the camps; the role of the *Häftlingsführung* (direction of the camp by the prisoners themselves) is harshly analyzed, and questions are raised for the first time in a solid and supported way about the reality of the gas chambers. But he advances his conclusions only with one extreme prudence; he holds his conclusions on the camps of Poland, and continues a scrupulous work of historical research and finishes his final conclusion only in the course of the Sixties.

Paul Rassinier is arraigned in front of the courts by the FNDIRP. Acquitted in the first authority, he is condemned in appeal, while at the same time the public prosecutor had asked

the confirmation of the first judgement, with 100,000 francs of fine and 800,000 francs of damages. The former deportee, invalidated to 105 % by the effects of his deportation and the tortures inflicted by the Gestapo at the time of his arrest, is condemned to prison (sentence deferred) and his book ordered destroyed (!) by a court whose president had served Marshal Petain with zeal.

The Supreme Court of Appeals will end his arrest and will restore the rights of free expression. The court of reference will definitively dismiss the FNDIRP judgement, but the heinous press campaign, orchestrated by LICRA, had done its work and had dissuaded the majority of the potential readers from personally taking note of a book that was becoming difficult to find. It was only the first act of an abominable persecution which was going to come down, on an international scale, on the revisionist authors and which the general public was completely unaware of.

Revisionism becomes clandestine. The researchers are unaware of themselves or anything between them. The perverse practice of hiding revisionist opinions spreads through many personalities in politics, arts and the letters, for fear of having to face the venom of the leagues of virtue and seeing positions dearly acquired in other fields sink. The only resisters are some untameable individuals to whom the chance of circumstance has given the means of a relative autonomy, but on the condition of agreeing to be completely marginalized. In fact, they will be completely marginalized.

However, revisionism survived. There exists even today on an international scale an impressive revisionist historiography with width, and quality, and these Annals are given the task to make them known and to subject them to confrontation and the proof of debate.

History is a relationship that the present maintains with the past. There are fitted totalitarian visions that claim to impose a unilateral and intangible representation of the past. If the past is a known quantity which it is a question of knowing, to discover, to explore according to tested critical methods, then history also depends on the questions which the present raises on the past, and consequently from the point of view and the prospects for the historian. History is essentially pluralist. Its dignity is not neutrality but objectivity. Its point of honor is the truth, or rather exactitude. Because the word truth is ambiguous. It introduces a metaphysical dimension. Even more so when it is applied to an account. Any account, so objective it be, comprises an element of interpretation without which it would be unintelligible. Any account is meaning. It has a direction, at the very least direction, and this direction exceeds the material truth of the facts. Consequently, to evoke the truth of an account is to evoke at the same time and the same movement the truth of the direction and the truth of the facts. From which does the direction come? And from which do the facts come? How are they articulated? These are the central questions that it will be advisable to support. Limit us for the moment to note that the historical account has the character of a private individual, which differentiates it from the mythological account or the apologetic parabola, in that the direction which is there has the claim to be bound by the facts.

Historical revisionism is neither of the right nor the left, it tries to put the historical account in agreement with the verifiable facts. It does not claim to state the truth of a fact or of an event, it claims to check the exactitude of it. Consequently it does not intend to propose

the truth OF history but intends to be limited to the truth IN history.

The task of *Annals of Revisionist History* is to create the minimal conditions which make history possible: the freedom of thought and expression for all; and to think of the social causes of a scandal which their very existence constitutes: the fact that there is no other where revisionism can be expressed and history can be done.

The title of this review is paradoxical only because the current situation is paradoxical with history in a country which is believed to be democratic and liberal.

But the war is finished!

Note 1.

"The Jews, who are far from being the only victims of the Nazi regime, numbered fourteen million or more in the world in 1939. So if about half had disappeared, they would not be, even taking into account their natural increase, thirteen million today (two million in Israel, three million in the USSR, six million in the United States including three million in New York City alone, and two million in the rest of the world)."

"Eichmann himself is "praised", and this "subtraction" is besides false: it neglects the thousands of Jews who, between 1933 and 1940, had already found asylum in North and South America, in South Africa and New Zealand or Australia.. I speak about it with full knowledge of the facts, and I then to ask for the permission here to be frank. I am not suspect, I believe, of an unspecified sympathy to the Nazis, but think well of Germany as such and the German race. I am a quarter Jew, I married Jewish, my children are not "Aryan ones". I had parents by marriage deported and even gassed. It was here at home, finally, that were copied or translated the first reports that arrived into Switzerland, by escaped prisoners, on the crematoriums, and at a time when we could give them their due neither in speaking, nor especially in writing: Switzerland was encircled and lived under threat. On the crimes of the regime, we all agree. As for the causes of anti-semitism, that will be questioned further ("the German burden"). [*The Last of the Gibelins*, p. 44-45.]

APPENDIX II

Justice and Paul Rassinier

Rassinier was a militant, and a political analyst. He never sought legal confrontations, which seemed to him a waste of time. Commenting in 1960 on the judgment of the journalist who had called the *Diary of Anne Frank* of forgery, he declared: "*Hear me well: I do not say that the Diary of Anne Frank is a forgery. No stories! I demand only that it be said to me that these two writings are from the same person because I am not an expert in graphology. After which I will judge on the authenticity of the document* "

1) The Affair of The Lie of Ulysses

* October 1950: publication of the *Lie of Ulysses: A Glance At The Concentration Camp Literature*, foreword by Albert Paraz, Editions Bressanes, Borough in Bresse, 238 p.

* November or December 1950: a complaint is filed by Edmond Michelet (who will withdraw his complaint a little while later) and three associations of which the FNDIR (National Federation of the Deported, Internees, and Resistants), probably for "insults and slander" (and not for "apology for war crimes"). It is apparent that this is aimed not at the book, but at the foreword.

* May 9, 1951: with the Correctional Court of Bourges-in-Bresse, Rassinier is acquitted and the suit of the Associations of Deported is dismissed, and they are condemned to the costs.

* November 2, 1951: the Court of Appeal of Lyon condemns Rassinier for insults and slander and sentences him to fifteen days of prison (deferred) and to 100,000 francs of fine; Paraz is sentenced to eight days of prison (deferred) and 100,000 francs of fine; and Andre Creusard, manager of Editions Bressanes, to 50,000 francs of fine. All three will have, moreover, to jointly jointly pay 800,000 francs of damages to the FNDIR. The judge judges the book as being primarily a slander, aiming to a scandal. The seizure and destruction of all the specimens of the book are ordered. The other two parties, the National Association of the Families and the National Union of the Families were dismissed in their action by the Court of Appeal of Lyon.

* December 1954: The Supreme Court of Appeal of Paris reverses the decision of the Court of Appeal of Lyon. The Supreme Court reproaches the sentence:

-- On the penal level, to have retained the offences of insult and slander, since criticisms towards the patriots, contained in the book, are certainly unjust and malevolent; but they are general and do not address themselves to any specific person.

– On the civil level, to have declared admissible the action of the FNDIR, but that this organization was not directly targeted and that none of its members was personally attacked. The business will be remanded to another Court of Appeal. (Source: France-Evening of December 17 1954)

* May 1955: the Court of Appeals of Grenoble acquits Rassinier and Paraz.

2) The Lecache Affair

* 1963: Rassinier takes steps to attend the trial of the guards of Auschwitz, to be held in Frankfurt. In vain. On December 20, 1963, Rassinier is declared undesirable in Germany by the Ministry of the Interior of the FRG, which specifies in an official statement: "*Mister Rassinier belongs to an international group of fascist tendency*" (cf *The World*, December 21, 1963). In *The Right to Live* on January 1, 1964, Bernard Lecache includes this charge and brands Rassinier as an "*Agent of the Nazi Internationale*" (his exact words). Rassinier lodges a complaint against Lecache for defamation and demands 10,000 francs in damages after having asked "*in vain, the insertion of a right of reply*". But it is a corrupt judgment: the judgement recognizes that he acts of a libelous charge, but Lecache is acquitted because it was "*in good faith*".

* October 26, 1964: Rassinier's complaint is dismissed and he is liable for all the costs.

3) The Vaillant-Couturier and Speter-Ravine Affair

* Rivarol, No 689, March 26, 1964: article of Jean-Pierre Bermont (pseudonym of Rassinier) on the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials. The author makes it clear that Mesdames Speter-Ravine and Vaillant-Couturier (inter alia) survived Auschwitz only by stealing food, to the detriment of the mass of the prisoners. Rassinier is indicted for slander by the two women.

* November 10, 1965, the 17th Correctional Chamber imposes the following sanctions: -- Rene Malliavin, Director of Rivarol, a 5,000 franc fine and two months of prison (deferred); Paul Rassinier, a 3,000 franc fine and four months of prison (deferred).

* March 23, 1966: The Court of Appeal Paris confirms the judgment, and condemns both Malliavin and Rassinier to four months of imprisonment, with deferment, and a fine of 5,000 francs.

* April 11, 1967: The Supreme Court of Appeals of Paris rejects the appeals of Rassinier and Malliavin, and jointly condemns the applicants to the fines and court expenses.

[TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: Rassinier's widow was forced to pay these fines after his death later that year.]

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