

Nationalist Myths
and Modern Media

Contested Identities in the Age of Globalisation

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HOLOCAUST DENIAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Britain has played an important role in the publication and distribution of Holocaust-denial literature, and several of the early writers of denial tracts had work republished in the United Kingdom, where sympathetic printers were able to distribute it without the fear of the criminal sanctions that might ensue in Germany or France. These publications fall into three distinct types, which overlap historically. The first may be termed 'pseudo-scientific', since scientific arguments are used to substantiate the fraudulent claim that mass exterminations could not have taken place, as in the Leuchter and Butz reports.¹ The second category takes the form of 'crude' denial literature, usually published as leaflets by small neo-Nazi groups, distributed in the street or sent through the post to members of the Jewish community and others with the intention of causing offence. A third category may broadly be defined as 'political' and includes the most recent and increasingly potent source, the Islamists.²

These types of Holocaust denial have been accompanied by significant developments in the media in which they are promoted. Early examples of denial propaganda were published in booklet form and sometimes had the appearance of scientific reports. But robust responses from the Jewish community forced deniers to take another tack, that of the mass distribution of offensive and often crude leaflets, particularly during the 1990s. Unlike the pseudo-scientific publications, which were often published under cover of fictitious academic publishing houses, the leaflets often boldly stated their origins. The groups that most openly engaged in this tactic were Lady Jane Birdwood's British Solidarity organization, Combat 18 and latterly al-Muhajiroun (The Emigrants), an Islamist group. There was usually no attempt in these leaflets to persuade the reader by rational, if tendentious argument, since the main purpose was provocation.

The British culture of freedom of speech made these developments difficult to resist. Until the passing of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act of 1994 and the Crime and Disorder Act of 1998, the authorities were reluctant to prosecute in race hatred cases. These measures gave the police powers of arrest for the distribution of racist and antisemitic literature, and of immediate arrest without warrant for suspected racially motivated public order offences. A further landmark was the Macpherson Report of 1999 into the failure of the Metropolitan Police properly to investigate the killing of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence, which resulted in a strengthening of efforts to combat racially motivated crimes. Even when there was a political will to prosecute, the Crown Prosecution Service sometimes lacked the legal ability to sustain a criminal indictment. However, a series of successful prosecutions of antisemitic leaflets and booklets in the mid-1990s put a stop to the widespread dissemination of Holocaust-denial material in this form.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the impact of the two most important political tendencies: the far right and the Islamists. It will be seen that the British historian David Irving has played a crucial role in the promotion of right-wing political agendas through his attempts to make the Holocaust-denial myth intellectually respectable, providing cover for cruder forms of propaganda. These developments have been resisted by a series of court actions, but the development of the Internet as a medium of mass communication has given a new impetus to Holocaust denial, since much of this material originates outside the United Kingdom. While the courts have successfully inhibited British-based incitements to racial hatred, the World Wide Web is being used to evade legal constraints.

Far-right Holocaust denial

The first major denial publication available in Britain was Richard Harwood's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, published in 1974 by the Historical Review Press. Widely distributed first in the United Kingdom and subsequently around the world, the booklet drew on the earlier publication by Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. As with several other subsequent publications, both the named author and the publishers were fronts for others. Harwood was Richard Verrall, a leader of the neo-Nazi National Front (NF), and the Historical Review Press was fronted by Robin Beauclair, a friend of Anthony Hancock, the son of a Nazi sympathizer who was imprisoned during the Second World War. The same hands were also behind *Holocaust News*, a broadsheet-like paper that drew on Butz's earlier work and that once again was translated into several languages.

Holocaust News was widely distributed in two different editions, being sent by post to Members of Parliament, academics, lawyers and members of the Jewish community in Britain.³ The Historical Review Press was also at this time republishing works by Butz, Thies Christopherson and Robert Faurisson, as well as acting as a distributor for the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR). In 1977 the same press republished *The Six Million Reconsidered*.^{*} Thereafter they published a short series of Historical Fact booklets, which included *Nuremburg and Other War Crimes Trials* by Richard Harwood and *For Those Who Cannot Speak* by Michael McLaughlin, then leader of the neo-Nazi British Movement.⁵

A further landmark publication was *Hitler's War* by the historian David Irving, which appeared in 1977, marking the start of his move towards open repudiation of the Holocaust. In this book he sought to deny not the mass murder of Jews, but Hitler's initiation of it, blaming other Third Reich leaders for distorting Hitler's real plan to relocate Europe's Jews. Absolving Hitler of responsibility for the Holocaust was to prove one of Irving's enduring aims.⁶ At the same time he publicly offered \$1,000 to anyone who could provide documentary evidence of Hitler's knowledge of the Holocaust, following it up with a letter to the satirical weekly *Private Eye* in which he claimed: 'I have scrutinised every known record of the [Wannsee] Conference and there is not even a hint that Jews are to be killed.'⁷ From 1978 onwards Irving, who had political ambitions, began a series of visits to Germany to address meetings of far-right groups and war veterans. He continued to promote his thousand-dollar-challenge during the following years, while at the same time increasing his visits to Germany. In 1979 he also sought to challenge the authenticity of the *Diary of A.nne Frank*, but after a lawsuit he withdrew a demand that Otto Frank (Anne Frank's father) send the diary to London for forensic examination. In March 1979 Irving addressed the first of the Clarendon Club dinners on his researches and the conclusions he had drawn from them. This was a dining club of neo-Nazis and other activists that met in central London hotels, and that he also sought to use to launch a new far-right party. During the 1980s he continued to publish books on the Second World War and to address meetings in Britain, Germany and elsewhere. Although his books were now appearing on the booklist of the IHR, he hesitated to deny the central facts of the Holocaust.⁸ In September 1983 he gave his first lecture for the IHR at a convention in Los Angeles, still distancing himself from outright denial. In a newspaper interview shortly before he left for the United States, he is reported as saying:

I'm doing it just for the fee ... a five-figure sum in dollars ... I know their [the IHR's] reputation and the odours hanging around them. But I have never refused an invitation to speak to an audience, left or right. They may not hear everything they want to hear.⁹

The turning point came in 1989, when Irving launched Fred Leuchter's pseudo-scientific *Leuchter Report*, which made the spurious claim that the absence of cyanide residues in the walls of the gas chambers at Auschwitz and other camps proved that they could not have functioned as mass extermination centres. The *Leuchter Report* was published by Irving's Focal Point Publications and printed by Anthony Hancock, the most active producer of neo-Nazi journals and related publications in the United Kingdom. Irving also hosted Leuchter's sole London personal appearance at Chelsea Old Town Hall in November 1991, but the meeting was aborted after the police arrested Leuchter as he began to speak, deporting him the following day. This marked a turning point in Irving's political campaign. He had met Leuchter initially as a fellow defence witness at the trial of Ernst Zundel in Canada in 1988, and from then onwards he adopted and promoted Leuchter's thesis, thereby destroying the vestiges of his scholarly reputation.

In 1989 Irving also began to claim that the Red Cross Death Books, which had been released at that time, proved that no more than 74,000 deaths occurred at Auschwitz. He omitted to mention that the books covered only a brief period, while others in the series had been lost, so that they were of little relevance to the debate about the total number of victims. During 1992 Irving hosted three Historical Revisionist Seminars in London and embarked on several international tours. But by this time his activities were encountering legal obstacles, and plans for further trips had to be curtailed, following his deportation from Canada, banning from Italy, South Africa and Australia, and his failed appeal against a fine imposed by a Munich court and subsequent loss of access to the German state archives. He did however achieve publicity when the *Sunday Times* first commissioned him to translate and comment on the newly available *Goebbels Diaries*, before cancelling his contract on the basis that he had breached a confidentiality clause.

The high-profile activities of David Irving provided supposedly respectable cover for cruder forms of propaganda. From 1993 onwards Holocaust denial in the United Kingdom embarked on its second phase, that of crude denial and vilification. In January 1993 hoax Chanukah cards, denying the Holocaust and containing anti-Jewish verses, were sent to

hundreds of recipients. These were followed by other antisemitic mailings in the names of non-existent organizations, the most notorious being Jane Birdwood's leaflet *The Longest Hatred*.¹⁰ This was posted and hand-delivered to hundreds, indeed possibly thousands, of Jewish homes. In the leaflet she claimed that the Holocaust was a lie and that there was a Jewish conspiracy to undermine society through control of financial institutions. The Canadian-born second wife of a recently deceased British peer, Birdwood had been an active anti-Jewish campaigner throughout the 1970s and 1980s, involving herself in the National Front and the more openly neo-Nazi British Movement. The most effective response took the form of legal action and, at her trial at the Central Criminal Court in London in March 1994 in connection with *The Longest Hatred*, she was convicted under the Public Order Act of 1986 for the possession and distribution of material likely to promote race hatred and sentenced to a three-month prison sentence suspended for two years. The sentence was non-custodial because of her age and poor health, and followed her conviction and conditional discharge the previous year for similar offences. Her third trial in 1995, in connection with the distribution of yet more antisemitic leaflets, was abandoned on the grounds that she was mentally unfit. However the distribution of *The Longest Hatred* opened the flood-gates for other crude denial booklets and leaflets, including *Ho/ohoax*, the comic book *Tales of the Ho/ohoax*, and the *Happy Chanukah Jrom \ idneyland* and *Auschwitz Have a Nice Day* 'greeting cards'.¹¹ Among the most offensive were two publications by Combat 18, glossy booklets entitled *Combat 18 Issue, No. 1* and *Combat 18, Issue No. 3* containing crude anti-Jewish themes, outright denial material and photographs of Combat 18 members visiting Auschwitz, where several had climbed into the crematorium ovens. Police raids on leaders of this group led eventually to successful prosecutions and, in 1996 and 1997, William Browning and Paul 'Charlie' Sargent, who had been responsible for compiling and distributing the booklets, were convicted and imprisoned.

Almost without exception the larger neo-Nazi groups promote Holocaust denial. John Tyndall, founder of the British National Party (BNP), published a propaganda sheet entitled *Spearhead*, and the BNP booklist contains many of the standard denial works, including those by Butz, Faurisson and Paul Rassinier. Its journals *British Nationalist* and *The Flag* also advertise denial books. BNP members were responsible for the mass distribution of *Holocaust News* and other such works during the mid-1990s, but they ceased to do so after a change in leadership and the trial and conviction of two leading members, Nick Griffin (now BNP leader)

and Paul Ballard, on charges of publishing an antisemitic magazine called *The Rune*. A witness for their defence was Robert Faurisson, who had been a frequent visitor to Britain.

The National Front (NF), which was the largest neo-Nazi group in the 1970s, also played a role in promoting denial. Those responsible with Birdwood for writing and distributing offensive forgeries such as the Chanukah cards were mostly former NF leaders, including Trevor Malcolm Smith, whose trial in connection with the distribution of a wide range of antisemitic leaflets in 1996 was discontinued when the prosecution failed to offer evidence against him. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s it was Hancock's Historical Review Press that was responsible for printing most of the denial material published in the United Kingdom, and he also printed material in other languages for export to Germany, Scandinavia and the Middle East. In 1994 his printshop was raided by the police in connection with the so-called *Rudolf Report*, a more sophisticated publication than its predecessors, which nonetheless employed similar techniques in attempting to prove by scientific analysis that the gas chambers could not have existed.¹² Its author, a German citizen named Germar Rudolf, had a scientific background, but he was dismissed by his employers at the Max Planck Institute for Solid State Research in Stuttgart when they realized he was abusing their facilities. Rudolf had links with both Hancock and Irving, the former publishing his report and the latter citing it in evidence in his civil action against Deborah Lipstadt. Rudolf was eventually forced to flee Britain following a German request for his extradition, and now resides in the United States. Although Hancock was not prosecuted for distributing the *Rudolf Report*, he faced criminal charges at the end of 2001 for the printing of other antisemitic material, but again escaped conviction.

Holocaust denial by Islamists

Although connections between the far right and Arab and Muslim states have been apparent since the 1950s, they have surfaced only intermittently with regard to denial activity. One of the first significant examples occurred in 1981, when British MPs were sent copies of *The Six Million Reconsidered*, an initiative financed by the Pakistan-based World Muslim League. Crude denial propaganda then began to be produced by Islamist groups, often targeting university students. In April 1994 Hizb ut-Tahrir (HUT, the Islamic Liberation Party) distributed a leaflet entitled *Zionist-NUS Plot*, criticizing a ban imposed on it by the National Union of Students. This leaflet asserted that 'Jewish doctrine is purely racist claiming the Jews

are the chosen nation and the rest of mankind are born to be slaves to this *master race* . . . They have made the world submit to them using the exaggerated Holocaust."³ At a press conference prior to their Trafalgar Square rally the following August, HUT leaders again voiced their disbelief: 'I do not believe in the Holocaust', stated their leader Omar Bakri Mohammed.¹⁴ Another spokesman, Farid Kasim, added that he was 'not satisfied intellectually that six million people were killed by the Nazis. Many people cast doubt about it. There are real things happening to humanity today and this only allegedly happened fifty years ago.' Two years later members of HUT distributed leaflets entitled *The Holocaust Is a Zionist Invention* at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). HUT sympathizers also were responsible for distributing the IHR leaflet *66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust* in London mosques and schools.¹⁵

This new wave of Holocaust denial became linked with events in Israel. Leaflets distributed by the Society of Converts to Islam in 1998 set out a theme that was to be repeatedly heard in the following years:

The public acceptance of the crimes of Israel has been manufactured by Europe's imposed guilt about the alleged 'Holocaust'. That is the fantasy figure of six million Jews being executed by the Germans during WWII, a quite amazing feat considering the fact that there were only three million Jews in Nazi occupied Europe.¹⁶

Other Islamist bodies promoting denial included the Hamas-linked *Palestine Times*, which in November 1996 reproduced writings by American Holocaust-denier Michael Hoffman II entitled *The Terror Tricksters: The Zionist Chess Game of Incitement*. The now defunct Muslim Parliament promoted denial directly through their meetings and publications and indirectly by promoting Roger Garaudy's *Les Mythes fondateurs de lapolitique israelienne* and by providing a public platform for the Swiss convert to Islam, Ahmed Huber, who was active at that time in promoting Muslim links with the far right. Middle Eastern states, led by Iran, now became active promoters of Holocaust denial. The Iranian-funded Institute of Islamic Studies, based in London's Maida Vale, sought to promote the French writer Roger Garaudy in 1998, and to host him as a guest lecturer at SOAS, before complaints to the principal led to the cancellation of his lecture.

Yakub Zaki (formerly James Dickie, a convert to Islam), associate director of the pro-Iranian Muslim Institute, contributed denial articles to the Institute's *Crescent International* and the Tehran-based English-language

edition of *Kayhan*. In April 1998, at an al-Muhajiroun (AM) rally at Wembley, Zaki declared:

They say the world owes them a debt, because six million of them died in the German concentration camps. Even Yad Vashem . . . have not been able to assemble more than a million and few thousand names . . . What did these people die of? I can tell you. Nobody was gassed to death in the concentration camps . . . A few years ago, Fred Leuchter sent out a team of forensic scientists to go round Poland and examine these three concentration camps. One was the biggest of all, Auschwitz, the second was Majdanek, the third one, the name I have forgotten. They took samples from the walls of the so-called gas chambers . . . They took them back to their laboratory, then in Boston they analysed them. There wasn't any trace of cyanide in any of them. The Holocaust, Israelis reared on a lie. The lie of the Holocaust myth . . . David Irving has the right idea, destroy the Holocaust myth and you have destroyed Israel.¹⁷

During the following years AM became the major promoter of Holocaust denial in Britain. In November 2000 its members put up posters throughout London advertising a meeting that referred to the Holocaust as 'a perverted lie'. The meeting was cancelled by the hall owners, but in a press interview Omar Bakri Mohammed told the *Jewish Chronicle*: 'To say six million died in the Holocaust is a fallacy used to justify Zionism. We believe that the Nazis killed about 60,000 Jews during the war. The story of the Holocaust is full of myths and lies.'¹⁸ In February 2001 AM issued a more defensive statement advertising a further meeting in London:

The past week has seen the Zionist Jews campaigning to ensure that the 'myth of the Holocaust' is kept alive and that the world never forgets the claim that 6,800,000 Jews were killed by the Nazi regime in Germany. However, for the one that wishes to question such a ludicrous claim, they are subject to being labelled as 'antisemitic or neo-Nazi'.¹⁹

Once again, the meeting was cancelled by the hall management. Similar themes were repeated in postings on Omar Bakri Mohammed's website:

How could Hitler kill 6,800,000 Jews when there was [*sic*] only 3,500,000 Jews living in Europe? This talk will trace back the lie of

the Holocaust and show how it has been used to justify the on-going Holocaust and genocide against the innocent Muslims in Palestine and to legitimise the existence of the Terrorist State of Israel.²⁰

Muslim bookshops in London sell denial books, among the most popular being *A.anti-Zion* by William Grimstad, and Arab Internet services based in London have likewise published denial material. Early in 2001 the following posting appeared on the website of *Ataman*, an Arab-language newspaper published in London:

The Holocaust, or the furnace that its inventors and propagandists claim had killed thousands of Jews during the Second World War, is considered in the mind of some historians and researchers as the biggest con in modern times as it was revealed later that many of its so-called victims were found alive either in Israel or in some South American countries, or even in Africa.²¹

The *Palestine Times* published an article in April 2001 entitled 'Couldn't Zionism lie about the Holocaust too?', arguing that 'anything said or written by the official Israeli-Zionist establishment, whether on Palestinian refugees or on "the only democracy in the Middle East" or indeed on the "Holocaust", should be thoroughly doubted and questioned'.²²

An eccentric individual who entered the field of Holocaust denial at this time was Alexander Baron, a former member of the British Movement who appeared to have forsaken his Nazi past and developed anarchistic tendencies, with links to the far right, Islamists and anti-Zionist Jews. He worked virtually alone and self-published a series of booklets in which the common theme was that Zionism exaggerated the Holocaust for financial and imperialistic ends. His Anglo Hebrew Publishing venture, and its associated InfoText Manuscripts, placed advertisements for his booklets in far-right journals and on the American Islamist MSA News website.²³ These developments show that, although the content of Holocaust-denial propaganda may be unchanged, its impact is being intensified through a medium far more powerful than the traditional printed leaflet, the Internet.

Holocaust denial on the Internet

The overwhelming majority of Net-based denial material originates outside the United Kingdom, although the nature of the medium allows

universal access. It is in the United States that the Internet has been harnessed most effectively in the service of the deniers. Not only is use of the Net higher in that country than elsewhere, it is also the site of many of the most active deniers. The California-based IHR website and Bradley Smith's Campaign for Open Debate on the Holocaust are perhaps the most influential denial sites on the Net, providing a veneer of sophistication by claiming that they champion free speech. But Middle Eastern sites are now becoming increasingly active. Recent entrants into the field are the so-called Arab world think tanks and some Arab newspapers. Both the Qatar government-linked Islam Website and the United Arab Emirates-based Zayed Centre, until its closure, regularly promoted denial material.²⁴ Examples in the Arab press are legion. A recently publicized example is the online interview given to the BBC by the *al-Ahram-Hebdo* (weekly edition) editor, Muhammad Salmawi, and its correspondent Muhammad Khalil, in which they asserted that no more than half a million Jews were killed in the Holocaust, while at the same time insisting that Israel was really behind the 11 September attack on the World Trade Center.²⁵ Two other well-known denial sites are the Swedish Radio Islam site of Moroccan-born Ahmed Rami and the Australian Adelaide Institute site of Fredrick Toben. Neither now posts new material as a consequence of legal actions against them. The only British site regularly featuring denial material is the Final Conflict site of the International Third Position (ITP), a small national-revolutionary group that broke away from the NF. The ITP has advertised IHR conferences in California and championed the causes of Germar Rudolf and Pedro Varela, the Spanish neo-Nazi bookseller.²⁶ The Usenet discussion groups alt.revisionism, alt.politics.white and alt.skinheads occasionally provide an outlet for British deniers, but again in fewer numbers than American participants.

Conclusion

Holocaust denial in the United Kingdom remains limited to the political fringes and seems unlikely to move beyond them. It has been promoted primarily by far-right groups seeking to absolve Hitler and the Nazis of their crimes. It is true that these groups, led by the BNP, remain politically active and that racist violence is still a feature of everyday life in Britain, particularly in the cities. However, political and cultural expressions of neo-Nazism are anathema to the majority of Britain's population, and the British courts, striking a balance between the claims of free speech and the need to maintain public order, have successfully limited the scope of racist propaganda.

The most spectacular legal defeat was self-inflicted: the failure of David Irving's libel action against Deborah Lipstadt, which dealt the final blow to pseudo-scientific Holocaust denial. During the 1990s Irving was active in the legal sphere, attempting to silence his critics through the threat of legal action. In June 1996 he served a libel writ on British journalist Gitta Sereny and her publishers, Guardian Newspapers, for calling him a denier. The case remains unresolved to this day as a consequence of Irving's failure to pursue it. He also commenced proceedings against Lipstadt and her publishers, Penguin UK, over passages in her *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. The case finally came to court in April 2000, and the proceedings were attended by Irving supporters from around the world, eager to see their propaganda vindicated.

Although it was not history itself that was on trial, Lipstadt's defence commissioned expert reports on the history of the Holocaust, the Nazis' genocide policies and the use of Auschwitz as an extermination centre in the most exacting detail. The evidence presented in court and reported by the world's media finally put paid to any scientific or historical notions of authenticity produced by deniers, and Irving's arguments were dismissed as hate-inspired falsehoods. This decisive judgement, that destroyed Irving's pretensions as a historian, had international repercussions. Robert Faurisson complained that Irving had needlessly compromised their work in pursuit of his own egotistical imperatives. This opened up fissures in the campaigns of others bent on rewriting history in order to absolve the Nazis of their crimes, prompting several of them to seek refuge in the one area in which they still find support, the Middle East. The abortive attempts by the IHR and the Swiss denier Jiirgen Graf to organize a denial conference in Beirut during April 2001, and the semi-public debate on the issues it raised in Amman the following month, possibly point the way forward for deniers, indicating where they may still find sources of encouragement and financial help.

In Britain, by contrast, Holocaust denial finds virtually no echo in public life, despite growing attempts by Islamists to undermine one of the moral platforms for the creation of the state of Israel, that of providing a refuge for Holocaust survivors and other victims of antisemitism. The relative stability of the situation in Britain is linked to a distaste for foreign political extremism that can be traced back to the successful resistance to fascism. Moreover, the position of the courts has been strengthened by the passing of the War Crimes Act in 1991, which led to the prosecution of the war criminals Anthony Sawoniuk and Szymon Serafinowicz and the expulsion of Konrad Kalejs. These cases, widely

reported in the media, brought home to a younger generation the horror that took place in Nazi-occupied Europe. Restitution claims against Germany, Switzerland and Sweden also received sympathetic media coverage.

Further positive developments have been the inclusion of the Holocaust in the history curriculum of secondary schools, the opening of a permanent Holocaust exhibition at the Imperial War Museum, the outreach work by the privately-funded Christian Beth Shalom Centre for Holocaust Studies, the Jewish community's Holocaust Education Trust and the publication by Sussex University of an illustrated *Teachers' Guide to Holocaust Denial on the Internet*, distributed to all English state secondary schools.²⁷ Educational material for schools and funded visits to Auschwitz for history teachers and older children increasingly play an important role in passing on the memory. Finally, the inauguration by the British government in 2001 of an annual Holocaust Memorial Day on 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, supported by a range of educational and municipal activities, will ensure that the evils of the Holocaust are not forgotten.

Notes

- 1 Fred Leuchter, *The Teuchter Report* (London, 1989); Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Ascote, 1976).
- 2 For an alternative approach to the typology of Holocaust denial, see Roger Eatwell, 'The Holocaust denial: a study in propaganda technique', in Luciano Cheles, Ronnie Ferguson and Michalina Vaughan (eds), *Neo-Fascism in "Europe"* (London, 1991).
- 3 *Holocaust News No. 1* and *Holocaust News No. 2*, published by the Centre for Historical Review, PO Box 446, London SE23 2LS (the address was registered to the home of the British National Party activities organizer).
- 4 William N. Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered* (Chapel Ascote, 1979).
- 5 Richard Harwood, *Six Million Tost and Found*, Historical Fact No. 1 (Chapel Ascote, 1978); Richard Harwood, *Nuremberg and Other War Crimes 'Trials*, Historical Fact No. 2 (Chapel Ascote, 1978); Michael McLaughlin, *For Those Who Cannot Speak*, Historical Fact No. 3 (Chapel Ascote, 1979).
- 6 David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London, 1977).
- 7 *Private Eye* (London), 25 November 1977.
- 8 *Hitler's War, The Destruction of Dresden* and *The War Path* are listed in Keith Stimely, *Revisionist Bibliography—1981* (Torrance, CA, 1981).
- 9 *Sunday People*, 28 August 1983.
- 10 Inter-City Researchers, *The Tongest Hatred—yin Examination of A.nti-Gentilism* (Acton Vale, London W3 [the home address of Jane Birdwood] 1991).
- 11 *Holohoax*, leaflet published by the Gentile Awareness League (1991); *Auschwitz—Have a Nice Day!*, leaflet published by the Hebrew Counselling Service (1994); *Question: How Long Can the Jews Perpetrate the Holocaust Myth?*,

leaflet published by the Association of British Ex-Serviceman, PO Box 8, Ashford, Kent.

- 12 Germar Rudolf (also known as Germar Scheerer), *The Rudolf Expert Report* (London, 1993), published by Castle Hill Publishers, PO Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ (a forwarding address).
- 13 *Zionist-NUS Plot*, leaflet published by the HUT-linked One Nation Society (April 1994).
- 14 Quoted in Susannah Cushworth, 'UK Hizb ut-Tahrir leaders deny Holocaust took place', *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 August 1994.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 *A Pro-Israeli World: The Result of a Conditioned and Un-thinking Public*, leaflet published by the Society of Converts to Islam, PO Box 192, Slough, SL1 9YB (1998).
- 17 Yacub Zaki, Wembley Conference Centre, London, 26 April 1998.
- 18 'Muslims say Holocaust is a lie', *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 November 2000.
- 19 'Holocaust: Fact or Fabrication—Israel's justification for killing Muslims', al-Muhajiroun press release, London, 2 February 2001.
- 20 'The Holocaust—Israel's justification to murder non Muslims', available at www.obm.clara.net (viewed 31 January 2001).
- 21 *Asgaman*, Arabic daily newspaper, vol. 4, no. 853, 21 February 2001.
- 22 Khalid Amayreh, 'Couldn't Zionism lie about the Holocaust too?', *Palestine Times*, available on the Media Monitors Network website at www.mediamonitors.net/Khalid3.html (viewed 11 April 2001).
- 23 Advertisement for 'New Revisionist Book', available at msanews@msanews.mynet.net (viewed 19 February 2000).
- 24 Examples, which fortunately proved ephemeral, included 'The fabricated Holocaust of the Jews', available at on Islam Web at www.islamweb.net/English/article.asp?A=3911 (Islam Web is registered to the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs, Dohar, Qatar); and 'Zionist literature and Holocaust industry', available on the website of the Zayed International Centre for Coordination and Follow-up, www.zccf.org.ae.e_PrinterPub.asp?pubid=95 (the Zayed Centre based in Abu Dhabi operates under the aegis of the League of Arab States).
- 25 Kate Clark, 'Interpreting Egypt's anti-semitic cartoons', 10 August 2003, available at the BBC News website at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3136Q59.stm (viewed 14 April 2005).
- 26 Revisionism in the New Millennium, advert for 13th IHR conference, *Final Conflict*, issue 1318, 29 May 2000; Germar Rudolf, *Final Conflict*, issue 1143, 22 January 2000; Pedro Varela, *Final Conflict*, issue 653, 16 December 1998.
- 27 Rebekah Webb and Chana Moshenska, *A Teachers' Guide to Holocaust Denial on the Internet* (Falmer, Sussex, 2000).