

From “Fighting for the Truth” to “Defending Freedom of Speech”: Shifting
Rhetorical Emphases among Holocaust Deniers Migrating from Paper and Ink to Podcasts and
Electronic Media

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Abstract

From “Fighting for the Truth” to “Defending Freedom of Speech”: Shifting Rhetorical Emphases among Holocaust Deniers Migrating from Paper and Ink to Podcasts and Electronic Media

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The creation of podcasts in 2004 created a new world of Internet audio entertainment. With easy distribution and relatively cheap cost, Holocaust deniers transitioned from the traditional medium of ink and print in the form of books and pamphlets into modern Internet mediums like podcasts. This thesis argues that spearheaded by Ernst Zündel and his 1990s “Another Voice of Freedom” radio broadcasts series, Holocaust denialist podcasters framed the Holocaust as a freedom of speech issue instead of disputing the actuality of the Holocaust, as was maintained by denialist book authors such as Richard Verrall, Arthur Butz, Carlo Mattogno, Nicholas Kollerstrom, and Thomas Dalton. Through his dislike of anti-hate laws, reverence of the American First Amendment as the bulwark of freedom of expression, and his characterization of deniers as martyrs for the battle for freedom to express denialism, Ernst Zündel spearheaded a trend by Holocaust denialist podcasters to accentuate the importance of freedom of speech in their denialist rhetoric instead of solely distorting the Holocaust. The shift in Holocaust denialist discourse results in a version of anti-Semitism that caters to free-speech absolutists who would not support Holocaust denial otherwise. This problem requires striking a nuanced balance between the fundamental rights of freedom of expression and freedom from hatred. Instead of censoring Holocaust deniers, Shoah education needs to refute Holocaust denialist claims as part of an effort to confront anti-Semitism.

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Introduction: From Hate Radio to Holocaust Denialist Podcast

With technological improvements and the commercialization of the Internet throughout the 1990s, new means of communication appeared on the World Wide Web. One of them was podcasting. First named by Adam Curry in 2004, podcasts are audio or video files downloadable by users from the Internet.¹ Today, podcasts are an integral part of Internet culture within which a broad spectrum of personalities and organizations compete to spread their views. In 2020, at least 37 percent of Americans above twelve years of age listened to a podcast every month, five percent more than in 2019. In 2021, numerous market surveys predicted that podcasts would attract a monthly audience of 125 million people in 2022, an increase of 25 million since 2020.²

Among this group of web podcasters are Holocaust deniers, individuals who deny the existence of a Nazi genocide aimed at the Jewish people. Heavily inspired by the old anti-Semitic tropes popularized in printed conspiratorial texts such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, denialist³ book authors like Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Carlo Mattogno, Richard Verrall, and Jürgen Graf struggle to popularize a false version of the Holocaust. According to these authors, the Nazis never planned to exterminate Jews using death camps, gas chambers, mass shootings, or mass starvation. Instead, they claim that the Nazis simply sent Jews to transit camps for resettlement in Eastern Europe. Therefore, six million Jews—a number which they claim Jews invented—did not die during the Shoah. Some deniers go as far as to portray the

¹ Abbie Brown and Timothy D. Green, “Video Podcasting in Perspective: The History, Technology, Aesthetics, and Instructional Uses of a New Medium,” *Educational Technology Systems* 36, 1 (2007-2008): 4-5.

² Brad Adgate, “As Podcasts Continue to Grow in Popularity, Ad Dollars Follow,” *Forbes* (New York), February 11, 2021, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bradadgate/2021/02/11/podcasting-has-become-a-big-business/?sh=187f9f072cfb>.

³ Terms like deniers, denialism, denialist, ‘revisionist,’ ‘revisionists,’ and ‘revisionism’ will only refer to members of the Holocaust denial movement unless stated otherwise. Words such as ‘revisionists,’ ‘revisionism,’ and ‘truth,’ are used within single quotation marks to differentiate Holocaust deniers from professional historians who revise history from Holocaust deniers. As Richard J. Evans has pointed out in his book, *In Defense of History* (New York: Norton, 1999), “Historical revision of major events is not concerned with the actuality of these events; rather it concerns their historical interpretation—their causes and consequences generally.” (p.208).

Holocaust as a positive historical event.⁴ To this day, specialist denialist publishing firms such as Castle Hill Publishers, created by German denier Germar Rudolf, mass produce such books and market them to their misguided and anti-Semitic readership.

Holocaust denial is a form of subtle anti-Semitism. It replaces traditional anti-Jewish tropes by pretending to repair historical errors about the Nazis and the Third Reich. Denialist rhetoric presupposes that Jews manufactured or exaggerated the events of the Holocaust in order to advance Jewish interests.⁵ It normalizes and rationalizes anti-Semitism “in an attempt to make Nazism an acceptable political alternative today.”⁶ Podcasts that advance such arguments are denialist at their very core.

Many Holocaust deniers, such as neo-Nazi Erich Gliebe, try to circumvent the definition of “denier” by admitting the existence of Nazi concentration camps and ghettos:

Of course Holocaust “deniers” believe that there were concentration camps and crematoria, and they also believe many other things that are mentioned in the official Holocaust story, such as trainloads of prisoners, crowded barracks, mass graves (especially near the end of the war), and gas chambers. But what Holocaust “deniers” DO [emphasis by Gliebe] deny is that all of these things were simply checkpoint items on the master list of how to exterminate European Jewry. They weren’t.⁷

Reframing the existence of crematoria, gas chambers, and concentration camps by highlighting the local initiatives of individual Nazi bureaucrats does not invalidate the term “denier.” Their rejection of a centrally encouraged and organized Nazi genocidal process which murdered six million Jews is a key element of their denial of the Shoah.

⁴ “History Under Attack Holocaust Denial and Distortion on Social Media,” UNESCO, 2022, 17, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000382159>.

⁵ “Holocaust Denial and Distortion,” United State Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/antisemitism/holocaust-denial-and-distortion>.

⁶ “What is Holocaust Denial?” Museum of Tolerance: Simon Wiesenthal Center, <https://www.museumoftolerance.com/education/teacher-resources/holocaust-resources/what-is-holocaust-denial.html#1>.

⁷ “The Holocaust and the Deniers,” narrated by Erich Gliebe, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, June 02, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120412084701/http://www.natall.com/adv/2007/06-02-07.html>.

The adoption of podcasts by Holocaust deniers reminds one of the evolution of anti-Semitism on the new medium of radio. In a 1933 speech, Adolf Hitler's newly appointed Reich Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, spoke highly of the potential of radio: "future generations may conclude that the radio had as great an intellectual and spiritual impact on the masses as the printing press had before the beginning of the Reformation."⁸ Through radio broadcasting, Goebbels spread anti-Semitism throughout Germany. Meanwhile, in America in the 1920s and 1930s, Father Charles Edward Coughlin became the early face of hate radio. An anti-Semitic priest, in 1938 Father Coughlin defended Nazi actions such as Kristallnacht, a nation-wide Nazi-led pogrom featuring attacks on German Jewish businesses, homes, and synagogues, because, he falsely claimed, it retaliated against Jewish persecution of Christians.⁹

In the United States in the 1980s, talk radio, a radio format that invited listeners to phone in to discuss their opinions on the air, tolerated many anti-Semitic and Holocaust denialist rants. While some radio hosts stopped callers from engaging in Holocaust denialism, others encouraged and joined callers in their anti-Semitic rants.¹⁰ Some American deniers, like Bradley Smith, misrepresented themselves as experts on war crimes to secure invitations to appear on mainstream networks.¹¹ Most mainstream radio hosts avoided inviting Holocaust deniers once they understood the ramifications and implications of denialism. Still, a minority of radio station hosts debated Shoah deniers without realizing that they were exposing their audience to anti-Semitism. Deploying a combination of half-truths, complete lies, and legitimate facts, deniers

⁸ Joseph Goebbels, "Der Rundfunk als achte Großmacht," *Signale der neuen Zeit. 25 ausgewählte Reden von Dr. Joseph Goebbels* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., 1938), <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/goeb56.htm>.

⁹ "Inside the Far-Right Podcast Ecosystem - Part 4: Far-Right Podcasting, Past and Present," Southern Poverty Law Center, September 29, 2021, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2021/09/29/inside-far-right-podcast-ecosystem-part-4-far-right-podcasting-past-and-present>.

¹⁰ Kenneth S. Stern, *Hate on Talk Radio* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1991), 14, 21, 29-30.

¹¹ Kenneth S. Stern, *Holocaust Denial* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1993), 14.

could appear to be reasonable and professional to the unsuspecting members of the listening audience and the frequently unprepared radio hosts.¹²

The 1990s saw the appearance of radio stations fully embracing Holocaust denial. The Liberty Lobby, founded by Willis Carto, a notorious American Holocaust denier, aired shows like “Radio Free America,” which invited prominent deniers on the air, and “The Editor’s Roundtable,” which promoted pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.¹³ Independent broadcasters also jumped onto the opportunity to deny the Holocaust. In 1994, Ernst Zündel, a German Holocaust denier living in Canada, established a radio show entitled “Another Voice of Freedom.” Zündel’s broadcasts denied the actuality of the Holocaust by arguing that Zyklon B was an illogical choice for carrying out genocide,¹⁴ that the Allies tortured Rudolf Höss into admitting false crimes,¹⁵ and that the bombing of Dresden was “the most tragic loss of civilian life in the Second World War.”¹⁶

By the 2000s, deniers began using podcasts to spread their arguments worldwide via the Internet. The early adopters were from American white supremacist circles such as “American Dissident Voices” produced by the National Alliance and “David Duke Webradio Broadcasts” created by former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard David Duke. Eventually, more deniers adopted podcasting, resulting in a melting pot of denialist personalities promoting ‘revisionism.’

Denialist personalities, including conspiracy enthusiast Jeff Rense, anti-Semitic ‘journalist’ John

¹² Ibid., 15.

¹³ Kenneth S. Stern, *Hate on Talk Radio*, 6.

¹⁴ “#61 – Ernst Zundel Interviews Carlos Porter,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#61.

¹⁵ “#147 – Ernst Zundel on the Rudolf Hoess Confession,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#147.

¹⁶ “#249 – Ernst Zundel on the Bombing of Dresden (Part One),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#249.

Friend, white supremacist husband and wife duo Henrik Palmgren and Lana Lokteff, ex-academic Kevin Barrett, and various contributors to The Right Stuff, an American white supremacist hate network, vigorously denied the actuality of the Shoah on their podcasts.

Why study Holocaust denialist podcasts? How different are Holocaust denial podcasts from denialist literature appearing in more traditional media formats? Do they use the same arguments or rhetoric? If differences exist, what is responsible for this difference? What are the repercussions of any changes in denialist rhetoric? This thesis attempts to answer these questions. Principally, it argues that spearheaded by Ernst Zündel and his 1990s “Another Voice of Freedom” radio broadcasts series, Holocaust denialist podcasters framed the Holocaust as a freedom of speech issue instead of disputing the actuality of the Holocaust, as was maintained by denialist book authors. Holocaust denialist writers in the print media engaged with the Holocaust supposedly to establish the ‘truth’ about the Shoah. In comparison, Holocaust denialist podcasters, influenced by Zündel, engaged with the Holocaust through free speech lenses, asserting their rights to research and deny the reality of the Holocaust. Like Zündel, denialist podcasters presented anti-hate laws as oppressive Jewish tools destroying freedom. As a result, denialist podcasters viewed the American Constitution, which protects ‘revisionist’ speech, as a beacon in the night for free speech advocates fighting to survive in a sea of Jewish oppression. Following the imprisonment of ‘revisionists,’ denialist podcasters referred to deniers as martyrs for freedom. This dichotomy in how Holocaust deniers engage with the Shoah creates yet another layer of anti-Semitism hidden beneath a veneer of freedom of speech advocacy. Besides rejecting the suffering and losses of European Jewry, ‘revisionist’ podcasters paint Jews as false victims and oppressors, portraying themselves as martyrs, not hate mongers.

This thesis is comprised of an Introduction, three substantive research chapters, and a Conclusion. Chapter 1, “Holocaust Denial Literature and the Establishment of ‘Truth,’” demonstrates that Holocaust denialist authors aimed to revise the ‘truth’ about the Shoah in their works. Its analysis evaluates Richard Verrall’s *Did Six Million Really Die*, Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Carlo Mattogno’s *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, Nicholas Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, and Thomas Dalton’s *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*.¹⁷ Each work is linked to the arguments of Ernst Zündel and his career as a broadcaster. Zündel’s publishing company, Samisdat Publishers, printed and distributed Richard Verrall’s pamphlet. Zündel also strongly endorsed Arthur Butz’s book,¹⁸ as did other deniers, who described Butz’s book as “the bible of the [Holocaust denialist] movement.”¹⁹ The last three books are included to bolster comparisons with the contents of Holocaust ‘revisionist’ podcasts. Carlo Mattogno, the leading Holocaust denier in Italy²⁰ is a denialist researcher who is well respected by his peers.²¹ He published his work during the early stages of the movement’s interest in podcasts. Nicholas Kollerstrom’s research has been praised by denialist podcasters on “The Realist Report”²² and “Truth Jihad.”²³ The decision to include Thomas Dalton was reinforced by the fact that he is the embodiment of anonymity, a central characteristic of the Internet. Like Kollerstrom, Dalton’s

¹⁷ Chapter 1 will contain an introduction to each book and author.

¹⁸ “#175 – E. Zundel and R. Faurisson on the First Revisionists (Part 2),” narrated by Ernst Zundel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#175.

¹⁹ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000): 40.

²⁰ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial as an International Movement* (London: Praeger, 2009): 127.

²¹ Thomas Dalton, *Debating The Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, 2015), 37.

²² “The Realist Report - Fred Leuchter & Jim Rizoli,” narrated by John Friend, The Realist Report, *The Realist Report*, February 27, 2021, 1:10:00, <http://therealistreport.com/the-realist-report-fred-leuchter-jim-rizoli/>.

²³ “Ron Unz on “Holocaust Denial,” narrated by Truth Jihad, *The Unz Review*, August 30, 2018, 53:00, unz.com/audio/kbarrett_ron-unz-on-holocaust-denial/.

work is among the most recently published ‘revisionist’ books. All five books provide primary evidence for a chronological analysis of Holocaust denialism in tandem with the rise of ‘revisionist’ podcasts.

Chapter 2, “Free Speech, Podcasts, and Ernst Zündel,” investigates Ernst Zündel’s influence on Holocaust denialist podcasts promoting free speech. These podcasts include “American Dissident Voices,” the “David Duke Webradio Broadcast”, the “Jeff Rense Program,” “The Realist Report,” “Red Ice Radio,” “Radio 3Fourteen,” “The Poz Button,” and “The Paranormies.”²⁴ Although ‘truth’ remained a core element of denialist podcasts, Zündel’s free speech rhetoric, as it appeared in his “Another Voice Of Freedom” radio broadcasts, became a new focus of interest for denialist podcasters. Through Zündel’s characterization of anti-hate laws as oppressive legislation imposed by Jewish enemies of freedom, his promotion of the American Constitution as a bulwark against oppression, and his presentation of deniers as well-intentioned martyrs for freedom, denialist podcasters converted Holocaust denial into a freedom of speech issue from a debate over whether or not the Holocaust actually occurred. Unfortunately for ‘revisionists,’ their misguided attempt to legalize hate propaganda demonstrated a profound lack of understanding of the limits restricting hate speech and freedom of expression in a democracy.

Chapter 3, “Content Analysis of Trends in Holocaust Denialist Books and Podcasts,” provides an overview of the trends in Holocaust denialist books (five), Zündel’s “AVOF” (324), and podcasts (56) regarding the use of terms that distort the Shoah and promote free speech. With the use of computer software that searches specific keywords from a bank of terms²⁵ and of “Whisper,” a precise speech recognition program that translates MP3s into text files designed

²⁴ Chapter 2 will present an introduction to each podcast and podcaster.

²⁵ The bank of terms can be found in at the end of Chapter 3.

by *OpenAI*, we can show that Holocaust denialist podcasts use free speech-related terms at a higher frequency than Holocaust denialist books, which mainly use keywords that distort or dent the actuality of the Holocaust. Although preliminary, the data and analyses revealed some hypotheses that could explain the shift from ‘truth’ in paper and ink denialist literature to free speech in podcasts as intentional, rather than accidental.

The transition from ‘truth’ to free speech in denialist rhetoric appears inoffensive at first. In reality, the shift muddles who the real victims of Holocaust denialism are. For example, anti-Semitic hatred in printed Holocaust denialist literature is quite obvious. Deniers constitute the aggressors by accusing Jews of creating the ‘Holofoax’ to secure financial and political benefits. In Holocaust denialist podcasts, podcasters bend reality to paint Jews as an authoritarian group suppressing the deniers’ right to free speech, thus portraying Jews as the aggressors and ‘revisionists’ as victims. The result is a version of anti-Semitism that caters to free-speech absolutists who would not support Holocaust denial otherwise. This problem requires striking a nuanced balance between the fundamental rights of freedom of expression and freedom from the incitement of racial, religious, national, and ethnic hatred to insure that both rights are respected equally. In support for this commitment to freedom of speech, governments should dedicate Holocaust education to confront Holocaust denialist claims in a similar fashion as Deborah Lipstadt’s *Holocaust Denial on Trial*, thus avoiding the highly debated topic of governmental censorship on speech.

Chapter 1: Holocaust Denial Literature and the Establishment of ‘Truth’

Denialist research books are the backbone of the denialist movement by producing ‘revisionist’ knowledge. In fact, Holocaust denialist podcasts often promoted denialist books as key sources of ‘revisionist’ insights. During an “American Dissident Voices” podcast on June 2nd, 2007, Erich Gliebe, host and Chairman of the National Alliance, said:

Suffice it to say that there are countless more details about inconsistencies -- some people would call them barefaced lies -- in the official version of the story, but I’ll let you find out all of that on your own, if you’re interested. There are many fine books on the subject of what “deniers” believe.²⁶

In their literature, ‘revisionists’ exempt the Third Reich from any wrongdoing during WWII by attributing any evidence of their acts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes to Allied war propaganda,²⁷ supplemented by adding the cliché that ‘it’s the victors who write the history books.’²⁸ This sentiment is embodied in the term ‘revisionism,’ which the pioneers of revisionism selected to describe their challenges to mainstream historians’ interpretation of the causes of the United States’ entry into the First World War in 1917. Unlike what Holocaust deniers do—which is to deny that the Holocaust ever took place or to shrink its reality (in scale and content) by transmuting it into a series of unexceptional events—mainstream professional historians begin with the reality of an event and debate its causes, impact, and significance, generating new interpretations of that event without denying the actuality of the event.²⁹ Legitimate historical debates about the Holocaust include issues like those examined in Peter Hayes authoritative book, *Why? Explaining the Holocaust*: “Why the Jews? Why the Germans? Why murder? Why this swift and sweeping? Why didn’t more Jews fight back

²⁶ “The Holocaust and the Deniers,” narrated by Erich Gliebe, American Dissident Voices.

²⁷ John C. Zimmerman, *Holocaust Denial: Demographics, Testimonies, and Ideologies* (New York: University Press of America, 2000), 119-120.

²⁸ Kenneth S. Stern, *Holocaust Denial*, 9.

²⁹ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 31-32, 198.

more often? Why did survival rates diverge? Why such limited help from outside? What legacies? What lessons?”³⁰

Disguising their work as mainstream history by appropriating the tone and formats of historical monographs and scholarly journal articles, deniers presented their work as part of a noble and objective intellectual inquiry into the Shoah³¹ with the goal of truthfully correcting its history, which they framed as a vital part of the Allies’ propagandized and wrong-headed version of WWII. This chapter describes the arguments that Holocaust deniers presented in their major printed books and pamphlets to establish a baseline for comparison in a subsequent chapter with the arguments which they elaborated later in Holocaust denial podcasts. Through the analysis of denialist works like Richard Verrall’s *Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed*, Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Carlo Mattogno’s *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, Nicholas Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, and Thomas Dalton’s *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, it becomes evident that the deniers’ main focus is on revealing the ‘hidden truth’ about the Holocaust—that the Nazis did not pursue the biological annihilation of the Jews of Europe and were innocent in the crime of genocide.

Richard Verrall’s *Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed*

In 1974, Richard E. Harwood, a self-described “writer and specialist in political and diplomatic aspects of the Second World War” who had graduated from Westfield College of the University of London,³² published a 28-page pamphlet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die? Truth*

³⁰ Peter Hayes, *Why? Explaining the Holocaust* (New York: Norton, 2017), Table of Contents.

³¹ Kenneth S. Stern, *Holocaust Denial*, 2.

³² Richard E. Harwood, “Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed,” in *Did Six Million Really Die? Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel*, ed. Barbara Kulaszka (Toronto: Samisdar Publishers Ltd, 1992), 534.

At Last Exposed. Harwood's work became the cornerstone of denialist literature in the 1970s, with over a million copies eventually printed.³³ The University of London, questioned by journalists about employing a Holocaust denier, replied that Harwood was not a member of its staff. In fact, Richard Harwood was Richard Verrall's pen name and he was not a scholarly expert on the politics of World War II. Born in 1948, he earned a first class Bachelor's degree in History from Westfield College and served as the editor of *Spearhead*, a publication of the National Front, a neo-fascist British organization, from 1976 to 1980.³⁴

As the pamphlet's title implied, Verrall claimed to reveal the 'truth' about the Holocaust, thus lifting the "burden" of genocide from the shoulder of Germans and other Europeans:

The aim of the following pages is quite simply to tell the Truth. [...] In attempting this precarious task, it is hoped to make some contribution, not only to historical truth, but towards lifting the burden of a lie from our own shoulders, so that we may freely confront the dangers which threaten us all.³⁵

The dangers mentioned by Verrall corresponded to his claim of a racist conspiracy, accusing Jews of using the Holocaust to discourage European and White nationalism: "the accusation of the Six Million is not only used to undermine the principle of nationhood and national pride, but it threatens the survival of the Race itself."³⁶

A major point in Verrall's pamphlet was the objectivity of the author as a guarantor of 'truth.' To reinforce this notion between the various pieces of misinformation and the grotesque anti-Semitic prejudices present in his book, Verrall introduced quotations taken out of context from the *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 - June 30, 1947)*, a document he considered "unique in

³³ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, 104.

³⁴ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial As an International Movement*, 117.

³⁵ Richard E. Harwood, "Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed," in *Did Six Million Really Die? Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel*, 509.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 508.

its honesty and objectivity” about the Nazi’s treatment of the Jewish question.³⁷ Verrall insisted that the Red Cross “found no evidence whatever at the camps in Axis-occupied Europe of a deliberate policy to exterminate the Jews” and did not “even mention such a thing as a gas chamber.”³⁸ If the most objective report about the Nazi’s treatment of Jews omitted any evidence of homicidal gas chambers, he reasoned, there could not have been a Nazi genocidal policy against Jews.

Verrall’s point about the lack of gas chamber information in the *Report* was misleading. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) never investigated the Nazis’ treatment of Jews, fearing that the Nazis would deny it access to Allied prisoners of war in German POW camps if it did: “[f]rom the outset it should be borne in mind that this [report ...] attempts no more than a record of the Committee’s work. A clear picture of the condition of war victims in each country must not be looked for.”³⁹ The *Report* mostly focused on non-Jewish prisoners and POWs incarcerated in Germany,⁴⁰ not Jews sent to death camps on German-occupied Polish soil. Regardless, in 1948, three years after the war had ended, the *Report* acknowledged that “[u]nder National Socialism, the Jews had become in truth outcasts, condemned by rigid racial legislation to suffer tyranny, persecution and systematic extermination”⁴¹ and that “persecuted in accordance with the National-Socialist doctrine and threatened with extermination, the Jews were, in the last resort, generally deported in the most inhuman manner, shut up in concentration camps, subjected to forced labour or put to death.”⁴² The ICRC was well aware of the genocidal

³⁷ Ibid., 530.

³⁸ Ibid., 531.

³⁹ The Red Cross, *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 - June 30, 1947) Volume 1* (Geneva: International Red Cross, 1948), 6

⁴⁰ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, 116.

⁴¹ The Red Cross, *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 - June 30, 1947) Volume 1*, 641.

⁴² The Red Cross, *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 - June 30, 1947) Volume 3* (Geneva: International Red Cross, 1948), 513.

policy applied to Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe, but Verrall omitted any mention of these passages, thus giving the impression that the ICRC supported his denialism.

Verrall introduced the work of French Holocaust denier Paul Rassinier in his pamphlet. Praised as “the most important [contributor] to a truthful study of the extermination question,”⁴³ the British denier characterized his French associate as an honest and objective war survivor who, “for the sake of justice and historical truth,” disproved “the Myth of the Six Million and the legend of Nazi diabolism.”⁴⁴ But Rassinier’s testimony reeked of bias. Rassinier experienced the period of the Holocaust as a political prisoner at the Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany. His status as a political prisoner, not a Jew, created a mental barrier which hindered him from fathoming the fate of the Jews in Poland. For him, the real criminals were the Communists managing Buchenwald’s barracks, whom he blamed for the camp’s poor sanitary conditions.⁴⁵ The ‘extermination legend,’ he alleged, was a deliberate lie concocted by Israel and the Soviet Union to gain political and financial advantages.⁴⁶

Did Six Million Really Die?, insisted Verrall, aimed to free Europe of its Holocaust guilt, allow nationalism to thrive, and secure the White race’s survival by establishing the ‘truth’ that the Holocaust never existed. Through the misuse of the ICRC’s *Report* and his mischaracterization of Paul Rassinier as an unbiased historian, Verrall promoted his pamphlet as an antidote to Holocaust distortions. For the British denier, the Shoah was simply a Jewish lie concocted to enrich Jews at the expense of European nations and burden them with guilt.

⁴³ Richard E. Harwood, “Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed,” in *Did Six Million Really Die? Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel*, 532.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial As an International Movement*, 84-85.

⁴⁶ Richard E. Harwood, “Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed,” in *Did Six Million Really Die? Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel*, 533-534.

Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*

In 1976, Arthur Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, published his book-length study of the Holocaust, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. *The Hoax* differed from other 'revisionist' works because of Butz's criticism of denialist literature as inadequate. It became an international best seller among Holocaust denial publications and a critical piece of the denialist cannon.⁴⁷ Born in the mid-1940s, Arthur Butz had prestigious academic credentials in engineering, but not in history. He had graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a degree in electrical engineering and obtained his Ph.D. in Control Sciences at the University of Minnesota.⁴⁸

After reading *The Destruction of the European Jews* by Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, Butz convinced himself that the Holocaust was a hoax. Investigating the topic further only nourished his skepticism and propelled his 'sense of duty': "it was evident that my research had carried the subject beyond the existing literature, I felt an inescapable obligation and an intellectual imperative to put forward for society's evaluation what I knew about this most pernicious hoax."⁴⁹ This "inescapable obligation" to establish the 'truth' became Butz's intellectual mission. If historians had not discovered the 'truth,' it was his obligation to unmask the myth. *The Hoax's* idea of the 'truth' about the Shoah was purely anti-Semitic. Butz claimed: "the evidence shows that, while the hoax is certainly a Jewish hoax, in the sense of having been invented by Jews, it is also a Zionist hoax, in the sense of having been invented by Jews who were Zionists, on behalf of Zionist ends."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial As an International Movement*, 158-160.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁹ Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Los Angeles: The Noontide Press, 1976), 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

Butz asserted that Holocaust stories resembled Talmudic literature in various ways. Jews, he claimed, portrayed themselves as innocent victims during the Holocaust, similar to their recounting of Roman revolts. Stories of Roman soldiers using Jewish corpses as fences in vineyards supposedly resembled Holocaust myths of Nazis making soap from Jewish corpses. Butz accused Talmudic scholars Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel and Rabbi Stephen Wise of creating the extermination legend, given “the spirit of the talmudic accounts [... which seem] remarkably similar to the spirit of our century’s hoax.”⁵¹ Once concocted, Zionists from the World Jewish Congress presented the hoax to the American people, who accepted it at face value, he alleged.⁵²

His belief that the Holocaust was a Jewish manufactured hoax influenced Butz’s treatment of evidence. No testimonies from victims or perpetrators could equal the value of documents, he argued: “documentary evidence is, especially in view of the irregular legal and political circumstances which prevailed, immeasurably more weighty than testimony.”⁵³ However, not all documents, especially those which reflected or confirmed the genocidal intent of the Nazis, were legitimate. For example, Butz confirmed the authenticity of a list of documents containing death camp fatalities and the construction of crematoria “for the simple reason that there is absolutely nothing about extermination in them.”⁵⁴

Butz’s infamous list of allegedly forged or tampered with documents included Adolf Hitler’s will, Joseph Goebbels’ diary, and a panoply of Einsatzgruppen documents signed by Heinrich Himmler. Butz’s suspicions were aroused by the fact that the Allies had discovered Hitler’s will, which, when released, indicated the Führer’s murderous intent toward the Jews, but

⁵¹ Ibid., 245-247.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 130.

only announced their find on December 29, 1945, many months after the war in Europe ended. Moreover, Butz asserted that the presence of only one document signed by Hitler underlined the risk of forgery.⁵⁵ He also declared Goebbels' diary, a gold mine of information about Hitler's thinking and the Nazi genocidal policies, questionable since someone could have obtained the same typewriter used by Goebbels and manufactured the text.⁵⁶ As for the Einsatzgruppen documents, Butz lamented, Himmler's signature was so simple that anyone could have forged it, thus dismissing the authenticity of the evidence.⁵⁷ Butz excelled at building mistrust, but never provided any evidence proving that any of these documents were forgeries. Butz's one-sided skepticism and prejudices underlined his deep commitment to denialism and disregard for the truth.

Butz portrayed himself as the only provider of a 'truthful' history of the Shoah as, he claimed, no historians had come "forward with a critical study of the question or with any work actually arguing any particular side of the extermination question."⁵⁸ He used the fact that the leading Holocaust scholars—Raul Hilberg, Gerald Reitlinger, Nora Levin, Leon Poliakov, and Lucy S. Dawidowicz—were Jewish to reinforce his accusation that Jews shaped the story of the Holocaust.⁵⁹ Other non-Jewish Holocaust researchers, he asserted, felt pressured by "intellectual conformity" and "terrorized [...] into silence,"⁶⁰ thus clouding their findings. For the sake of 'truth' and intellectual integrity, Butz claimed he had exposed and circumvented Jewish propaganda to reveal the 'truth' about the Holocaust.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 193.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 197.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 198.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 247.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 247-248.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 248.

Carlo Mattogno's *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*

Born in Italy in 1951, Carlo Mattogno is Italy's chief Holocaust denier.⁶¹ According to some of his peers, Mattogno is among the most prolific of the denialist writers.⁶² A self-described “accomplished linguist, research[er], and [...] specialist in textual analysis,”⁶³ he claims, without documentation, to have completed Greek and Latin studies, philosophy, and “Oriental and religious studies.”⁶⁴ Mattogno wrote many books about Nazi death camps that skeptically examined the Shoah.⁶⁵ In *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, published in 2004, Mattogno claimed to be evaluating Belzec's label as an extermination camp⁶⁶ by questioning Kurt Gerstein's testimony and the meaning of Nazi ‘resettlement’ policy in Poland. His goal was to correct an erroneous history built from propaganda tropes.⁶⁷

Like Butz, Mattogno distrusted oral testimony describing the killing operations in death camps. In fact, he accused Kurt Gerstein, an SS officer who testified about the use of Zyklon B for delousing clothing and committing mass murder, of inaccuracies. To prove Gerstein was a liar, Mattogno compared the SS officer's testimony with that of SS-Standartenführer Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, a professor of hygiene at the University of Marburg.⁶⁸ Even though both SS men had witnessed the same gassing of Jews in 1942 at Belzec, Mattogno noted that they listed different times needed to kill the Jews and the condition of the tank engine used to produce the

⁶¹ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial As an International Movement*, 127.

⁶² Thomas Dalton, *The Holocaust: An Introduction* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, 2016), 105.

⁶³ Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (Newport Beach: Institute for Historical Review, 1994), viii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Carlo Mattogno, *Treblinka: Extermination Camp or Transit Camp?* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, January 2004), 16.

⁶⁶ Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, June 2004), 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., “*The Good Old Days*”: *The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York City: Konecky & Konecky, 1988), 238-244.

lethal carbon monoxide gas.⁶⁹ Thus, Mattogno concluded, Gerstein's testimony, and stories of Nazi homicidal gassing, were "ludicrous."⁷⁰

Mattogno's conclusion is tendentious. He called into question various aspects of Pfannenstiel's testimony, arguing that he was untrustworthy.⁷¹ But having discredited Pfannenstiel's testimony, Mattogno used it to discredit Gerstein. We cannot determine a testimony's reliability by comparing it to a dishonest one. If Pfannenstiel is unreliable, then contrasting his recollection of Belzec with Gerstein's is pointless. If Pfannenstiel is trustworthy, Mattogno should also acknowledge his recollection of genocidal gassing as legitimate. Moreover, Mattogno failed to mention the occasions when both SS officer's testimonies corroborated each other about key topics such as their description of the gas chamber building⁷² and 'dentists' removing teeth from the bodies of the murdered Jews.⁷³

The final question explored by Mattogno was about the Nazi policy of Jewish 'resettlement' to the East. He argued the Nazis never intended to exterminate European Jews but only aimed to resettle them. Terms such as 'resettlement,' he argued, were not part of any Nazi effort to camouflage the killing in Poland, but indicated their intention to displace Jews Eastward. As an example, the Italian denier used the notes of a conversation between Fritz Reuter, an employee of the Department of Population and Welfare in the Office of the Governor General for the District of Lublin, and SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Höfle, the man behind Belzec's construction. The notes stipulated that "all unemployable Jews are to come to Bezec

⁶⁹ Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, 60.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 52-62.

⁷² Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, 241, and Henri Roques, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (Newport Beach: Institute of Historical Review, 1989), 40.

⁷³ Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, 244, and Henri Roques, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, 42-43.

[Belzec]. [...] These Jews would cross the border and never return to the General Government.”⁷⁴

For the Italian denier, the note only made sense “in connection with a resettlement beyond the border.”⁷⁵ The Germans were not to murder all Jews unable to work, but to ‘resettle’ them elsewhere in the East, he claimed.

Yet, Mattogno used Nazi euphemisms to justify Nazi executions of Jews. During the ‘resettlement’ of 5,000 Jews from the town of Kolomea to Belzec between September 7 and 10, 1942, Lieutenant Wassermann⁷⁶ reported the execution of “300 old, infected, frail, or untransportable Jews,” about whom Mattogno concluded that “if the direct transports to Belzec were carried out for the purpose of extermination, then why these preliminary shootings?”⁷⁷ According to Mattogno’s tortured logic, reports describing the execution of Jews like Wassermann’s render the extermination ‘argument’ “dubious.”⁷⁸ However, Wassermann’s report is self-explanatory. Among various reasons explaining the murder within the context of genocide, the 300 Jews were potentially too frail to walk to the train station, too infected to let near enough to infect a German killer, or too weak to stand up and save space, thus, occupying more than the floor space allocated to one cattle car prisoner.

Mattogno’s assessment of the Nazis’ ‘resettlement’ policy is naïve if not deliberately malicious. Holocaust scholar Christopher Browning demonstrated the misleading nature of Nazi terms like ‘resettlement’ and ‘deportation’ as illustrated by a report discussing the Nazi murder of 20,000 Jews at Brest in Western Belarus on October 15 and 16, 1942. At first, the report read: “the complete resettlement of the Jews in the *Kreisgebiet* Brest-Litovsk also occurred. In all

⁷⁴ Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, 103-104.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁷⁶ Carlo Mattogno does not indicate Lieutenant Wassermann’s first name.

⁷⁷ Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, 101.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

some 20,000 Jews have been resettled up until now.”⁷⁹ Two pages later, the report drastically changed its language when addressing the same event: “[p]articipation in the action against the Jews in the city and *Kreisgebiet* Brest-Litovsk since October 15, 1942. Up until now some 20,000 Jews have been shot.”⁸⁰ Raul Hilberg also demonstrated that the term ‘East’ referred to the Jewish extermination process in Poland, not a Nazi resettlement plan for Jews.⁸¹

Mattogno concluded that stories of German extermination at Belzec were nothing more than repetition of war propaganda:

Once the murder method had been selected – exhaust gases from a diesel engine – the judiciary quickly entered the fray on the side of historiography, to give it its official blessing and to disseminate it worldwide through the farcical trial testimonies as a worthy epilogue to the black propaganda of the war years.⁸²

The Italian denier concluded that no extermination took place at Belzec and claimed that the camp “was a transit camp for the transfer of Jews to the east.”⁸³ Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the Belzec camp only made sense to Mattogno within the context of a Nazi ‘resettlement’ policy, not of extermination.

Nicholas Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*

Nicholas Kollerstrom is a British academic turned Holocaust denier. He holds natural science degrees from the University of Cambridge and the University of London. He worked for eleven years as a staff member at University College London in the Department of Science and Technology Studies. His journey into ‘revisionism’ follows a history of conspiratorial fanaticism. In the past, Kollerstrom advocated for “astrology, crop circles, 9/11 Truth, as well as

⁷⁹ Christopher Browning, “Browning: Evidence for the Implementation of the Final Solution,” Holocaust Denial on Trial, <https://www.hdot.org/browning/#>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meiers Publishers, 1985), 962.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Carlo Mattogno, *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History*, 109.

conspiracy theories about the London terrorist bombings of July 7th, 2005.”⁸⁴ After discovering his denialist articles on the ‘revisionist’ website of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, University College London terminated his fellowship immediately.⁸⁵ Ironically, the London 9/11 Truth Movement, founded by Kollerstrom, also disassociated itself from him in 2010 after learning of his denialist beliefs.⁸⁶

In 2014, Kollerstrom cemented his denialism by publishing *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*. Kollerstrom attacked what he considered the ‘myth’ of Holocaust history using two philosophical notions borrowed from the Greek philosopher Plato: the Primal Myth and the Allegory of the Cave. Plato believed each culture needed a Primal Myth, a term later labelled as the “noble lie.”⁸⁷ Created by a ruling elite, Kollerstrom argued this myth aimed to maintain control and promote the elite’s agenda among the people. Intertwined with the Primal Myth was Plato’s *Allegory of the Cave*. The allegory imagined that chained individuals, unable to move their bodies or heads, faced a wall in a cave since childhood. Behind them, a fire projected shadows onto the wall while people carried props between the chained dwellers and the fire. If any dwellers were to see the sun and tried to free another dweller, the other dwellers would catch the offender and kill him. Plato alleged that what the chained people perceived as ‘real’ only existed in shadows.⁸⁸

The Holocaust, Kollerstrom alleged, was a noble lie created by a ruling elite consisting of beneficiaries or servants of the myth, such as historians or Jews. According to him, historians

⁸⁴ Nicholas Terry, “Holocaust Denial in the Age of Web 2.0: Negationist Discourse Since the Irving-Lipstadt Trial,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Denial: A Contextual Perspective*, ed. Paul Behrens, Olaf Jensen, and Nicholas Terry (Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2017), 48.

⁸⁵ “Dr. Nicholas Kollerstrom,” UCL News, April 22, 2008, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/2008/apr/dr-nicholas-kollerstrom>.

⁸⁶ Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, 2014), 18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁸ Plato, *The Allegory of the Cave*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Lexington: P&L Publications, 2010), 1-6.

presented the Holocaust lie to society—Plato’s cave dwellers. Compelled to believe in the Holocaust lie—the shadows from Plato’s allegory—believers in the Holocaust ‘myth’ never saw ‘the truth’—as illuminated by Plato’s sun. Thus, society became hostile towards ‘revisionists’—the cave dwellers exposed to the light—and ostracized deniers like Kollerstrom—a reference to the murder of dwellers exposing the light to others. This simplistic application of Plato’s philosophy allowed Kollerstrom to visualize the Holocaust as a burden on society: “there cannot be a happy future for humankind, so long as this nightmare delusion that people call ‘The Holocaust’ remains in place.”⁸⁹ Only deniers, ‘the truth-tellers,’ could liberate society from its shackles.

In an argument reminiscent of Butz’s book, Kollerstrom asserted that the ‘Holo-Religion’ mimicked a traditional religion by including religious aspects like saints (Holocaust survivors), shrines (Holocaust memorials and museums), and heresy (denying the Shoah). Kollerstrom asserted that the ‘Holo-Religion’ relied on a Manichean framework consisting of “wicked” Nazis, innocent Jews, and only tolerated views which accepted the narrative of genocide. Any attacks against the Holocaust resulted in brutal repression and excommunication from the ‘Holo-Religion.’⁹⁰ Unlike the ‘Holo-Religion,’ the British denier claimed the members of ‘rational science,’ to which he belonged, were ‘truth-tellers’ who rejected the selfish dogmas of their puppet masters. By giving “priority to physical-material and primary-source documentary evidence,”⁹¹ disciples of ‘rational science’ saw the light, broke away from the spell, and preached the ‘truth’ to the others at the risk of being stigmatized or attacked. They understood

⁸⁹ Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, 20.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 132-141.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

their mission was vital since “there is not much by way of a happy future for anyone” if the Holocaust spell remains.⁹²

Breaking the Spell's ‘rational science’ proved to be very selective. For example, Kollerstrom discussed the coke consumption in the Auschwitz crematoria, a topic central to discrediting the Nazi homicidal gassing at Auschwitz and finding the ‘truth’:

If anyone still wants to believe in huge numbers of Jews brought into the camps, not being recorded as “arrivals,” and then gassed right away — a quintessentially unverifiable concept — then a different kind of argument becomes relevant: of intact coke records. The records of coke consumed by the cremation ovens impose a ceiling upon the number of bodies that can have been cremated.⁹³

Kollerstrom heavily relied on Carlo Mattogno’s research which concluded that between March and October 1943, the Nazis used some 607 tons of coke and some wood in the Auschwitz crematoriums. The Italian denier divided the amount of coke by the 16,000 registered deaths from the same period, which equaled to 39 kilograms of coke per corpse.⁹⁴ This result aligned with the assumed 40 to 50 kilograms of coke required for Nazis to cremate a body.⁹⁵ Therefore, Kollerstrom asserted, the only bodies cremated at Auschwitz were those of registered inmates, not the bodies of unregistered inmates. He stated, “no mass murders took place in Auschwitz and Birkenau in the time from March to October 1943!”⁹⁶

Kollerstrom’s reliance on Mattogno illustrated the selectiveness of his ‘truth.’ Many documents, such as a 1943 report signed by German engineer Rudolf Jährling, indicated a smaller quantity of coke consumption for cremation purposes at Auschwitz. Jährling estimated that crematoriums II, III, IV, and V consumed 7,840 kilograms (kg) of coke in half a day and

⁹² Ibid., 221.

⁹³ Ibid., 107.

⁹⁴ Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana, “The Crematoria Ovens of Auschwitz and Birkenau,” in *Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of ‘Truth’ and ‘Memory,’* ed. Germar Rudolf (Chicago: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2003), 408.

⁹⁵ Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, 94.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

654.3 kilograms per hour.⁹⁷ According to Jährling, under constant use, Crematoria II and III used 2,800 kg of coke each on a 12 hours basis while Crematoria IV and V consumed 1,120 kg each, thus consuming 7,840 kg of coke in 12 hours. In total, Crematoria II to V consumed 654.3 kg per hour ($7,840 \times 2 / 24$). Jährling also calculated the capacity of Crematoria II and III to be 1,440 bodies each and Crematoria IV to V to be 756 each in every 24 hours. He determined that the total capacity of Crematoria II to V is 183 corpses per hour ($1,440 + 1,440 + 756 + 756 / 24 = 183$). Therefore, on average, one needs 3.5kg ($654.3 / 183$) to cremate a body. Dividing the quantity of coke delivered in 1943 (844 tons) by the coke needed to cremate a body (3.5 kilograms) equalled a total Auschwitz oven capacity in 1943 of 241,000 bodies, a figure akin to the 250,000 unregistered Jews killed in Auschwitz in 1943.⁹⁸

The discrepancy in Kollerstrom's calculation is twofold. First, his source, Carlo Mattogno, disregarded unregistered arrivals during the same period. Second, Kollerstrom did not understand the use of coke in the Auschwitz ovens. According to a former Auschwitz Sonderkommando member, Henryk Tauber, the coke served "to light the fire of the furnace initially, for fatty corpses burned of their own accord thanks to the combustion of the body fat. [...] once the fat of the corpse began to burn the other corpses would catch light [sic] themselves."⁹⁹ The crematoria's patent application submitted by Topf and Sons corroborated Tauber's statements. The ovens operated on a structural basis in which corpses entered from the

⁹⁷ Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 122-124.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁹⁹ Robert Jan van Pelt, "Sinnreich Erdacht: Machines of Mass Incineration in Fact, Fiction, and Forensics," in *Destruction and Human Remains*, ed. Elisabeth Anstett, Jean-Marc Dreyfus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 137-138.

top and slowly slid toward the bottom until ashes remained.¹⁰⁰ This cremation method required alternating between fatter corpses and emaciated ones to maintain combustion heat.¹⁰¹

Kollerstrom's selective use of scientific evidence regarding the Auschwitz crematoria is matched by his representation of the Auschwitz complex as a virtual health resort for its inmates. To sustain this view, Kollerstrom cherry picked Marc Klein's mention of a 'pool' that the prisoners of Auschwitz I enjoyed. Klein, a French Professor of Medicine at the University of Strasbourg incarcerated at Auschwitz, wrote that prisoners entertained themselves on Sundays and holidays next to the pool where "water ball games attracted the spectator masses."¹⁰² How could Auschwitz be a place of death, Kollerstrom asked, if witnesses like Klein described it as a relaxing and enjoyable place?

Once again, Kollerstrom selected specific passages from Klein's memoir and quoted them out of context. Klein was not the average Auschwitz prisoner. He worked at the camp's pharmacy, a place he described as "un des endroits les plus tranquilles et les plus jaloués."¹⁰³ Klein acknowledged that his experience was only available at Auschwitz I Stammlager.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, omitted by Kollerstrom was Klein's confirmation of the Nazi extermination process. Klein learned about the ongoing gassing at Auschwitz-Birkenau from the Chief Rabbi of Strasbourg, René Hirschler, who told of his wife's death in the gas chambers.¹⁰⁵ A German Kapo at Auschwitz-Birkenau also detailed to Klein the gassing operation, starting from selection after stepping off the train to the pouring of Zyklon B pellets down chutes into the gas chambers.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*, 348-349.

¹⁰¹ Robert Jan van Pelt, "Sinnreich Erdacht: Machines of Mass Incineration in Fact, Fiction, and Forensics," 123-124.

¹⁰² Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, 195.

¹⁰³ *De l'Université aux Camps de Concentration: Témoignages Strasbourgeois* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996): 444, <https://docnum.unistra.fr/digital/collection/coll17/id/1861>.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 429.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 431.

After investigating the matter himself, Klein confirmed the genocidal operations at Auschwitz.¹⁰⁶ Omitting Klein's observations, Kollerstrom confirmed the selective nature of his 'truth.' Presented to readers as a means of lifting the 'Holocaust spell' from the back of Western society by exposing the 'truth,' the process of refuting Kollerstrom's book actually revealed more detailed information confirming the inner workings of the Holocaust. Indeed, one can argue that Holocaust scholarship sometimes advances by confronting the false claims of the Holocaust deniers.

Thomas Dalton's *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*

Information about Thomas Dalton's academic or professional credentials is scarce. According to his website, he teaches humanities at a major American university, specializing in German National Socialism, all the while conducting "extensive research on historical and contemporary Jewish relations."¹⁰⁷ A simple look at Dalton's "extensive research" exposes a panoply of anti-Semitic books like *The Jewish Hand in the World Wars* and *Eternal Stranger: A Critical History of Jews and Judaism*.¹⁰⁸ In January 2021, Dalton published a neo-Nazi manifesto on the website of the National Vanguard, a white nationalist organization, in which he endorsed Adolf Hitler's National Socialism:

In the past 100 years, only one system has proven able to defy this trend [the supposed moral bankruptcy of democracy according to Dalton]: Adolf Hitler's National Socialism. Hitler's system proved such a threat to the other world powers, and especially to the Jewish oligarchy that ruled in Europe and America, that they became determined to destroy it. And destroy it they did.¹⁰⁹

His pamphlet also advocated that Blacks and Jews were incapable of building great civilizations, Hitler's Germany was one of the greatest civilizations in modern history, and "the Holocaust

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 432.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Dalton, "Thomas Dalton," *Thomas Dalton PhD*, <https://www.thomasdaltonphd.com/>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Dalton, "National Socialism Today," *National Vanguard*, January 4, 2021, <https://nationalvanguard.org/2021/01/national-socialism-today/>.

was, in large part, a fiction.”¹¹⁰ At best, Dalton is the alias of an anonymous American white supremacist. At worst, a pen name for a white supremacist college professor.

Published in 2009, *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look at Both Sides* took a step back from arguing that the Holocaust was a myth. Dalton introduced his book as a historiographical contribution to the ‘Great Holocaust Debate,’ a debate between “two competing views of the truth,” the ‘traditionalists’ and ‘revisionists.’¹¹¹ According to Dalton, believers of the genocide narrative, labelled as ‘traditionalists,’ were Jewish survivors, writers, researchers, “in other words, [...] people with a self-interest in sustaining the dominant view of a genocidal Nazi regime and an innocent and victimized Jewish people.”¹¹² ‘Traditionalists’ included Holocaust scholars such as Jean-Claude Pressac, Deborah Lipstadt, and Robert Jan van Pelt. In comparison, ‘revisionists’ such as Arthur Butz, Paul Rassinier, and David Irving were “primarily Germans, people of German origin, and those inclined to be pro-German or anti-Jewish.”¹¹³ Since Dalton was neither Jewish nor German, he cast himself as suited to judge the truth in the ‘Great Holocaust Debate.’¹¹⁴

Far from being a historiographical book, *Debating the Holocaust* serves as a platform for him to assert his ‘truth’ about the Holocaust and propound his denialist and anti-Semitic arguments. According to Dalton, the figure of six million dead, representing the number of Jews killed by the Nazis, was a Jewish number symbolically associated with Judaism. The Holocaust narrative was not reality, but part of a grand conspiracy of silence and money supporting a Jewish new world order.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Thomas Dalton, *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 18.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 12-13.

In his discussion about the ‘traditionalist’ death figures, Dalton argued the number six million stemmed from media rumours and German confessions extracted under torture at Nuremberg.¹¹⁵ Instead of the truth, the number of six million dead is symbolic of Jewish suffering, supposedly shown by the many newspaper stories published from the 1850s to the 1940s, which linked the number six million to Jewish suffering. One undated *New York Times* article stipulated that “6,000,000 Jews need Help,” while another from 1900 mentioned: “There are 6,000,000 [Jews] living, bleeding, suffering arguments in favor of Zionism.”¹¹⁶ For Dalton, the number six million came to represent Jewish suffering:

It thus appears that the figure of 6 million represents a sort of constant in Jewish suffering, irrespective of circumstances. It seems to possess a kind of magical symbolism, and hence becomes a sacred icon of Jewish persecution. [...] In the Book of Exodus (21:2) we read that a Hebrew slave is allowed to be kept for only six years. The same book records that “600,000 men” left Egypt during the Exodus (12:37). And Roman historian Tacitus—likely drawing from Jewish sources—reports that 600,000 Jews were besieged, and presumably killed, during the revolt of 70 AD (Histories V.13).¹¹⁷

According to Dalton, the six million figure “likely stands as a purely symbolic number rather than as literal truth.”¹¹⁸

Dalton’s theories about the number six are misguided. He imagined that the figure for Jews killed during the Shoah was simply plucked out of thin air. Documents presented at the main Nuremberg trial and by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry’s report on April 20, 1946, cited the disappearance of 5,721,600 European Jews.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, historians such as Gerald Reitlinger in 1953, Helmut Krausnick in 1956, Martin Gilbert in 1969¹²⁰ and Raul

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 54-58.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 58, 60.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 64.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Kenneth S. Stern, *Holocaust Denial*, 66.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 66-67.

Hilberg in 1961 also concluded that 5 to 6 million Jews died during the Shoah. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum offers a breakdown of this number on its website.¹²¹

Following his conspiratorial claims, Dalton presented the Holocaust as neither a hoax nor a fraud¹²² but a conspiracy in which “writers, historians, business leaders, governmental leaders, [and] media CEOs [...] are all in on the scam, and are consciously sustaining a false story simply for the benefit of the Jews.”¹²³ The Jewish conspiracy, he claimed, developed into a conspiracy of silence and money in which the Shoah was a propaganda machine enabling Jews “to achieve political ends that favor Israel and Jewish interests in general” and helping to coerce Western countries into supporting Israel and Jews into a new world order.¹²⁴

Dalton’s conspiracy of silence invokes ancient anti-Semitic tropes linking Jews’ selfish lust for power. Dalton claimed that Jews controlled non-Jews due to their overrepresentation in governments, the media, entertainment, and academia. Since non-Jews depended on Jewish wealth, Dalton asserted, and given the Jews’ alleged control of the highest economic and political positions, attacking or questioning the Holocaust and Jewish interests was dangerous for non-Jews, who risk ostracism and losing their careers. Overrepresented and influential, Dalton claims, Jews imposed censorship on alternate Holocaust narratives that challenged the ‘accepted’ version. Thus, Jews compelled non-Jews to disregard, defame, or imprison ‘revisionists’ to sustain the hoax.¹²⁵

While the conspiracy of silence charge was transparently anti-Semitic, the money theory was more subtle in its bigotry. Dalton claimed that the Holocaust was “not a conspiracy of Jews,

¹²¹ The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum offers a detailed breakdown of death figures during the Holocaust: <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/documenting-numbers-of-victims-of-the-holocaust-and-nazi-persecution>.

¹²² Thomas Dalton, *Debating The Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 259.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 280-281.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 261-262.

but rather a conspiracy of money.”¹²⁶ Seeking evidence, Dalton read Norman Finkelstein’s controversial book *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering*. A Jewish-American political scientist, Finkelstein argued the Holocaust was an “indispensable ideological weapon” used by Israel to “cast itself as a ‘victim’ state.”¹²⁷ The Shoah, Finkelstein asserted, was an “outright extortion racket,”¹²⁸ as evident from the World Jewish Congress’ pressure exerted on Swiss banks in the 1990s to pay reparations to Jewish survivors who, during and after the Holocaust, lost access to their bank accounts due to the Swiss banks’ policy of freezing and then hiding Jewish assets.¹²⁹ Using Finklestein’s work, Dalton claimed Jews “found in reparations a colossal cash cow that could be milked indefinitely.”¹³⁰

This “cash cow” theory is wildly misguided since reparations never went directly to Israel but to helping Jewish survivors seeking to immigrate to the Jewish state.¹³¹ Furthermore, Swiss banks were not innocent entities. They were the first institution to propose the anti-Semitic identification of the letter ‘J’ in the passports of Jews fleeing Nazi Germany. They also contributed to Jewish persecution by freezing Jewish assets.¹³² Swiss banks were not innocent entities unjustifiably bullied by Israel, as Dalton and Finkelstein asserted.

Under the guise of producing an impartial, historiographically significant account of the Holocaust debates, Dalton vehemently vilified the six million killed figure as a Jewish symbol of suffering and mainstream historians of the Shoah as members of a conspiracy to coerce Western countries into supporting a Jewish new world order. Dalton reflected these theories in his

¹²⁶ Ibid., 277.

¹²⁷ Norman Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (New York: Verso, 2000), 3.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 89.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 96-103.

¹³⁰ Thomas Dalton, *Debating The Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 278.

¹³¹ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, 57-58.

¹³² Enzo Traverso, “The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering Norman Finkelstein,” *Historical Materialism* 11, 2 (2003): 220-221.

Conclusion, where he labelled the ‘traditionalists’ as people “with something to hide”¹³³ and the deniers as “sophisticated individuals, who displayed an unflagging commitment to the pursuit of truth—often at a high personal cost.”¹³⁴ ‘Revisionism,’ he declared, was a ‘truth-seeking’ movement battling against a ‘traditionalist’ movement relying on censorship instead of objectivity.¹³⁵

Conclusion: The Incompatibility of Denialist ‘Truth’ With Holocaust History

In their attempt at establishing the ‘truth,’ deniers engaged very strangely with Holocaust history. In his Master’s thesis, Robert Angove explained that professional Holocaust scholars engage in Compatible-Competing Narratives (CCNs), narratives that disagree over perspectives and interpretations, but not about the actuality of the Holocaust itself. In CCNs, scholars argue that two historical accounts of a particular event may differ as historians emphasize some facts more than others, thus creating different interpretations of the truth without contesting the existence of the event.¹³⁶ Angove used the debate between Christopher Browning and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen on the participation and willingness of German citizens during the Shoah to persecute Jews as an example of CCNs. Browning’s book, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, argued that the Nazis transformed ordinary Germans into killers through manipulating them or peer pressure.¹³⁷ Goldhagen’s book, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, traced Nazi anti-Semitism directly from roots deeply embedded in medieval German anti-Semitism. For him, Nazi ‘eliminationist’

¹³³ Thomas Dalton, *Debating The Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 284.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 298.

¹³⁶ Robert Angove, “Holocaust Denial and Professional History-Writing,” (Master’s Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2005), 53-54, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item?id=TC-SSU-09142005174811&op=pdf&app=Library&oclc_number=1032858309.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 56.

anti-Semitism was embedded in German culture.¹³⁸ Both Browning and Goldhagen shared drastically different views of the degree and causes of German civilian participation in the Holocaust. Still, the debate was about interpreting the Shoah, not the reality of the event itself.

Holocaust deniers interact with Holocaust scholarship in the form of what Angove calls Incompatible-Competing Narratives (ICNs), narratives that directly contrast with the classic representation of the Holocaust.¹³⁹ As seen in this chapter, denialist ‘truth’ about the Holocaust bears no similarity to Holocaust scholarship. Most importantly, denialism and professional Holocaust history are incompatible because ‘revisionism’ deliberately denies reality.¹⁴⁰ Deniers subscribe to the cliché that the victors write history. Ergo, they argue, our understanding of WWII and the Holocaust is the fruit of propaganda, not truth. This mentality prompted Holocaust deniers like Richard Verrall, Arthur Butz, Carlo Mattogno, Nicholas Kollerstrom, and Thomas Dalton to produce works which claim to reveal what truly happened during the Holocaust.

Richard Verrall’s *Did Six Million Really Die?* heavily relied on the purported objectivity of his sources, such as the reports of the International Red Cross and Paul Rassinier’s memoir. For Verrall, ‘truth’ about the Holocaust was primordial to the survival of nationalism and the European White race. By absolving the Nazis of genocide, society would tolerate nationalism, thus saving the white race from destruction and replacement.

Arthur Butz wrote *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, he claimed, as part of his moral duty to rewrite history distorted by professional historians. According to him, the Holocaust was a Jewish and Zionist conspiracy to protect Jewish interests. The Holocaust contained eerie

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 64-65.

¹⁴⁰ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, 21.

similarities with Talmudic literature. Any documents hinting towards a Nazi genocidal plan were forgeries planted in Europe by “hundreds of trained staff members”¹⁴¹ after the war.

Carlo Mattogno’s *Belzec* claimed to examine the official history of the Belzec death camp. Notably, Mattogno claimed that German Chemist Kurt Gerstein was ‘untrustworthy’ and the Nazi resettlement policy was just a policy of relocation, not a synonym for murder. Mattogno concluded that the extermination story at Belzec was propaganda and that Belzec was merely a transit camp designed for quick stops and departures to facilitate the Nazis’ transportation plan for resettlement of Jews to labour in the East.

Nicholas Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell* was ostensibly written to lift the Holocaust spell from society by telling the ‘truth’ about the event. Using Plato’s Primal Myth and cave allegory, Kollerstrom visualized the Holocaust as a spell; a myth engrained in the minds of people who violently rejected ‘revisionism.’ Believers in the myth partook in the ‘Holo-Religion,’ where blind belief was compulsory. In comparison, deniers claimed that they used ‘rational science’ to argue that the coke consumption in the Auschwitz crematoriums was only capable of cremating registered deaths unrelated to homicidal gassing. The ‘truth’ about the crematoriums thus painted a rosy picture of the Auschwitz camp, where prisoners could enjoy a swimming pool.

In attempting to present the Shoah as a controversial historical event, Thomas Dalton claimed that his book, *Debating the Holocaust*, was a historiographical account of the ‘Great Holocaust Debate’ between ‘traditionalists’ and ‘revisionists.’ Amidst his open bias towards ‘revisionism’ and his self-appointed role as judge and jury, Dalton claimed the six million figure was baseless due to its alleged connection to Jewish traditions and the Holocaust to be a

¹⁴¹ Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, 173.

conspiracy of silence and money. The Shoah, Dalton insisted, was part of a new world order in which Jews used the false news of a Jewish genocide for their own benefit.

All of these authors found themselves influenced by their worldviews in establishing the ‘truth’ about the Shoah. Verrall’s racist beliefs drastically altered his perception of the topic and its effect on the survival of the European race. For Butz and Dalton, the Shoah was a Jewish conspiracy inspired by Talmudic and Jewish literature created by Jews to benefit themselves. Mattogno associated history, especially the Holocaust, with propaganda. For Kollerstrom, the Holocaust was another event in his long-standing history of conspiratorial beliefs. Nevertheless, each author seemed determined to correct their vision of Holocaust history.

Chapter 2: Free Speech, Podcasts, and Ernst Zündel

With the commercialization of the Internet in the late 1990s and early 2000s, technological advances widened the possibilities for Holocaust deniers to spread their ideology. Starting from the early days of the World Wide Web, web audio files, bundled into podcasts and available now at all times, became a popular medium for disseminating Holocaust denial. Armed with basic computer equipment and a simple Internet connection, deniers gained the ability to record and widely share their distorted versions of the Holocaust to like-minded individuals and to make new converts. Are there differences between Holocaust denialist podcasts and the ‘revisionist’ books that preceded it? On the surface, the answer is “No.” Denialist podcasters continued to contest the existence of homicidal gas chambers, claim that Hitler protected Jews whenever he could, and label the Holocaust as a Jewish hoax. But upon deeper analysis, one discovers that Holocaust denialist podcasts shifted their emphases away from those of the authors who wrote earlier for traditional print and ink media. Podcasters increasingly introduced free speech narratives and emphasized their constitutional right to freely negate the Shoah.

Every trend has an origin story. Denialist podcasters built on the legacy of Ernst Zündel’s radio broadcast, “Another Voice of Freedom (AVOF).” Born in Germany in 1939 and raised among the ashes of the Third Reich during West Germany’s troubled post-war years, Zündel immigrated to Montréal, Canada, when he was just 20 years old to avoid conscription by the West German army in 1959.¹⁴² During his residence in Montréal, he met Adrien Arcand, the notorious Canadian fascist and self-proclaimed ‘Canadian Führer,’ who strongly shaped Zündel’s favourable opinion of the Nazi regime: “Pour moi [Zündel], les Nazis étaient tous des assassins qui avaient exterminé les Juifs. Mais Arcand m’a fait changer d’opinion. J’ai été

¹⁴² Jason Tingler, “Holocaust Denial and Holocaust Memory: The Case of Ernst Zündel,” *Genocide Studies International* 10, 2 (Fall 2016): 210.

profondément influencé par lui.”¹⁴³ After moving to Toronto in the mid-1970s, Zündel established Samisdat Publishers, a publishing company printing and distributing denialist works such as Richard Verrall’s pamphlet *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*. In these early days, Samisdat Publishers delivered its content to readers nationally and overseas via the Canadian Postal Service. According to Ingrid Rimland, Zündel’s wife, the publishing company distributed “tens of thousands of press releases, brochures, [and] audio and videotapes on various topics,” highlighting Holocaust denial.¹⁴⁴ In fact, West German authorities discovered large quantities of pro-Nazi literature and memorabilia created and distributed from Canada by Zündel in many German neo-Nazi homes.¹⁴⁵

In 1977, B’nai Brith Canada unsuccessfully lobbied the Canadian postmaster general to rescind Zündel’s postal privileges because of his circulation of Holocaust denialist works. Later, in 1980, the Holocaust Remembrance Association (HRA) won an interim decision from the Canadian postmaster general to revoke Samisdat Publishers’ postal rights. Following the HRA’s victory, Canada Post completed a yearlong investigation and abolished Zündel’s postal privileges. Zündel appealed the decision to a review board, claiming that his material defended Germans from the accusation of being “nasty, cruel and vicious people.”¹⁴⁶ The review board accepted Zündel’s defence and reinstated his postal privileges in October 1982 on the grounds that Zündel’s writing was simply part of an ethnic debate between Canadian Germans and Jews.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Hugues Théorêt, “Influence et rayonnement international d’Adrien Arcand International influence of Adrien Arcand,” *Globe, Revue internationale d’études québécoises* 18, 1 (2015): 45.

¹⁴⁴ Ingrid Rimland, “Ernst Zündel: His Struggle For Germany - A Curriculum in Historical Dates and Keywords,” *CODOH*, May 1, 2003, <https://codoh.com/library/document/ernst-zundel-his-struggle-for-germany/en/>.

¹⁴⁵ Jason Tingler, “Holocaust Denial and Holocaust Memory: The Case of Ernst Zündel,” 216.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

In 1983, Sabina Citron, a Holocaust survivor and president of HRA, launched a private prosecution against Zündel and his publishing company for allegedly violating Section 181 of Canada's Criminal Code, the "Spreading false news," which stipulated that:

Every one who wilfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes or is likely to cause injury or mischief to a public interest is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.¹⁴⁸

In January 1984, the Attorney General of Ontario, Roy McMurtry, took over Citron's prosecution of Zündel. The trial began on January 7, 1985. The prosecutor, Crown Attorney Peter Griffiths, justified Canada's limitations on speech which threatened potential damage to public interests, while Zündel's defence attorney, Douglas Christie, claimed that Section 181 of the Criminal Code restricted his client's right to freedom of expression.¹⁴⁹

During the trial, Zündel portrayed himself "as [a] champion of free expression, as a person who dedicates his life to the furthering of truth and knowledge in the world, and [advocated] letting each and every individual to speak as one pleases without any restrictions."¹⁵⁰ Rejecting Zündel's defence, on March 25, 1985, Judge Hugh Locke sentenced Zündel to fifteen months in prison. Zündel, who had vigorously used the trial as a platform to advocate for freedom of expression regarding the Shoah, now initiated a number of visual provocations. On the day of his sentencing, he arrived at court bearing an 11-foot wooden cross inscribed with the words "Freedom of Speech" and depicting himself as a martyr in the tradition of Jesus Christ.¹⁵¹

Christie appealed the lower court's decision to the Ontario Court of Appeal on the grounds of procedural error. A second Zündel trial began in mid-January 1988. Again, the jury

¹⁴⁸ Canadian Criminal Code, Section 181, R.S., c. C-34, s. 177, <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-46/section-181-20030101.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Alain Goldschläger, "The Trials of Ernst Zündel," in *Holocaust Denial: The Politics of Perfidy*, ed. Robert Solomon Wistrich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 114.

¹⁵⁰ Raphael Cohen-Almagor, "Freedom of Expression v. Social Responsibility: Holocaust Denial in Canada," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 28, 1 (2013): 46.

¹⁵¹ Alain Goldschläger, "The Trials of Ernst Zündel," in *Holocaust Denial: The Politics of Perfidy*, 122.

found Zündel guilty of knowingly publishing false information. In September 1989, Christie once again appealed the sentence to the Court of Appeals for Ontario, arguing that Section 181 violated his client's freedom of expression. In February 1990, the Court of Appeals for Ontario rejected Christie's appeal, thus permitting Christie to appeal the 1988 Zündel decision to the Canadian Supreme Court. In 1992, the highest court in Canada found merit to Zündel's appeal, concluding that Section 181 infringed "on the guarantee of freedom of expression," in Canada.¹⁵² Holocaust deniers and some members of the public now viewed Zündel as a "martyr for truth' persecuted by Jewish lobbyists and their acolytes."¹⁵³

In 1994, emboldened by his court victory, Zündel ventured into radio broadcasting with "Another Voice of Freedom (AVOF)," a program advancing his personification as a 'freedom fighter.' According to an ad on Zündel's website, the *Zundelsite*, his broadcasts began at 9:30 pm and were available on either Telstar 4 or Transponder 9 via satellite dishes.¹⁵⁴ With approximately 800 subscribers in Canada and 29,000 subscribers in the United States,¹⁵⁵ "AVOF" allegedly reached six Canadian provinces and eighteen American states.¹⁵⁶ Zündel advertised for sale 324 different "AVOF" audio cassettes including a summary of each episode on his website; the vast majority of these programs denies the actuality of the Shoah.¹⁵⁷

This chapter investigates the content of the 'revisionist' podcasts created by Ernst Zündel and other deniers in his circle. It finds that Zündel's "AVOF" spearheaded the trend among Holocaust denialist podcasters to reframe the Shoah using free speech lenses. Zündel shifted

¹⁵² Ibid., 125-126.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 131.

¹⁵⁴ Ernst Zündel, "Attention Satellite Dish Owners!" *Zundelsite*, archived on August 18, 2000, <https://web.archive.org/web/20000818203708/http://www.zundelsite.org/satellite.html>.

¹⁵⁵ "The zundel affair, Arcand Adrien," *The Nizkor Project*, April 22, 1996, <https://www.nizkor.org/the-zundel-affair-arcand-adrien/>.

¹⁵⁶ Ingrid Rimland, "Ernst Zündel: His Struggle For Germany - A Curriculum in Historical Dates and Keywords."

¹⁵⁷ Ernst Zündel, "Another Voice of Freedom Radio Broadcasts on Cassette," *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#.

attention from his denial of the reality of the Shoah by emphasizing his right to freedom of expression regarding his investigation about the reality of the Shoah. First, he described anti-hate speech laws preventing the spread of Holocaust denialism as tools of oppression created by Jews and other enemies of freedom. Second, he highlighted American First Amendment principles and ruling of the Canadian Supreme Court as the last bastions of defenders of free speech. Third, he framed Holocaust deniers like himself as martyrs valiantly fighting the spreading criminalization of Holocaust denialism worldwide. Within a decade, Zündel had created a pioneering legacy that shaped Shoah denial podcasts from their infancy in the late 1990s into the 2020s.

Zündel's early activities became the central node around which a vast topography of Holocaust denialism emerged. "American Dissident Voices (ADV)" was one of the first Holocaust denialist podcasts. It began in 1991 as the radio broadcast of the National Alliance, an American white supremacist organization spearheaded by William Pierce.¹⁵⁸ On its website, the National Alliance offered "ADV" episodes in audio or printed format.¹⁵⁹ "ADV" began regularly uploading podcasts to its website in 1996.¹⁶⁰ Hosted by white supremacists like William Pierce, Kevin Alfred Strom, Shaun Walker, and Erich Glibe, "ADV" promoted topics such as white race survival and Jewish supremacy.

David Duke, who had been a major architect of the Ku Klux Klan's resurgence in the 1970s, launched the "David Duke Webradio Broadcast," one of the earliest denialist podcasts on the Internet, on February 20, 1997.¹⁶¹ Operating DavidDuke.com as his major podcast site on the

¹⁵⁸ "Mastering Media: American Dissident Voices 24th Anniversary," narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Vanguard*, December 26, 2015, <http://nationalvanguard.org/2015/12/mastering-media-american-dissident-voices-24th-anniversary/>.

¹⁵⁹ "American Dissident Voices - Audio Search Engine," *National Alliance*, archived on June 15, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20040615044709/http://www.natall.com/adv/>.

¹⁶⁰ "American Dissident Voices - All Shows from 1996," *National Alliance*, archived on June 27, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20020627124530/http://natall.com/cgi-bin/audio.cgi?year=1996>.

¹⁶¹ David Duke, "Recent radio shows by David Duke," *DavidDuke.com*, archived on August 30, 1999, <https://web.archive.org/web/19990830181936/http://davidduke.com/radio/default.htm>.

Internet, Duke exploited many popular racist tropes such as race survival, the perils of immigration, the Jewish world domination, and Zionism.¹⁶² Duke cleverly refused to take ‘hard’ stances on the Holocaust, but claimed to fight for everyone’s right to see the facts and reach their own conclusions. But Duke never accorded respect to genuine Holocaust historians or their scholarship. He treated the Shoah as a controversial event he referred to as the “Holocaust Theory,”¹⁶³ implying that the existence of the Shoah was a ‘hypothesis.’

Jeffrey Rense, the host of the “Jeff Rense Program,” is an alternative culture podcaster. His earliest podcasts began in 1997 as “Sightings On The Radio,” a program featured on Sightings.com.¹⁶⁴ In early 2000, Rense changed his brand name to create the “Jeff Rense Program.”¹⁶⁵ Speaking on “ADV,” Mark Weber, an American Holocaust denier and editor of the pseudo-academic journal, *The Journal of Historical Review*,¹⁶⁶ characterized Rense’s show as “sort of a New Age thing. He deals with health issues, and lots of alternative views of the world, and culture, and so forth.”¹⁶⁷ Rense promoted dark theories about reptilian overlords ruling the earth, cover-up conspiracies about the September 11 attacks, and Holocaust denial. Gradually, Rense moved closer to white nationalism, even celebrating Hitler’s birthday on his website.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² David Duke, “David Duke’s 2005 Radio Broadcast Archive!” *DavidDuke.com*, archived on February 04, 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090204230449/http://www.davidduke.com/general/live-from-america-and-around-the-worldlisten-to-todays-or-an-earlier-web-cast-of-david-duke-live-internet-radio-broadcast-live-every-weekday-sunday-e-mail-or-post-your-questions-to-rep-duke_222.html.

¹⁶³ “Duke and Michele Renouf Discuss the Holocaust PART II,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, February 9, 2007, 29:45, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio070209.mp3>.

¹⁶⁴ “Sightings On The Radio,” *Broadcasts.com*, archived on December 02, 1998, <https://web.archive.org/web/19981202050626/http://www.broadcast.com/shows/endoftheline/>.

¹⁶⁵ Jeff Rense, “Home,” *Rense.com*, archived on February 29, 2000, <https://web.archive.org/web/20000229103951/http://sightings.com/>.

¹⁶⁶ Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial As an International Movement*, 170.

¹⁶⁷ “Jewish Supremacism Exposed: An Interview With Mark Weber, Part 2,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, April 10, 2004, archived on June 15, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20040615225026/http://www.natall.com/adv/2004/04-10-04.html>.

¹⁶⁸ James L. Smith, “Jeff Rense is Building a Shady Alternative Health Product Empire While Promoting Adolf Hitler and Blaming and Bashing The Jews,” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 28, 2015, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/04/27/used-canard-salesman>.

Kevin Barrett, very briefly an instructor in Islamic Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2006 and fired after he had claimed that neoconservative Zionists were responsible for the September 11 attacks,¹⁶⁹ began publishing his podcast, “Truth Jihad,” on the No Lies Radio network in early 2008.¹⁷⁰ Barrett’s podcast also appeared on other anti-Semitic networks like American Freedom Radio¹⁷¹ and The Unz Review.¹⁷² Over the years, Barrett flirted with Holocaust denialism, questioning whether the Shoah happened and inviting deniers, such as Ron Unz and Nicholas Kollerstrom, to appear on his program.¹⁷³

John Friend launched “The Realist Report” on Talkshoe.com in October 2012.¹⁷⁴ He was a “journalist” working for the *American Free Press*, established jointly in 2001 by white supremacist and Shoah denier Willis Carto, *The Barnes Review*, a denialist pseudo-academic journal, and Jeff Rense’s website, Rense.com. In mid-2015, Friend began uploading his podcast to his own website, TheRealistReport.com,¹⁷⁵ where he also posted anti-Semitic articles.

Starting in 2003 in Sweden, husband and wife duo Henrik Palmgren and Lana Lokteff promoted white supremacist conspiracy theories on their podcasts available on RedIce.tv.¹⁷⁶ In 2018, the Red Ice YouTube channel attracted over 200,000 subscribers, becoming one of the

¹⁶⁹ Cloee Cooper, “Kevin Barrett: Repackaging Antisemitism,” *Political Research Associate*, October 23, 2017, <https://www.politicalresearch.org/2017/10/23/kevin-barrett-repackaging-antisemitism>.

¹⁷⁰ “No Lies Radio,” *NoLiesRadio*, archived on February 05, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080205063050/http://noliesradio.org/>.

¹⁷¹ “Truth Jihad Radio,” *American Freedom Radio*, archived on May 20, 2009, https://web.archive.org/web/20090520144827/http://www.americanfreedomradio.com/Barrett_09.html.

¹⁷² “Kevin Barrett Archive,” *The Unz Review*, <https://www.unz.com/author/kevin-barrett/all/>.

¹⁷³ Cloee Cooper, “Kevin Barrett: Repackaging Antisemitism,” *Political Research Associate*.

¹⁷⁴ “The Realist Report – Past Episodes,” *Talkshoe*, archived on July 11, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140711105654/http://www.talkshoe.com/talkshoe/web/talkCast.jsp?masterId=128766&pageNumber=12&pageSize=15>.

¹⁷⁵ John Friend, “Radio Appearances,” *The Realist Report*, archived on August 09, 2015, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150809174108/http://therealistreport.com/category/radio-appearances/>.

¹⁷⁶ Cassie Miller, “McInnes, Molyneux, and 4chan: Investigating pathways to the Alt-right,” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 10, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20180419/mcinnnes-molyneux-and-4chan-investigating-pathways-alt-right>.

most prominent alt-right content creators on the website.¹⁷⁷ In 2019, YouTube indefinitely banned Red Ice, which had attracted 335,000 subscribers, from the YouTube platform.¹⁷⁸ Today, Red Ice TV distributes podcasts like “Red Ice Radio,” hosted primarily by Henrik Palmgren, and “Radio 3Fourteen,” presented by Lana Lokteff. Both pride themselves on introducing listeners “to new alt-right figures and ideas” aided by neo-Nazi guests.¹⁷⁹

The largest network of alt-right Internet broadcasts is The Right Stuff.¹⁸⁰ Spearheaded in 2014 by Mike “Enoch” Peinovich and his show, “The Daily Shoah,”¹⁸¹ the network offers Holocaust denialist podcasts including “The Poz Button,” hosted by Alex McNabb, Nick Mason, and someone using the pseudonym “Borzoi Boskovic,” as well as the “The Paranormies,” featuring Adam Haidt, Scott Taylor, Bradshaw Wilson, and John “Johnny Monoxide” Ramondetta. According to the Anti-Defamation League, The Right Stuff propagates racist and anti-Semitic themes.¹⁸² All podcasts on The Right Stuff have a tendency to “troll,” by perversely saying, for example: “how do you cook your Jews? Medium-rare? Black and blue? I try not to. They have this weird smell.”¹⁸³

Each podcast promotes free speech absolutism by advocating for limitless speech on any topic, including the Holocaust. Still, its contributors differ on the reasons for their absolutist

¹⁷⁷ “A report from the Center on Extremism. New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of American White Supremacy,” Anti-Defamation League, September 20, 2018, 41, <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/new-hate-and-old-changing-face-american-white-supremacy>.

¹⁷⁸ Hannah Gais, “YouTube Takes Down Red Ice’s Main Channel,” Southern Poverty Law Center, October 21, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/10/21/youtube-takes-down-red-ices-main-channel>.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ “A report from the Center on Extremism. New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of American White Supremacy,” Anti-Defamation League, 39.

¹⁸¹ “Michael ‘Enoch’ Peinovich,” Southern Poverty Law Center, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/michael-enoch-peinovich>.

¹⁸² “A report from the Center on Extremism. New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of American White Supremacy,” Anti-Defamation League, 39.

¹⁸³ “The Paranormies - The Holocaust Part 1,” narrated by Adam Haidt, Scott Taylor, Bradshaw Wilson, and John “Johnny Monoxide” Ramondetta, The Paranormies, *The Right Stuff*, February 9, 2018, archived on April 20, 2018, 12:20, <https://archive.org/details/TheParanormiesPresentSeason3/S03E23+-+The+Holocaust+Part+1.mp3>.

position. Denialist podcasts like “Truth Jihad,” “The Realist Report,” and the “Jeff Rense Program” view freedom of expression as a tool to resist ‘Jewish power,’ sometimes described as the ‘New World Order’ and the ‘organized Jewish community.’ For these podcasters, the prohibition of Holocaust denial is a Jewish strategy to consolidate Jewish world power. On “Truth Jihad,” Kevin Barrett associated the Holocaust with “the larger issue of battling the [so-called] ‘bankster’ financed New World Order project for global tyranny.”¹⁸⁴ Jeff Rense and John Friend even admired the “organized Jewish community” for its ability to consolidate “the power they wield. This just wasn’t given to them. They’ve constructed this. They’ve created it. They’re brilliant at it. We are up against that kind of incredible intellect.”¹⁸⁵ For these podcasters, free speech about the Holocaust constituted an act of resistance against Jewish ‘tyranny.’

Building on the notion of ‘Jewish power,’ other denialist podcasts like “ADV,” the “David Duke Webradio Broadcast,” “Red Ice Radio,” “Radio 3Fourteen,” “The Poz Button,” and “The Paranormies” related their defence of free speech to the survival for the allegedly superior White race. For example, Henrik Palmgren interviewed Eric Hunt, an American neo-Nazi documentary filmmaker, to discuss his films about the Holocaust. Both deniers viewed the Holocaust ‘myth’ as a Jewish tool to destroy White European nationalism.¹⁸⁶ David Duke made the same point when he argued that White people’s “survival depends on freedom, for our heritage will face certain extinction unless we have the freedom first to know the truth and

¹⁸⁴ “Kollerstrom vs Myers Debate: Should 9/11 Truthers Avoid Holocaust Revisionism? with Nick Kollerstrom and Peter Myers,” narrated by Kevin Barrett, Truth Jihad, *The Unz Review*, December 23, 2014, 00:55, unz.com/audio/kbarrett_kollerstrom-vs-myers-debate-should-9-11-truthers-avoid-holoc/.

¹⁸⁵ “The Plan to Demolish America Is in Full View,” narrated by Jeff Rense, Jeff Rense Program, *Realist Report*, July 22nd, 2019, 27:00, <http://therealistreport.com/on-the-jeff-rens-show/>.

¹⁸⁶ “The Shoah: The Biggest Hoax of the 20th Century?” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *RedIceTV*, August 15, 2015, 43:00, , 44:40, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/the-shoah-the-biggest-hoax-of-the-20th-century>.

secondly to act on it. [...] Without free speech no search for truth is possible.”¹⁸⁷ Essentially, these denialist podcasters view free speech as a way to protect the White race from extinction and mobilize their forces to enact violent ‘self-defence.’

Zündel’s Anti-Hate Law Framework: A “Jewish Oppressive Tool Against Freedom”

Vigorous opposition to anti-hate laws figured prominently in Ernst Zündel’s radio broadcasts. These laws exist worldwide. Canada protects its citizens from hate propaganda under anti-hate statutes. In France, denying the existence of crimes against humanity, such as the Holocaust, is illegal. Austrian law explicitly sanctions anyone who denies National Socialist crimes against humanity. German jurisprudence contains the Auschwitz Lie Law, which prohibits the defamation of the memory of the victims of the Shoah. Switzerland, Italy, Israel, Belgium, Sweden, and Australia have similar laws.¹⁸⁸

While the charges brought against Zündel by Sabrina Citron in 1983 were about knowingly spreading false information, anti-hate laws were at the core of the Zündel trials. During the trials, Douglas Christie questioned the need for anti-hate laws: “to question should never be anti-anything. Why should it be? To think is not against anybody.”¹⁸⁹ Christie went as far as comparing anti-hate laws to Nazi book burning¹⁹⁰ and censorship through fear.¹⁹¹ On “AVOF,” Zündel shared his lawyer’s contempt towards anti-hate legislation. Notably, he described the German anti-Holocaust denial law as a repressive tool to impose Holocaust

¹⁸⁷ “Freedom of Speech and My Book Jewish Supremacism,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, Davidduke.com, July 28, 2004, archived on October 15, 2008, https://web.archive.org/web/20081015164451/http://www.davidduke.com/general/freedom-of-speech_2.html.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* 10-12.

¹⁸⁹ Douglas Christie, *The Zundel Trial & Free Speech* (Toronto: Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform Inc, 1985), 10.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

education on people worldwide.¹⁹² Moreover, he characterized German censorship of freedom of speech as “unequaled even in the strictest period of the National Socialist era.”¹⁹³ Zündel characterized Germany as an “oppressive vassal state.”¹⁹⁴ Guests on “AVOF” agreed with him. André Chélain, a French Holocaust denier, equated the French constitution to the Soviet Union’s because, he claimed, both governments imprisoned people who challenged “compulsory” state history.¹⁹⁵ Other invitees, like American denier Jack Wickoff, referred to European anti-hate laws as “patently absurd” and as a “desperate last-ditch effort to silence people.”¹⁹⁶

According to Zündel, all supporters and promoters of anti-hate laws were “enemies of freedom.” This label was not original with Zündel as Christie, addressing the jury in 1985, said that an ‘obscure group’ in Canada suppressed discussions about the Shoah:

there is a power in this land [Canada] that doesn’t want you to think about it [the Holocaust], doesn’t want anybody out here to think about it, and has made up the mind of somebody in power that anyone who questions this belief will be prosecuted and publicly humiliated.¹⁹⁷

While Christie never revealed the identity of this mysterious power, Zündel subtly identified the enemies of freedom as the Jews on his broadcast, claiming that “when certain truths threaten certain special interests, those special interests react with a vengeance. [...] [T]hose who claim to

¹⁹² “#224 – Ernst Zundel on the Ongoing Repression of Revisionism (Part Three),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#224.

¹⁹³ “#359 – Censorship in Germany,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#359.

¹⁹⁴ “#393 – The Zundel Sag (Part 11 of 11),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#393.

¹⁹⁵ “#119 – Ernst Zundel Interviews André Chelain,” Narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#119.

¹⁹⁶ “#48 – Ernst Zundel Interviews Jack Wickoff,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#48.

¹⁹⁷ Douglas Christie, *The Zundel Trial & Free Speech*, 23.

be ‘persecuted’ are in fact, the worst persecutors.”¹⁹⁸ Given that Jews are the primary target of Holocaust denial, Zündel’s comment directly labelled Jews as oppressors. On another occasion, Zündel contended that “traditional enemies of freedom and free speech” used criminal courts to silence ‘revisionists.’¹⁹⁹ This statement correlated with Zündel’s description of Sabrina Citron, the original plaintiff in the Zündel prosecution, as an oppressor who constantly sought to silence and prosecute him.²⁰⁰

While Zündel was more subtle in portraying anti-hate laws as a Jewish tool for oppression, “ADV” left no doubts: the Jews created anti-Holocaust denial legislation to protect Jewish assets. In March 2005, Mark Weber claimed during a podcast that European anti-hate laws targeted ‘revisionist’ writings in “a form of selective justice” to protect Jewish interests. Anti-Holocaust denial laws existed, he continued, “because Jewish groups have agitated and promoted and pushed for these laws.”²⁰¹ Months later, “ADV” host Shaun Walker claimed that anti-hate laws were “Orwellian” since they allowed Jews to “have a world-wide copyright on anything spoken or written for this historical event.”²⁰² In another episode, Walker explicitly demonstrated his frustration about “the most oppressive Jew-inspired law,” asking, “how can anyone be in trouble with the law for merely stating or writing their opinion [on] a historical

¹⁹⁸ “#201 – Ernst Zundel on Doug Collins & The B.C. Human Rights Commission (Part One),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#201.

¹⁹⁹ “#101 – Ernst Zundel Interviews Kirk Lyons,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#101.

²⁰⁰ “#389 – The Zundel Saga (Part 7 of 11),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#389.

²⁰¹ “Zundel’s Persecution: By Order of the Jews, An Interview With Mark Weber, Part 1,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, March 5, 2005, archived on March 06, 2005,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20050306125653/http://www.natall.com/adv/2005/03-05-05.html>.

²⁰² “David Irving’s Arrest: Freedom or Jewish Supremacy,” narrated by Shaun Walker, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, November 26, 2005, archived on November 29, 2005,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20051129025548/http://natall.com/adv/2005/11-26-05.html>.

event? [...] These laws are only about maintaining Jewish power.”²⁰³ Years later, Erich Gliebe argued that anti-hate regulations suppressed freedom of speech regarding “subjects that the Jews consider to be touchy, such as questioning the official version of the so-called Holocaust.”²⁰⁴

David Duke, a great supporter of Zündel, unquestionably agreed with his attack on anti-Holocaust denial laws. Interviewed on the broadcast, Michele Renouf, an Australian ‘revisionist,’ labelled anti-Holocaust denial laws as “monstrous nonsense” because, she argued, ‘revisionism’ constituted a “rational, reasonable Western civilised conversation.”²⁰⁵ Much like Zündel, Duke blamed Jews for the creation of these laws as “Orwellian” laws.²⁰⁶ In 2004, he warned his audience about the Jewish promotion of anti-hate laws in the United States:

In America we have a very clear Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution that unequivocally defends freedom of speech. Yet, that has not stopped lawmakers, at the behest of Jewish supremacist groups such as the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith (ADL) and the American Jewish Congress (AJC), from passing legislation that increases penalties for crimes if the offending person uttered the wrong speech or even had the wrong thoughts at the time of the crime!²⁰⁷

A decade later, Duke still blamed Jews for imprisoning ‘revisionist researchers,’ stating that “the Zionists have advanced these laws, as you know in Europe, in America, and around the world, called hate laws.”²⁰⁸ For Duke, anti-hate laws were Jewish by default.

²⁰³ “The Power of the Holocaust,” narrated by Shaun Walker, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, February 18, 2006, archived on March 29, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060329025911/http://www.natall.com/adv/2006/02-18-06.html>.

²⁰⁴ “A Worldview of White Freedom,” narrated by Erich Gliebe, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, June 5, 2010, archived on April 18, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120418202953/http://www.natall.com/adv/2010/06-05-10.html>.

²⁰⁵ “Duke and Michele Renouf Discuss the Holocaust PART II,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, 12:40.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:10.

²⁰⁷ “Freedom of Speech and my Book Jewish Supremacism,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast.

²⁰⁸ “Dr. Duke & Dr. MacDonald Complete Expose the Jewish-Led Holocaust of European Mankind!” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, October 23, 2015, 2:50, <http://renseradioarchives.com/archives/dduke/102315.mp3>.

Over at “Truth Jihad,” Kevin Barrett criticized anti-Holocaust denial laws because, he argued, “we need to be free to talk about it [the Holocaust] and debate it and sift through the information and it’s just unconscionable that people are being thrown in prison in Europe for questioning it.”²⁰⁹ For Barrett, anti-hate laws promoted the “persecution of people who are questioning history. Everyone has the right to explore and question history.”²¹⁰ Like the other denialist podcasters, Barrett associated anti-hate laws with the “Jewish lobby.” In 2014, he interviewed Peter Myers, a conspiracy theorist described by Barrett as a “New World Order researcher in Australia,”²¹¹ who blamed Jews for free speech restrictions in Australia.²¹²

In 2021, The Realist Report interviewed Fred A. Leuchter, author of the pseudo-scientific and discredited *Leuchter Report*, and Jim Rizoli, an American Holocaust denier popular on Bitchute, a video-sharing website. The trio described anti-hate laws as oppressive and responsible for the imprisonment of ‘revisionists’ who “genuinely [engaged] in free speech and intellectual and historical inquiry.”²¹³ According to them, these laws were part of a Jewish plan to control discourse about the Holocaust,²¹⁴ portraying Jews as enemies of free speech.²¹⁵

As much as deniers despised anti-hate laws, they rationalized them according to their ideology. As Canadian human rights lawyer David Matas explained in his book, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech*, hate propagandists live in a delusional world where everything fits their

²⁰⁹ “Peter Myers: No Use Denying – Hitler WAS a Racist Scumbag!” narrated by Kevin Barrett, Truth Jihad, *The Unz Review*, November 23, 2014, 10:30, unz.com/audio/kbarrett_peter-myers-no-use-denying-hitler-was-a-racist-scumbag/.

²¹⁰ “Kollerstrom vs Myers Debate: Should 9/11 Truthers Avoid Holocaust Revisionism? with Nick Kollerstrom and Peter Myers,” narrated by Kevin Barrett, Truth Jihad, 58:00.

²¹¹ “Peter Myers: No Use Denying – Hitler WAS a Racist Scumbag!” narrated by Kevin Barrett, Truth Jihad, 00:55.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 34:10, 38:50.

²¹³ “The Realist Report - Fred Leuchter & Jim Rizoli,” narrated by John Friend, The Realist Report, *The Realist Report*, February 27, 2021, 21:10.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22:00.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22:55.

worldview.²¹⁶ On their podcasts, ‘revisionists’ justified the existence of anti-hate laws as proof of a governmental and Jewish plot to hide the ‘truth’ about the Shoah. Deniers believe they live in a world entangled in Jewish conspiracies, and anti-hate laws are proof of a Jewish plot to hide the ‘truth’ about the Holocaust. Ernst Zündel deployed this rhetoric in an “AVOF” episode during which he introduced the slogan, “Hate Laws Hate Truth.”²¹⁷ In another episode, he characterized anti-hate laws as preventive measures designed to hide the actuality about the Holocaust:

Fear that certain truths might indeed be exposed by freedom fighters like the intrepid Mr. Z [Zündel], drives some special interest groups to push for the enactment of ‘hate laws’ similar to those already in place in Canada and many European countries, such as France and Germany.²¹⁸

Zündel, once more, accused Jews of using anti-hate laws to silence dissident voices and hide the ‘truth’ about the Shoah to protect Jewish interests.

In 2009, Jeff Rense invited Texe Marrs to appear on his podcast. A renowned anti-Semite, Marrs questioned the nature of anti-hate laws, arguing that if Jews had indeed suffered during WWII, governments and Jews would not withhold facts or legislate against free speech.²¹⁹ Rense expressed the same idea but toned down his wording by asking, “who is trying to hide what here? And for what reason?”²²⁰ Marrs’ accusation that Jews were hiding facts and suppressing speech undercut Rense’s effort to project innocent skepticism and exposed his anti-Semitism. If Jews and governments were withholding facts and denying free speech as Marrs insisted, surely the answer to Rense’s question was that the Jews hid the truth.

²¹⁶ David Matas, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech* (Winnipeg: Bain and Cox Publishers, 2000), 80.

²¹⁷ “#201 – Ernst Zundel on Doug Collins & The B.C. Human Rights Commission (Part One),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom.

²¹⁸ “#348 – Let Freedom Reign,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#348.

²¹⁹ “Who Owns The Majority Of The Media?” narrated by Jeff Rense, Jeff Rense Program, *Rense.com*, May 18, 2009, archived on July 23, 2011, 14:45, https://web.archive.org/web/20110723141837/http://rense.gsradio.net:8080/rense/special/rense_T_Marrs_051809.mp3.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17:45.

A similar exchange transpired on “Red Ice Radio” in 2017 when Ingrid Carlqvist, a journalist openly critical of Swedish multiculturalism,²²¹ said:

There is something here that does not add up [about the Holocaust] because if everything is true, why would you be scared of someone, you know, scrutinizing the evidence? Why would you be afraid? If you know that everything is true and solid, why would you say to someone: it’s forbidden to say something about it [the Holocaust]?²²²

Henrik Palmgren, the podcast host, answered Carlqvist’s question by claiming that the Holocaust was an industry indispensable economically, emotionally, and politically to Israel.²²³ Therefore, he claimed, the Jews had suppressed speech to hide the actuality of the Holocaust.

Zündel’s contempt towards anti-hate regulations revealed his own Orwellian worldview: anti-hate laws were a Jewish tool designed to suppress freedom of speech and hide the ‘truth’ about the Shoah. Holocaust denialist podcasters supported this view by making arguments similar to Zündel’s in their podcasts. Their framework of Jewish oppression contributed to the deniers’ self-characterization as defenders of free speech, ignoring their role in inciting anti-Semitism, and saw them tightly wrapping themselves around the First Amendment and the American Constitution.

Beacon of Light: Promotion of Free Speech and the American First Amendment

Unlike Canada, France, or Germany, the United States has no legislation against hateful speech. The First Amendment of the American Constitution grants Americans the right to question the existence of anything, from Elvis Presley’s death to the Holocaust.²²⁴ The United States provides a safe haven for podcasters who deny the truth about the Holocaust. Essentially,

²²¹ “Ingrid Carlqvist - Scandal in Sweden When Ingrid Questions the Unquestionable,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *Red Ice*, May 02, 2017, 47:00, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/scandal-in-sweden-when-ingrid-questions-the-unquestionable>.

²²² *Ibid.*, 53:00.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 1:21:25.

²²⁴ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?*, 10.

the First Amendment is their shield and Zündel understood this nuance. His veneration of American free speech began during his trials in the 1980s. At his first Canadian trial, the court “placed great reliance on the [exceptional] United States approach to [...] freedom of expression which [only] excludes obscene, libellous and knowingly false speech.”²²⁵ In the 1992 Canadian Supreme Court decision protecting Zündel’s speech, the Canadian Supreme Court cited American court cases to insist that the fact that the “speech might ‘excite popular prejudice’ is no reason to deny it protection.”²²⁶ The Canadian Supreme Court imported the concept of free speech to give Zündel greater freedom to practice Holocaust denial.

Unsurprisingly, Zündel began promoting American freedom of expression during his “AVOF” program tables, describing the United States as a “bastion of freedom of speech in a world of hypocrisy and tyranny, full of regimes that pay only lip service to freedom.”²²⁷ Zündel now urged his listeners to “defend it [the American Constitution] to the hilt. Uphold the Constitution.”²²⁸ To emphasize the value of American freedom and the need to protect it, Zündel often compared American free speech to the “sorry state of Free Speech in Canada.”²²⁹ In one broadcast, he complained that many Americans failed “to appreciate that the protection afforded by their cherished First Amendment ceases at the northern border of the Land of Liberty

²²⁵ R. v. Zundel, [1992] 2 S.C.R. 731, <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/904/index.do>.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ “#60 – Ernst Zundel Interview Jogh Van De Wall,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#60.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ “#208 – Ernst Zundel on Doug Collins, John Ball, and Free Speech,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#208.

[Canada]. An almost imperceptible, but definite air of oppression hangs in the air.”²³⁰ The American Constitution made the United States unique. Thus, its preservation was crucial.

Comparisons between the United States and Canada assumed cataclysmic proportions— Zündel projected a war between oppression and freedom:

With another war against the Forces of Darkness looming on the horizon, Ernst Zundel mans the battle stations in preparation for the onslaught. [...] Zundel appeals -- particularly to his American audience -- not to take their precious freedom for granted. Citing the deplorable situation in Canada, its restrictive hate laws, where even truth is no defense, Zundel urges listeners to fight those who would abolish their First Amendment rights.²³¹

Terms such as “war,” “Forces of Darkness,” and “fight” manufactured an imaginary struggle to preserve American freedom of speech. Canada had already fallen, and the United States was next unless people went to “war” and ‘fought’ against the “Forces of Darkness.” Zündel’s comment was ever the more ominous given his earlier association of Jews with oppression. One could read his message as a call for a war against Jews.

Like Zündel, Erich Gliebe from “ADV” compared the state of freedom of expression in Canada and the United States: “it’s not just anywhere in the Western Hemisphere that one can host a Holocaust Revisionist conference these days, certainly not in Canada.”²³² For Gliebe, the American First Amendment was special because it allowed deniers to organize conferences negating the Holocaust. Like Zündel, Gliebe also focused on the ‘erosion’ of American freedom and encouraged American listeners to take advantage of their rights before it was too late: “freedom of speech and freedom of assembly are two of the foremost freedoms in America, and

²³⁰ “#370 – Censorship by Customs,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#370.

²³¹ “#342 – Combating Censorship,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#342.

²³² “Taking a Second Look at the Holocaust,” narrated by Erich Gliebe, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, January 13, 2007, archived on August 28, 2008,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20080828134939/http://www.natall.com/adv/2007/01-13-07.html>.

we'd better exercise those rights now before they completely disappear.”²³³ According to him, discussions about hate speech and its place within the American Constitution were “indicative of the freedom of speech being hemmed in, even here in the Western hemisphere, where complete freedom in that department is supposed to be our greatest and crowning achievement.”²³⁴ For Gliebe, the Jews promoted limiting freedoms because too much free speech threatened their interests.²³⁵

Attention to America's unique interpretation of freedom of speech also emerged on *Red Ice*. In 2014, Lana Lokteff interviewed Carolyn Yeager, a relatively unknown Holocaust denier, on “Radio 3Fourteen.” Yeager expressed herself on European Holocaust ‘censorship,’ stating that the American constitution was primordial for the protection of free speech: “We cannot let it go. That [repression of free speech] is kind of like the Dark Ages.”²³⁶ While her message praised the protection of free speech under the American constitution, it also highlighted the uniqueness of that guarantee. Lokteff's interview with David Cole two years later also featured the same points. One of the most prominent Holocaust deniers in the early 1990s, Cole, a Jewish-American, praised the United States and its commitment to guarantee free speech during his interview: “I am lucky to be an American citizen. I'm not going to be thrown in prison for it [denying the Holocaust]. If I were in France, Germany, Austria, many countries in Europe, I would get thrown in prison. [...] I am glad I will stay a free man.”²³⁷ Cole's comment connected with Yeager's attitude that America's protection of free speech was unique compared to the supposed ‘intellectual’ repression in Europe.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ “A Worldview of White Freedom,” narrated by Erich Gliebe, *American Dissident Voices*.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ “Carolyn Yeager - WWII Revisionist History,” narrated by Lana Lokteff, Radio 3Fourteen, *Red Ice*, September 03, 2014, 19:15, <https://redice.tv/radio-3fourteen/wwii-revisionist-history>.

²³⁷ “David Cole - The Truth Behind the Gates of Auschwitz,” narrated by Lana Lokteff, Radio 3Fourteen, *Red Ice*, January 13, 2016, 1:06:12, <https://redice.tv/radio-3fourteen/the-truth-behind-the-gates-of-auschwitz>.

“The Paranormies” and its American white supremacist audience heavily emphasized the sanctity of the American First Amendment. During the conclusion of a four-hour-long special on the Shoah, the group asked its audience:

How can a single American believe in the Holocaust? How can a single person that takes, like, the First Amendment to be having any sanctity, look at Holocaust denial laws in places like Germany and elsewhere and be like, ‘oh yeah, everything said here is true.’²³⁸

For the hosts, no Americans who respected the American Constitution could support anti-hate speech legislation. Doing so would disgrace the holiness of American free speech.

Jeff Rense also highly venerated the American Constitution and the First Amendment. In 2019, Rense interviewed John Friend of “The Realist Report” on his program. Both men claimed that Holocaust education undermined American freedom of speech. Particularly concerning for Rense was the plan, he claimed, by the “organized Zionist lobby in this country [the United States]” to establish “Holocaust education, excuse me, Holocaust brainwashing for children.”²³⁹ For Rense, the ability to freely question the Holocaust made “America different. We are the only country in the world to have a guaranteed right to free speech. They don’t have it in Germany or the UK, not in Sweden. It’s gone in Europe.”²⁴⁰ Therefore, according to Rense, this “brainwashing” campaign threatened the essence of America’s identity and uniqueness that guaranteed people’s right to freedom of thought.

Interestingly, in more recent podcasts, Zündel’s picture of a war between the “Forces of Darkness” and the United States does not resonate. Nevertheless, his idea that the American First Amendment stood alone as the sole guarantor of free speech worldwide persists. Their constant call for freedom of speech helped deniers to camouflage themselves as fighters and martyrs for

²³⁸ “The Paranormies - The Holocaust Part 2,” narrated by Adam Haidt, Scott Taylor, Bradshaw Wilson, and John “Johnny Monoxide” Ramondetta, *The Paranormies, The Right Stuff*, February 16, 2018, archived on April 20, 2018, 2:07:15, <https://archive.org/details/TheParanormiesPresentSeason3/S03E25+-+The+Holocaust+Part+2.mp3>.

²³⁹ “The Plan to Demolish America Is in Full View,” narrated by Jeff Rense, *Jeff Rense Program*, 22:20.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21:45.

free speech, distracting attention from their true identity as anti-Semites who believed in neo-Nazism.

Freedom Fighters and Martyrs, Not Holocaust Deniers

Fitting with Ernst Zündel's understanding of anti-hate laws and American free speech was his glorification of himself and other deniers as free speech fighters and martyrs. Starting with Zündel during his trials and radio broadcast, denialist podcasts from the late 1990s to the 2020s actively carried on Zündel's legacy of eulogizing deniers as freedom fighters and martyrs, thus portraying Holocaust deniers as virtuous citizens and icons of free speech.

Zündel's glorification of deniers began during his prosecution. In the courtroom, Douglas Christie promoted his client as a good citizen who never owned a firearm or directed violence at anyone. Zündel's denial of the Shoah, Christie claimed, was not an attack against Jews but a defence of Germany.²⁴¹ Because of that, Christie argued his client was a martyr attacked for no other reason than his views: "I began to see, as I suggest you should, that the real reason for this prosecution was his [Zündel's] views. If any of us is subjected to that kind of scrutiny, it will mean that freedom really ceases to have any meaning."²⁴² Christie stressed that if it could happen to Zündel, it could happen to other law-abiding Canadians.

Over on "AVOF," Zündel constructed an image of himself as the proto-typical successful Canadian immigrant:

He [Zündel] has never been convicted of a criminal offense in this country. Ernst Zundel has never been unemployed and has never collected welfare or been any kind of burden to Canadian society. Ernst Zundel has always paid his taxes. He proudly learned -- and speaks -- both [of] Canada's official languages. He has created meaningful employment for countless Canadians. He has been a prosperous businessman, achieving the pinnacle of success in his chosen field of graphic arts. He has married and raised a family in his adopted land.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Douglas Christie, *The Zundel Trial & Free Speech*, 6-8.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁴³ "#375 – Taking on the Spies (Part 1)," narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#375.

Underlining Zündel’s flawless character was his pacifism, the reason he immigrated to Canada in the first place. Accordingly, he claimed his interest in the Shoah was not ill-intended but a “passion to learn the truth about the German role in World War Two.”²⁴⁴ Alongside the successful immigrant story, Zündel painted himself as a martyr for free speech on his broadcasts. On one occasion, he called himself “a ‘white Martin Luther King’ or a ‘German Ghandi.’”²⁴⁵ While never murdered for his ideas, the German-Canadian denier often recounted the physical attacks and smear campaigns he endured.²⁴⁶ These aggressions reinforced his belief in himself as “North America’s foremost freedom fighter”²⁴⁷ and a “seasoned veteran in the fight for freedom.”²⁴⁸ In his words, in his legal battle against the Canadian government, he was a modern David fighting Goliath on behalf of freedom of expression and historical truth.²⁴⁹

The National Alliance and its “ADV” podcast fully endorsed Zündel’s leadership in the fight for free speech about the Shoah. Invited to the program in 2003, Mark Weber portrayed Zündel as a pacifist, a political prisoner, and “the personification right now of oppression of

²⁴⁴ “#383 – The Zundel Saga (Part 1 of 11),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#383.

²⁴⁵ “#13 – Ernst Zundel on ‘Canadian Street Politics,’” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#13.

²⁴⁶ “#293 – Did Six Million Really Die? (Part 1 of 33),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#293.

²⁴⁷ “#337 – Ernst Zundel Responds to the Simon Wiesenthal Center,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#337.

²⁴⁸ “#360 – Internet Censorship in Germany (Part One),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#360.

²⁴⁹ “#392 – The Zundel Saga (Part 10 of 11),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001,

https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#392.

Politically Incorrect views [Holocaust ‘revisionism’] in North America.”²⁵⁰ Approximately two years later, Weber described Zündel as “a symbol -- a lightning rod -- a rallying point -- for people concerned about the issue of freedom of speech.”²⁵¹ Zündel deserved the “support of everyone who cares about free speech and free inquiry,”²⁵² Weber declared. Zündel was the greatest martyr and leader in the fight for free speech on the Shoah.

David Duke contributed to this narrative in his podcast after a German court sentenced Ernst Zündel to five years in prison for denying the Holocaust and inciting racial hatred on February 15, 2007.²⁵³ The next day, Duke released an episode protesting Zündel’s imprisonment by presenting him as the “number one political prisoner in the world.”²⁵⁴ Duke praised Zündel as an honest man who only challenged “allegations against Germany” during WWII.²⁵⁵ For the ex-Klansman, the German denier was a peaceful man who “only expressed an opinion. [...] Zündel has not committed a crime.”²⁵⁶ Duke’s description of Zündel echoed the German-Canadian denier’s picture of himself as a law-abiding citizen turned icon for Holocaust free speech.

Jeff Rense idolized Zündel as a political prisoner when he interviewed the German denier following his release from jail on May 13, 2010. Rense claimed that Zündel was a ‘thought criminal’ “seized” from his home for “studying and researching history.”²⁵⁷ During the

²⁵⁰ “Resistance to Jewish Power; and Zundel Case Update, Part 1 by Kevin Alfred Strom With Mark Weber,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, September 13, 2003, archived on November 08, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20031108184635/http://www.natall.com/adv/2003/09-13-03.html>.

²⁵¹ “Zundel’s Persecution: By Order of the Jews, An Interview With Mark Weber, Part 1,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices.

²⁵² “Zundel’s Persecution: By Order of the Jews, An Interview With Mark Weber, Part 2,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, March 12, 2005, archived on April 26, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20050426215547/http://www.natall.com/adv/2005/03-12-05.html>.

²⁵³ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 198.

²⁵⁴ “Protest the Imprisonment of Ernst Zundel,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, February 16, 2007, 5:40, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio070216.mp3>.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:30.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:40-5:15.

²⁵⁷ “World Exclusive Ernst Zundel First Radio Interview,” Jeff Rense, Jeff Rense Program, *Rense.com*, May 13, 2010, archived on May 27, 2010, 1:45, <https://archive.org/details/RenseWithGuestErnstZundel>.

interview, Rense told Zündel: “you were innocent, you are innocent, and you will always be innocent.”²⁵⁸ Moreover, Zündel accused the prison staff of purposely withholding medication due to his status as a political prisoner, thus undermining his health and cognitive abilities.²⁵⁹ Perhaps because of a lack of news, court appearances, or publicity stunts, the tradition of using Zündel as an icon of free speech martyrdom ended after Rense’s episode. Nevertheless, in early 2018, Henrik Palmgren, on “Red Ice Radio,” addressed Zündel as a “big hero” in the battle for freedom of speech about the Holocaust.²⁶⁰

Zündel was not the only denier portrayed as a martyr by Holocaust denialist podcasters. In fact, during the Zündel prosecution, Douglas Christie described deniers like Robert Faurisson, the infamous French Holocaust denier, and James Keegstra, a Canadian high school teacher fired for promoting anti-Semitic conspiracy theories in class, as innocent victims vilified for expressing their views on the Holocaust. Christie lamented the ridicule and physical attacks Faurisson suffered.²⁶¹ But more puzzling was Christie’s defence of Keegstra as someone in “big trouble” only because he challenged the existence of the Holocaust: “So, there’s a man who’s been a teacher for 21 years, who has been the victim, I suggest, of a massive campaign of vilification because he dared to question [the Shoah].”²⁶² However, Christie left out crucial details about both deniers. While Faurisson cast the Shoah as part of a Zionist plot,²⁶³ Keegstra taught children that Jews were the Devil’s children and failed students who disagreed with

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 10:30.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 18:40.

²⁶⁰ “Alfred Schaefer - Thought Criminal Monika Schaefer Arrested and Imprisoned in Germany,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *Red Ice*, January 26, 2018, 22:50, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/though-criminal-monika-schaefer-arrested-and-imprisoned-in-germany>.

²⁶¹ Douglas Christie, *The Zundel Trial & Free Speech*, 11.

²⁶² Ibid., 22.

²⁶³ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 93.

him.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, according to Christie, Faurisson and Keegstra were victims of speech restrictions, not vile anti-Semites distorting the Nazi genocide against the Jews of Europe.

This trend continued on “AVOF” as Zündel positively portrayed deniers like David Irving, a British Shoah denier and self-described “moderate fascist,”²⁶⁵ as “a man in the forefront of the fight for freedom.”²⁶⁶ He also described other deniers, like General Otto Ernst Remer and Ewald Althans as “upstanding citizens” arrested “simply for seeking the truth!”²⁶⁷ Zündel presented Remer as an 83 year-old man unjustly driven into exile for challenging the false history of the Holocaust.²⁶⁸ In reality, Remer was a convinced Nazi responsible for Hitler’s protection during WWII. After the war, Remer continuously protected his Führer’s legacy by denying the Holocaust.²⁶⁹ Zündel portrayed Ewald Althans, his German protégé, as an articulate and well-educated young German political thinker with “Aryan good looks” involved in the German Nationalist scene in the 1980s.²⁷⁰ In reality, Althans was a failed star of the German neo-Nazi movement²⁷¹ who faced prison in Germany for denialism.²⁷² For Zündel and his listeners, Irving, Remer, and Althans were not neo-Nazis propagating anti-Semitism, but free speech martyrs arrested for advancing ‘alternate’ theories about the Shoah.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 200-201.

²⁶⁵ Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, 161.

²⁶⁶ “#207 – David Irving’s Encounter at University Berkeley,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#207.

²⁶⁷ “#224 – Ernst Zundel on the Ongoing Repression of Revisionism (Part Three),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 105.

²⁷⁰ “#52 – Ernst Zundel Interviews Ewald Althan,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#52.

²⁷¹ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 110-111.

²⁷² “#224 – Ernst Zundel on the Ongoing Repression of Revisionism (Part Three),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom.

“ADV” shared Zündel’s depiction of David Irving as an essential character in the fight for the right to free expression. In a late 2005 broadcast, Shaun Walker opposed Irving’s arrest in Austria and described him as a martyr:

He did what every one of us does every single day. He said and wrote some things which he believes to be true [about the Holocaust]. [...] We owe it to Mr. Irving to help him. We owe it to the freedom of our various nations and to our children’s future freedom.²⁷³

According to Walker, everyone owed their freedom to Irving, a martyr at the forefront of the Holocaust free speech movement, a description akin to Zündel’s.

On his podcast, Duke positively portrayed his close denialist allies, such as Swiss denier Jürgen Graf and German ‘revisionist’ Germar Rudolf. An anti-Zionist at heart, Jürgen Graf wrote many books negating the Holocaust in the 1990s. In 1998, Swiss authorities sentenced him to 15 months in prison for his denialist activities. While awaiting his appeal, Graf escaped from Switzerland.²⁷⁴ For Duke, Graf was a victim of Jewish supremacists and faced prison “for simply expressing a dissenting historical opinion,” a terrible strike “against the most fundamental principles of freedom of speech and thought?”²⁷⁵ Two years later, Duke continued to label his Swiss ally as a ‘thought criminal’ and martyr forced to flee his homeland because of his “intellectual research and writing” challenging history.²⁷⁶

Germar Rudolf was another close ally of Duke mentioned on his podcasts. A member of German neo-Nazi organizations and a doctoral candidate in chemistry at the University of Stuttgart, Rudolf became infamous for his *Rudolf Report*, which argued that no genocidal gassing occurred at Auschwitz. To gild the accuracy of Rudolf’s research, Duke described

²⁷³ “David Irving’s Arrest: Freedom or Jewish Supremacy,” narrated by Shaun Walker, American Dissident Voices.

²⁷⁴ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 134-135.

²⁷⁵ “The Attack on Liberty and The War on Freedom,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Online Radio Report, *DavidDuke.com*, July 28, 2002, archived on August 02, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20020802042951/http://www.duke.org/radio/transcripts/warofreedom06282002.htm>.

²⁷⁶ “Freedom of Speech and my Book Jewish Supremacism,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast.

Rudolf as a “well-respected chemist”²⁷⁷ and a “very fine man.”²⁷⁸ In 1995, German justice attempted to sentence Rudolf for denialism, but the denier fled Germany for the United States, causing the Germans to seek his arrest.²⁷⁹ The United States extradited Rudolf to Germany a decade after he settled there. Outraged by that news, Duke similarly described Rudolf as Zündel described himself:

Because he [Rudolf] intellectually defended the German nation from certain charges during the Second World War, he is now facing imprisonment. This man, again, never advocated any sort of violence. He never condoned or, in fact, defended any sort of actions against Jews whatsoever, and he’s always been ready to denounce any sort of human cruelty or violence or murder or oppression, but simply because he argues the forensic facts concerning the Holocaust, he is possibly facing years or more in prison.²⁸⁰

Like Rense, Duke raised awareness about the living conditions inside the prisons holding David Irving and Germar Rudolf, claiming that both deniers were held in maximum security jails housing convicted terrorists. The fact that two ‘revisionists’ lived with and received the same sanction as terrorists was outrageous to Duke, who demanded justice for his colleagues.²⁸¹

As per Red Ice’s philosophy of introducing new alt-right figureheads to its listeners, Henrik Palmgren discussed the situation of Monika Schaefer,²⁸² a German-Canadian Holocaust denier arrested in Germany in 2018 for promoting her denialist video entitled “Sorry Mom. I was Wrong About the Holocaust.” The short clip consisted of Monika apologizing to her deceased parents for her outburst about their failure to oppose Hitler during the Holocaust. Monika insisted on apologizing to her parents because, she claimed, the Holocaust never occurred.²⁸³

²⁷⁷ “Duke and Michele Renouf Discuss the Holocaust,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, February 8, 2007, 15:35, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio070208.mp3>.

²⁷⁸ “Duke and Michele Renouf Discuss the Holocaust PART III,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, February 15, 2007, 21:35, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio070215.mp3>.

²⁷⁹ Stephen A. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial: An International Movement*, 112-114.

²⁸⁰ “Protest the Imprisonment of Ernst Zundel,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, 7:35.

²⁸¹ “Interview with Jurgen Graf,” narrated by David Duke, David Duke Webradio Broadcast, *DavidDuke.com*, January 26, 2006, 23:40, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio060126.mp3>.

²⁸² Monika Schaefer will be referred as Monika to distinguish her from her Holocaust denialist brother, Alfred Schaefer. As a result, Alfred Schaefer will be referred as Alfred.

²⁸³ The video is available here: https://archive.org/details/SorryMomIWasWrongAboutTheHolocaust_201709.

Monika appeared on Red Ice Radio in 2016, presenting herself as an environmentalist who played the violin in the streets of Jasper, Alberta. Her motivation to research the Holocaust was “peace and love and truth and light. [...] It is completely opposite to what I am being accused of. I am being accused of hate.”²⁸⁴

Following Monika’s arrest by German authorities in 2018, Palmgren and Monika’s brother, Alfred Schaefer, portrayed her as having paid the ultimate price for challenging the “psychological warfare against us [Whites].”²⁸⁵ Her ‘courageous’ act against the ‘Jewish syndicate’ established Monika as an underappreciated martyr for free speech, according to Palmgren: “There should be much more uproar about this [Monika’s arrest]. What about Monika’s civil rights? What about her abuses? What about her right to think differently?”²⁸⁶ Monika’s arrest over her right to speak freely transformed her from an unknown denier into an underappreciated martyr for the cause of free speech about the Shoah.

The white supremacist duo of Palmgren and Alfred also discussed the cases of Sylvia Stolz and Ursula Haverbeck, two German women sentenced for denying the Shoah. Stolz was Ernst Zündel’s attorney during his 2006 trial for denialism in Germany. In 2008, a German court found her guilty of denialism after she called the Shoah “the biggest lie in world history” and signed a court document with “Heil Hitler.”²⁸⁷ Ursula Haverbeck was a 93 year-old German woman convicted of Holocaust denial in 2017, 2020, and 2022.²⁸⁸ Nicknamed the “Nazi

²⁸⁴ “Ritual defamation of Canadian Violinist & German Police Raid Thought Criminal,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *Red Ice*, September 7, 2016, 54:35, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/ritual-defamation-of-canadian-violinist-and-german-police-raid-thought-criminal>.

²⁸⁵ “Alfred Schaefer - Thought Criminal Monika Schaefer Arrested and Imprisoned in Germany,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 4:25.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 23:00.

²⁸⁷ “German Neo-Nazi Lawyer Gets Prison,” Southern Poverty Law Center, May 20, 2008, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2008/german-neo-nazi-lawyer-gets-prison>.

²⁸⁸ “Germany again jails 93-year-old woman for Holocaust denial,” *The Times of Israel* (Jerusalem), April 1, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/germany-again-jails-93-years-old-woman-for-holocaust-denial/>.

Grandma” for her Nazi Party membership during WWII,²⁸⁹ she was the vice-chairman of the Association For the Rehabilitation of Those Persecuted for Denying the Holocaust, a banned German right-wing extremist organization.²⁹⁰

For Henrik Palmgren and Alfred Schaefer, the stories of Monika Schaefer, Sylvia Stolz, and Ursula Haverbeck indicated that Germany was repressing elderly German women who denied the Holocaust.²⁹¹

They’re [the German government] making examples out of these women [Stolz, Haverbeck, and Schaefer] to make sure that people [are] scared away from not only looking at this stuff [the Holocaust] but basically, they should be afraid for thinking for themselves. [...] They picked also this issue because, of course, it is very important to them for people to be guilt-ridden and, basically, have this new theology of guilt and victimhood.²⁹²

In Palmgren’s words, Stolz, Haverbeck, and Schaefer were martyrs who refused to subscribe to a German anti-free speech policy that imposed guilt for the Holocaust on the German people.

Similar to Ernst Zündel’s self-portrayal as a freedom fighter and martyr for free speech, Holocaust denialist podcasts presented Zündel and fellow deniers as well-intended individuals simply interested in inquiring about the Holocaust. This positive image of ‘revisionists’ only made sense in a worldview powered by anti-Semitism where enemies of freedom, usually Jews, use anti-hate laws to impose a particular view on history. Within their movement and, to some extent, to the public, deniers became a symbol of a more significant fight against what they imagined was a Jewish conspiracy against Holocaust free speech.

²⁸⁹ “Germany’s ‘Nazi Grandma’ Given Jail Term For Holocaust Denial,” *BBC* (London), November 29, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-42164853>.

²⁹⁰ Christina Lever, “Holocaust-Leugnerin sprach bei NPD-Veranstaltung,” *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), April 23, 2015, <https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/npd-und-die-holocaust-leugnerin-ursula-haverbeck-a-1030072.html>.

²⁹¹ “Alfred Schaefer - Thought Criminal Monika Schaefer Arrested and Imprisoned in Germany,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 6:00.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 17:50.

Hate Speech, Holocaust Denial, and Free Speech

Should freedom of expression protect Holocaust denialism? The answer is no. Freedom of expression, in any context, especially in academia, should not ignore fraudulent or blatantly hateful speech, two major components of Holocaust denial. Nevertheless, deniers remain adamant defenders of the sanctity of freedom of expression, often placing absolute free speech at the baseline of their ideology. Thus, they view any restrictions on speech as “a grotesque attack on free speech and freedom of expression, and especially academic freedom,” as Kevin Barrett labelled Kollerstrom’s firing from University College London.²⁹³ Of course, this unregulated utopian vision of speech fails to consider the well-documented link between speech and violence observable in Rwanda and the Balkans.²⁹⁴

But how does this relate to Holocaust denial? Does denialism lead to violence? If so, how? Holocaust denialism accuses Jews of fabricating the Shoah to justify the creation of Israel and its territorial and financial gains. “The Paranormies” illustrated this point on their podcast when they claimed that Jews “got what they wanted [from the Holocaust]. They got Palestine, they got control of the banks in the United States.”²⁹⁵ For deniers, financial reparations and the formation of Israel prove the Holocaust ‘myth’ was embedded in a Jewish plan to steal Palestine and reparations from European countries, especially Germany. Survivors, perpetrators, historians, judges, and scholars appear as pawns in a grand Jewish conspiracy for world domination. One cannot separate Holocaust denial from anti-Semitism. At its core, denialism

²⁹³ “Nick Kollerstrom on 9/11, World War 2, and More,” narrated by Kevin Barrett, Truth Jihad, *The Unz Review*, September 13, 2018, 02:55, unz.com/audio/kbarrett_nick-kollerstrom-on-9-11-world-war-2-and-more/.

²⁹⁴ David Matas, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech*, 17-19.

²⁹⁵ “The Paranormies - The Holocaust Part 1,” narrated by Adam Haidt, Scott Taylor, Bradshaw Wilson, and John “Johnny Monoxide” Ramondetta, The Paranormies, 39:00.

recycles “age-old antisemitic lies, myths and tropes that Jews are devious and untrustworthy people who manipulate the world through conspiracies.”²⁹⁶

Nonetheless, deniers like Henrik Palmgren argue that “nobody is getting hurt [as a result of Holocaust denial]. Maybe someone is getting offended by it because these are awful opinions to have or whatever but there are no victims here.”²⁹⁷ However, Palmgren’s argument falls apart, given the countless examples of anti-Semitism in Holocaust denialist rhetoric. For instance, on the same podcast in which Palmgren made this statement, Alfred Schaefer said:

The Holocaust is over. If I was a Jew, I’d be coming out with a white flag [...]. If I was a Jew, I would help get Monika [Schaefer] out of prison. If you, Jews, are going to stone-wall and pretend you do not know [...], you guys are signing your very own death [warrant]. The noose is around your neck and every day of resistance going forward, is the noose tightening around **your neck** [emphasis by Schaefer]. So just get over it and come out with your white flag!²⁹⁸

Schaefer’s rant was more than an “awful opinion,” as Palmgren would suggest. It accused the Jews of dishonesty and personified them as perpetual liars and manipulators. More importantly, Schaefer’s threat against Jews was not an isolated case of violent denialist rhetoric.

Congruent with Holocaust denial are ‘White genocide’ and the ‘Great Replacement Theory,’ White supremacist conspiracy theories denouncing the fictitious genocide of the White European race through “the invasion of people [from] all over Africa” and other non-White countries.²⁹⁹ According to White genocide advocates, the goal of White genocide is “to wipeout the white population of Europe and replace it with a coffee-coloured Negroid-Asiatic mongrel.”³⁰⁰ These racist theories are congruent with Holocaust denial. Many deniers believe the

²⁹⁶ “History Under Attack Holocaust Denial and Distortion on Social Media,” UNESCO, 2022, 19.

²⁹⁷ “Alfred Schaefer - Thought Criminal Monika Schaefer Arrested and Imprisoned in Germany,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 17:40.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36:55.

²⁹⁹ “Ritual defamation of Canadian Violinist & German Police Raid Thought Criminal,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 54:35.

³⁰⁰ “Eight Unifying Points for Truth Seekers & Knowledge Holders,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *Red Ice*, November 9, 2016, 36:53, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/eight-unifying-points-for-truth-seekers-and-knowledge-holders>.

Holocaust ‘myth’ enabled White genocide. On “Red Ice Radio,” Germar Rudolf described the Holocaust as a “miracle weapon” against Europeans’ struggle to save their European cultural heritage.³⁰¹ Still on “Red Ice Radio,” Alfred Schaefer argued that the Shoah ‘myth’ was a declaration of war against Whites as part of a 2,000 year-old Jewish plan for “world domination.”³⁰² In reference to the Jews, he said: “The parasite wants to rule the world and it believes it can rule if it can eliminate the Europeans. Then, it can rule uncontested.”³⁰³ In light of the May 2022 Buffalo shooting by a gunman motivated by the Great Replacement Theory,³⁰⁴ the deniers’ discourse regarding the Shoah as a weapon for White extinction is highly concerning.

Holocaust denial can incite physical violence in contexts vulnerable to anti-Semitism like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.³⁰⁵ In an effort to attack the Jewish state’s legitimacy, some of Israel’s detractors resort to denying the Holocaust, thus attacking one of Israel’s *raison d’être*.³⁰⁶ This scenario has given rise to violent verbal anti-Semitic attacks with potential physical consequences. In April 2002, a columnist for the major Egyptian newspaper *Al-Akhbar* negated the Shoah and wished Hitler had exterminated the Jews:

The entire matter [the Holocaust], as many French and British scientists and researchers have proven, is nothing more than a huge Israeli plot aimed at extorting the German government in particular and the European countries in general. But I, personally and in light of this imaginary tale, complain to Hitler, even saying to him from the bottom of my heart, “If only you had done it, brother, if only it had really happened, so that the world could sigh in relief [without] their evil and sin.”³⁰⁷

³⁰¹ “Persecution of Revisionists & Demographic Disaster,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, *Red Ice*, July 29, 2016, 28:45, <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/persecution-of-revisionists-and-demographic-disaster>.

³⁰² “Alfred Schaefer - Thought Criminal Monika Schaefer Arrested and Imprisoned in Germany,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 31:25.

³⁰³ “Ritual defamation of Canadian Violinist & German Police Raid Thought Criminal,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 38:50.

³⁰⁴ Tahir Abbas, Inés Bolaños Somoano, Joana Cook, Isabelle Frens, Graig R. Klein, and Richard McNeil-Willson, “The Buffalo Attack – An Analysis of the Manifesto,” *International Center for Counter-Terrorism*, May 18, 2022, <https://icct.nl/publication/the-buffalo-attack-an-analysis-of-the-manifesto/>.

³⁰⁵ Michelle L. Picheny, “A Fertile Ground: The Expansion of Holocaust Denial into the Arab World,” *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 23, 2 (Spring 2003): 349.

³⁰⁶ David Matas, *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism* (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2001), 31.

³⁰⁷ Matthias Küntzel, “Judeophobia and the Denial of the Holocaust in Iran,” in *Holocaust Denial: The Politics of Perfidy*, ed. Robert Solomon Wistrich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 239.

The columnist argued that the world would be better-off, had Hitler exterminated the Jews. In practice, Hitler served as a role model for killings millions of Jews in a genocidal process, even though he supposedly never attempted to do so.³⁰⁸

Some Palestinian extremists illustrated an equally vivid connection between denialism and violence in their anti-Israel narratives. On September 21, 2001, Sheikh Ibrahim Madhi, the Palestinian Authority's Imam, said to an audience at a Gaza Mosque:

revisionist [historians] have proven that this crime [the Holocaust], carried out against some of the Jews, was planned by the Jews' leaders, and was part of their policy... These are the Jews against whom we fight. [...] Our belief is that this war, between us and the Jews, will continue to escalate until we vanquish the Jews.³⁰⁹

Madhi's rhetoric resembled what Deborah Lipstadt explained as "genocide inversion," the attribution of the Jewish-Nazi power dynamic to the Israeli-Palestinian context in which Israeli forces became Nazis and the Palestinians, the European Jews.³¹⁰ Jews depicted as evil, deceitful, and manipulators needed to be vanquished in what Madhi labelled as a continuously escalating "war." Considering the present ethnic tension and violence in Israel, the language displayed by the *Al-Akhabar* columnist and Sheikh Ibrahim Madhi is equally as concerning as the White genocide conspiracy theory.

Denialism is not a victimless crime, as claimed by Palmgren. Its connection with violent anti-Semitism is evident in comments from White genocide activists on Red Ice Radio and pro-Palestinian extremists in the Israeli-Palestinian context. The concern for Holocaust denialist-motivated violence is genuine, especially given the violence in Buffalo and the Middle East.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 240.

³⁰⁹ Steven Stalinsky, "Palestinian Anti-Semitism: Public Sermons (2000-2003)," Jewish Virtual Library, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/palestinian-anti-semitic-public-sermons-2000-2003#_edn21.

³¹⁰ Deborah Lipstadt, *Antisemitism: Here and Now* (New York: Schocken Books, 2019):146-151.

Conclusion: Comparison of Free Speech in Holocaust Denialist Books and Podcasts

Of the five authors discussed in chapter one, only Nicholas Kollerstrom's *Breaking the Spell* and Thomas Dalton's *Debating the Holocaust* addressed freedom of speech about the Holocaust. In their books, free speech served as a path to the 'truth' instead of being a focus of interest in their research. For example, *Breaking the Spell* rationalized its 'scientific' research about the Auschwitz gas chambers in the name of freedom of inquiry, while *Debating the Holocaust* expressed the necessity of free speech to free the suppressed 'truth' from governmental censorship.

At a first glance, *Breaking the Spell*'s discussion of free speech resembled Zündel's as both deniers proposed the creation of a Holocaust debate to express themselves freely.³¹¹ Still, at its core, *Breaking the Spell* did not focus on free speech but used the topic to defend its 'scientific' investigation of homicidal gas chambers. Citing Karl Popper, a philosopher of science and proponent of freedom of inquiry, Kollerstrom argued "any scientific hypothesis had to be in principle falsifiable. In other words, it must be testable in such a way that it is exposed to the hazard of refutation."³¹² Influenced by Popper, Kollerstrom believed he had the scientific right to question the homicidal gas chambers' existence.

While Popper's principle is correct, Kollerstrom's use of it is flawed. First, as pointed out by Larry Laudan, an American philosopher of science and epistemologist, Popper's ideal of science contains the significant flaw of "countenancing as 'scientific' every crank claim which

³¹¹ "#213 – Why There's No Open Debate on the 'Holocaust' (Part 1)," narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom, *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20010128082000/http://www.zundelsite.org/english/catalog/audio_catalog.html#213, and Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, 19.

³¹² Nicholas Kollerstrom, *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, 116.

makes ascertainably false assertions.”³¹³ Second, Holocaust ‘revisionism’ constitutes pseudoscience as defined by the critical role of doctrine,³¹⁴ focusing on anomalies instead of the convergence of evidence, and the presence of personal beliefs in theory-crafting.³¹⁵ Third, falsified science should not be permitted to deny the Nazi’s use of gas chambers. Distorted science does not trump the extensive testimony, solid-documentary evidence, and genuine scientific evidence accumulated over time.³¹⁶

Thomas Dalton’s interaction with freedom of speech resembled Kollerstrom’s since both deniers believed that any topics needed to be open to investigation and research.³¹⁷ Still, unlike his British colleague, Dalton equated the suppression of denialist speech as evidence of a governmental conspiracy to hide the ‘truth’ about the Shoah:

How serious a threat can these people [Holocaust ‘revisionists’] be? Why are they able to draw the attention of national legislators around the world? Whom do they threaten? And perhaps most important— Are they on to something? [...] Could they be right?³¹⁸

Dalton’s theory of governmental suppression of speech suggested the existence of an ugly truth hidden from the public. Dalton argued that “those in power always have reason to fear free speech—all the more reason to defend it.”³¹⁹ Only through the promotion and defence of free speech could the truth about the Holocaust be revealed.

³¹³ Larry Laudan, “The Demise of the Demarcation Problem,” in *Physics, Philosophy, and Psychoanalysis: Essays in Honor of Adolf Grünbaum*, ed. R S Cohen and Larry Laudan (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers Group, 1983), 121.

³¹⁴ Sven Ove Hansson, “Defining Pseudoscience and Science,” in *Philosophy of Pseudoscience: Reconsidering the Demarcation Problem*, ed. Massimo Pigliucci and Maarten Boudry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 68-69.

³¹⁵ Michael Shermer, “Science and Pseudoscience: The Difference in Practice and the Difference It Makes,” in *Philosophy of Pseudoscience: Reconsidering the Demarcation Problem*, ed. Massimo Pigliucci and Maarten Boudry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 216-218.

³¹⁶ Documentary and witness evidence regarding the existence of homicidal gas chambers are available at this address under the headings “Auschwitz-Birkenau,” “Mass Killings,” and “Operation Reinhard” (<https://www.hdot.org/debunking-denial/>).

³¹⁷ Thomas Dalton, *Debating The Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 16.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

Ernst Zündel, Texe Marrs, and Ingrid Carlqvist joined Dalton in perceiving a governmental conspiracy to hide the ‘truth.’ Unlike Dalton, they did not focus on rewriting Holocaust history. For example, Zündel’s statement mainly focused on vilifying the Jews as oppressors³²⁰ and discussing the opportunities the Internet provided regarding free speech.³²¹ Marrs’ primary objective was to promote free speech by arguing that people will draw their conclusions correctly only when all the facts about the Shoah are public.³²² Carlqvist’s statement was part of a conversation about the battle for freedom of speech to counter what she and Henrik Palmgren regarded as government propaganda.³²³ Unlike them, Dalton’s discussion of the conspiracy was part of his mission to establish the ‘truth’ about the Holocaust. In comparison, denialist podcasters represented the ‘conspiracy’ in the context of limitations on free speech.

Contrary to denialist books, freedom of expression about the Shoah became a rallying cry in Holocaust denialist podcasts, such as “American Dissident Voices,” the “David Duke Webradio Broadcast,” the “Jeff Rense Program,” “Truth Jihad,” “The Realist Report,” “Red Ice Radio,” “Radio 3Fourteen,” “The Poz Button,” and “The Paranormies.” They followed the legacy of Ernst Zündel’s “Another Voice Of Freedom” radio broadcasts during which Zündel portrayed anti-hate laws as oppressive and their supporters, including Jews, as enemies of freedom, the American First Amendment as the last beacon of liberty against Jewish oppression, and imprisoned deniers as martyrs for free speech.

The most puzzling aspect of Holocaust deniers’ insistence on freedom of expression is the illogical nature of their free speech absolutist claims. Theoretically speaking, ‘revisionists’

³²⁰ “#201 – Ernst Zündel on Doug Collins & The B.C. Human Rights Commission (Part One),” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom.

³²¹ “#348 – Let Freedom Reign,” narrated by Ernst Zündel, Another Voice Of Freedom.

³²² “Who Owns The Majority Of The Media?” narrated by Jeff Rense, Jeff Rense Program, 14:10.

³²³ “Ingrid Carlqvist - Scandal in Sweden When Ingrid Questions the Unquestionable,” narrated by Henrik Palmgren, Red Ice Radio, 1:03:35.

are correct in assuming that freedom of expression is paramount for determining truth through exchanging ideas and opinions. However, as the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre argued in 1948, anti-Semitism is not an idea or opinion but a passion.³²⁴ Anti-Semites freely choose to live in hatred, which determines how they conceptualize Jews, history, and the world. They only seek what they know and believe; they do not pursue reason and truth.³²⁵ Holocaust deniers embody Sartre's point. Truth and reason are alien to their movement. Deniers refute the Holocaust based on their anti-Semitic worldview that stipulates the Shoah was a Jewish hoax in an ingenious Jewish plan to achieve world domination. Their arguments originate from a preconceived notion of who Jews are and how they act. As a result, their demands for free speech do not stem from a genuine interest in inquiring about the Shoah, but rather a desire to spread hatred.

Freedom of expression and freedom from hate speech are two fundamental rights that require balance. Similar to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which does not rank rights, we must not prioritize either of those two rights.³²⁶ Giving priority to free speech or combating hatred results in excessively strict laws and the censorship of freedom of expression.³²⁷ Within the context of legislation, we must carefully maintain a balance between allowing free speech and protecting people from incitement to hatred.

³²⁴ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Antisemite and Jew* (New York: Schocken Books, 1948), 10.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-19.

³²⁶ David Matas, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech*, 213-214.

³²⁷ David Matas, "Combatting Online Hate," *Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights*, May 2, 2019,

https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/bnaibrithcanada/pages/2771/attachments/original/1556816941/Matas-Submission_02May2019.pdf?1556816941.

Chapter 3: Content Analysis of Trends in Holocaust Denialist Books and Podcasts³²⁸

While a qualitative analysis of Holocaust denialist books and podcasts indicates a shift in rhetoric between the two media, a quantitative analysis provides a more rigorous picture of this trend in Holocaust denial media. This chapter demonstrates the observable difference in free speech discourses in Holocaust denialist podcasts compared to denialist works by using content analysis. The analysis compared the data collected from the five Holocaust denialist books and pamphlets, dating from 1974 to 2015, examined in Chapter 1. It also examines 56 episodes from nine Holocaust denialist podcasts dating from 2002 to 2021 and the synopses of 324 radio broadcasts from Ernst Zündel's "Another Voice for Freedom," discussed in Chapter 2.

Methodology

The content analysis required the creation of a bank of terms³²⁹ consisting of terms associated with freedom of expression and Holocaust distortion found in Holocaust denialist podcasts and books. The list did not include vague or general terms such as "Freedom," "Prison," or "Right" to avoid false positives. However, avoiding false positives sometimes required adding space in a term. For example, the term "Lice" interfered with the word "Police," thus the presence of keywords like " Lice" in the bank of terms. The list also included shortened versions of terms like "Zyklon" to avoid false negatives. Many Holocaust denialist podcasters used "Zyklon" instead of "Zyklon-B." Therefore, "Zyklon" functioned for both variants of the deadly poison in the bank of words.

The content analysis required creating a code using the programming language Python that could calculate the occurrences of specific words in denialist works and podcasts. The code

³²⁸ This chapter is written in the tone of a social science research report, as befits a chapter entirely devoted to a conceptual content analysis.

³²⁹ The bank of terms can be found at the end of this chapter.

filtered keywords from the bank of terms in any text file (.txt file) and produced a table containing each word's count. The code was not case-sensitive to avoid false negatives. For the code to function correctly, it required text versions of the source material. For denialist works, this process required searching full-text versions of the books on the Web Archives website (www.archives.org) and copying the text into a .txt file. The process was simple for the texts of Carlo Mattogno, Nicholas Kollerstrom, and Thomas Dalton. However, the text versions of the books by Richard Verrall³³⁰ and Arthur Butz³³¹ came from newer editions because the original books did not contain full-text files, thus resulting in potential variation from the original texts. Collecting data for Ernst Zündel's radio broadcast required visiting Zündel's website and searching for the webpage containing the synopsis of "Another Voice for Freedom" episodes.³³²

Text transcripts of podcasts were more complex to collect as they required the use of "Whisper," a precise speech recognition program designed by *OpenAI* that translates MP3 files into text files. "Whisper" processes audio files by encoding, decoding, and predicting the corresponding caption. Once it processes an MP3 file, "Whisper" produces a text version of the podcast. The MP3 files for the podcasts originated from different websites. For example, audio files for the "Jeff Rense Program" and The Right Stuff network³³³ were available on Archives.org. MP3 files from "Truth Jihad" were available on Unz.com, a pseudo-academic Holocaust denialist website. "The Realist Report" podcast was downloadable on

³³⁰ Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last – Exposed* (AAARGH Editions on Internet, 2005),

<https://archive.org/details/HarwoodRichardDidSixMillionReallyDieEN200541S.Text/mode/1up?view=theater>.

³³¹ Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry* (Uckfield: Castle Hill Publishers, 2015), <https://archive.org/details/holocaust-handbooks-n-07-the-hoax-of-the-20th-century-arthur-r.-butz/page/3/mode/2up>.

³³² Ernst Zündel, "Another Voice of Freedom Radio Broadcasts on Cassette," *Zundelsite*, archived on January 28, 2001.

³³³ The podcasts "The Poz Button" and "The Paranormies," will be referred to as The Right Stuff network for simplicity reasons.

therealistreport.com. The white supremacist website RedIce.tv contained audio files for the “Radio 3Fourteen” and “Red Ice Radio” podcasts. After collecting all the audio files, “Whisper” translated the 56 podcast episodes into text files. Not all podcasts required the use of “Whisper.” Older podcasts like “ADV” and two “David Duke Webradio Broadcast” episodes were available in text format on the National Alliance’s and the Davidduke.com websites, respectively. These obsolete web pages are still operational via the Wayback Machine. After collecting each podcast’s text file, the code calculated the occurrence for each term from the bank of words.

Given that some podcasts and works discussed topics other than the Shoah in their episodes, the content analysis demanded a manual context verification to ensure the keywords related to the Shoah. The method required searching for keywords in the text versions of podcasts and books to ensure that deniers used the terms in the context of the Shoah. Once completed, a spreadsheet compiled the data and calculated a frequency rate per 10,000 words as the baseline for comparing Holocaust denialist books and podcasts.

Limitations

The relatively small sample size of denialist literature limits its reach. A greater sample size of denialist books, pamphlets, and journal articles could have yielded more consistent trends. Another limitation was the absence in the bank of words of keywords, such as “Prisoners” or “Laws,” which often appeared in denialist podcasts about imprisoned Holocaust deniers. Although deniers often used these words in the context of advancing free speech, their vagueness constituted a risk of false positives.

Interpretation of data

Figure 1 demonstrates that Holocaust denialist authors rarely used terms relating to free speech in their works. After context verification, I determined that print authors like Richard

Verrall, Arthur Butz, and Carlo Mattogno did not use terms connected to freedom of expression in their works. Nicholas Kollerstrom and Thomas Dalton do use free speech terms, although infrequently, averaging 3.88 hits per 10,000 words. In comparison to this low frequency, the five authors use 108.95 terms that distort the Holocaust in every 10,000 words, almost 30 times more frequently than free speech-related terms. Despite an increase in the use of free speech-related terms over time in Holocaust denialist literature, most still concentrate on distorting the history of the Shoah.

Sources	Free Speech Terms / 10,000 Words	Holocaust Denial Terms / 10,000 Words
Ernst Zundel's "Another Voice of Freedom"	30.23	65.69
"American Dissident Voices"	21.76	28.56
"David Duke Webradio Broadcast"	20.21	25.5
"Truth Jihad"	13.73	44.48
"The Realest Report"	9.77	107.32
"Red Ice Radio"	9.65	35.65
"Radio 3Fourteen"	6.18	86.16
The Right Stuff	4.76	53.67
Five Major Holocaust Denial Works	3.88	108.95

Figure 1: Frequency of occurrences for Holocaust Denial and Free Speech Terms in print and audio format.

Comparatively, Holocaust denialist podcasters and Ernst Zündel promoted free speech much more frequently, although without any consistency regarding the frequency of free speech keywords in their podcasts. "American Dissident Voices" and the "David Duke Webradio Broadcast," average 20 free speech terms every 10,000 words. Kevin Barrett's "Truth Jihad" average almost 14 freedom of expression terms per 10,000 words. The "Jeff Rense Program," "The Realist Report," and "Red Ice Radio" almost average 10 freedom of speech-related terms per 10,000 words. Finally, "Radio 3Fourteen" and podcasts from "The Right Stuff" network average around five free speech terms per 10,000 words, a higher frequency than denialist works.

Holocaust denialist podcasters also incorporated broader discussions about free speech in their denial of the Shoah as evident from their use of words like "Debate" and "Censorship." For

example, denialist podcasters persisted in debating basic facts about the Holocaust, using the term “Debate” 2.77 times per 10,000 words. Ernst Zündel used it 3.93 times out of every 10,000 words in his radio broadcasts. The word “Debate” coincided with the frequency of occurrence of terms such as “Free Speech” and “Freedom of Speech.” Holocaust denialist podcasters used the keywords “Free Speech” and “Freedom of Speech” 2.32 and 2.57 times, respectively, every 10,000 words. Zündel himself used both terms 4.78 and 3.42 times every 10,000 words. On the other hand, Kollerstrom and Dalton were the only Holocaust denialist authors who used the term “debate” in their books for a combined frequency of 2.52 per 10,000 words. Unlike denialist podcasters, Holocaust denialist authors infrequently used terms such as “Free Speech” (0.09)³³⁴ and “Freedom of Speech” (0.07). Figure 2 illustrates the data.

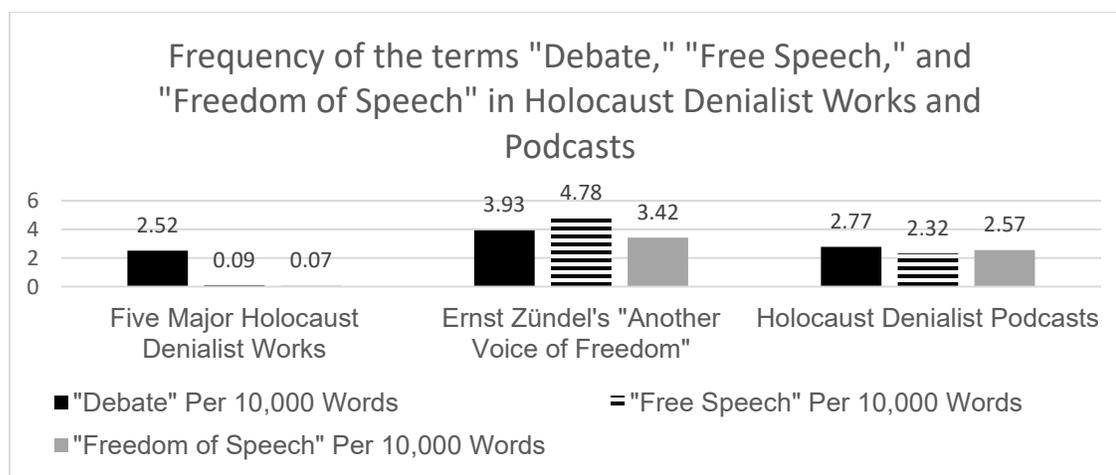


Figure 2: Frequency of occurrence for the term “Debate” in relation to “Free Speech” and “Freedom of Speech” in Holocaust denialist podcasts and works

This dichotomy in the frequency of terms like “Debate,” “Free Speech,” and “Freedom of Expression” in denialist literature indicates that ‘revisionist’ authors strictly include the word “Debate” as part of their rejection of the Shoah. In fact, Kollerstrom employs “Debate” to openly challenge scholarly studies about what happened during the Holocaust. Dalton’s frequent use of

³³⁴ All measurements are calculated per 10,000 words unless stated otherwise.

the term “Debate” appears in the context of what he entitles the “Great Holocaust Debate” between Holocaust scholars and deniers. For Kollerstrom and Dalton, the word “Debate” relates to the ‘truth’ about the Holocaust. In comparison, Holocaust denialist podcasters incorporate the term “Debate” as part of their free speech rhetoric. For example, on November 23, 2014, Kevin Barrett from “Truth Jihad” stated: “I just want the debate to happen. My issue with the Holocaust is we need to be free to talk about it and debate it and sift through the information and it’s just unconscionable for people to be thrown in prison in Europe for questioning it.”³³⁵ Barrett envisioned freedom of expression as an integral part of debating the existence of the Shoah.

The term “Censorship” tells a story similar to “Debate.” Denialist podcasters use the term “Censorship” (0.6) alongside terms like “Brainwash,” “George Orwell,” and “Orwellian” as part of their discussion about governmental authoritarianism. In their podcasts, deniers use the term “Brainwash” (0.45) to criticize Holocaust education as part of a Jewish-sponsored governmental indoctrination campaign. The name “George Orwell” (0.1) and the term “Orwellian” (0.2) is synonymous with the idea of governmental repression among deniers, given their perception of George Orwell’s book *1984* as a prophet of government authoritarianism. Combined with “Censorship,” the terms “Brainwash,” “George Orwell,” and “Orwellian” reinforce the notion in Holocaust denialist podcasts that governments suppress ‘revisionism.’

This tendency to invoke censorship in the context of governmental oppression is less present in Holocaust denialist literature. The word “Censorship” appears once in Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell* (0.1) and three times in Thomas Dalton’s *Debating the Holocaust* (0.26). Kollerstrom’s single use of the term “censorship” coincides with his lone use of the keyword “Orwellian” (0.1). On the other hand, Dalton’s use of the word “censorship” matches the

³³⁵ “Peter Myers: No Use Denying – Hitler WAS a Racist Scumbag!” narrated by Kevin Barrett, “Truth Jihad,” *Unz.com*, November 23, 2014, 10:20.

frequency of the word “brainwash” (0.26). This low frequency indicates the absence of governmental censorship discourse in Holocaust denialist books compared to podcasts.

The sparsity of free speech terms in Holocaust denialist books indicates their objective, to distort the Holocaust. Holocaust denialist works used 108.95 terms that distorted the Holocaust out of every 10,000 words across five sources, more than twice the average of Holocaust denialist terms in Holocaust denialist podcasts (41.61). Ernst Zündel’s radio broadcast yielded a lower frequency compared to denialist works, averaging 65.59 Holocaust denial terms per 10,000 words. Ergo, denialist works limited free speech rhetoric in favour of distorting the Holocaust. Figure 3 puts this conclusion into perspective. Besides the fact that the frequency of terms distorting the Holocaust is higher in denialist books than in audio sources, denialist authors used terms that distorted the Holocaust almost 30 times more frequently than terms promoting free speech. In comparison, Holocaust denialist podcasters and Zündel’s radio broadcast had a much less pronounced discrepancy between free speech and Holocaust denial terminology.

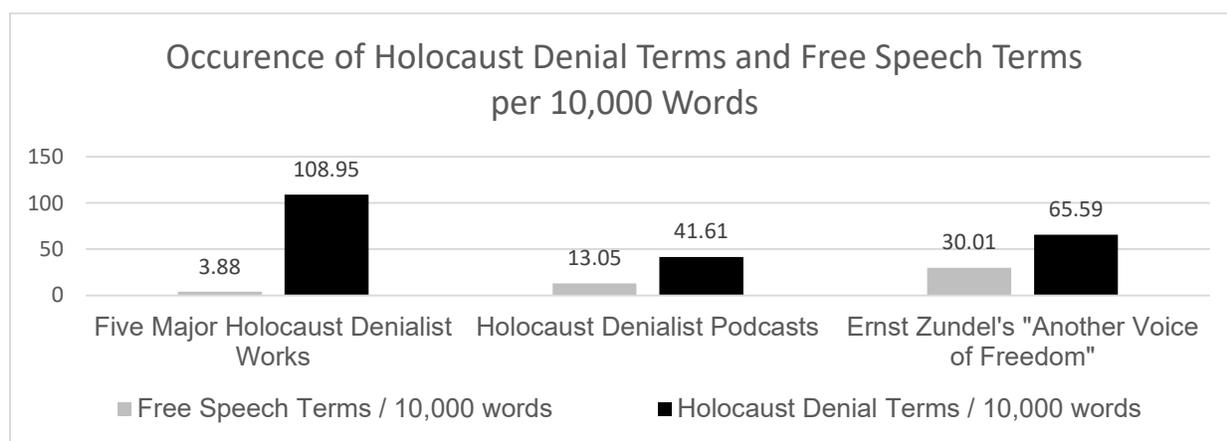


Figure 3: Occurrence of Holocaust Denial Terms and Free Speech Terms per 10,000 Words

A look at the most popular keywords from the bank of words used by Holocaust deniers in their books reflects the findings of Figure 3. The five most popular terms used to distort the Shoah in Holocaust denialist literature are “Auschwitz” (23.76), “Gas Chamber” (13.13), “Six Million” (8.79), “Zyklon” (5.44), and “Nuremberg” (5.28). The two most popular terms

promoting freedom of expression in Holocaust denialist works are “Debate” (2.52) and “Human Rights” (0.22). “Debate” is the twelfth and “Human Rights” is the thirty-third most popular term from the bank of words used by ‘revisionist’ authors. Meanwhile, in denialist podcasts, free speech-related terms, such as “Debate” (2.77), “Freedom of Speech” (2.57), and “Free Speech” (2.32) ranked fifth, seventh, and eighth, respectively, as the most used keywords from the bank of words behind “Truth” (8.67), “Auschwitz” (8.03), “Gas Chamber” (6.7), and “Six million” (3.02). Ernst Zündel’s radio broadcast contains similar results, with “Six million” (16.91), “Truth” (11.79), and “Auschwitz” (8.03) as the most frequent words used. Free speech-related keywords like “Free Speech” (4.78) and “Debate” (3.93) rank fifth and seventh as Zündel’s most used terms from the word bank.

Conclusion: Hypotheses for the Shift in Discourses

The infrequency of free speech-related terms in ‘revisionist’ literature compared to audio podcast sources indicates that denialist books primarily aim to distort the Holocaust as part of their mission to ‘revise’ the truth about the event. In comparison, Holocaust denialist podcasts and Ernst Zündel’s radio broadcast include free speech rhetoric in their objective of denying the Holocaust. The high density of terms such as “Debate,” “Free Speech,” “Freedom of Expression,” “Brainwash,” and “Orwellian” characterizes the rhetoric of denialist podcasters who argue for their right to expound unpopular ideas and deny the Holocaust simultaneously.

The emphasis on freedom of speech in denialist podcasts may be a coincidence. However, there are three elements which, when combined, can explain the increase of free speech terms in Holocaust denialist podcasts as being deliberate. The first element is that the format of podcasts, particularly time restrictions, limits the deniers’ ability to profoundly distort the Holocaust, thus favouring shorter discussions about the Shoah. For example, Kevin Alfred

Strom from “American Dissident Voices” complained to his audience that time restrictions prevented him from adequately dissecting news and other stories.³³⁶ Therefore, the short length of podcasts affects the medium’s high frequency and crystallization of freedom of expression terms. According to Figure 4, the two shortest podcasts, “American Dissident Voices” with 3,028 spoken words and “David Duke Webradio Broadcast” with 5,005 words, averaged the highest rate of free speech terms (21.76 and 20.21, respectively).

Name of Podcast	Average Length of Episode in Numbers of Spoken Words	Frequency of Free Speech Terms per 10,000 Words	Frequency of Holocaust Denial Terms per 10,000 Words
"American Dissident Voices"	3 028	21.76	28.56
"David Duke Webradio Broadcast"	5 005	20.21	25.5
"Jeff Rense Program"	5 559	8.99	17.39
"Truth Jihad"	9 105	13.73	44.48
"Red Ice Radio"	11 009	9.65	35.65
"Radio 3Fourteen"	12 278	6.18	86.16
"The Realist Report"	15 375	9.77	107.32
"The Right Stuff"	20 309	4.76	53.67

Figure 4: Table of average podcast length in relation to the Frequency of Free Speech Terms

In comparison, podcasts with a word count greater than 10,000 spoken words per episode, such as “Radio 3Fourteen,” “The Realist Report,” “Red Ice Radio,” and The Right Stuff network, contain less than 10 free speech terms per 10,000 spoken words. However, “Truth Jihad” and the “Jeff Rense Program” do not fit the trend projected by the other podcasts. “Truth Jihad,” which averages 9,105 words per episode, contains a higher frequency of free speech terms than the “Jeff Rense Program,” with 5,559 spoken words per episode. Both podcasts may constitute outliers; more data would be needed to reach a more decisive conclusion.

³³⁶ “The Upward Spike,” narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, “American Dissident Voices,” *National Alliance*, October 4, 2003, archived on June 19, 2004, <https://web.archive.org/web/20040619101359/http://www.natall.com/adv/2003/10-04-03.html>.

Nevertheless, the connection between a high frequency of free speech-related keywords and shorter podcast episodes remains noticeable at both extremes.

The second element is the attempt by deniers to reach a wider audience by appearing as civil rights advocates. In fact, denialist podcasters use terms such as “Human Rights” (0.55), “Civil Rights” (0.4), “Political Prisoner” (0.35), and “Hate Laws” (0.15) as part of their free speech rhetoric. Ernst Zündel also uses similar terms—“Human Rights” (2.73), “Civil Rights” (0.17), “Civil Liberties” (0.17), and “Hate Laws” (1.37)—but at a higher frequency. The use of such terms paints deniers primarily as civil rights advocates. David Duke showcased this hypothesis on his podcast when he explained his presence at the 2006 Iranian-sponsored “International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust” in Teheran:

I wasn't at the conference to deny the Holocaust. I was there to defend freedom of speech and thought and conscience and to bring out that it's an unbelievable atrocity against human rights, an unbelievable deprivation of everything we hold dear in European culture and society: freedom of speech and thought and conscience to have often elderly men and women sitting in prison in European nations simply for offering their opinion about the Second World War.³³⁷

Duke refocused his relationship with ‘revisionism.’ He was not a ‘denier,’ he claimed, but someone who upheld the right to freedom of expression for imprisoned ‘revisionists.’ Whether or not deniers genuinely define themselves as civil rights advocates, it allows them to reach a broader audience that would not otherwise participate in or espouse Holocaust denialism.

The third element is the increased global responses to Holocaust denialism through governments passing laws banning denial of the Holocaust. Many podcasts discuss the imprisonment of high-profile deniers like Ernst Zündel, Jürgen Graf, David Irving, Germar Rudolf, and others. For example, “American Dissident Voices” released two episodes in September 2003 discussing the deportation of Ernst Zündel from the United States to Canada in

³³⁷ “Duke On Irving and Holocaust Conference,” narrated by David Duke, “David Duke Webradio Broadcast,” *DavidDuke.com*, December 20, 2006, 3:50, <http://www.davidduke.com/mp3/dukeradio061220.mp3>.

February 2003. In the two episodes, free speech-related terms achieved a frequency of 34.05 per 10,000 words compared to only 9.53 per 10,000 words for keywords distorting the Holocaust. Something similar transpired when Jeff Rense interviewed Zündel after his release from prison in 2010. During the interview, the duo used 18.22 free speech-related terms every 10,000 words compared to 9.11 terms distorting the Shoah every 10,000 words. Connections under anti-Holocaust denial laws created opportunities for ‘revisionist’ podcasters to promote their free speech agenda.

The shift in emphasis in denialist discourse from distorting the Holocaust in their books to advancing Holocaust denial under the cover of ‘free speech’ is likely the result of a combination of elements like the brevity of podcast format, the attempt by Holocaust deniers to present themselves as civil rights advocates, and the rise of anti-hate laws. Perhaps more content analysis, sampling additional Holocaust denialist works and a more refined bank of terms, could yield more definitive results. Still, to argue that the presence of free speech terms in Holocaust denialist podcasts is coincidental would be missing key factors contributing to the shift in denialist narrative and goals. Understanding how technology affects Holocaust denialist and anti-Semitic discourses is vital to combating and apprehending online forms of hatred today.

Bank of Terms

List of Holocaust Denial Terms:

“Auschwitz”	“Aussiedlung”	“Cleansing”	“Concentration camp”	“Crematoria”
“Deportation”	“Death Camp”	“Disease”	“Einsatzgruppe”	“Emigration”
“Entsprechen”	“Epidemics”	“Extermination Camp”	“Final Solution”	“Forensic Evidence”
“Gas Chamber”	“Genocide”	“Hoax”	“Jewry”	“Leuchter Report”
“Legend”	“Lice”	“Linguistic mystification”	“Liquidation”	“Losung der Judenfrage”
“Mass burial”	“Mass grave”	“Nuremberg”	“Overcrowding”	“Propaganda fantasies”
“Prussic”	“Resettlement”	“Sauberung”	“Six million”	“Sonderaktionen”
“Sonderbehandlung”	“Special actions”	“Special handling”	“Swindler”	“Taboo”
“Testimony”	“Torture”	“Transit camp”	“Treated appropriately”	“Truth”
“Wannsee conference”	“Zyklon”			

List of Free Speech Terms:

“Academic Freedom”	“American Constitution”	“Anti-hate laws”	“Hate laws”	“Attack against free speech”
“Brainwash”	“Censorship”	“Civil Liberties”	“Civil Rights”	“Constitutional Rights”
“Debate”	“Dispute the Holocaust”	“Enemies of free speech”	“Enemies of freedom”	“First Amendment”
“Free speech”	“Free discussion”	“Freedom fighter”	“Freedom of communication”	“Freedom of expression”
“Freedom of inquiry”	“Freedom of thought”	“Freedom of speech”	“Freedom to think”	“Historical opinion”
“Holocaustianity”	“Holocaust ideology”	“Human rights”	“Individual freedom”	“Individual liberty”
“Political prisoner”	“Prisoner of conscience”	“Questioned”	“Repression”	“Martyr”
“Other side”	“Study the Holocaust”	“Suppressing speech”	“Suppressing free speech”	“To question”
“Thought criminal”	“George Orwell”	“Orwellian”	“Book burners”	“Bookburning”
“Inconvenient ideas”				

Conclusion: Free Speech, A Facade for Holocaust Denialism?

The shift in Holocaust denialist discourse, from establishing historical ‘truth’ in the print media of the deniers to ‘promoting free speech’ in their podcasts, inspires a question: what do Holocaust deniers gain from shifting their aim from ‘revising’ history to promoting free speech? The answer lies in the denialists’ goal of forging a new image of denialism that presents ‘revisionists’ as the victims of Jewish abuses rather than as hate mongers. A comparison of Holocaust denialist books and podcasts illustrates this point.

Holocaust denialist books and pamphlets, such as Richard Verrall’s *Did Six Million Really Die? Truth At Last Exposed* (1974), Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976), Carlo Mattogno’s *Belzec in Propaganda, Testimonies, Archeological Research and History* (2004), Nicholas Kollerstrom’s *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality* (2014), and Thomas Dalton’s *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides* (2015), rarely portrayed deniers as victims. Instead, denialist publications largely focused on revising what deniers claimed were false representations of the actuality of the Holocaust.

Ernst Zündel’s “Another Voice of Freedom” radio programs inspired the rise of free speech narratives in ‘revisionist’ podcasts. The authors of Holocaust denialist podcasts, such as “American Dissident Voices,” “David Duke Webradio Broadcasts,” “Jeff Rense Program,” “The Realist Report,” “Red Ice Radio,” “Radio 3Fourteen,” “The Poz Button,” and “The Paranormies” shifted the debate from rectifying distortions of the Holocaust to advocacy of the deniers’ constitutional right to negate the existence of the Shoah. Denialist podcasters recast themselves as innocent victims living in a dystopian world dominated by Jewish authoritarians wielding anti-hate laws designed to advance selfish Jewish interests. As a result, Shoah deniers began to promote the absence of anti-hate laws in the United States under the umbrella of the First

Amendment to the United State Constitution as a model paradigm. Exploiting the growing criminalization of Holocaust denialism worldwide, deniers recast themselves as martyrs in the battle for free speech. Obviously, Holocaust deniers in Canada and Europe only became ‘martyrs’ insofar as they violated the law by reinventing the history of one of the best documented events in history and using Holocaust denial to disseminate anti-Semitism.

A content analysis demonstrates the growing tendency of Holocaust denialist podcasters to adopt discourses promoting freedom of speech. With appropriate computer software, we can identify the specific words used by deniers that distort the actuality of the Holocaust and pretend to promote free speech in the texts of Holocaust denialist books and podcasts, the latter obtainable by using Whisper, a speech-to-text program. In the five aforementioned Holocaust denialist books and pamphlets, deniers overwhelmingly used terms that distorted the Holocaust at a frequency almost 30 times higher than terms that promote freedom of expression. Language distorting the Shoah persisted in Holocaust denialist podcasts. Still, we observe a pronounced framing of free speech-related terms like “Censorship” and “Debate” in relation to more frequent discussions of freedom of expression and governmental totalitarianism. This language is central to denialist podcasters who present themselves as victims of Jewish tyranny. The content analysis does not explain the reasons for the change of discourses by Holocaust deniers, but proposes several hypotheses, including the limitations of the podcast format, denialist podcaster’s pretending to be civil rights advocates, and the increasing number of imprisoned deniers.

Using the propaganda technique of “accusations in a mirror,” free speech discourse in Holocaust denialist podcasts separated denialism from its anti-Semitic roots by portraying deniers as the victims of Jewish oppression, rather than as hate mongers. This positive image of

deniers encourages individuals who believe the reality of the Shoah to defend Holocaust deniers' supposed right to spread anti-Semitism under the premise that governments should not censor any opinions. This phenomenon is not unique to podcasts, as illustrated by Noam Chomsky's support of French Holocaust denier, Robert Faurisson. From 1979 to 1983, French authorities repeatedly brought Faurisson to court for denying the Holocaust. Chomsky, a distinguished MIT linguistics professor, defended the Frenchman's right to express himself by negating the event's actuality. In a 1981 essay, Chomsky argued:

But it is elementary that freedom of expression (including academic freedom) is not to be restricted to views of which one approves, and that it is precisely in the case of views that are almost universally despised and condemned that this right must be most vigorously defended.³³⁸

Chomsky's argument went against the core principle of academic freedom, which forbids fraud, racism, and the blatant falsification of history, all of which are components of Holocaust denialism.³³⁹ More importantly, Chomsky knew that the Holocaust had occurred,³⁴⁰ but failed to acknowledge that Holocaust denialism was a vehicle for hate speech.

Today's concern with free speech discourses in Holocaust denialist podcasts is different from Chomsky's defence of Faurisson's printed book. Technologies like podcasts constitute new vectors of indoctrination into denialism due to their teaching capabilities and the formation of para-social relationships between podcasters and their audiences. Unlike Holocaust denialist books, podcasts encourage people to learn "through listening," an activity "more attractive and less tedious than reading" for some.³⁴¹ In podcasts, education becomes entertainment and vice-versa. Most concerning is the formation of para-social relationships, "'illusional relationship[s]'" in the sense that they are one-sided, controlled by the media persona, and not susceptible to

³³⁸ Noam Chomsky, "His Right To Say It," *The Nation*, February 28, 1981, <https://chomsky.info/19810228/>.

³³⁹ David Matas, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech*, 154.

³⁴⁰ Noam Chomsky, "His Right To Say It," *The Nation*.

³⁴¹ Zeynel Cebeci and Mehmet Tekdal, "Using Podcasts as Audio Learning Objects," *Interdisciplinary Journal of Knowledge and Learning Objects* 2, (2006): 49.

mutual development.”³⁴² Due to the time spent listening to podcasters, listeners begin developing a relationship with the podcast host whose “opinion might provide food for thought or put certain topics on the agenda. It might also influence attitudes or future actions. [...] Podcasters might not fulfill the role of an idol, but they are apparently regarded as a point of reference.”³⁴³ The combination of denialist free speech discourses and a technology more suited than printed words to indoctrination could drastically benefit Holocaust denialism with an influx of support.

Education and Freedom of Expression Instead of Censorship

How do we combat Holocaust denialist podcasts and hate speech online? For some activists, the answer is censorship of hate speech. Even though he later changed his position in favour of freedom of expression, David Matas, in 2000, argued for “the need to ban hate speech.”³⁴⁴ Although tempting, this solution does not prevent Holocaust denial. Even though Germany prohibits Holocaust denial, Germans like Ursula Haverbeck, the 93-year-old “Nazi Grandma,” continue to deny the Holocaust to this day.³⁴⁵ More worrisome, censorship often results in a public outcry from civil liberties defenders who interpret the ban on hate speech as an attack on freedom of expression.³⁴⁶ Censorship of hate speech can increase support for Holocaust deniers’ claims for protection under their right to free speech. For freedom of expression’s sake, Holocaust denial must be tolerated to some degree. Still, its speech remains hateful. It should not be accepted or normalized in any setting, whether in the field of history or not.

³⁴² Daniela Schlütz and Imke Hedder, “Aural Parasocial Relations: Host–Listener Relationships in Podcasts,” *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* (2021): 5.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁴⁴ David Matas, *Bloody Words: Hate and Free Speech*, 214.

³⁴⁵ “Germany again jails 93-year-old woman for Holocaust denial,” *The Times of Israel* (Jerusalem), April 1.

³⁴⁶ Camila Franco, “The Fake News Virus Killing Democracy,” *International Human Rights Intership Program – Working Paper Series* 10, 1 (2021): 28, https://www.mcgill.ca/humanrights/files/humanrights/franco_camila_-_the_fake_news_virus_destroying_democracy_2.pdf.

Freedom of speech does not mean we are obligated to facilitate access to all speech. Websites and Internet providers can ban, hinder access,³⁴⁷ and configure algorithms that de-prioritize illegal content³⁴⁸ under their terms of service. Podcast-sharing websites, such as YouTube, Spotify, and Google Podcasts, private domains, and Internet providers can allow or disallow specific content on their platforms depending on their terms of service. Regardless, every website's terms of service should recognize Holocaust denial as speech capable of inciting violence against Jews in their community guidelines to protect its users from hate speech.³⁴⁹

Governments should still participate in online monitoring to study algorithmic operations and assess their impact on the wider dissemination of anti-Semitism.³⁵⁰ Governments should establish advisory bodies of experts on Holocaust denialism and anti-Semitism to monitor and discuss threats to democracy.³⁵¹ Government agencies need to be nuanced, discrete, and non-invasive to protect Internet users' right to privacy and avoid eliciting mistrust among users.³⁵²

Instead of censorship, we should concentrate on battling Holocaust denialism via education and rebuttal. Holocaust education remains “the best defence against denial and distortion, and it should be further integrated into school curricula,” as argued by UNESCO in its 2022 report on online Holocaust denial.³⁵³ Although formal Holocaust education encourages

³⁴⁷ “Taking Action to Combat Antisemitism: Follow-up Action Plan for Advancing the Implementation of the Recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief in his 2019 Report to the UN General Assembly,” OHCHR, 6, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2022-05/ActionPlanChanges-May2022.pdf>.

³⁴⁸ Kristina Hook and Ernesto Verdeja, “Social Media Misinformation and the Prevention of Political Instability and Mass Atrocities,” Stimson, July 7, 2022, <https://www.stimson.org/2022/social-media-misinformation-and-the-prevention-of-political-instability-and-mass-atrocities/>.

³⁴⁹ Jakob Guhl and Jacob Davey, “Hosting the ‘Holofoax’: A Snapshot of Holocaust Denial Across Social Media,” *ISD*, August 10, 2020, 10-11, <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Hosting-the-Holofoax.pdf>.

³⁵⁰ “Taking Action to Combat Antisemitism: Follow-up Action Plan for Advancing the Implementation of the Recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief in his 2019 Report to the UN General Assembly,” OHCHR, 2019, 6.

³⁵¹ “History Under Attack Holocaust Denial and Distortion on Social Media,” UNESCO, 59.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 64.

skepticism and critical thinking about Holocaust denialist claims, it runs the risk of reaching a very limited audience and of being ineffective unless it is accompanied by other measures.³⁵⁴ Ergo, we should encourage a method of education that counters Holocaust denialism by confronting the movement's claims at their sources. Unlike censorship, this method facilitates the exchange of ideas, reduces mistrust among the public and civil rights advocates, teaches students about the Shoah, and demystifies Holocaust denialist claims.

Projects like Deborah Lipstadt's Holocaust Denial on Trial (<https://www.hdot.org/>), a successor to the Nizkor Project (<https://www.nizkor.org/>), offer detailed, easily digestible, and well documented factual arguments rebutting the canons of Holocaust denialism. Even though this education model requires some exposure to anti-Semitism, it reveals deniers' falsification of history, prejudices disguised as history, and threats to human rights.³⁵⁵ Refutation nullifies denialist claims that may appear legitimate on the surface while offering a deep and critical analysis of the Holocaust and its sources. Projects like Holocaust Denial on Trial are worthwhile resources for educators who, through no fault of their own, are not always trained to teach the Shoah adequately and confront the deniers' claims. Governments, Holocaust scholars, and Jewish organizations like B'nai Brith Canada's League for Human Rights and the Anti-Defamation League should increase their budgets and staffs to make greater use of Deborah Lipstadt's project and refute the claims of Holocaust deniers in the classroom.

To explain the importance of confronting Holocaust denial in the fashion of Deborah Lipstadt's project, educators need to prioritize the principle of living as part of a larger community. The study of history contains the potential for expanding the principles of humanism

³⁵⁴ Kenneth S. Stern, *Holocaust Denial*, 83.

³⁵⁵ "Explaining Holocaust Denial," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/antisemitism/holocaust-denial-and-distortion/explaining-holocaust-denial>.

and social justice.³⁵⁶ This goal is achievable using three methods. The first consists of humanizing Jews by avoiding the negative generalization about Jews always pretending to be victims while seeking world domination, a point often made by deniers in their books³⁵⁷ and podcasts.³⁵⁸ To rebut these claims, a portion of Holocaust education needs to teach Jews' contributions to society in national histories.³⁵⁹ The second method highlights the Germans' and the international community's indecisiveness, when faced with Nazi hate propaganda, to react to early signs of genocidal intent, and the Allied reluctance to prosecute Nazi war criminals.³⁶⁰ Featuring these failures to uphold human rights re-vitalizes the desire of students and governments to reinforce one of the roots of today's commitment to human rights that emerged from the Shoah.³⁶¹ The third method is to share video testimonies by Holocaust survivors, key contributors to the establishment of Holocaust museums and memorials worldwide. Most importantly, their presence and lived memory "help young people connect to the past and make learning about the Holocaust relevant."³⁶² Survivors provide a face to history, invalidate stereotypes or misconceptions about WWII, and sensitize students to "the long-term ramifications of extreme persecution and trauma."³⁶³

³⁵⁶ Alan Marcus, "Why we need to rethink how to teach the Holocaust," *The Conversation*, May 23, 2018, <https://theconversation.com/why-we-need-to-rethink-how-to-teach-the-holocaust-96068>.

³⁵⁷ Thomas Dalton, *Debating the Holocaust: A New Look At Both Sides*, 64.

³⁵⁸ "Resistance to Jewish Power; and Zundel Case Update, part 2," narrated by Kevin Alfred Strom, American Dissident Voices, *National Alliance*, September 20, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120419045358/http://www.natall.com/adv/2003/09-20-03.html>.

³⁵⁹ Gert Weisskirchen, "When It's Not Enough to Know: The European Experience," in *Antisemitism: The Generic Hatred*, ed. Michael Fineberg, Shimon Samuels, and Mark Weitzman (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), 272.

³⁶⁰ David Matas, "Remembering the Holocaust," in *Genocide Watch*, ed. Helen Fein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 184-185.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

³⁶² Alan Marcus, "Why we need to rethink how to teach the Holocaust," *The Conversation*.

³⁶³ "Teaching About the Holocaust Without Survivors," International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/educational-materials/teaching-about-holocaust-without-survivors>.

With the Internet increasingly becoming a vital source of information, Holocaust education must teach skills to detect misinformation online. One strategy is SIFT, which stands for “Stop,” “Investigate the source,” “Find better coverage,” and “Trace claims, quotes and media to the original text.” “Stop” encourages online users to question whether their source is reputable and not to accept the source’s claims until the user verifies its legitimacy. “Investigate the source” asks users to learn as much as possible about the information’s author to assess their professional expertise and agenda. “Find better coverage” stimulates online users to collect information from multiple trusted and reputable sources. “Trace claims, quotes, and media back to the original context” promotes the research of the original information which encourages maximum accuracy.³⁶⁴ SIFT helps web users to identify legitimate Holocaust-informative websites such as Holocaust Denial on Trial and distinguish them from Holocaust denialist webpages like the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (<https://codoh.com/>).

While we ought to tolerate Holocaust denialism for the sake of freedom of expression, we must defend history and the memory of the European Jews killed by the Nazis during the Shoah. Holocaust education and refutation of the deniers, informed by Deborah Lipstadt’s Holocaust Denial on Trial, ensures freedom of expression while exposing the fallacies of Holocaust denialist claims and deniers as anti-Semites, not civil rights advocates, as claimed in their podcasts. The longer we fail to confront Holocaust deniers, the longer their lies and support remain uncontested. As Holocaust scholar Robert Jan van Pelt said: “Academics who choose to ignore Holocaust deniers are like the crew of the Titanic straightening the deck chairs while the ship is going down.”³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ Mike Caufield, “SIFT (The Four Moves),” Hapgood, January 19, 2019, <https://hapgood.us/2019/06/19/sift-the-four-moves/>.

³⁶⁵ Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* 17.

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