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STOP NEGACIJI GENOCIDA I HOLOKAUSTA
STOP GENOCIDE AND HOLOCAUST DENIAL

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STOP NEGACIJI GENOCIDA I HOLOKAUSTA

GENOCIDE AND HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Mehmed A. **AKŠAMIJA,** UREDNIK / EDITOR

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NEGACIJA GENOCIDA

KAO AFIRMACIJA KONTINUIRANOG ZLA

Mustafa Cerić

I

'Spoznajte istinu i istina će vas osloboditi!'
(Ivan 8, 32)

U pogledu duhovnog stanja nije teško zamisliti da je dželatu teže živjeti s njegovom grižnjom savjesti negoli žrtvi s njenom boli i patnjom. Dželat je rob svog zla genocida zbog poricanja istine, zbog laži koja ga drži u okovima. Žrtva je gospodar svoje istine. Istina joj daje snagu da živi u slobodi svoje čiste savjesti. Dželat ne zaslužuje slobodu, ali zaslužuje da mu se kaže da ga samo istina oslobađa, ne od grijeha zbog počinjenog zla, već od laži koja ga drži u okovima. Stoga, biblijska ideja o tome da "spoznaja ili priznanje istine čovjeka oslobađa" je najbolji izlaz iz začaranog kruga zla, kojeg afirmira negacija genocida u Srebrenici. I baš zato što je dželat, svjesno ili nesvjesno, zarobljen u okove negacije srebreničkog genocida, žrtva ima obavezu da mu te okove skida s vrata na način da ga stalno podsjeća na njegovo zlo i da nikad ne odustaje od svoje istine. Žrtva treba biti uporna sve dok se dželat ne oslobodi okova laži i tako oslobodi svoj vlastiti narod od kolektivne odgovornosti za genocid u Srebrenici. Nažalost, srpska pamet i politika nema ni volje ni morala da spozna istinu i oslobodi se kolektivne odgovornosti. O tome svjedoči nedavna promocija knjige "Bitka za Srebrenicu – Rat za civilizaciju", autora Dušana Pavlovića, u kojoj se negira srpski genocid u Srebrenici. O tom događaju novinar Faruk Zametica je izvijestio na sljedeći način:

Nedžad Avdić je Srebreničanin koji je u julu 1995. godine preživio strijeljanje i genocid. Žrtva najužasnijeg zločina koji se može počiniti jednom narodu ovog je petka, 15. marta 2019. još jednom morala proći kroz sve strahote genocida. Morao je Nedžad još jednom među zločincima koji negiraju genocid pričati o užasu koji su pijane i do zuba naoružane bande Ratka Mladića posijale tog jula 1995. godine.

Užasu koji danas podržavaju načelnik Srebrenice Mladen Grujičić, potpredsjednik Skupštine Radomir Pavlović, direktor SŠC Momčilo Cvjetinović (predsjednik lokalnog SDS-a), srebrenički paroh, iguman manastira Karno...

*A tog petka se taj užas negirao. Negirao se kroz revizionističku knjigu naslova 'Bitka za Srebrenicu – Rat za civilizaciju', autora Dušana Pavlovića, autora koji kaže da su svi nestali ukopani u Potočarima kao borci i sa šehitskim nišanima iznad grobova što pokazuje da je riječ o vojnicima i da je Memorijalni centar u Potočarima potpuno vojničko groblje. Pavlović ističe da je '**evakuacija oko 25 hiljada bošnjačkih***



GENOCIDE DENIAL

AS AFFIRMATION OF CONTINUED EVIL

Mustafa Cerić

'Then you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free!'
(John 8, 32)

When it comes to the state of man's spirit, it is not hard to imagine that it is more difficult for executioners to live with their conscience, than it is to victims who live with their suffering and pain. Executioner is a slave of his own genocidal evil because he denies the truth, since the lie keeps him in chains. Victim is the master of his own truth. The truth gives him strength to live in freedom of his clean conscience. Executioner does not deserve freedom, but he does deserve to be told that only the truth can liberate him, not from his sin, but from the lie that keeps him in chains. That is why the Biblical idea that "awareness of the admission of truth liberates man" is the best way out of the vicious circle of evil that is affirmed by the denial of Srebrenica Genocide. And exactly because executioner is, consciously or unconsciously, caught in the chains of his own denial of the Srebrenica Genocide, it is his victims' obligation to remove those chains from the executioner's neck by constantly reminding him of his own evil and never to give up the truth. Victim needs to persevere as long as executioner releases himself from the chains of lie and thus liberates his people from collective responsibility for the Srebrenica Genocide. Unfortunately, the Serb intelligentsia and politicians have neither will, nor morale to realize the truth and thus be liberated from their collective responsibility. Recent launch of the book "Battle for Srebrenica – War for Civilization", authored by Dušan Pavlović, is the proof for that because it denies the Srebrenica Genocide. This is how journalist Faruk Zametica reported on the event:

Nedžad Avdić is a man from Srebrenica who survived execution and genocide in July 1995. This victim of the most horrendous crimes that can be committed to a people, had to experience again, on this Friday, the 15th of March 2019, all the horrors of genocide. Once again, Nedžad found himself among the war criminals and genocide deniers where he felt an urge to speak about the horrors that had been sowed by the drunk and armed to the teeth gangs of Ratko Mladić in July 1995.

The horror that is today supported by the Mayor of Srebrenica Mladen Grujičić, the Vice Speaker of Srebrenica Assembly Radomir Pavlović, the Principal of the Secondary Educational Centre, Momčilo Cvjetinović (who is the President of the local SDS), the local priest, the abbot of Karno Monastery...

And this horror was denied on that Friday. It was denied in the revisionist book titled *'Battle for Srebrenica – War for Civilization', authored by Dušan Pavlović, who claims that all those who were*

***žena i djece koju je obavila Vojska Republike Srpske svijetao primjer vojničkog odnosa prema civilima i zarobljenicim**a'.*

Nedžad Avdić se pojavio na promociji ovog sramnog izdanja Pavlovića. Sačekao je da negatori genocida završe svoju tiradu, a onda je ustao. I mirnim tonom ispričao istinu. Istinu koja je natjerala saučesnike u zločinu da zašute.

*Avdić u razgovoru za **Radiosarajevo.ba** ističe kako nije prvi put da se ovakve promocije održavaju u Srebrenici. – Ovo nije prva ovakva promocija u Srebrenici. Nedavno je trebala biti održana promocija spisateljice Ratka Mladića. Prije toga je održana druga promocija gdje su dolazili takozvani naučnici iz Beograda, ali nisu dali da ih se išta pita, već su pobjegli prije nego što se završili prezentacija. To je bilo jedno testiranje za ovu promociju, a za nju sam saznao sa plakata u gradu. Otišao sam na promociju sa momcima koji su te 1995. godine bili dječaci i čiji su očevi i braća ubijeni. Željeli smo samo da čujemo o čemu se tamo govori, ističe Avdić.*

*Kaže da je morao zatražiti riječ, ali da je bio smiren i dostojanstven. – Ja sam se javljao i javljao i na kraju sam dobio riječ. Bio sam smiren i dostojanstven, nije bilo povišenih tonova. Međutim oni su imali povišene tonove, nisu mi dozvoljavali da govorim. **Načelnik Mladen Grujičić, kao i potpredsjednik Skupštine Radomir Pavlović stali su u odbranu autora, ali ja sam nastavio po svome. Autor nije ništa odgovarao, samo je šutio dok sam ja govorio. Smijao se ciničnо i pokoju riječ je rekao.** Još jedan moj sapatnik je pitao kako ih nije sramota da to govore i podsjetio je na stradanje svog oca.*

Nedžad se prisjetio mučnih trenutaka sa promocije knjige, gdje je još jednom pokazao koliko veliko i herojsko srce ima. – Ja sam se predstavio, rekao sam da sam Nedžad Avdić, da sam preživio genocid u Srebrenici. Rekao sam da sam kao dječak u julu 1995. godine odveden na strijeljanje i strijeljan, kao učenik prvog razreda gimnazije u Srebrenici. Oni su gledali u nevjerici šta ja govorim. Potom sam se obratio autoru, govorio sam o njegovom svjedočenju u slučaju Mladić i rekao sam mu da kada ulazi u Srebrenicu treba da govori istinu, a ne samo ono što njemu odgovara.

*- 'Pitao sam ga zašto ste nas poubijali kada je sve bilo završeno? **Znate li da su moji profesori i svi drugovi bez izuzetka, a koji su dospjeli u ruke zločinaca pobijeni. Završili su u masovnim grobnicama... Ne vjerujete ni vi u tu priču koju pričati**', prisjeća se Nedžad trenutaka sa promocije knjige.*

*Na promociji knjige bio je i direktor škole u Srebrenici. – '**Pa on će za dvije godine dovesti tog autora da drži mojoj djeci časove historije o herojstvu Mladića i Karadžića, a možda i o tome kako treba ubijati. Je li o tome treba šutjeti**? To je sramota za načelnika, za Srbe, za sve one koji podržavaju takvu politiku', ističe Nedžad Avdić.*

Danas je presuda Radovanu Karadžiću. Avdić se nada da će monstrum i krvnik dobiti maksimalnu – doživotnu kaznu i da će biti optužen po svim tačkama optužnice. – 'Za genocid u preostalih sedam opština, za genocid u Srebrenici i to bi bio minimum pravde. Sve drugo bi bila velika nepravda prema žrtvama', ističe Avdić i dodaje, da postoje i oni koji su svjesni strahota koje su počinjene u njihovo ime te 1995. godine: – 'Obični ljudi su obični ljudi. Sreću me i žele da razgovaraju... Ovdje su problemi institucije, koje ne žele naš opstanak ovdje.

buried in Potočari were killed as soldiers because their tombstones are those that are used for shahids, and that the Potočari Memorial Centre is hundred percent a military cemetery. ***Pavlović emphasizes that 'the evacuation of about 25 thousands of Bosniak women and children which was carried out by the Republika Srpska Army is a glorious example of soldiers' treating civilians and POWs in a humane way'.***

Nedžad Avdić showed up at the launch of this shameful Pavlović's publication. He waited for deniers to finish their tirade and then stood up. Calmly, he told the truth – the truth that forced the accomplices in the crime to be silent.

Interviewed by ***Radiosarajevo.ba****, Avdić said that it was not the first time that such launches are held in Srebrenica, "This was not the first such launch in Srebrenica. The promotion of the woman who writes books about Mladić as a hero was planned recently. Before that, another launch was held with the so-called scientists from Belgrade, but they did not allow audience to ask questions, instead, they fled before the launch ended. This served as litmus test for this launch and I learned about it from posters in the town. I went there with guys who were young boys and whose fathers and brothers had been killed back in 1995. We wanted to hear what they would talk about", says Avdić.*

He added that he had to ask to be allowed to intervene and that he was calm and dignified, "I asked them again and again to let me speak and, finally, I got the chance. I was calm and dignified, and did not raise my voice. However, they did raise their voices. They did not let me speak. Mayor ***Mladen Grujičić, and the Vice Speaker of Srebrenica Assembly Radomir Pavlović defended the author, but I continued speaking. The author did not react; he was just sitting there silent, while I was speaking. He laughed cynically and uttered a couple of words****. One of my friends asked them how come they were not ashamed for saying what they were saying and reminded them of his killed father.*

Nedžad recalled the unpleasant moments from the book launch, where he showed once again how brave and heroic was he in his heart, "I introduced myself and said that my name was Nedžad Avdić and that I had survived the Srebrenica Genocide. I said that, in July 1995, as a boy and the first-grade student of the Grammar School in Srebrenica, I was taken for execution. They stared and listened to me in disbelief. Then I addressed the author and mentioned his testimony at the Mladić trial and told him that he should speak the truth when entering Srebrenica and not what just suits him…

'***I asked him why did they kill so many of us when everything was already over...? Do you know that my teachers and all my schoolmates, without exception, who ended up in the hands of war criminals were killed?, I asked him. They ended up in mass graves…. You do not believe yourself in the story you are telling,***' recalls Nedžad the moments at the book launch.

The Principal of the Srebrenica School was present. In two years' time, he will bring this author to give lectures at history classes to my son about the heroism of ***Mladić and Karadžić, and perhaps they should continue killing us. Are we supposed to keep silent about it as well****? That is a disgrace for the mayor, for the Serbs, for all those who support that politics, says Nedžad Avdić.*

Today, the verdict in the Case of Radovan Karadžić will be pronounced. Avdić hopes that this monster and murderer will get the maximum, i.e, life sentence and that he will be sentenced on all the counts contained 'in the indictment for genocide in the remaining seven municipalities, for the Srebrenica Genocide and that would be the minimum of justice.

Marginalizacijom ne žele naš opstanak ovdje. ***Tokom rata su nas*** *željeli biloški istrijebiti, a sada to rade drugačije.* ***Kroz jezik, kroz negaciju zločina i genocida, identiteta. Moram ponoviti. To što se desilo ovdje nije pojedinačni zločin, nego politički institucionalizovani zločin****. Isto kao što se sada radi prema žrtvama. To rade institucije, a ne pojedinci', kaže Avdić i za kraj šalje još jednu herojsku poruku: – 'Moje iskustvo je bilo traumatično, ali želim da me čuju svi.* ***Niko ničije žrtve ne treba negirati. Pomirenje je jedino moguće na istini. Pomirenja na lažima i negiranju nema****... Ova presuda (Radovanu Karadžiću) je izuzetno važna za Srbe. Moraju prihvatiti greške svojih ratnih lidera, prihvatiti presude. Greške lidera, ako se to može nazvati greškama, koje su dovele do strašnih zločina genocida...' zaključuje Nedžad Avdić.*

Može li se zamisliti da u Aušvicu nacisti održe promociju knjige, u kojoj negiraju holokaust i optužuju žrtve da su krive što su spaljivane? Ne, to se ne može ni zamisliti, a kamoli gledati svojim očima i slušati svojim ušima negaciju holokausta u Aušvicu. To se može dogoditi samo u Srebrenici, gdje srpski općinski načelnik i srpski sveštenik bez stida i srama sponzoriraju negaciju genocida u Srebrenici, genocida koji je utvrđen i pravosnažno osuđen od strane međunarodnih sudova u Hagu. Pouke i poruke iz ovakvog srpskog moralnog, političkog i institucionalnog ponašanja su sljedeće:

Pouka i poruka *prva*

Srpska politika negiranja srpskog genocida nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici na najradikalniji način uvjerava domaću i svjetsku javnost o svom genocidu, kojeg navodno negira. Naime, kroz pokušaj promocije knjige o negaciji genocida u Srebrenici i kroz veličanje osuđenih zločinaca za genocid Radovana Karadžića i Ratka Mladića srpska politika olakšava naš posao, jer to što mi treba da dokazujemo oko srpskog genocida u Srebrenici, srpska politika to samovoljno pokazuje svijetu da je počinila genocid u Srebrenici. To se zove suicidna politika.

Pouka i poruka *druga*

Srpska politika u Beogradu i u Banjoj Luci morat će kad-tad prihvatiti istinu o srpskom genocidu u Srebrenici. Zvuči paradoksalno, ali sve što duže bude oklijevala da to učini, sve veća pažnja bit će usmjerena prema žrtvama srpskog genocida. Onoga trenutka kad srpska politika prizna srpski genocid nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici, kad izrazi izvinjenje i pokajanje, kad tvrdo obeća da to više nikad i nikome neće ponoviti, pažnja će se tada okrenuti prema srpskoj hrabrosti i poštenju da prizna svoj grijeh. Žrtve srpskog genocida bit će tada u drugom planu. Glavna priča bit će srpska velikodušnost umjesto bol i patnja žrtava srpskog genocida. No, znajući koliko je srpska politika tvrdoglava u negiranju istine i pravde, to se vjerovatno neće zadugo ili nikada desiti. No, bitno je da mi to znamo i da to svijetu kažemo da znamo.

Pouka i poruka *treća*

Relevantni srpski političari, kao što su Boris Tadić i Aleksandar Vučić pokušali su da odigraju ulogu velikodušnih srpskih ličnosti. Tadić je htio biti srpski Willy Brandt, ali mu to nije pošlo za rukom zato što nije ni kao osoba ni

For all the rest it would be a great injustice against victims', says Avdić and adds, 'there are those who are aware of all the atrocities committed in their name in 1995. 'Ordinary people are just ordinary people. I meet them, and they want to talk to me… Here, the problem lies with the institutions that do not want us to remain here. They want to marginalise us so that we decide to leave. ***During the war they wanted to exterminate us, and now they have a different method. Through language, through denial of crimes and genocide, identity... I must repeat: what happened here were not individual crimes; this was a politically institutionalized crime****. Just like what they are doing to victims now. The institutions are doing it, not individuals, adds Avdić and finishes with another heroic message, 'My experience was traumatic, but I want everyone to hear me.* ***Nobody should deny anyone's victims. Reconciliation is only possible if it is based on truth. There is no reconciliation if there are lies and denial****... This verdict (Radovan Karadžić's) is extremely important for the Serbs. They must accept the mistakes of their war leaders, the verdicts. The mistakes of their leaders, if those could be called mistakes, that led to the horrible crime of genocide,' concludes Nedžad Avdić.*

Could we imagine Nazis holding a launch of a book denying Holocaust and accusing the victims for having been burnt to death in Auschwitz? No, that is unimaginable, let alone to watch with own eyes and listen with own ears the denial of the Holocaust in Auschwitz. That can happen only in Srebrenica, where the Serb Mayor and the Serb priest are the sponsors of denial of the Srebrenica Genocide, the genocide for which the international tribunals in The Hague pronounced the final and legally binding verdict. Lessons and messages of such moral, political and institutional behaviour of the Serbs are as follows:

Lesson and message *No. 1:*

Like never before, the Serb politicians on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the Serb genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica convinced in the most radical way both the domestic and the international public, that they had committed the genocide that they are allegedly denying. Namely, by their attempt to promote the book that denies the Srebrenica Genocide and by celebrating the convicted war criminals, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, the Serb politicians made it easier for us because what we have to prove relating the Serb Genocide in Srebrenica, the Serb politicians have been doing it willingly. That is what we call a suicidal politics.

Lesson and message *No. 2:*

The Serbian politicians in Belgrade and Banja Luka will have eventually to accept the truth about the Serb Genocide in Srebrenica. It may sound paradoxical, but the longer they hesitate to do it, the greater attention is directed toward the victims of their genocide. The moment when the Serbian politicians admit that the Serbs committed genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, when they apologize and show repentance, when they firmly promise that it will never happen to anyone again, the attention will be diverted toward the Serb courage and decency and readiness to admit their sin. Victims of the Serb Genocide will then be pushed aside. The main story will be the Serb generosity instead the pain and suffering of the victims of the Serb Genocide. But, knowing how stubborn the Serb politicians are in denying the truth and justice, it will probably not happen any time soon, or will never happen. However, what matters is that we know it and that we tell the world that we know it.

kao političar dorastao toj ulozi. S druge strane, Vučić hoće da glumi Konfučija, kojeg voli da citira: – 'Čovjek je spreman na pomirenje, ali se ne ponižava, hulja se ponižava, ali Srbija neće biti hulja'.

Međutim, ni Vučić nije ni kao osoba ni kao političar na razini veličine ličnosti Konfučija. Vučić bi htio da bude velikodušan u očima žrtava srpskog genocida, ali opet mudar u očima srpskih dželata. No, to je nemoguća misija. Vučić ne shvata, ili shvata ali se pravi lud, da nije moguće pomiriti žrtve genocida sa njihovim dželatima. Vučić zna, ali se pravi nevješt, da se ne može biti istovremeno miroljubiv i sa žrtvama genocida i sa njihovim dželatima. Vučić se mora opredijeliti na kojoj je strani: na strani srpskih dželata ili na strani žrtava srpskog genocida. Zasad Vučić je bliži srpskim dželatima nego žrtvama srpskog genocida, misleći da žrtve pristaju na njegovu beskrajnu igru dvoličnjaka. Ali, Vučić ne shvata da žrtvama srpskog genocida nije potrebno da čitaju Konfučija da bi znale šta je istina, pravda, mir i pomirenje. Žrtve srpskog genocida su sve to naučile 11. jula 1995. godine u Potočarima. Vučiću bi bilo jako korisno da pročita knjigu mudrosti, koju pišu žrtve srpskog genocida. U njima ima više mudrosti i filozofije nego kod Konfučija.

Pouka i poruka *četvrta*

Bez želje da budemo cinični, ali sve dok je srpska politika suicidna i kratkovida bit će nam lakše svijetu objasniti istinu o srpskom genocidu u Srebrenici. To se najbolje vidi svake godine u Potočarima, gdje su svi govori fokusirani protiv pokušaja negiranja genocida od strane srpske politike, srpske pameti i srpskih medija, koji se nadmeću ko će biti glasniji u negaciji onoga što se ne smije negirati zato što je istina nepobitna bez obzira koliko laž bila beskrupulozna. Prema tome, srpska negacija genocida je zapravo afirmacija zla, afirmacija srpskog genocida nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici. To nije porazno samo za žrtve genocida, već za počinioce genocida koji biraju laž, koja ih zarobljava umjesto istine, koja ih oslobađa.

Pouka i poruka *peta*

Od početka Bosnu prati stigma: onaj ko je loš treba ga nagraditi, jer može biti gori, a onaj ko je dobar treba ga kazniti, jer treba da bude bolji. Grijeh jednih kao brdo, želi se prikazati kao trun, a grijeh drugih kao trun, želi se prikazati kao brdo. To je svijet u kojem danas živimo. Nije lahko, ali bolje je da nas kažnjavaju da budemo bolji, nego da nas nagrađuju da ne bismo bili lošiji. Ne smijemo odustati od izazova 'dobrog momka' bez obzira koliko to košta. Bolje je biti dobar makar te kažnjavali, nego loš makar te nagrađivali. Bolje je imati čist obraz, negoli prljavu dušu; bolje je spavati mirno, negoli buditi se krivo; bolje je biti čovjek, negoli nečovjek. Dakle, gore od samog genocida je negacija genocida. I to iz dva razloga: a) negacija istine o stvarnom fizičkom genocidu je laž, kojom se nastavlja stvarni psihički genocid nad žrtvama genocida; b) negacija genocida je opravdanje za mogući novi genocid, jer onaj ko poriče stvarno zlo genocida, spreman je to zlo opet počiniti. Zbog toga, mora se reći: 'stop negaciji genocida i holokausta', ali i uporno raditi da se to i ostvari.

Lesson and message *No. 3:*

Relevant Serbian politicians, like Boris Tadić and Aleksandar Vučić, tried to play the role of generous Serb figures. Tadić wanted to be the Serbian Willy Brandt, but failed because, as an individual and as a politician, he is not up to that role. On the other hand, Vučić would like to play Confucius, whom he likes to quote: 'Man is ready for reconciliation, but not to be humiliated, scoundrels are humiliated, but Serbia refuses to be a scoundrel'...

However, as an individual and as a politician, Vučić is not at the level of Confucius. Vučić would like to be generous in the eyes of victims of Serb executioners, however, that is a mission impossible. Vučić fails to understand, or he does understand but pretends to be mad, that it is not possible to reconcile victims of genocide and their executioners. Vučić knows, but pretends to be naïve, that one cannot be a peace-loving person both with victims of genocide and their executioners. Vučić must show whose side is taking: the side of Serb executioners, or the side of victims of the Serb genocide.

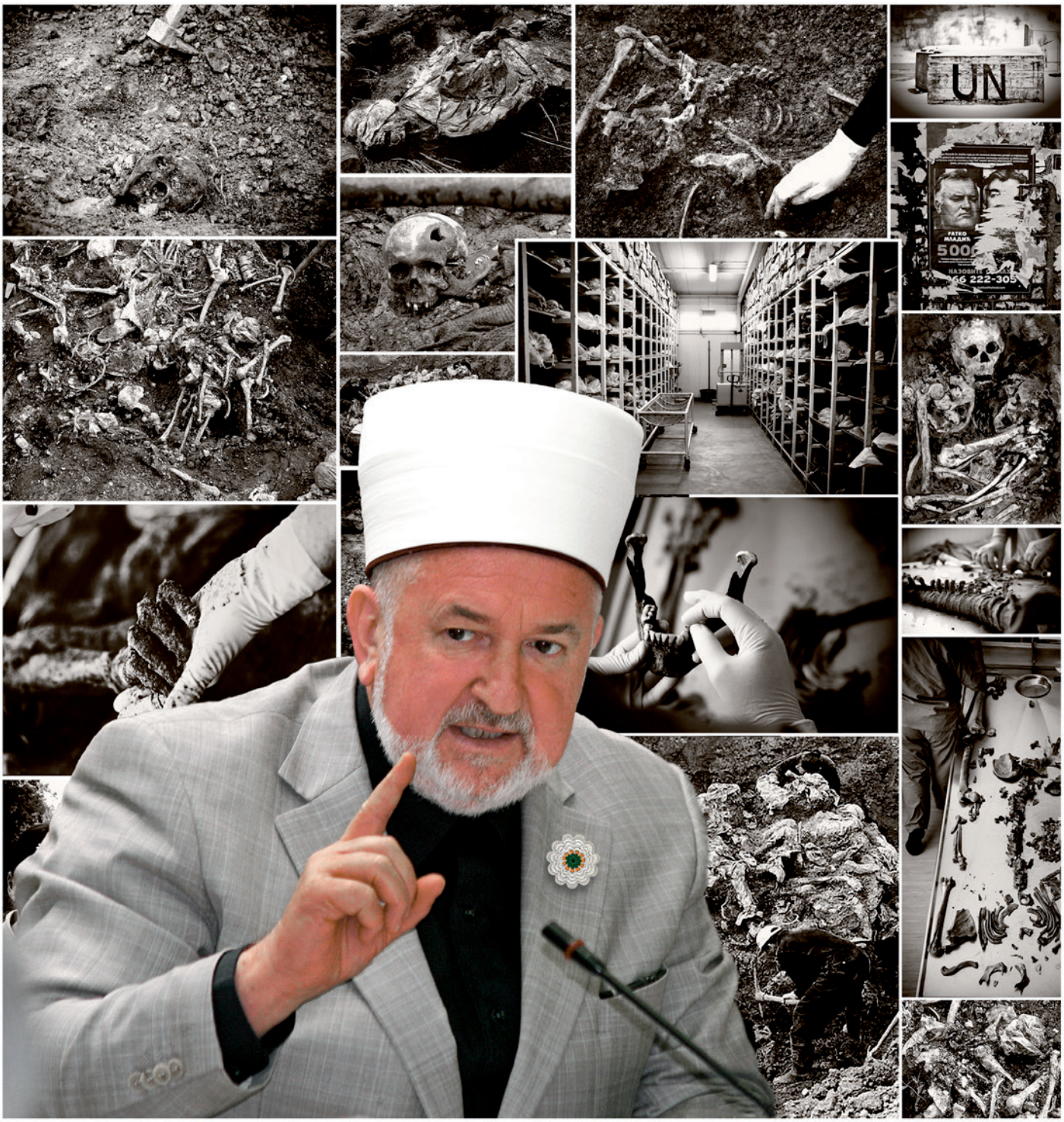
For the time being, Vučić is closer to the Serb executioners than to the victims of genocide, convinced that the victims accept his never-ending game of a hypocrite. But Vučić does not know that the victims of Serb genocide do not need to read Confucius to know the truth, justice, peace and reconciliation. The victims of Serb genocide have learned it all on 11th July 1995 in Potočari. It would be useful if Vučić read the books of wisdom written by the victims of Serb genocide. There is more wisdom and philosophy in those books than in the Confucius' writings.

Lesson and message *No. 4:*

Not wishing to be cynical, but as long as the Serb politics is suicidal, and short-sighted, it would be easier to explain to the world the truth about the Serb genocide in Srebrenica. That is best seen every year in Potočari, where all speeches are focused against attempts at denial of genocide by the Serb politicians, Serb intelligentsia and the Serb media, who are competing which of them would be louder in the denial of what should not be denied because the truth is irrefutable no matter how unscrupulous the lies are. Therefore, the Serb denial of genocide is actually the affirmation of evil, the affirmation of the Serb genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica. This is not a defeat for the victims of genocide, but for the perpetrators of genocide who have chosen a lie that keeps them imprisoned, rather than the truth, which would liberate them.

Lesson and message *No. 5:*

A stigma has been associated with Bosnia from the beginning: the one who is bad should be rewarded, because he can be even worse, whereas the one who is good should be punished, because he needs to be better. The sin of the former, which is as big as the hill needs to be presented as a crumb, whereas the sin of the latter that is like a crumb must be presented as a hill. That is the world we are living in now. It is not easy, but it is better to be punished to become better, than to be rewarded in order not to be worse. We should not give up the challenge of 'the good guy' regardless of its price. It is better to be good even if we are punished for that, than to be bad even if we are rewarded for that. It is better to have clean face, than to have a dirty soul; it is better


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to sleep calm, than to wake up in panic; it is better to be human, than to be inhuman. So, the denial of genocide is worse than genocide itself. For two reasons: a) a denial of the truth about real physical genocide is a lie that continues the real psychological genocide against the victims of genocide; b) a denial of the genocide is a justification for potential new genocide because everyone who denies the real evil of genocide, is ready to perpetrate that evil again. That is why we must say: 'stop denying Genocide and Holocaust', and we have to work consistently for this promise to be fulfilled.





II

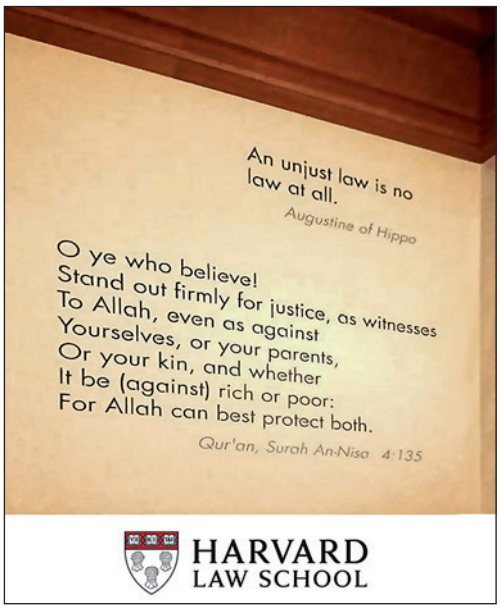
'Vi koji vjerujete u Boga, budite uvijek pravedni i svjedočite radi Boga makar to bilo protiv vas samih, protiv vaših roditelja i vaših rođaka, ako je neko od njih bogat ili siromašan, Bog će se pobrinuti o njima. Nemojte slijediti strasti, koje vas navode da budete nepravedni. A ako budete krivo svjedočili ili svjedočenje odbijali, pa, Bog, zaista, zna ono što radite.'

(Kur'an, 4:135)

Ovaj kur'anski ajet (*ājet*, doslovno „znak" je stavka ili rečenica u Kur'anu) je napisan na Američkom univerzitetu Harvard[*1] na ulazu Pravnog fakulteta, posvećen najboljim citatima koji su izrečeni o pravdi u povijesti. Ovdje navodimo ovaj ajet da bismo ukazali na tri važne stvari: prvo, mora se govoriti istina bez obzira o kome se radi; drugo, mora se svjedočiti istina; i, treće, ne smije se lažno svjedočiti. Ova kur'anska pravila ne odnose se samo na počinitelje zločina, već i na žrtve, koje imaju obavezu da svjedoče istinu o genocidu. Pošto je negacija genocida nad Bošnjacima na djelu, na razne načine, žrtve genocida imaju obavezu pred Bogom i pred ljudima da svjedoče o zločinu genocida kako se to ne bi ponovilo nikome i nigdje, odnosno kako se to zlo ne bi zaboravilo i time osokolilo. U grčkom jeziku riječ „istina", *aletheia*, znači također: „ne zaboraviti". Uz iskreno pokajanje, traženje oprosta i obećanje da se to više neće ponoviti, žrtve genocida mogu oprostiti, ali nikada zaboraviti. A to dželati hoće da postignu – da žrtva zaboravi zločin genocida, tj. da o tome ne priča, jer to dželate iritira. Njima, dželatima, je teško što ih se na njihov zločin genocida u Srebrenici stalno podsjeća, posebno na dan 11. jula u Potočarima, ali se ne pitaju kako je žrtvama genocida živjeti svaki dana i noć sa bolom i tugom za svojim najmilijim.

Prema tome, žrtva genocida ne smije odustati od istinitog svjedočenja. No, važnije od toga je naglasiti da ne smije podleći iskušenju da lažno svjedoči bilo u svoju korist ili na svoju štetu. Žrtvu genocida samo istina spašava. Za žrtvu genocida pravda neće biti upotpunosti zadovoljena, ali istina o zlu genocida mora biti potpuno sačuvana, jer je istina uvjet za mentalno zdravlje čovjeka.

[*1] Univerzitet Harvard je osnovan u Cambridgeu, država Massachusetts, 1636. godine, kao najstarija institucija visokog obrazovanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.



II

'Believers! Be upholders of justice, and bearers of witness to truth for the sake of Allah, even though it may either be against yourselves or against your parents and kinsmen, or the rich or the poor: for Allah is more concerned with their well-being than you are. Do not, then, follow your own desires lest you keep away from justice. If you twist or turn away from.'

(The Qur'an, 4:135)

This Qur'anic verse (Ar. ā*yah*, literally „sign" and a line or a sentence in the Qur'an) reads one of the inscriptions at the entrance of the Law School of American Harvard University*[1], as one of the best quotes on justice in history. We are quoting this āyah here to point out three important things: firstly, we must tell the truth regardless of who it is related to; secondly, we must testify the truth; and thirdly, we should not testify falsely. These Qur'anic rules are not valid only for the perpetrators of crimes, but also for their victims who are obligated to testify the truth of genocide. Since the denial of genocide against Bosniaks is present now in different ways, the victims of genocide are obligated before God and before man to testify about the crime of genocide so that it would never happen to anyone and anywhere again, i.e., so that this evil will not be forgotten and, consequently, so that it will not be encouraged. In Greek, the word „truth", *aletheia* means also „not to forget". Along with sincere repentance, seeking forgiveness and promise that it will not be repeated, the victims of genocide can forgive, but never forget. This is exactly what the executioners want to achieve – to make victims forget the crime of genocide, i.e., not to talk about it because it irritates the executioner. For him, for the executioner, it is difficult because he is constantly reminded of this crime of genocide in Srebrenica, and particularly on the 11th of July in Potočari, but they do not ask themselves how the victims of genocide feel, living every day and every night with the pain and mourning for their beloved ones.

Therefore, the victim of genocide must not give up his or her truthful testimony. However, it is more important to emphasise that one should not succumb to the temptation of testifying falsely, be it to one's benefit or detriment. Truth alone can save victims of genocide. For the victims of genocide, justice will never be attained, however the whole truth about the evil of genocide must be preserved because the truth is the conditio since qua non for mental health of man.

*[1] Harvard University was established in 1936, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as the oldest institution for higher education in the United States of America.



III

'Ponekad možete naučiti stvari iz načina kako neka osoba nešto negira. Izbor laži može biti od pomoći gotovo kao i istina.'

(Laurell K. Hamilton, *Slatka krivnja*)

Mi u Bosni smo uvjereni da činjenice o srpskom genocidu nije moguće abolirati na isti način, kao što nije moguće abolirati činjenicu o Kristallnacht, Kristalnoj noći od 9. novembra 1938. godine, kada je izvršen napad na Jevreje širom Njemačke. Ovaj pogromaški događaj protiv Jevreja u Njemačkoj prije osamdeset godina sličan je pogromu koji se dogodio 1992. godine protiv Bošnjaka u Prijedoru. Prijedor je, dakle, doživio Kristalnu noć, kao što su je doživjeli Jevreji. Razlika je u tome što Jevreji to ne zaboravljaju i što se s time ne mire, već uvijek na taj strašni zločin podsjećaju na način da bojkotiraju svaku osobu i svaku partiju, koja na bilo koji način to negira, omalovažava ili minimizira. Izrael uporno bojkotira članove austrijske ultradesničarske partije (*Freedom Party*), jer tukne na neofašizam. Ima li pouke za nas u tom primjeru kako treba postupati sa osobama i partijama, koje negiraju i veličaju srpski Genocid u Srebrenici i u cijeloj Bosni?

Shvatam, umorni smo od svega, ali zbog prevencije budućeg genocida, koji je moguć zato što srpska pamet (SANU), srpska crkva (SPC) i srpska politika svih srpskih partija bez razlike negira srpski genocid u Srebrenici, šaljući nam time poruku da su spremni opet to učiniti jer ne priznaju da je to što su učinili grijeh i sramota, već oni to drže kao ponosni nacionalni trofej – Bošnjaci/Bosanci, zbog toga, moraju biti uporni u zahtjevu da srpska pamet i srpska crkva, kao mozak sveukupne srpske politike, priznaju genocid nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici te da se pokaju i zavjetuju da to više nikad neće učiniti. Oni se negatorski ponašaju prema genocidu zato što vide da Bošnjaci/Bosanci popuštaju, da nisu uporni kao Jevreje da na svaki genocidni znak dignu svoj glas.

Naprotiv, Bošnjaci/Bosanci govore o pomirenju, dok oni o tome šute, jer ih pomirenje obavezuje na priznanje grijeha, na pokajanje, i na zavjet da to neće više nikada, nikome i nigdje učiniti. Stoga, Bošnjaci/Bosanci treba da prestanu pozivati srpske političare na dženazu u Potočare. Naprotiv, treba zavesti moratorij na prilazak Memorijalnom centru u Potočarima svima koji negiraju srpski genocid u Srebrenici. I dan danas osjećam nelagodu od slike gdje rahmetli Hatidža Mehmedović kiti Aleksandra Vučića Cvijetom sjećanja na srpski genocid, kojeg on nije ni na koji način dostojan, već je zloupotrijebio bosansko gostoprimstvo i napravio skandal ulaskom među žrtve genocida u Potočarima na dan dženaze kako bi od sebe napravio žrtvu i skrenuo pažnju na sebe na račun žrtava srebreničkog genocida. Ali, znam da rahmetli Hatidža nije to uradila po svojoj slobodnoj volji, već je to uradila pod pritiskom onih koji su u tome vidjeli sebe i svoj sitni lični interes.

Dakako, gore od svega je izjednačavanje dželata i žrtve pod izgovorom da treba čuti i „drugu stranu" i da je bilo zločina na „svim

III

'Sometimes you can learn things from the way a person denies something. The choice of lies can be almost as helpful as the truth.'

(Laurell K. Hamilton, *Guilty Pleasures*)

We, in Bosnia, are confident that the facts about the Serb Genocide cannot be abolished just like the fact of Kristallnacht, the Crystal Night of the 9th November 1938, when a campaign was launched against the Jews all over Germany, cannot be abolished. This pogrom of the Jews in Germany, eighty years ago, is similar to the pogrom of Bosniaks in Prijedor that happened in 1992. Prijedor, therefore, experienced the Crystal Night, just like the Jews did eighty years ago. The difference between the two lies in that fact that the Jews do not forget it and refuse to come to terms with it, but rather keep reminding the world of this horrible crime by boycotting every individual and every party that denies, denigrates or minimises it in any way possible. Israel persistently boycotts members of Austrian ultra-right party (*Freedom Party*), because it „stinks" of neo-Fascism. Is there any lesson for us in this example of how one should treat individuals and parties that deny and praise the Serb Genocide in Srebrenica and all over Bosnia?

I understand, we are tired of it all, but for the sake of prevention of a future genocide, which is possible because the Serb intelligentsia (the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – SANU), the Serb Orthodox Church, and the Serb politicians, all of them with no difference, deny the Serb Genocide in Srebrenica, thus conveying the message that they are ready to commit it again. Because they do not admit that what they did was a sin and a shame, but rather treat it as their national trophy, Bosniaks/Bosnians must be persistent in demanding that the Serb intelligentsia and the Serb Church as the mastermind behind the entire Serb politics, admit that genocide was committed against Bosniaks in Srebrenica and to repent and take a wow that they would never do it again. Instead, they are denying the genocide because they see that Bosniaks/Bosnians are giving up, that they are not persistent like the Jews in raising their voices at every single sign of genocide.

Quite opposite, Bosnaiks/Bosnians talk about reconciliation, while the others are silent about it, because reconciliation means an obligation to admit one's sin, to repent, and to take a wow that it will never be done to anyone and anywhere again. That is why Bosniaks/Bosnians have to stop inviting the Serb politicians to the annual burial of the victims of genocide in Potočari and, instead, a restraint order should be introduced for all those who deny the Serb genocide in Srebrenica anywhere near the Memorial Centre in Potočari. I still feel unease remembering the late Hatidža Mehmedović placing a Flower of Remembrance of the Serb Genocide on Aleksandar Vučić's lapel, who in no way deserved that honour; instead he misused Bosnian hospitality to cause a scandal by walking to the place where the victims of genocide were grouped on the day of burial in Potočari to demonstrate that he was actually the victim and to draw attention on himself at the expense of the victims of the Srebrenica Genocide. But I know that the late Hatidža did not do it of her own free will, but pressurised by those who saw in this act an opportunity to make political gains.

stranama", ali, zasigurno, nije bilo genocida na „svima stranama", već samo na jednoj strani, a to je srpski genocid nad Bošnjacima u Srebrenici, koji je utvrđen i pravosnažno osuđen na međunarodnim sudovima u Hagu. O pokušaju izjednačavanja dželata i žrtve u kontekstu holokausta, knjiga *Negiranje holokausta – sve jači napad na istinu i pamćenje*, autorice Debore Lipstadt, može nam pomoći da se i mi u Bosni lakše i s više otpornosti nosimo s fenomenom negiranja genocida u Srebrenici. U prvom poglavlju pod naslovom: *Kanarinci u rudniku – negiranje holokausta i ograničena moć razuma*, Lipstadt, između ostalog kaže:

*Producentica nije mogla vjerovati. Teško joj je bilo povjerovati da odbijam priliku da se pojavim u njenoj emisiji na nacionalnoj televiziji: '**Ali vi pišete knjigu na tu temu. Bit će to sjajan publicitet.**' Stalno sam objašnjavala da ne bih učestvovala u debati sa nekim ko poriče holokaust. O postojanju holokausta se ne debatira. Ja bih rado analizirala i ilustrirala ko su oni i šta pokušavaju učiniti, ali se ne bih sa njima pojavila u emisiji. (Čineći to, dala bih im legitimitet i status koji ni na koji način ne zaslužuju. To bi njihovu antisemitsku ideologiju uzdiglo – jer, to je ono što negiranje holokausta jeste – do nivoa odgovorne historiografije – što ono nije.) Nespremna da prihvati moje '**ne**' kao konačno, ona je žestoko osudila negiranje holokausta i sve što ono predstavlja. Onda, u posljednjem pokušaju da me navede da se predomislim, postavila mi je pitanje: '**Ja se svakako s njima ne slažem, ali zar ne mislite da naši gledaoci treba da čuju i drugu stranu**?' Uskoro sam otkrila da to neće biti nekakav izolirani incident. I doista, u mjesecima prije nego što sam dovršila ovaj rukopis, vodila sam prečesto ovakav razgovor u ovom ili onom vidu. Bezbroj televizijskih i radio emisija otkrilo mi je negiranje holokausta. Nedavno je producentica jednog nacionalnog televizijskog kanala u svom talk showu bila zapanjena kad sam odbila mogućnost da se pojavim zato što bi to podrazumijevalo '**diskusiju**' o pitanju s dva negatora holokausta. Čak je više bila zatečena kad je shvatila da njen poziv nije bio prvi koji sam odbila. Ironično – ili možda zastrašujuće – ona mi se obratila zato što je pročitala moju knjigu dok je na fakultetu studirala holokaust. Kad je emisija prikazana, u aprilu 1992., negatorima je dato mnogo vremena da kažu ono što hoće. Onda su u emisiju dovedene preživjele žrtve holokausta da pokušaju '**odbaciti**' njihove komentare. Prije pauze za reklame, voditelj Montel Williams pozvao je gledaoce da nastave gledati program kako bi saznali da li je holokaust 'mit ili istina'. Moje odbijanje da se pojavim u takvim programima s negatorima neizbježno je kod producenata nailazilo na neku od varijacija sljedećeg pitanja: '**Zar ne trebamo čuti njihove ideje, mišljenja ili stanovišta**?' Njihova spremnost da negatorima i njihovim mitovima daju status legitimnog stanovišta je razlog za veliku, ako ne i veću, zabrinutost, nego što su to aktivnosti negatora samih. '**Šta je tu pogrešno, stalno su me iznova pitali, u tome da ljudi čuju različite perspektive**?' Nesposobni da vide razliku između prave historiografije i čisto ideološkog pothvata negatora, oni koji ovo pitanje posmatraju u tom svjetlu na jedan važan način pomažu negatorima u njihovim nastojanjima da šire svoje tvrdnje. (Lipstadt).*[2]*

*[2] Samo zbog ovoga citata vrijedi prijevod prvog poglavlje Lipstadtine knjige u prijevodu Senade Kreso, kojeg vam nudimo u ovoj brošuri.

Certainly, what is the worst thing to do is to put an equation mark between an executioner and avictim under pretext that one needs to hear „the other side" and that crimes were committed „by all sides", whereas there is no doubt that there was no genocide „on all sides", but on one side alone, and that was the Serb Genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, which was adjudicated fully and finally by the International Tribunals in The Hague. Deborah Lipstadt's book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* that analyses and rebuts attempts to put an equation mark between executioners and victims in the context of Holocaust, can help us in Bosnia to cope easier and more persistently with the phenomenon of denial of the Srebrenica Genocide.

In the first chapter of the book *Canaries in the Mine – Holocaust Denial and the Limited Power of Reason*, Lipstadt, inter alia, writes.

*The producer was incredulous. She found it hard to believe that I was turning down an opportunity to appear on her nationally televised show: '**But you are writing a book on this topic. It will be great publicity**.' I explained repeatedly that I would not participate in a debate with a Holocaust denier. The existence of the Holocaust was not a matter of debate. I would analyze and illustrate who they were and what they tried to do, but I would not appear with them. (To do so would give them legitimacy and a stature they in no way deserve. It would elevate their anti-Semitic ideology – which is what Holocaust denial is – to the level of responsible historiography – which it is not). Unwilling to accept my no as final, she vigorously condemned Holocaust denial and all it represented. Then, in one last attempt to get me to change my mind, she asked me a question: '**I certainly don't agree with them, but don't you think our viewers should hear the other side**?' Indeed, in the months before I completed this manuscript, I had one form or another of this conversation too many times. A plethora of television and radio shows have discovered Holocaust denial. Recently the producer of a nationally syndicated television talk show was astounded when I turned down the opportunity to appear because it would entail 'discussing' the issue with two deniers. She was even more taken aback when she learned that hers was not the first invitation I had rejected. Ironically – or perhaps frighteningly – she had turned to me because she read my work while taking a course on the Holocaust. When the show aired, in April 1992 deniers were given the bulk of the time to speak their piece. Then Holocaust survivors were brought on the try to '**refute**' their comments. Before the commercial break the host, Montel Williams, urged viewers to stay tuned so that they could learn whether the Holocaust is a '**myth or is it truth.**' My refusal to appear on such shows with deniers is inevitably met by producers with some variation on the following challenge: Shouldn't we hear their ideas, opinions, or point of view? Their willingness to ascribe to the deniers and their myths the legitimacy of a point of view is of as great, if not greater, concern than are the activities of the deniers themselves. What is wrong, I am repeatedly asked, with people hearing a '**different perspective**'? Unable to make the distinction between genuine historiography and the deniers' purely ideological exercise, those who see the issue in this light are important assets in the deniers' attempts to spread their claims.*[*2]*

[*2] It is for this citation alone that the translation of the first chapter of Lipstadt's book done by Senada Kreso and that is offered to you in this brochure, is worth reading.

IV

Baš tako, formiranje dvije Dodikove komisije ima za cilj negaciju srebreničkog genocida. *Jer:*

To je cilj negatora: *'oni ciljaju da izazovu zabunu oko tog pitanja tako što će učiniti da izgleda kao da poduzimaju istinsko naučno nastojanje – kada to, naravno, nije slučaj. Pokušaj da se negira holokaust podrazumijeva osnovnu strategiju iskrivljavanja istine. Istina se brka sa apsolutnim lažima, zbunjujući čitaoce koji nisu upoznati sa taktikama negatora. Poluistine i segmenti priče, koji se zgodno izbjegavaju izreći ključne informacije, ostavljaju slušaoca sa iskrivljenim dojmom o tome šta se stvarno desilo. Obilje dokumenata i svjedočenja koji potvrđuju postojanje holokausta odbacuju se kao nametnuta izmišljotina, laži i falsifikati'* (Lipstadt).

Zapravo to će biti naručeno mišljenje od naručenih profesora, koji nevoljno mijenjaju mišljenja unatoč suočavanja sa kontradiktornom evidencijom o kojima je Ekermanu (1827.) govorio veliki Gete, te imao potrebu da i ovo kaže:
'Ne treba se tome čuditi, kaže Gete, *'takvi ljudi nastavljaju biti u grešci, jer su joj dužni za svoju egzistenciju. U protivnom, oni bi morali da uče sve iz početka, a to bi bilo jako neugodno'*. Ali, ja kažem, *'Kako može biti da njihovi eksperimenti pokazuju istinu kad je osnova njihove doktrine lažna?' ... 'Oni ne dokazuju istinu',* kaže Gete, *'niti je to njihova namjera; jedina stvar s ovim profesorima je u tome da dokažu svoje mišljenje.'*

Ovo zapažanje potpuno odgovara namjeri osnivanja Dodikove revizionističke komisije o srpskom genocidu u Srebrenici i Sarajevu nakon što je Međunarodni krivični tribunal za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) u Hagu, mimo razumne sumnje, dokazao da je u Srebrenici 11. jula 1995. godine počinjen genocid. Slijedom toga, dana 15. decembra 2003. osnovana je Komisija za Srebrenicu na temelju Odluke Vlade „Republike Srpske" (entiteta BiH sa srpskom većinom) radi istrage događaja u i oko Srebrenice od 10. do 19. jula 1995. Tu Komisiju je činilo 7 članova, od kojih je Vlada Republike Srpske imenovala pet članova – Srba, dok je dva člana imenovao visoki predstavnik za Bosnu Hercegovinu Paddy Ashdown: Gordona Bacona, kao predstavnika međunarodne zajednice i prof. dr. Smaila Čekića, kao predstavnika zajednice preživjelih srebreničkog genocida.

Radna grupa i Komisija za Srebrenicu postigli su vrlo važne rezultate: prvo, utvrđen je broj i identitet *'učesnika u događajima u i oko Srebrenice od 10. do 19. jula 1995. godine'*, to jeste, počinilaca zločina genocida. To je više od 25 hiljada pojedinaca, uključujući *'pojedince koji su lično bili odgovorni za konkretne događaja u i oko Srebrenice, među kojima su i oni koji su odgovorni za naređivanje i izvršenje pogubljenja'*. Na osnovu brojnih izvora, Komisija je identificirala broj i identitet žrtava – 8.742 žrtve – (za 7.108 imena *'datumi nestanka ili smrti su u periodu od 10. do 19. jula 1995., uključujući 10. i 19. juli 1995.'*, za 698 imena *'barem jedan datum nestanka je van perioda od 10. do 19. jula, pri čemu je taj datum u julu 1995.'*, i 936 osoba za koje je *'barem jedan datum nestanka unutar datog perioda, od 10. do 19. jula 1995, a ostali su izvan jula 1995.'*). Vlada „Republike Srpske" u potpunosti je prihvatila izvještaje, što je „Republika Srpska" priznala (… *'Prihvatanje i suočavanje sa činjenicom da su neki pripadnici srpskog naroda počinili zločine u Srebrenici u julu 1995...'*) svoju odgovornost za planiranje i

IV

So true, the formation of the two Dodik's Commissions is aimed at a denial of the Srebrenica Genocide.

Because:

This is precisely the deniers' goal: *'They aim to confuse the matter by making it appear as if they are engaged in a genuine scholarly effort when, of course, they are not. The attempt to deny the Holocaust enlists a basic strategy of distortion. Truth is mixed with absolute lies, confusing readers who are unfamiliar with the tactics of the deniers. Half-truths and story segments, which conveniently avoid critical information, leave the listener with a distorted impression of what really happened. The abundance of documents and testimonies that confirm the Holocaust are dismissed as contrived, coerced, or forgeries and falsehoods'* (Lipstadt).

As a matter of fact, it will be a commissioned opinion of commissioned professors about who the great Goethe felt an urge to say this:
Goethe talks to Eckermann (1827) about professors who reluctantly change their opinions despite that fact that they are faced with contradictory evidence. *'We should not be surprised',* says Goethe, *'those people continue living with their mistake because they owe it their very existence. Otherwise, they would have to learn everything from scratch and that would be very unpleasant!'* But, I say, *'How could it be that their experiments show the truth when the basis of their doctrine is false?' ...'They do not prove the truth, adds Goethe, 'nor is it their intention; the only thing they want is to prove their opinion.'*

This observation fully corresponds to the intention to form Dodik's revisionist commission on the Serb genocide in Srebrenica and Sarajevo after the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Genocide was committed in Srebrenica on July 11, 1995. Later on, the Commission for Srebrenica was formed on December 15, 2003 by the Decision of the Government of „Republika Srpska" (a Bosnian Entity with Serb majority) for the investigation of events in and around Srebrenica from 10 to 19 July 1995. The Commission consisted of 7 members, out of which the Government of „Republika Srpska" appointed five members – Serbs, while two members were nominated by the High Representatives for Bosnia-Herzegovina (OHR) Paddy Ashdown: Gordon Bacon, as the representative of the International Community, and prof. dr. Smail Čekić as the representative of the community of the Srebrenica genocide survivors.

The working group and the Srebrenica Commission have achieved very important results: firstly, it established the number and identity of *'participants in the events in and around Srebrenica from 10th to 19th July 1995'*, i.e. perpetrators of the crime of Genocide. Those are more than 25,000 individuals, including *'individuals who were personally responsible for specific events in and around Srebrenica, including those responsible for ordering and committing executions'*. Based on numerous sources, the Commission has identified the number and identity of victims – 8,742 victims – (for 7,108 names *'dates of disappearance or death are within the period from 10 to 19 July 1995, including 10 and 19 July 1995'*, for 698 names, *'at least one date of disappearance is outside the period from 10 to 19 July, with that date being in July 1995'*, and 936 persons for whom *'at least one disappearance date is within the given period, from 10 until July 19, 1995, and they stayed out of July 1995.'*). The „Republika Srpska" Government has fully accepted the Reports of the Srebrenica Commission and all

namjernu likvidaciju Bošnjaka. Ovi izvještaji su predati Ustavnom sudu Bosne i Hercegovine, visokom predstavniku Paddy Ashdownu i predsjedniku „Republike Srpske".

Po objavljivanju prvog izvještaja Komisije za Sreberenicu (11. juli 2004.), predsjednik „Republike Srpske" Dragan Čavić u svom javnom televizijskom pojavljivanju, pozivajući se na nalaze Komisije, u ime administracije „Republike Srpske", obavijestio je javnost o obimu priznatih i počinjenih zločina, te se javno za njih izvinio. OHR je pohvalio rad Komisije za Srebrenicu.

To je bio dobar korak ka istinskom pomirenju u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nažalost, nedavno formiranje *ad-hoc* Komisije od strane Vlade Republike Srpske, sa ciljem revizije i negiranja rezultata ranije spomenute Komisije za Srebrenicu, predstavlja otvorenu provokaciju i flagrantni prezir prema boli i stradanju žrtava srebreničkog genocida. Znaci da će ova revizionistička Komisija vremenom dovesti do negiranja genocida zabrinjavaju i zahtijevaju našu promptnu reakciju, stoga što negiranje genocida presuđenog van razumne sumnje može dovesti do njegovog ponavljanja, te time bi naš krik „nikad više" izgubio svaku snagu. Poricanje genocida u Srebrenici je namjerni napad na istinu, kako je to snažno upozorio sudija Carmel Agius, predsjednik Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju u svom obraćanju na komemoraciji povodom 22. godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici, održanoj 11. jula 2017. godine u Potočarima: *'Počeću od poricatelja, od revizionista. Poricanje ili iskrivljavanje istorije predstavlja namjerni napad na istinu. Razumijevanje prošlosti od suštinskog je značaja za razumijevanje samog sebe, svojeg društva i načina na koji se ostvaruju zajednička stremljenja. Genocid u Srebrenici drugačiji je od svih prije njega. Odlično je dokumentovan, utvrđen od strane dva međunarodna suda UN-a, uključujući Međunarodni sud pravde, i potkrijepljen naučnim dokazima, do najsitnijih detalja. Dragi revizionisti, poricatelji, vi pravu prirodu tog genocida nikada nećete uspjeti da sakrijete. Vaša djeca, vaši unuci, jednog dana će shvatiti da istinu o onome što se dogodilo ne mogu naći u svojim domovima, gdje je ona iskrivljena, već izvan njih, gdje im je dostupna kao na dlanu. Oni će otkriti istinu, neiskrivljenu istinu, a kad je otkriju, počeće da se pitaju šta još od njih krijete.'*

Ovom prilikom želim spomenuti imena, koja trebaju ostati na stubu srama historije, koja čine Komisiju – sa jednim izraelskim historičarom, za kojeg mi se čini da je kvazi-historičar, kao njenog predsjedavajućeg.

Vlada Republike Srpske imenovala je sljedeće osobe u Nezavisnu međunarodnu komisiju za istraživanje stradanja svih ljudi u Srebrenici u razdoblju 1992.-1995.:

- **Gideon Grief**, izraelski historičar i istraživač holokausta, predsjedavajući
- **Adenrele Shinaba** iz Nigerije, član
- **Yuki Osa**, član
- **Roger Bayard** iz Australije, član
- **Zheng Yi** iz Kine, član
- **Giuseppe Zaccharia** iz Italije, član
- **Markus Goldbach** iz Njemačke, član
- **Laurence Armand French**, iz Sjedinjenih Država, član, i
- **Marija Đuric** iz Srbije, član.

Na čelu druge komisije Vlade Republike Srpske kojoj je navodni cilj istraga o stradanju Srba u Sarajevu tokom perioda 1991.-1995.,

its recommendations, which „Republika Srpska" has acknowledged (... *'Acceptance and confrontation with the fact that some members of the Serb people committed crime in Srebrenica in July 1995... '*), its responsibility for the planning and for deliberate liquidation of Bosniaks. The above Reports were submitted by the Government of the „Republika Srpska" to the Human Rights Commission at the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the High Representative Paddy Ashdown and to the President of „Republika Srpska".

After publishing the first report of the Srebrenica Commission (July 11, 2004), the President of „Republika Srpska", Dragan Čavić, in his public television appearance, referring to the findings of the Commission, on behalf of the „Republika Srpska" administration, informed the public about the scope of crimes, confessed the committed crimes and publicly apologized for them. The OHR commended the work of the Srebrenica Commission.

This was a good step toward a genuine reconciliation in Bosnia. Unfortunately, recent formation of an Ad-hoc Commission by the Government of „Republika Srpska" with the aim of revising and denying the results of the above-mentioned Commission for Srebrenica is a blunt provocation and a flagrant contempt of the pain and suffering of the victims of the Srebrenica Genocide. And the signs that this revisionist Commission would eventually lead to denial of Genocide are worrisome and require our prompt reaction because of the notion that denial of the sentenced Genocide beyond reasonable doubt might lead to its repetition, and thus our cry „Never Again" would be nugatory. Denial of Genocide committed in Srebrenica is a deliberate attack on the truth, as it was so powerfully expressed by Judge Carmel Agius, the President of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in his address at the commemoration on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide, held on the 11th July 2017 in Potočari: *'Let me start with the deniers, the revisionists. The denial or distortion of history is an intentional assault on truth. Understanding the past is crucial to how people understand themselves, their society, and how to achieve their common goals. The Srebrenica genocide is unlike any other that happened before. It is so well documented, established by two UN international courts, including the International Court of Justice, and scientifically supported in even the minutest details. Dear revisionists, deniers, you will never succeed in hiding the true nature of this genocide. Your children, your grandchildren will one day realize that the truth of what happened here does not lie in the homes where it has been distorted but outside where it is readily available. They will discover the truth, the undistorted truth, and when they do, they will wonder what else you have hidden from their view.'*

Here is the list of members of the Commission, with an Israeli historian, who seems to me to be a quasi-historian, as its Chairman.

The Government of the Republic of Srpska nominated the following persons to the Independent International Commission for investigating the sufferings of all people in the Srebrenica Region in the 1992-1995 period:

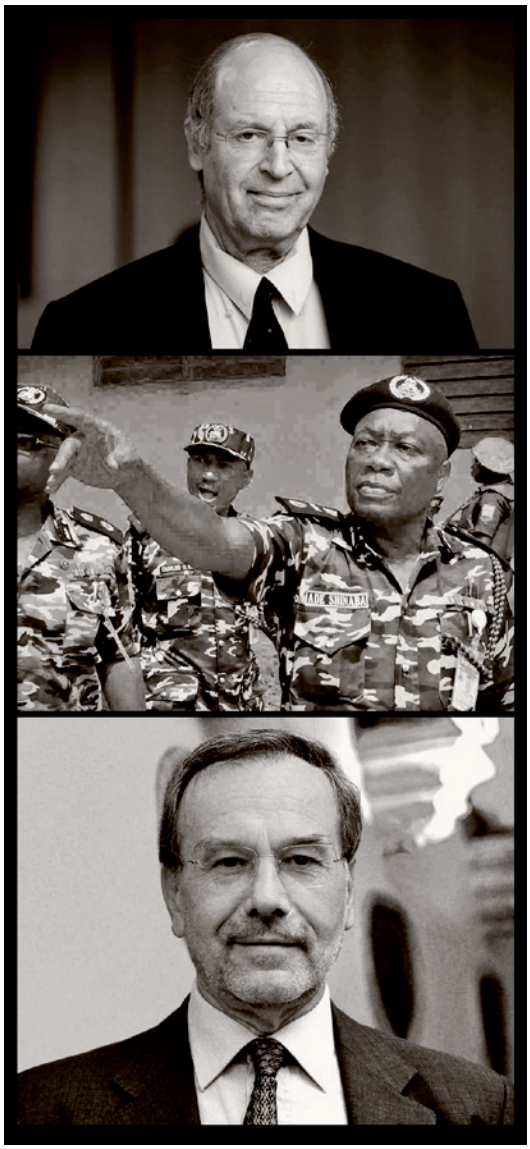
- **Gideon Grief**, Israeli historian and Holocaust researcher, Chairman
- **Adenrele Shinaba** from Nigeria, Member
- **Yuki Osa**, Member
- **Roger Bayard** from Australia, Member
- **Zheng Yi** from China, Member

također se nalazi kao predsjedavajući profesor sa Hebrejskog univerziteta. Nema sumnje, cilj ove komisije jeste negiranje istine o genocidu i revidiranje slučaja grada Sarajeva, grada koji je 1.425 dana bio pod opsadom srpskih snaga, opsadom dužom od opsade Staljingrada. Članovi Komisije su:

- **Raphael Israeli**, profesor Hebrejskog univerziteta u Jerusalemu i stručnjak za historiju radikalnog islamizma, predsjedavajući
- **Walter Manoschek** iz Austrije, član
- **Laurence Armand French** iz Sjedinjenih država, član
- **Darko Tanasković** iz Srbije, član
- **Giuseppe Zaccaria** iz Italije, član
- **Victor Bezruchenko** (Viktor Bezručenko) porijeklom iz Ukrajine, a sada državljanin Rusije, član
- **Patrik Bario**, iz Francuske, član.

Nije teško zaključiti da dvojica izraelskih stručnjaka, od kojih je jedan profesor na Hebrejskom univerzitetu u Jerusalemu, Rafael Israeli, nisu imenovani zato što su stručnjaci za srpski ratni genocid u Bosni, niti za 1425 dana opsade grada Sarajeva. Niti ove fantomske komisije mogu utvrditi drugačije činjenice od onih koje je Tribunal već utvrdio zahvaljujući stotinama istraživača i stručnjaka međunarodnog prava. I kao, kao što je, *circa* 1921. godine, primijetio Rathenau: *'Nema stručnjaka; postoje samo interesi'*. A „interesi" ovdje će upotrijebiti ili, bolje rečeno, zloupotrijebiti ime **Hebrejskog univerziteta** i samog **holokausta** za jedan rezultat sa predumišljajem, koji je u bîti neetičan i nemoralan.

Bojim se da izraelski „specijalisti" Rafael Israeli i Gideon Grief nisu svjesni ovog njihovog rizičnog angažmana u području sa kojim nisu upoznati, već da se koriste kao sredstvo političke manipulacije, što ni oni ni Hebrejski univerzitet u Jerusalemu ne trebaju, niti zaslužuju.



Gideon Grief, Adenrele Shinaba i Giuseppe Zaccharia.

- **Giuseppe Zaccharia** from Italy, Member
- **Markus Goldbach** from Germany, Member
- **Laurence Armand French**, from the United States, Member, and
- **Marija Djuric** from Serbia, Member.

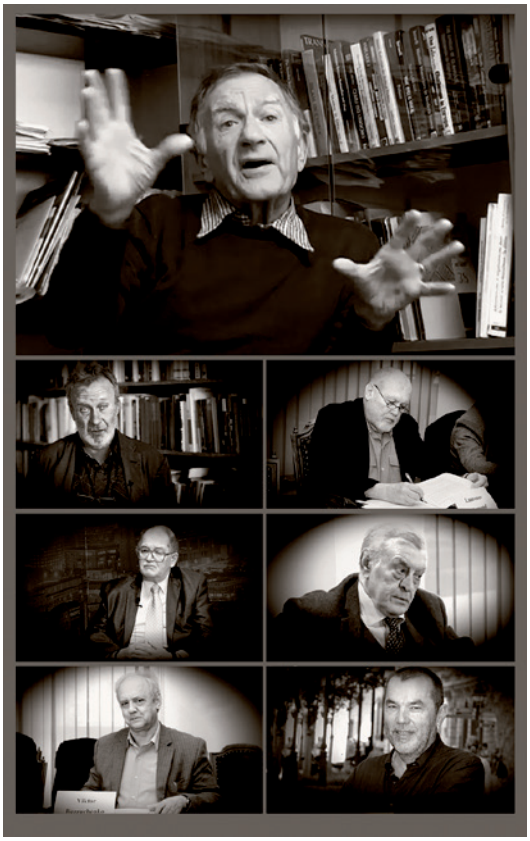
However, what is more striking is the fact that a member of your renowned University was named as the Chairman of this Phantom Commission aimed at denial of the truth about Genocide and the revision of the case of the City of Sarajevo, the city that was besieged by the Serb forces for 1.425 days, the siege that was longer than the siege of Stalingrad. Here is the list of the members of the Commission, with the member of your University Rafael Israeli as its Chairman.

The Government of the Republic of Srpska nominated the following persons as members of the Independent International Commission for Investigating the Sufferings of Serbs in Sarajevo during the 1991-1995 periods:

- **Raphael Israeli**, professor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and an expert in the history of radical Islamism, Chairman
- **Walter Manoschek** from Austria, Member
- **Laurence Armand French** from the United States, Member
- **Darko Tanaskovic** from Serbia, Member
- **Giuseppe Zaccaria** from Italy, Member
- **Victor Bezruchenko** from Ukraina/Russia, Member, and
- **Patrick Bario** from France, Member.

It is not difficult to conclude that the two Israeli specialists, one of which is a professor at Hebrew University in Jeruzalem, Rafael Israeli, were not nominated because they neither specialize in the Serb genocide in Bosnia, or in 1.425 days of the Siege of the City of Sarajevo. Nor could these phantom commissions find different facts from those verified thanks to hundreds of investigators and experts of international law. For, as Rathenau noted *circa* 1921: *'There are no specialists; there is only vested interest'*. And here, the „vested interest" is to use, or rather, to abuse the name of your **University** as well as the name of **Holocaust** for an unethical and immoral result.

I am afraid that the Israeli „specialists", Rafael Israeli and Gideon Grief are not fully aware of their hazardous engagement in an area they are not familiar with, but that they are used as a tool for a political manipulation, which neither they nor your University needs and deserves.



Raphael Israeli, Walter Manoschek, Laurence Armand French, Darko Tanaskovic, Giuseppe Zaccaria, Victor Bezruchenko and Patrick Bario.

V

'Prijateljstvo se rađa u trenutku kad jedna osoba drugoj kaže:
Šta! I ti? A ja mislio da sam samo ja'.
(C.S. Lewis)

Nadam se da će ova Četvrta međunarodna konferencija u Sarajevu: *Stop negiranju genocida i holokausta* ukazati na opasnost negiranja genocida u Srebrenici i holokausta u Aušvicu kao znak da su oni koji to negiraju, spremni ponovo počiniti i genocid i holokaust. Sarajevo je pravo mjesto i ovo je pravo vrijeme, kad se čuju pojačani antiislamski i antisemitski glasovi, da zajedno dignemo glas protiv ove pošasti. Ne smije se zaboraviti da su se u prošlom stoljeću dogodila dva genocida u Europi – holokaust nad Jevrejima u petoj deceniji i genocid nad Bošnjacima-muslimanima u zadnjoj deceniji. Očito, krik „nikad više" („Never Again"), nije bio dovoljno glasan i konzistentan. Stoga, taj glas „nikad više" mora biti i glasniji i konzistentniji u borbi protiv negacije genocida i holokausta. Profesorica Deborah Esther Lipstadt je uradila najviše što je mogla u pobijanju negatora holokausta. Rekao bih, njezina knjiga je, možda, jedina koja se bavi ovim problemom na uvjerljiv, naučan i nepobitan način. To nama u Bosni treba da bude primjer kako se valja boriti protiv zla negacije genocida u Srebrenici. I to ne na jednoj ili dvije konferencije, već uvijek i svuda: u školama, fakultetima, pisanim i elektronskim medijima i unutar kućnog odgoja djece. Sigurna je i moćna ona nacija, koja je pravilno informirana. Nesigurna je i nemoćna ona nacija, koja ne zna šta joj se unutra događa, niti šta se izvana oko nje događa. Stoga, kao preporuka, predlažem da ova konferencija bude povod za tješnju i plodotvorniju suradnju sa jevrejskim zajednicama i pojedincima u svijetu, koji su predani borbi protiv negacije holokausta u Aušvicu. Bošnjaci i Jevreji potrebuju jedni druge u ovoj plemenitoj borbi, kao što su jevrejski Sefardi potrebovali da ih Sarajevo spasi 1492. godine od progona iz Španije. Zajedno smo jači i sigurniji za našu zajedničku bolju budućnost u Europi i svijetu.



* **Mustafa Cerić** je svršenik Gazi Husrevbegove medrese u Sarajevu sa diplomom Al-Azhar univerziteta u Kairu. Doktorirao je 1986. god. na Čikaškom univerzitetu, Sjedinjene Američke Države, na temi *Islamska teologija Imama Al-Maturidija* pred prof. Fazlu Rahmanom. Obavljao je dužnost reisu-l-uleme i vrhovnog muftije Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini 1993-2012.

Cerić je sudobitnik UNESCO-ve nagrade *Felix Houphouet-Boigny* za mir u 2003. god. U 2007. god. dobio je *Theodor-Heuss-Stiftung* nagradu, kao i nagradu za životno djelo od *Asocijacije muslimanskih društvenih naučnika Velike Britanije*; 2008. god. dobitnik je *Eugen Biser Foundation* nagrade za promociju razumjevanja između islamske i kršćanske misli. Autor je: *Korijena sintetičke teologije u islamu* i *Deklaracije Europskih muslimana*.

V

'Friendship is born at that moment when one person says to another:
What! You too? I thought I was the only one.'
(C.S. Lewis)

I hope that the 14th International Conference in Sarajevo *Stop Genocide and Holocaust Denial* will point at the danger of denial of the Srebrenica Genocide and the Auschwitz Holocaust as the sign that deniers are ready to commit genocide and Holocaust again. Sarajevo is the right place and this is the right time given that voices of anti-Islamism and anti-Semitism are getting louder and louder, to raise together our voices against this plague. We should not forget that in the last century two genocides were committed in Europe – Holocaust against Jews and genocide against Bosniaks – Muslims, in its last decade. Obviously the cry „Never Again" has not been loud and consistent enough. Therefore, this voice „Never Again" must be louder and more consistent in our struggle against the denial of genocide and Holocaust. Professor Deborah Esther Lipstadt has done all she could to rebuff the Holocaust deniers. I would say that her book is perhaps the only one that deals with this problem in a convincing, scientific and irrefutable way. To us, in Bosnia, it should be an example of how to fight against the evil of denial of the Srebrenica Genocide. And not just at one or two conferences, but all the time and everywhere, in schools, at universities, in printed and electronic media and in families, when raising children. A safe and powerful is the nation that is informed in the right way. Unsafe and powerless is the nation that does not know what is happening within it or around it. That is why as a recommendation, I suggest this conference to be a motive for a closer and more fruitful cooperation with Jewish communities and individuals around the world that are dedicated to fight against the denial of the Holocaust in Auschwitz. Bosniaks and Jews need each other in this noble struggle, just like Sephardic Jews of Sarajevo needed Sarajevo to save them from expulsion from Spain in 1492. Together, we are stronger and safer for our better future in Europe and the world.



* **Mustafa Ceric** is a graduate of the Ghazi Husrevbeg Madrasah in Sarajevo with a bachelor's degree from Al-Azhar University in Cairo. In 1986 he received his Ph. D. in *Islamic Theoligy of Imam Al-Maturidi* at the University of Chicago, United States, under the mentorship of Fazlur Rahman. He sreved as the Grand Mufti of Bosnia 1993-2012.

Ceric was the co-recipient of the 2003 UNESCO *Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize*. He also received the 2007 *Theodor-Heuss-Stiftung award* and the *Lifetime Achievement Award by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists UK.* In 2008 he received *Eugen Biser Foundation award* for his efforts in promoting understanding between Islamic and Christian thoght. Ceric authored: *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam* and *A Declaration of European Muslims*.















NEGIRANJE HOLOKAUSTA

SVE JAČI NAPAD NA ISTINU I PAMĆENJE

Deborah E. Lipstadt

Kanarinci u rudniku

Negiranje holokausta i ograničena moć razuma

(Poglavlje 1.)

'Mi se ne bojimo slijediti istinu gdje god nas ona može odvesti, niti tolerirati bilo kakvu grešku dok god razum ima slobodu da se bori.'

Thomas Jefferson[*1]

'Griješite ako vjerujete da se bilo što može postići razumom. U ranijim godinama, mislio sam tako i sam i stalno sam protestirao protiv monstruozne laži koja se zove antisemitizam. Ali to je beskorisno, potpuno beskorisno.'

Theodor Mommsen[*2]

Producentica nije mogla vjerovati. Teško joj je bilo povjerovati da odbijam priliku da se pojavim u njenoj emisiji na nacionalnoj televiziji: „Ali vi pišete knjigu na tu temu. Bit će to sjajan publicitet." Stalno sam objašnjavala da ne bih učestvovala u debati sa nekim ko poriče holokaust. O postojanju holokausta se ne debatira. Ja bih rado analizirala i ilustrirala ko su oni i šta pokušavaju učiniti, ali se ne bih sa njima pojavila u emisiji. (Čineći to, dala bih im legitimitet i status koji ni na koji način ne zaslužuju. To bi njihovu antisemitsku ideologiju uzdiglo – jer, to je ono što negiranje holokausta jeste – do nivoa odgovorne historiografije – što ono nije). Nespremna da prihvati moje „ne" kao konačno, ona je žestoko osudila negiranje holokausta i sve što ono predstavlja. Onda, u posljednjem pokušaju da me navede da se predomislim, postavila mi je pitanje: „Ja se svakako s njima ne slažem, ali zar ne mislite da naši gledaoci treba da čuju i drugu stranu?"

Uskoro sam otkrila da to neće biti nekakav izolirani incident.

I doista, u mjesecima prije nego što sam dovršila ovaj rukopis, vodila sam prečesto ovakav razgovor u ovom ili onom vidu. Bezbroj televizijskih i radio emisija otkrilo mi je negiranje holokausta. Nedavno je producentica jednog nacionalnog televizijskog kanala u svom talk showu bila zapanjena kad sam odbila mogućnost da se pojavim zato što bi to

[*1] Dumas Malone, *The Sage of Monticello: Jefferson and His Time*, tom 6 (Boston, 1981.), str. 417-8.

[*2] Marvin Perry, *Denying the Holocaust: History as Myth and Delusion*, Encore American and Worldwide News, sept. 1981., sr. 28-33.



DENYING THE HOLOCAUST

THE GROWING ASSAULT ON TRUTH AND MEMORY

Deborah E. Lipstadt

Canaries in the Mine

Holocaust Denial and the Limited Power of Reason

(Chapter one)

'We are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it.'

Thomas Jefferson*1

You are mistaken if you believe that anything at all can be achieved by reason. In years past I thought so myself and kept protesting against the monstrous infamy that is antisemitism. But it is useless, completely useless.

Theodor Mommsen*2

The producer was incredulous. She found it hard to believe that I was turning down an opportunity to appear on her nationally televised show: "But you are writing a book on this topic. It will be great publicity." I explained repeatedly that I would not participate in a debate with a Holocaust denier. The existence of the Holocaust was not a matter of debate. I would analyze and illustrate who they were and what they tried to do, but I would not appear with them. (To do so would give them a legitimacy and a stature they in no way deserve. It would elevate their antisemitic ideology – which is what Holocaust denial is – to the level of responsible historiography – which it is not.) Unwilling to accept my no as final, she vigorously condemned Holocaust denial and all it represented. Then, in one last attempt to get me to change my mind, she asked me a question: "I certainly don't agree with them, but don't you think our viewers should hear the other side?"

I soon discovered that this was not to be an isolated incident.

Indeed, in the months before I completed this manuscript, I had one form or another of this conversation too many times. A plethora of television and radio shows have discovered Holocaust denial. Recently the producer of a nationally syndicated television talk show was astounded when I turned down the opportunity to appear because it would entail "discussing" the issue with two deniers. She was even more taken aback when she learned that hers was not the first invitation I had rejected. Ironically – or perhaps frighteningly – she had

podrazumijevalo „diskusiju“ o pitanju s dva negatora holokausta. Čak je više bila zatečena kad je shvatila da njen poziv nije bio prvi koji sam odbila. Ironično – ili možda zastrašujuće – ona mi se obratila zato što je pročitala moju knjigu dok je na fakultetu studirala holokaust. Kad je emisija prikazana, u aprilu 1992., negatorima je dat mnogo vremena da kažu ono što hoće. Onda su u emisiju dovedeni preživjeli holokausta da pokušaju „odbaciti“ njihove komentare. Prije pauze za reklame, voditelj Montel Williams pozvao je gledaoce da nastave gledati program kako bi saznali da li je holokaust „mit ili istina“.

Moje odbijanje da se pojavim u takvim programima s negatorima neizbježno je kod producenata nailazilo na neku od varijacija sljedećeg pitanja: „Zar ne trebamo čuti njihove **ideje**, **mišljenja** ili **stanovišta**?“ Njihova spremnost da negatorima i njihovim mitovima daju status legitimnost stanovišta je razlog za veliku, ako ne i veću, zabrinutost, nego što su to aktivnosti negatora samih. „Šta je tu pogrešno, stalno su me iznova pitali, u tome da ljudi čuju različite perspektive?“ Nesposobni da vide razliku između prave historiografije i čisto ideološkog pothvata negatora, oni koji ovo pitanje posmatraju u tom svjetlu na jedan važan način pomažu negatorima u njihovim nastojanjima da šire svoje tvrdnje. To je upravo cilj negatora: oni ciljaju da izazvati zabunu oko tog pitanja tako što će učiniti da izgleda kao da poduzimaju istinsko naučno nastojanje – kada to, naravno, nije slučaj. Pokušaj da se negira holokaust podrazumijeva osnovnu strategiju iskrivljavanja istine. Istina se brka sa apsolutnim lažima, zbunjujući čitaoce koji nisu upoznati sa taktikama negatora. Poluistine i segmenti priče, koji se zgodno izbjegavaju izreći ključne informacije, ostavljaju slušaoca sa iskrivljenim dojmom o tome šta se stvarno desilo. Obilje dokumenata i svjedočenja koji potvrđuju postojanje holokausta odbacuju se kao nametnuta izmišljotina, laži i falsifikati.*[3] Ova knjiga nastoji osvijetliti i pokazati kako negatori koriste ovu metodologiju kako bi prikrili svoje prave ciljeve.

• • •

Moja prethodna knjiga o holokaustu bavila se izvještavanjem u američkoj štampi – ili o njegovom nepostojanju – o progonu Jevreja od 1933. do 1945. godine. Veliki dio priče koju sam ispričala s pravom je zaslužio naslov „Nevjerovatno“. Za većinu urednika i novinara, ova priča je doslovno bila nevjerovatna, a štampa je ili propuštala ili odbacivala ovu novinsku priču, gurajući konkretne vijesti o gasnim komorama, logorima smrti i masovnim ubijanjima u male članke negdje usred ili na kraju novine.

Kada sam se posvetila temi negiranja holokausta, znala sam da se bavim ekstremističkim antisemitima koji sve više uspijevaju, pod prividom nauke, kamuflirati svoju mrzilačku ideologiju. Međutim, nisam tad bila potpuno svjesna do koje ću se mjere baviti fenomenom mnogo nevjerovatnijim nego što je to bila moja prethodna tema. Na izvjesnom nivou, to je jednako nevjerovatno kao što je nevjerovatan i sam holokaust i, mada niko ne gubi života kao rezultat laži i negatora, to ipak predstavlja zloupotrebu preživjelih.

*[3] Za primjer ove pojave, vidjeti kako negatori tretiraju dnevnik Anne Frank. David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, ur. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York, 1989.), str. 91.101.

turned to me because she read my work while taking a course on the Holocaust. When the show aired, in April 1992 deniers were given the bulk of the time to speak their piece. Then Holocaust survivors were brought on to try to "refute" their comments. Before the commercial break the host, Montel Williams, urged viewers to stay tuned so that they could learn whether the Holocaust is a "myth or is it truth."

My refusal to appear on such shows with deniers is inevitably met by producers with some variation on the following challenge: Shouldn't we hear their **ideas**, **opinions**, or **point of view**? Their willingness to ascribe to the deniers and their myths the legitimacy of a point of view is of as great, if not greater, concern than are the activities of the deniers themselves. What is wrong, I am repeatedly asked, with people hearing a "different perspective"? Unable to make the distinction between genuine historiography and the deniers' purely ideological exercise, those who see the issue in this light are important assets in the deniers' attempts to spread their claims. This is precisely the deniers' goal: They aim to confuse the matter by making it appear as if they are engaged in a genuine scholarly effort when, of course, they are not.

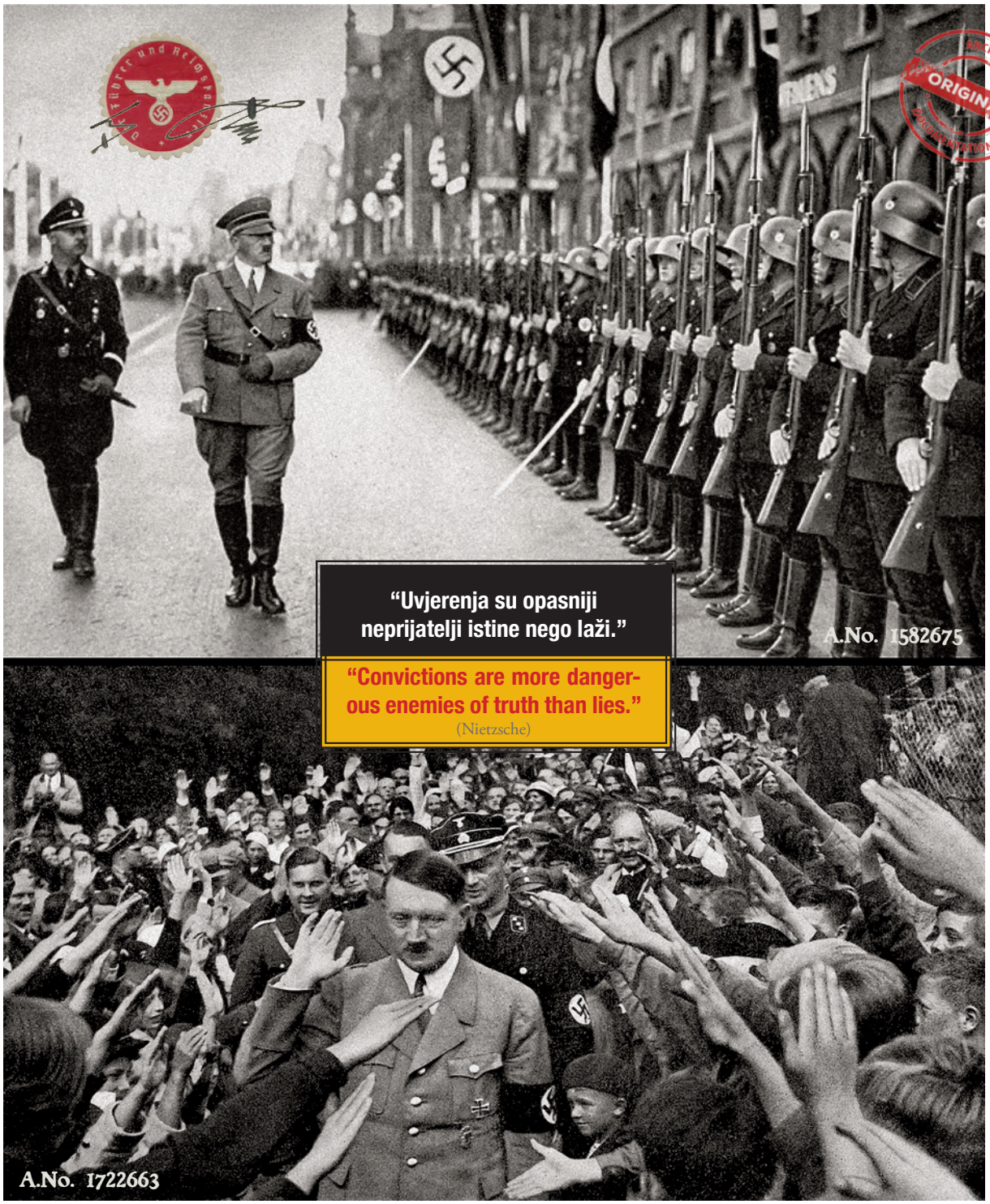
The attempt to deny the Holocaust enlists a basic strategy of distortion. Truth is mixed with absolute lies, confusing readers who are unfamiliar with the tactics of the deniers. Half-truths and story segments, which conveniently avoid critical information, leave the listener with a distorted impression of what really happened. The abundance of documents and testimonies that confirm the Holocaust are dismissed as contrived, coerced, or forgeries and falsehoods.*[3] This book is an effort to illuminate and demonstrate how the deniers use this methodology to shroud their true objectives.

• • •

My previous book on the Holocaust dealt with the American press's coverage – or lack thereof – of the persecution of the Jews from 1933 to 1945. Much of the story that I told justly deserved the title Beyond Belief. For most editors and reporters this story was literally beyond beief, and the press either missed or dismissed this news story, burying specific news of gas chambers, death camps, and mass killings in tiny articles deep inside the papers.

When I turned to the topic of Holocaust denial, I knew that I was dealing with extremist antisemites who have increasingly managed, under the guise of scholarship, to camouflage their hateful ideology. However, I did not then fully grasp the degree to which I would be dealing with a phenomenon far more unbelievable than was my previous topic. On some level it is as unbelievable as the Holocaust itself and, though no one is being killed as a result of the deniers' lies, it constitutes abuse of the survivors. It is intimately connected to a neo-fascist political agenda. Denial of the Holocaust is not the only thing I find beyond belief. What has also shocked me is the success deniers have in convincing good-hearted people that Holocaust denial is an "other side" of history – ugly, reprehensible, and extremist – but an other side nonetheless. As time passes and fewer people can personally challenge these assertions, their campaign will only grow in intensity.

The impact of Holocaust denial on high school and college students cannot be precisely



“Uvjerenja su opasniji neprijatelji istine nego laži.”

“Convictions are more dangerous enemies of truth than lies.”
(Nietzsche)

assessed. At the moment it is probably quite limited. Revisionist incidents have occurred on a number of college campuses, including at a Midwestern university when a history instructor used a class on the Napoleonic Wars to argue that the Holocaust was a propaganda hoax designed to vilify the Germans, that the "worst thing about Hitler is that without him there would not be an Israel," and that the whole Holocaust story was a ploy to allow Jews to accumulate vast amounts of wealth. The instructor defended himself by arguing that he was just trying to present "two sides" of the issue because the students' books only presented the "orthodox view."[*4] When the school dismissed him for teaching material that was neither relevant to the course nor of any "scholarly substance," some students complained that he had been unfairly treated.[*5] During my visit to that campus in the aftermath of the incident, a number of his students argued that the instructor had brought articles to class that "proved his point." Others asserted, "He let us think."[*6] Few of the students seemed to have been genuinely convinced by him, but even among those who were not, there was a feeling that somehow firing him violated the basic American ideal of fairness – that is, everyone has a right to speak his or her piece. These students seemed not to grasp that a teacher has a responsibility to maintain some fidelity to the notion of truth.

High school teachers have complained to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council that when they teach the Holocaust in their classes, they increasingly find students who have heard about Holocaust denial and assume it must have some legitimacy. I have encountered high school and college students who feel that the deniers' view should at least be mentioned as a "controversial" but somewhat valid view of the Holocaust. Colleagues have related that their students' questions are increasingly informed by Holocaust denial: "How do we know that there really were gas chambers?" "What proof do we have that the survivors are telling the truth?" "Are we going to hear the German side?" This unconscious incorporation of the deniers' argument into the students' thinking is particularly troublesome. It is an indication of the deniers' success in shaping the way coming generations will approach study of the Holocaust.

One of the tactics deniers use to achieve their ends is to camouflage their goals. In an attempt to hide the fact that they are fascists and antisemites with a specific ideological and political agenda – they state that their objective is to uncover historical falsehoods, **all** historical falsehoods. Thus they have been able to sow confusion among even the products of the highest echelons of the American educational establishment. A history major at Yale University submitted his senior essay on the Luftwaffe in the Spanish Civil War to the *Journal of Historical Review*, the leading Holocaust denial journal, which in format and tone mimics serious, legitimate social science journals. The student acknowledged that he had not closely examined the *Journal* before submitting his essay. He selected it from an annotated bibliography where it was listed along with respected historical and social science journals. Based on its description, title, and, most significantly, its proximity to familiar journals, he assumed it was a legitimate

To se posebno odnosi na neofašističku političku agendu. Negiranje holokausta nije jedina stvar koja mi je nevjerovatna. Ono što me također šokira je uspjeh kojinegatori postižu u ubjeđivanju dobroćudnih ljudi da je negiranje holokausta „druga strana“ historije – ružna, odvratna i ekstremistička – ali ipak druga strana. Kako vrijeme protječe i sve manje ljudi može lično opovrgnuti takve tvrdnje, njihova će kampanja samo dobijati na intenzitetu.

Efekat negiranja holokausta na učenike srednjih i visokih škola ne može se precizno procijeniti. U ovom trenutku, vjerovatno je dosta ograničen. Slučajevi revizionizma dešavaju se u nekoliko univerzitetskih kampusa, uključujući jedan univerzitet na Srednjem zapadu gdje je nastavnik historije koristio časove o Napoleonovim ratovima kako bi tvrdio da je holokaust propagandna izmišljotina osmišljena da ocrni Nijemce te da „najgora stvar u vezi s Hitlerom je to da bez njega ne bi bilo Izraela,“ i da je cijela priča o holokaustu puka izmišljotina kako bi se Jevrejima dozvolilo da gomilaju golemo bogatstvo. Taj se nastavnik branio tvrdnjom da je samo pokušavao predstaviti „dvije strane“ tog pitanja zato što udžbenici prezentiraju samo „pravovjerno gledište“.*4 Kada ga je škola otpustila zbog nastavne građe koja nije bila relevantna za kurs koji je predavao, niti od bilo kakve „naučne težine“, neki su se studenti požalili da je on bio nepravično tretiran.*5 Tokom moje posjete tom kampusu, nakon incidenta, nekoliko njegovih studenata kazalo mi je da je predavač donio na čas članke koji „dokazuju da je on upravu“. Drugi su opet govorili: „On nas je naveo da razmišljamo.“*6 Činilo se da je nekoliko studenata stvarno i ubijedio, ali čak i među onima koji nisu bili ubijeđeni, postojao je osjećaj da je to što je bio otpušten predstavljalo kršenje osnovnog američkog ideala fer odnosa – tj. da svako ima pravo reći šta misli. Čini se da ti studenti nisu shvatali da učitelj ima odgovornost da bude do izvjesne mjere vjeran samom pojmu istine. Nastavnici u srednjim školama žalili su se Vijeću sjećanja na holokaust Sjedinjenih Država da sve više, kad drže predavanja o holokaustu, nailaze na studente koji su čuli za negiranje holokausta i koji pretpostavljaju da u tome ima izvjesne legitimnosti. Susretala sam sa učenicima srednjih škola i studentima koledža koji misle da bi gledište negatora trebalo barem spomenuti kao „kontroverzno“, ali na neki način validno gledište o holokaustu. Kolege su mi prenijele da su pitanja njihovih studenata sve više pod utjecajem negiranja holokausta: „Kako znamo da je stvarno bilo gasnih komora?“ „Koji dokaz imamo da nam preživjeli govore istinu?“ „Hoćemo li čuti i njemačku stranu?“ Ovo nesvjesno inkorporiranje argumenata negatora u razmišljanje studenata posebno je zabrinjavajuće. To je pokazatelj uspjeha negatora u oblikovanju načina na koji će buduće generacije pristupiti proučavanju holokausta.

Jedna od taktika koju primjenjuju negatori kako bi postigli svoje ciljeve je kamufliranje samih ciljeva. U pokušaju da prikriju činjenicu da su

*4 Ovaj se incident desio na Indiana University – Purdue University, Indianapolis, 9. februara 1990. Poslije je otkriveno da je dotični nastavnik uhapšen zbog krađe ratnih eksponata-suvenira iz lokalnog muzeja. (*Indianapolis News*, 16. februar 1990.).

*5 *Indianapolis Star,* 22. i 23. februar 1990.

*6 *The Sagamore*, 26. februar 1990.

enterprise dedicated to the reevaluation of historical events.

Deniers have found a ready acceptance among increasingly radical elements, including neo-Nazis and skinheads, in both North America and Europe. Holocaust denial has become part of a mélange of extremist, racist, and nativist sentiments. Neo-Nazis who once argued that the Holocaust, however horrible, was justified now contend that it was a hoax. As long as extremists espouse Holocaust denial, the danger is a limited one. But that danger increases when the proponents of these views clean up their act and gain entry into legitimate circles. Though they may look and act like "your uncle from Peoria," they do so without having abandoned any of their radical ideas.*7 David Duke's political achievements are evidence of this. The neo-Nazi Duke, a former Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan and a Holocaust denier, was elected to the Louisiana state legislature in the late 1980s. Two years later he won 40 percent of the vote in the race for the U.S. Senate. In his November 1991 race for governor, he received close to seven hundred thousand votes. He subsequently entered the 1992 presidential campaign. Despite the fact that his efforts were soon eclipsed, he managed to attract a significant number of followers. Duke, who celebrated Adolf Hitler's birthday until late in the 1980s, has been quite candid about his views on the Holocaust.*8 In a letter accompanying the Crusader, the publication of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) – an organization Duke created – he not only described the Holocaust as a "historical hoax" but wrote that the "greatest" Holocaust was "perpetrated on Christians by Jews."*9 Jews fostered the myth of the Holocaust, he claimed, because it generates "tremendous financial aid" for Israel and renders organized Jewry" almost immune from criticism.''*10 In 1986 Duke declared that Jews "deserve to go into the ashbin of history" and denied that the gas chambers were erected to murder Jews but rather were intended to kill the vermin infesting them.*11 Under Duke the NAAWP advocated the segregation of all racial minorities in different sections of the United States. (Jews were to be confined to "West Israel," which would be composed of Manhattan and Long Island.)

In order most effectively to spread their lies, deniers such as Duke must rewrite not only the history of World War II but also their own past lives. In order to forge his way in the political arena, David Duke had to reformulate his personal history. His efforts to distance himself from his more extremist past are reflective of deniers' tactics. They increasingly avoid being linked with identifiable bigots. When Duke was identified as a Klansman his access to the public arena was limited. When he decided to run for office he shed his sheet and donned a three-piece suit, winning him, if not adherents, at least a respectable audience. He gained political respectability despite the fact that but a short time earlier he had sold racist, antisemitic, and denial literature including *The Hitler We Loved and Why* and *The Holy Book of Adolf Hitler*, from his legislative offices.*12

But it is not only former members of extremist groups who serve as vehicles for disseminating Holocaust denial. More mainstream individuals have assisted in this effort as well. Patrick Buchanan, one of the foremost right-wing conservative

oni zapravo fašisti i antisemiti sa specifičnom ideološkom i političkom agendom – oni navode da im je cilj razotkriti historijske laži, ***sve*** *historijske laži*. Na taj su način u stanju da posiju sjeme zabune, čak i među produktima najviših ešalona američkog obrazovanog establishmenta. Jedan student historije na Univerzitetu Yale je, tako, predao esej o Luftwaffeu u Španskom građanskom ratu časopisu Journal of Historical Review – vodećem časopisu za negiranje holokausta koji po formatu i tonu imitira ozbiljne, legitimne sociološke časopise. Ovaj student je priznao da nije pažljivo provjerio taj časopis prije što je predao svoj esej. Izabrao ga je iz anotirane bibliografije gdje je on naveden uz ugledne historijske i sociološke časopise. Na osnovu njegovog opisa, naslova i, što je najvažnije, njegove sličnosti s poznatim časopisima, ovaj je student pretpostavio da je to legitimni časopis posvećen ponovno razmatranju povijesnih događaja.

Negatori nailaze na spremno prihvatanje među sve radikalnijim elementima, uključujući neonaciste i skinheade, kako u Americi tako i u Evropi. Negiranje holokausta je postalo sastavni dio mješavine ekstremističkih rasističkih i nativističkih sentimenata. Neonacisti koji su nekada tvrdili da je holokaust, koliko god užasan, bio opravdan, sada tvrde da je to izmišljotina. Dok god negiranje holokausta prihvataju ekstremisti, opasnost je ograničena. Ali opasnost raste kad se nositelji tih gledišta „očiste" od balasta ekstremizma i dobiju pristup u legitimne krugove. Mada oni mogu izgledati i djelovati kao „vaš ujko iz Pretorije", oni to čine iako nisu odustali od bilo koje od svojih radikalnih ideja.[*7] Politička dostignuća Davida Dukea to dokazuju. Neonacista Duke, bivši tzv. carski čarobnjak Ku Klux Klana i negator holokausta, izabran je u zakonodavno tijelo Louisiane krajem 1980-ih. Dvije godine kasnije, osvojio je četrdeset posto glasova u utrci za američki Senat. U svojoj utrci za guvernera, u novembru 1991. godine, osvojio je blizu sedam stotina hiljada glasova. On je potom, 1992. godine, krenuo i u predsjedničku kampanju. I, unatoč činjenici da su njegova nastojanja brzo propala, uspio je privući znatan broj sljedbenika. Duke, koji je slavio rođendan Adolfa Hitlera sve do kraja 1980-ih, bio je sasvim iskren u vezi sa svojim gledištima o holokaustu.[*8] U pismu koje je objavljeno kao dodatak uz *Crusader*, publikaciju Nacionalnog udruženja za unaprjeđenje bijelog naroda (NAAWP) – organizacije koju je Duke i stvorio – on ne samo da opisuje holokaust kao „historijsku laž", već piše da su „najveći holokaust počinili Jevreji nad kršćanima".[*9] Jevreji su poticali mit o holokaustu, tvrdio je on, zato što je to generiralo „ogromnu finansijsku pomoć" za Izrael i čini organizirane Jevreje „gotovo imunim na kritiku".[*10] Godine 1986.,

[*7] "Kao ujko iz Pretorije", tako je glumica Whoopi Goldberg opisala neonacistu Toma Metzgera, koga je ugostila u svom televizijskom showu u septembru 1990. Metzger, gorljivi rasista i antisemita, zagovara prisilnu rasnu segregaciju Crnaca. Goldberg je izjavila da je on posebno opasan zato što izgleda tako uljudno. Howard Rosenberg, televizijski kritičar lista *Los Angeles Times,* pitao se zašto ga je Goldberg, ako je to uvidjela, uopće pozvala u svoju emisiju. Očito je na bila žrtva istog sindroma kao i svi oni koji pozivaju negatore da se pojavljuju u njihovim programima (*Los Angeles Times,* 21. sepembar 1992.).

[*8] *New Orleans Times – Picayun*e, 26. avgust 1990.

[*9] Iz pisma koje je potpisao David Duke priloženog kao dodatak uz Crusader, februar 1980., kako je citirano u knjizi *David Duke: In His Own Words* (New York, n.d).

columnists in the country, used his widely syndicated column to express views that come straight from the scripts of Holocaust deniers. He argued that it was physically impossible for the gas chamber at Treblinka to have functioned as a killing apparatus because the diesel engines that powered it could not produce enough carbon monoxide to be lethal. Buchanan's "proof" was a 1988 incident in which ninety-seven passengers on a train in Washington, D.C., were stuck in a tunnel as the train emitted carbon monoxide fumes. Because the passengers were not harmed, Buchanan extrapolated that the victims in a gas chamber using carbon monoxide from diesel engines would also not have been harmed.*[13] He ignored the fact that the gassings at Treblinka took as long as half an hour and that the conditions created when people are jammed by the hundreds into small enclosures, as they were at Treblinka, are dramatically different from those experienced by a group of people sitting on a train. Asked where he obtained this information, Buchanan responded, "Somebody sent it to me."*[14] Buchanan has also referred to the "so-called Holocaust Survivor Syndrome." According to him, this involves "group fantasies of martyrdom and heroics.''*[15] # I am not suggesting that Patrick Buchanan is a Holocaust denier. He has never publicly claimed that the Holocaust is a hoax. However, his attacks on the credibility of survivors' testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial. Buchanan's ready acceptance of this information and reliance on it to make his argument are disturbing,## for this is how elements of Holocaust denial find their way into the general culture. During the 1992 presidential campaign, when Buchanan was seeking the Republican nomination, he refused to retract these contentions. Nonetheless few of his fellow journalists were willing to challenge him on the matter. As troubling as Buchanan's easy acceptance of these charges was the latitude given him by his colleagues.*[16]

Denial arguments have been voiced not only by politicians in the United States but by those in other countries as well. Extremist nationalist groups in those Central and Eastern Europe countries with a tradition of populist antisemitism have a particular attraction to Holocaust denial. Many of the precursors of these movements collaborated with the Nazis. Holocaust denial offers them a means of both wiping out that historical black mark–if there was no Holocaust then cooperating with the Nazis becomes less inexcusable–and rehabilitating those who were punished by Communists for collaborating. Since the fall of communism, deniers in North America and Western Europe have worked with like-minded groups in Eastern European countries to establish "mini" Institutes for Historical Review (referring to the California based pseudo-academic institution that is the bastion of denial activities and publications). Their objective is to attract people, particularly intellectuals, who are seeking an extremist nationalism cleansed of taints of Nazism.*[17] Former Communist bloc countries are particularly susceptible to this strain of pseudo-history because postwar generations have learned virtually nothing about the specifically Jewish nature of Nazi atrocities. The Communists, engaging in their own form of revisionism, taught that it was the fascists (not Germans) who killed Communists (not Jews). The specifically Jewish facet of the tragedy was excised.

Duke je proglasio da Jevreji „zaslužuju da odu u ropotarnicu historije“ i negirao da su gasne komore podignute radi ubijanja Jevreja, već da im je cilj bio potamaniti štetočine koje su ih napadali.*11 Pod Dukeom, NAAWP je zagovarao segregiranje svih rasnih manjina u različite dijelove Sjedinjenih Država. (Jevreji bi bili svedeni u dio koji bi se zvao *Zapadni Izrael* a koji bi činili Manhattan i Long Island.)

Kako bi najučinkovitije širili svoje laži, negatori poput Dukea moraju ponovo napisati ne samo historiju Drugog svjetskog rata, već i vlastite prethodne živote. Kako bi utro put na političku scenu, David Duke je morao preformulirati svoju ličnu povijest. Njegova nastojanja da se distancira od vlastite ekstremističke prošlosti odraz su taktike negatora. Oni sve više izbjegavaju da ih se povezuje sa fanaticima koje je lako identificirati. Kada je Duke prepoznat kao pripadnik Ku Klux Klana, njegov pristup javnoj sceni bio je ograničen. Kada je odlučio da se natječe za političku funkciju, on je skinuo sa sebe mantiju sa kapuljačom i odjenuo trodijelno odijelo, čime je pridobio, ako ne pristaše, onda barem publiku vrijednu poštovanja. Postao je politički poštovan, unatoč činjenici da je netom ranije prodavao rasističku, antisemitsku i negatorsku literaturu, uključujući knjigu *The Hitler we loved and why?(Hitler kojeg smo voljeli i zašto?)* i *The Holy Book of Adolf Hitler (Sveta knjiga Adolfa Hitlera)* iz svojih ureda člana zakonodavnog tijela.*12 Ali, bivši članovi ekstremističkih grupa nisu služili samo kao pokretači širenja negiranja holokausta. Više pojedinaca iz struje umjerenjaka također je pomagalo u tom nastojanju. Patrik Buchanan, jedan od najistaknutijih desničarskih konzervativnih kolumnista u našoj zemlji, koristio je svoje kolumne, koje su prenosili brojni listovi, za izražavanje gledišta koja proizlaze direktno iz skripta negatora holokausta. On je tako tvrdio da je fizički u Treblinki bilo nemoguće da gasne komore funkcioniraju kao mašinerija za ubijanje zato što dizel motori, koji su im bili pogon, nisu mogli proizvesti dovoljno ugljenmonoksida da bi bili ubojiti. Buchananov dokaz bio je jedan incident iz 1988. godine u kojem je devedeset i sedam putnika voza u Washingtonu D.C., zaglavilo u tunelu dok je voz ispuštao ugljenmonoksid. Zato što to putnicima nije naudilo, Buchanan je ekstrapolirao da žrtve u gasnim komorama u kojima je korišten ugljenmonoksid iz dizel motora jednako tako nije mogao biti štetan.*13 Zanemario je činjenicu da je ubijanje gasom u Treblinki trajalo čak i pola sata i da su stvoreni uslovi kada je na stotine ljudi nagurano u male prostore, kako je i bilo u Treblinki, dramatično drugačiji od onih koje je doživjela grupa ljudi koja je sjedila u vozu. Upitan otkud mu ta

*10 Intervju sa Davidom Dukeom u magazinu *Hustler*, ponovno štampan u *National Association for the Advancement of White People News*, avgust 1982.

*11 Jason Berry, “Duke's Disguise”, *New York Times,* 16. oktobar 1991. Vidjeti također Letters to Editor, *New York Times*, 19. oktobar 1991.

*12 Jason Berry, ”The Hazards of Duke”, *The Washington Post,* 14. maj 1989. On je nastojao ostaviti dojam da je modulirao svoja gledišta na druge teme. Nije više govorio o sterilizaciji majki koje su na socijalnoj pomoći; sad je to bio ”poticaj kontroli rađanja” (*Los Angeles Times*, 10. juni 1990.). Vidjeti, također, Lawrence N. Powell, ”Read My Liposuction: The Makeover of David Duke”, *New Republic*, 15. oktobar 1990.

*13 Jacob Weisberg, ”The Heresies of Pat Buchanan”, *New Republic,* 22. oktobar, 1990., str. 26-27.


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“Postoje tri vrste laži:
laž, besramna laž i
statistika.”
“There are three kinds of lies:
lies, damned lies,
and statistics.” (Benjamin Disraeli)
A.No. 16212644
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A.No. 1712464

informacija, Buchanan je odgovorio: „Neko mi je to poslao.“*[14] Buchanan se pozvao i na takozvani „sindrom preživjelog holokausta“; po njemu to podrazumijeva „grupne fantazije o mučeništvu i herojstvu“.*[15]* Ne sugeriram ja da je Patrik Buchanan negator holokausta. On nikada nije javno tvrdio da je holokaust izmišljotina. Međutim, njegovi napadi na kredibilitet svjedočenja preživjelih su standardni element negiranja holokausta. Buchananovo spremno prihvatanje tih informacija i oslanjanje na njih kako bi iznio svoje argumente je ono što uznemirava** jer tako elementi negiranja holokausta nađu svoj put do opće kulture. Tokom predsjedničke kampanje 1992, kada je htio postići nominaciju u ime republikanaca, Buchanan je odbiopovući te tvrdnje. Svejedno, samo nekolicina njegovih kolega novinara bila je voljna uputiti mu izazov oko tog pitanja. Koliko god je uznemirujuće olako Buchananovo prihvatanje tih optužbi, jednako je tako uznemirujuće to što su mu kolege davale slobodu da ih izriče.*[16]

Argumente negiranja iznose ne samo političari u Sjedinjenim Državama, već i u drugim zemljama. Ekstremističke nacionalističke grupe u zemljama srednje i istočne Evrope, sa tradicijom populističkog antisemitizma, posebno privlači negiranje holokausta. Mnogi od prethodnika tih pokreta sarađivali su sa nacistima. Negiranje holokausta nudi im sredstva za brisanje te historijske mrlje sa sebe – ako nema holokausta, onda saradnja sa nacistima postaje manje neoprostiva – i za rehabilitaciju onih koje su komunisti kaznili za kolaboracionizam. Od pada komunizma, negatori u Sjevernoj Americi i zapadnoj Evropi rade sa grupama u istočnoevropskim zemljama koje slično misle kako bi uspostavili „institute za historijsku reviziju” (što je referenca na pseudo-akademsku instituciju u Californiji, koja je bastion aktivnosti i publikacija posvećenih negiranju. Njihov je cilj pridobiti ljude, osobito intelektualce koji nastoje ekstremni nacionalizam očistiti od mrlja nacizma.*[17] Bivše zemlje komunističkog bloka posebno su podložne tom soju pseudo-historije, zato što poslijeratne generacije nisu naučile gotovo ništa o specifično jevrejskoj prirodi nacističkih zlodjela. Komunisti, koji su se bavili svojim vlastitim oblikom revizionizma, poučavali su ljude da su fašisti (ne Nijemci) ubijali komuniste (ne Jevreje). Specifično jevrejska crta tragedije bila je izbrisana.

Mada nijedan političar ne zasniva cijelu kampanju na negiranju holokausta, izvjestan

*[14] *Ibid*, str. 26

*[15] Report of the Anti-Defamation League on Pat Buchanan, *Los Angeles Jewish Journal*, 28. septembar 1991.

* Buchanonove izjave date se u sklopu njegove odbrane Johna Demjanjuka, penzioniranog automobilskog radnika u Clevelandu optuženog da je on bio Ivan Grozni, zloglasni logorski čuvar i masovni ubica u Treblinki. Ja nemam problem sa Buchananovom odbranom Demijanjuka – već sa njegovim korištenjem argumentacije negiranja da to učini. Buchanan se konzistentno protivi svakom progonu nacističkih ratnih zločinaca.

** Ironično je da su Dukeova nastojanja da osvoji republikansku predsjedničku nominaciju Buchanan nadjačao; Buchanan koji je ranije zagovarao da se Republikanci trebaju prestati osjećati krivim zato što su "eksploatirali“ pitanje Wilija Nortona a da, umjesto toga, trebaju „dobro pogledati Dukeov portfolio pitanja na kojima je pobjeđivao.“ (*New Republic*, 15. oktobar 1990., str. 19).

*[16] *New York Times,* 14. februar 1992.

*[17] David Warshofsky (pseud), intervju sa autorom, decembar 1992. „Warshofsky“ je redovni učesnik sastanaka Instituta i stalno komunicira sa raznim negatorima i u Sjedinjenim Državama i u Evropi.

While no politician has based his or her entire campaign on Holocaust denial, a number have used it when it was in their interest to do so. Croatian president Franjo Tudjman wrote of the "biased testimonies and exaggerated data" used to estimate the number of Holocaust victims. And in his book *Wastelands – Historical Truth,* he always places the word Holocaust in quotation marks.*[18] Tudjman has good historical reasons for doing so: Croatia was an ardent Nazi ally, and the vast majority of Croatian Jews and non-Jews were murdered by their fellow Croatians, not by Germans.*[19] Tudjman obviously believes that one of the ways for his country to win public sympathy is to diminish the importance of the Holocaust.

It is likely that as Eastern Europe is increasingly beset by nationalist and internal rivalries, ethnic and political groups that collaborated in the annihilation of the Jews will fall back on Tudjman's strategy of minimization. In Slovakia crowds of protesters at political gatherings have chanted antisemitic and anti-Czech slogans and waved portraits of Nazi war criminal Josef Tiso, who was directly involved in the deportation of Slovakian Jews to Auschwitz. In an effort to whitewash Tiso's antisemitism during World War II and to resurrect him as a national hero, his speeches have been broadcast at these rallies. For Slovakian separatists Tiso's regime constitutes the legal and moral precedent for a sovereign Slovakia. Neither Tudjman nor the Tiso protesters are engaged in overt denial. However, their efforts to diminish the magnitude of the deeds and roles of the central players are critically important aspects of Holocaust denial.*[20] There is a psychological dimension to the deniers' and minimizers' objectives: The general public tends to accord victims of genocide a certain moral authority. If you devictimize a people you trip them of their moral authority, and if you can in turn claim to be a victim, as the Poles and the Austrians often try to do, that moral authority is conferred on or restored to you.

Holocaust denial, which has well-established roots in Western and Central Europe, has in recent years manifested itself throughout the world. The following brief survey demonstrates the breadth of the deniers' activities, many of which shall be explored in greater depth in the chapters that follow.

In 1992 a Belgian publisher of neo-Nazi material distributed thousands of pamphlets purporting to offer scientific proof that the gas chambers were a hoax. In 1988 in Britain over thirty thousand copies of *Holocaust News,* a newsletter which maintains that the Holocaust was a myth, were sent to Jewish communities in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cardiff, Norwich, and Leicester as well as to lawyers, schools, and members of Parliament throughout the country. (According to the *Sunday Times, Holocaust News* is published by the overtly racist British National party – which is composed of those who find the extremist National Front too mild. It campaigns for the repatriation of Jews and non-whites.)*[21]
In recent years Holocaust denial in England has undergone a disturbing new development. David Irving, the writer of popular historical works attempting to show that Britain made a tactical error in going to war against Germany and that the Allies and the Nazis were equally at fault for the war and its atrocities, has joined

broj njih koristio ju je kada je to bilo u njihovom interesu. Hrvatski predsjednik Franjo Tuđman pisao je o „neobjektivnim svjedočenjima i pretjeranim podacima“ korištenim za procjenu broja žrtava holokausta, a u svojoj knjizi *Bespuća povijesne zbiljnosti,* on riječ holokaust uvijek stavlja u navodnike.*[18] Tuđman ima dobre historijske razloge što to čini: Hrvatska je bila gorljivi saveznik nacista i veliku većinu hrvatskih Jevreja i nejevreja pobili su njihovi sunarodnjaci Hrvati, a ne Nijemci.*[19] Tuđman očito vjeruje da je umanjivanje značaja holokausta jedan od načina da njegova zemlja osvoji simpatije javnosti.

Vjerovatno je da će u istočnoj Evropi, kako tamo sve više prevladavaju nacionalisti i unutrašnja rivalstva, etničke i političke grupe koje su sarađivale na istrebljenju Jevreja prihvatiti Tuđmanovu strategiju minimizacije. U Slovačkoj masa demonstranata na političkim skupovima uzvikuje antisemitske i antičeške slogane i maše portretima nacističkog ratnog zločinca Josefa Tisoa, koji je bio neposredno uključen u deportaciju slovačkih Jevreja u Aušvic. U nastojanju da uljepša Tisoov antisemitizam iz Drugog svjetskog rata i da učine da on uskrsne kao narodni heroj, na tim demonstracijama se puštaju snimci njegovih govora. Za slovačke separatiste Tisoov režim predstavlja zakonskog i moralnog prethodnika suverene Slovačke. Ni Tuđman ni demonstranti koji brane Tisoa ne upuštaju se u otvoreno negiranje. Međutim, njihovo nastojanje da umanje veličinu djela i uloge ključnih igrača bitni su aspekti negiranja holokausta.*[20] Postoji psihološka dimenzija ciljeva negatora i minimizatora: opća javnost ima tendenciju da žrtvama genocida pripiše određeni moralni autoritet. Ako vi deviktimizirate ljude, time im oduzimate njihov moralni autoritet a ako, zauzvrat, još možete tvrditi da ste sami bili žrtva, kao što Poljaci i Austrijanci često pokušavaju, tada se taj moralni autoritet prebacuje ili prenosi na vas.

Negiranje holokausta koje je dobro pustilo korijenje u zapadnoj i srednjoj Evropi, posljednjih se godina manifest diljem svijeta. Kratki pregled koji slijedi pokazuje svu širinu aktivnosti negatora, od kojih će mnoge biti dublje istražene u jasnijim poglavljima.

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*[14] *Ibid*, str. 26

*[15] Report of the Anti-Defamation League on Pat Buchanan, *Los Angeles Jewish Journal*, 28. septembar 1991.

* Buchanonove izjave date se u sklopu njegove odbrane Johna Demjanjuka, penzioniranog automobilskog radnika u Clevelandu optuženog da je on bio Ivan Grozni, zloglasni logorski čuvar i masovni ubica u Treblinki. Ja nemam problem sa Buchananovom odbranom Demijanjuka – već sa njegovim korištenjem argumentacije negiranja da to učini. Buchanan se konzistentno protivi svakom progonu nacističkih ratnih zločinaca.

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*[16] *New York Times,* 14. februar 1992.

*[17] David Warshofsky (pseud), intervju sa autorom, decembar 1992. „Warshofsky“ je redovni učesnik sastanaka Instituta i stalno komunicira sa raznim negatorima i u Sjedinjenim Državama i u Evropi.

*[18] Robert D. Kaplan, „Croatianism: The Latest Balkan Uglines“, *New Repablic,* 25. novembar 1991., str. 16.

*[19] „Croatia“, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990.), ur. Israel Gutman, str. 326.

*[20] Neki od ključnih slovačkih separatiska se bave i otvorenim negiranjem. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 17. mart 1992.

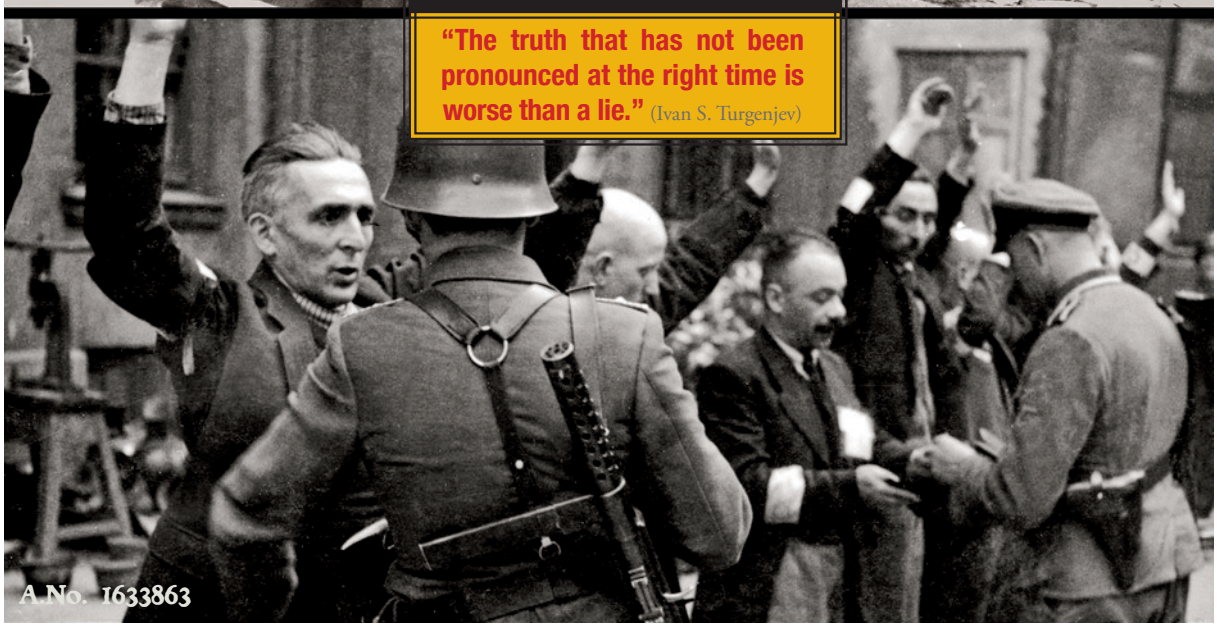
the ranks of the deniers, arguing that the gas chambers were a "propaganda exercise."*22 Irving, long considered a guru by the far right, does not limit his activities to England. He has been particularly active in Germany, where he has regularly participated in the annual meetings of the extremist German political party Deutsche Volks Union.*23 In addition, he has frequently appeared at extremist-sponsored rallies, meetings, and beer hall gatherings. Irving's self-described mission in Germany is to point "promising young men" throughout the country in the "right direction." (Irving believes women were built for a "certain task, which is producing us [men]," and that they should be "subservient to men."*24 Apparently, therefore, he has no interest in pointing young women in the right direction.### Ironically, young Germans who are dedicated German nationalists find Irving and other non-German deniers particularly credible because they are not themselves Germans.*25

In France, Holocaust denial activities have centered around Robert Faurisson, a former professor of literature at the University of Lyons-2 whose work is often reprinted verbatim, both with and without attribution, by deniers worldwide. According to Faurisson the "so-called gassings" of Jews were a "gigantic politico- financial swindle whose beneficiaries are the state of Israel and international Zionism." Its chief victims were the German people and the Palestinians.*26 Faurisson's area of specialization is the rather unique field of the "criticism of texts and documents, investigation of meaning and counter-meaning, of the true and the false."*27 There is a definite irony in his choice of field because Faurisson, whose methodologies have been adopted by virtually all other deniers, regularly creates facts where none exist and dismisses as false any information inconsistent with his preconceived conclusions. He asserts, for example, that the German army was given "Draconian orders" not to participate in "excesses" against civilians including the Jews; consequently, the massive killings of Jews could not have happened. In making this argument Faurisson simply ignores the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen,* the units responsible for killing vast numbers of Jews. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, one of Faurisson's prime adversaries in France and someone who has studied him closely, observed that Faurisson is particularly adept at finding "an answer for everything" when encountering information that contradicts his claims. Faurisson interprets the Nazi decree which mandated that Jews wear a yellow star on pain of death as a measure to ensure the safety of German soldiers, because Jews, he argues, engaged in espionage, terrorism, black market operations, and arms trafficking. German soldiers needed a means to protect themselves against this formidable enemy. He even had an explanation as to why Jewish children were required to start wearing the star at age six: They too were engaged in "all sorts of illicit or resistance activities against the Germans" against which the soldiers had to be protected. Documents containing information that Faurisson cannot explain away or reinterpret, he falsifies. Regarding the brutal German destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, Faurisson wrote that in April 1943, "suddenly, right behind the front," the Jews started an insurrection. The ghetto revolt, for which the Jews built seven hundred bunkers, was proof



“Istina koja nije izrečena u pravo vrijeme gora je od laži.”

“The truth that has not been pronounced at the right time is worse than a lie.” (Ivan S. Turgenjev)



of the quite serious threat the Jews posed to German military security. Although it is true that the Jews started an insurrection, it was not right behind the front but hundreds of miles from it. Faurisson's source for the information regarding the insurrection and the bunkers was a speech delivered in Posen in October 1943 by the Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler. But even Himmler was more honest than Faurisson: He described the uprisings as taking place in Warsaw and in "territories in the rear."*28

Faurisson has not worked alone in France. In June 1985 the University of Nantes awarded a doctoral degree to a Faurisson protégé, Henri Roques, for a dissertation accusing Kurt Gerstein, one of those who transmitted the news of the gas chambers to the Allies, of being a "master magician" who created an illusion that the world accepted as fact.*29 Implicitly denying the existence of the gas chambers, Roques tried to prove that Gerstein's reports were so laden with inconsistencies that he could not possibly have witnessed gassings at Belzec, as he maintained. There exist a variety of official documents and testimonies attesting to Gerstein's presence at these gassings. Roques, adhering to his mentor's pattern of ignoring any document that contradicts his preexisting conclusions, simply excluded this material from his dissertation.*30 (After a public uproar Roques' doctoral degree was revoked by the French minister of higher education in 1986.)*31

Though Faurisson and most of his admirers are on the political right, they and their activities have been abetted by an extreme left-wing revolutionary group, La Vieille Taupe (The Old Mole). *32 Originally a bookstore, it has become a publishing house that shelters an informal coterie of revolutionary types. Under the direction of its proprietor, Pierre Guillaume, it has distributed periodicals, cassettes, comic books, journals, and broadsheets all attesting to the Holocaust hoax. Guillaume is France's leading publisher of neo-Nazi material. Twenty-four hours after the Klaus Barbie trial began in France, the first issue of *Annals of Historical Revisionism,* a journal edited by Guillaume and containing articles by Faurisson, was distributed for sale to Paris bookstores and kiosks.*33

Suggestions of Holocaust denial have come from French political figures as well. The leader of the far right National Front, Jean Marie Le Pen, declared in 1987 that the gas chambers were a mere "detail" of World War II. In a radio interview he asserted that he had never seen any gas chambers and that historians had doubts about their existence. "Are you trying to tell me [the existence of gas chambers] is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe?" Le Pen asked rhetorically. "There are historians who are debating such questions."*34 Le Pen, who has complained that there are too many Jews in the French media, is considered the leader of Europe's extreme right. A charismatic speaker, he has exploited French fears about the immigration of Arabs from North Africa and has espoused the kind of right-wing antisemitism associated with the Dreyfus affair. Popular support for Le Pen in France has been as high as 17 percent. In the 1988 presidential election he received 14.4 percent of the popular vote, coming in fourth overall.*35

Shades of Holocaust denial were evident at the Klaus Barbie trial when defense attorneys, attempting to diminish the significance of the

Godine 1992., jedan belgijski izdavač neonacističkog materijala distribuirao je na hiljade pamfleta za koje se tvrdi da nude naučni dokaz da su gasne komore izmišljotina. Godine 1988., u Britaniji je preko 30 hiljada primjeraka brošure *Holocaust News* u kojoj se tvrdi da je holokaust obični mit, razaslano jevrejskim zajednicama u Londonu, Glasgowu, Newcastleu, Birminghamu, Cardiffu, Norwichu i Leicesteru, kao i pravnicima, školama i članovima parlamenta diljem zemlje (prema *Sunday Timesu, Holocaust News* objavljuje otvoreno rasistička stranka British National Party – čiji članovi smatraju da je ekstremistički National Front preblag. Ona vodi kampanju za repatrijaciju Jevreja i nebijelaca.)*[21]

Posljednjih godina negiranje holokausta u Engleskoj doživjelo je uznemirujući novi razvoj. David Irving, pisac popularnih historijskih radova u kojima pokušava pokazati da je Britanija počinila taktičku grešku što je ušla u rat protiv Njemačke i da su saveznici i nacisti bili jednako krivi i za rat i za zločine počinjene tokom njega, udružili su snage s negatorima, tvrdnjom da su gasne komore „propaganda“*[22]. Irving, koji je dugo smatran guruom krajnje desnice, ne ograničava svoje aktivnosti na Englesku. On je posebno aktivan u Njemačkoj, gdje redovno učestvuje na godišnjim sastancima ekstremističke njemačke političke partije Deutche Volks Union.*[23] Usto se često pojavljuje na demonstracijama, sastancima i okupljanjima u pivnicama koja sponzoriraju ekstremisti. Irvingova misija u Njemačkoj, kako je on opisuje, je da uputi „mlade ljude koji obećavaju“ u cijeloj zemlji „u pravom smjeru“. (Irving vjeruje da su žene rođene za „određeni zadatak, a to je da rađaju nas (muškarce)“ i da trebaju biti „podređene muškarcima“.*[24] Očito je, dakle, da on nema interesa da mladim ženama ukaže na pravi smjer.**[a]) Ironično, mladi Nijemci koji su predani njemački nacionalisti posebno vjeruju Irvingu i drugim negatorima, koji nisu Nijemci, baš zato što nisu Nijemci.*[25]

U Francuskoj, aktivnosti negiranja holokausta fokusirane su oko Roberta Faurissona, bivšeg profesora književnosti na Univerzitetu Lyons-2, čije radove negatori diljem svijeta često preštampavaju od riječi do riječi, navodeći ili ne navodeći da su njegovi. Prema Faurissonu, „gasne komore“ za Jevreje su „gigantska političko-finansijska izmišljotina, o koju seu se okoristili država Izrael i međunarodni cionizam“. Njegove glavne žrtve bile su njemački narod i Palestinci.*[26] Faurissonovo područje specijalizacije je dosta jedinstveno polje „kritike tekstova i dokumenata, istraživanje značenja i kontraznačenja, istine i laži“.*[27] Taj izbor polja je definitivno ironičan zato što Faurisson, čije su metodologije usvojili gotovo svi drugi negatori, redovno kreira činjenice tamo gdje nijedna ne postoji, a odbacuje kao lažnu svaku informaciju koja se ne uklapa u njegov unaprijed koncipirani

*[21] *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 6. novembar 1992., *The Times*, 6. mart 1988.

*[22] *Daily Telegraph*, 10. juli 1992.

*[23] *Sunday Telegraph*, 12. januar 1992.

*[24] *Daily Telegraph*, 10. juli 1992.

**[a] Njegovo rješenje za nezaposlenost bilo bi da proglasi da je zapošljavanje žene „krivično djelo“.

*[25] *Independent on Sunday*, 10. maj 1992.

*[26] Frederick Brown, „French Amnesia“, *Harpers,* decembar 1981., str. 70.

*[27] Nadine Fresco, „The Denial of the Dead: On the Faurisson Affair“, *Dissent, Fall* 1981., str. 467.

Holocaust, argued that forcing people into gas chambers was no different from killing people in a war, and that it was no more of a crime to murder millions of Jews because they were Jews than it was to fight against Algerians, Vietnamese, Africans, or Palestinians who were attempting to free themselves from foreign rule.*[36] These slight-of-hand attempts at moral equivalence constitute a basic tactic of those who hover on the periphery of Holocaust denial. (See chapter 11 for an analysis of Holocaust relativism in Germany.)

In 1978 Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, Vichy France's commissioner of Jewish affairs and the person responsible for coordinating the deportation of Vichy Jews to death camps, told the French weekly *L'Express* that the Nazi genocide was a typical Jewish hoax. "There was no genocide you must get that out of your head." Expressing the standard denier's explanation for this hoax, he charged that the Jews' aim was to "make Jerusalem the capital of the world." The rather ambiguous headline of the article, which ran without any editorial comments, was "Only Lice Were Gassed in Auschwitz.*[37] Léon Degrelle, the leader of the World War II fascist movement in Belgium and a Nazi collaborator, called on the European right to accept neo-Nazis as honorable allies. He also wrote an "Open Letter to the Pope about Auschwitz," informing the Polish-born cleric, who had witnessed the war at close range, that there were no gas chambers or mass annihilation in Hitler's Third Reich and that Jews who had been killed were actually murdered by American and British bombings.*[38]

But one does not have to be a committed neo-Nazi to be receptive to deniers' arguments. In Paris, in an interview with the leftist monthly *Le Globe*, Claude Autant-Lara, one of France's most acclaimed film directors and at the time a member of the European parliament, described the Holocaust as a legend "stuffed" with lies and claimed that France was in the hands of a left-wing cabal dominated by Jewish internationalists and cosmopolitans.*[39]

In Austria, where the Kurt Waldheim affair uncovered hidden antisemitism, Holocaust denial has been centered around a number of neo-Nazi publications including the newspaper *Sieg*, which states that the number of Jews who died under Nazi rule was less than two hundred thousand.*[40] The publisher, Walter Ochensberger, has been repeatedly convicted by Austrian courts for the crime of "incitement." During lecture tours in various countries including the United States, he has preached the doctrine of denial.*[41] The publisher of another neo-Nazi denial magazine, *Halt,* was indicted for Holocaust denial activities.*[42] In addition to *Sieg* and *Halt,* denial publications targeted at schoolchildren have appeared in Austria.*[43] Since the late 1980s the American Ku Klux Klan has established groups in both Germany and Austria. These groups have added Holocaust denial to their traditional racist extremism.*[44]

In certain parts of Europe, Holocaust denial has found its way into the general population. In the fall of 1992 a public opinion poll in Italy, where a wide array of denial publications have appeared, revealed that close to 10 percent of the Italian population believe the Holocaust never happened.*[45]

Denial arguments have permeated the work of those who would not describe themselves as deniers. An English play entitled *Perdition* charged

zaključak. On tvrdi, naprimjer, da je njemačka vojska dobijala drakonski stroge naredbe da ne učestvuje u „pretjeranim napadima“ na civile, uključujući Jevreje; konsekventno tome, masovna ubijanja Jevreja nisu se ni mogla dogoditi. Nudeći taj argument, Faurisson prosto ignorira aktivnosti *Einsatzgruppen*, jedinica odgovornih za ubijanje ogromnog broja Jevreja. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, jedan od Faurissonovih glavnih protivnika u Francuskoj i neko ko je njega vrlo pažljivo proučavao, zapaža da je Faurisson posebno sklon da nađe „odgovor za sve“, kada naiđe na informacije koje su u kontradikciji sa njegovim tvrdnjama. Faurisson tumači nacistički dekret kojim je Jevrejima naređeno da nose žutu zvijezdu pod smrtnom prijetnjom, kao mjeru da se osigura sigurnost njemačkih vojnika, zato što su se Jevreji, tvrdi on, bavili špijunažom, terorizmom, crnoberzijanskim operacijama i nezakonitom trgovinom oružjem. Njemački vojnici su trebali imati sredstva da se zaštite od tog izuzetnog neprijatelja. On je čak imao objašnjenje zašto se od jevrejske djece tražilo da već u šestoj godini počnu nositi tu zvijezdu: i djeca su poduzimala „svakovrsne, nezakonite aktivnosti i otpor protiv Nijemaca“, od čega su se vojnici morali zaštititi. Dokumenta koja sadrže informacije koje Faurisson ne može objasniti niti interpretirati, on falsificira. Što se tiče surovog njemačkog uništenja Varšavskog geta, Faurisson je napisao da su u aprilu 1941. godine „iznenada, iz pozadine fronta“ Jevreji podigli ustanak. Pobuna u getu, za koju su Jevreji sagradili sedam stotina bunkera, bila je dokaz ozbiljne prijetnje koju su Jevreji predstavljali za sigurnost njemačke vojske. Mada je tačno da su Jevreji pokrenuli ustanak, nije to bilo iza linija fronta, već na stotine milja daleko od njega. Faurissonov izvor informacije u vezi sa ustankom i bunkerima bio je govor koji je nacistički vođa Heinrich Himmler održao u Poznanu u oktobru 1943. godine. Ali čak i Himmler je bio pošteniji od Faurissona. On je opisao da su se ustanci dešavali u Varšavi i na „u pozadini“.*[28]

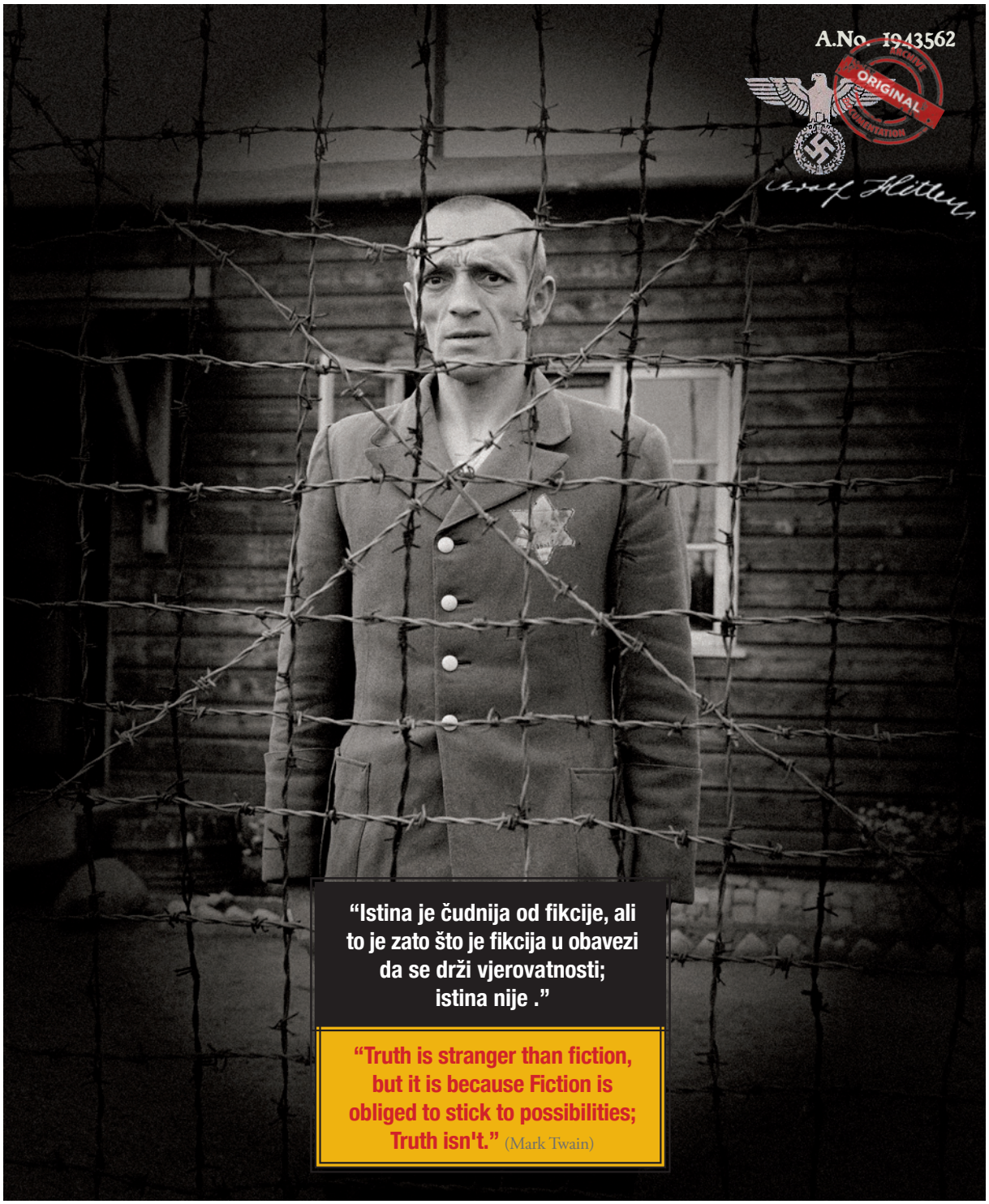
Faurisson nije u Francuskoj djelovao sam. U junu 1985. godine, Univerzitet u Nantesu dodijelio je doktorsku titulu jednom Faurissonovom štićeniku, Henri Roqueu za disertaciju u kojoj on optužuje Kurta Gersteina, jednog od onih koji su saveznicima prenijeli vijesti o gasnim komorama, da je „majstorski vješt mađioničar“, koji je stvorio iluziju koju je svijet prihvatio kao činjenicu.*[29] Implicitno, poričući postojanje gasnih komora, Roque je pokušao dokazati da su Gersteinovi izvještaji prepuni nedosljednosti i da on nikako nije mogao biti svjedok ubijanja gasom u Belzecu, kako tvrdi. Postoji cijeli niz zvaničnih dokumenata i svjedočenja koji potvrđuju Gersteinovo prisustvo prilikom tih ubijanja gasom. Roque, prihvatajući obrazac svoga mentora da ignorira svaki dokument koji je suprotan njegovim prethodno utvrđenim zaključcima, i jednostavno iz svoje disertacije isključuje takav materijal.*[30] „Nakon javnog gnjeva, francuski ministar za visoko obrazovanje 1986. godine je poništio Roqueu doktorat.“*[31]

*[28] Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust (New York, 1993.), str. 40-41; Serge Thion, ur. Vérité historique or vérité politique? (Paris, 1980.), str. 187, 190, 211.

*[29] Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory,* str. 115.

*[30] *Ibid.*

*[31] Guardian, 3. juli 1986., *Le Monde*, 4. juli 1986.



“Istina je čudnija od fikcije, ali to je zato što je fikcija u obavezi da se drži vjerovatnosti; istina nije .”

“Truth is stranger than fiction, but it is because Fiction is obliged to stick to possibilities; Truth isn't.” (Mark Twain)

Mada su Faurisson i većina njegovih obožavatelja politička desnica, njih i njihove aktivnosti potiču ekstremno ljevičarska revolucionarna grupa La Vieille Taupe (Stara krtica).*[32] Prvobitno knjižara, koja će postati izdavačka kuća, sad pruža utočište jednoj neformalnoj grupi revolucionarnih tipova. Pod rukovodstvom vlasnika Pierrea Giuillaumea, ova izdavačka kuća distribuira časopise, kasete, stripove, žurnale i dnevne listove u kojima se tvrdi da je holokaust izmišljotina. Giuillaum je vodeći francuski izdavač neonacističkog materijala. Dvadeset četiri sata nakon početka suđenja Klausu Barbieju u Francuskoj, prvo izdanje Anala, *Annals of Historical Revision (Anali revizije historije),* časopisa kojeg je uredio Giuillaume i koji sadrži Faurissonove članke, pušten je u prodaju u pariške knjižare i kioske.*[33]

Sugestije o negiranju holokausta daju i francuske političke ličnosti. Lider krajnje desnog nacionalnog fronta Jean-Marie Le Pen izjavio je 1987. godine da su gasne komore bile puki „detalj" Drugog svjetskog rata. U intervjuu za jenduu radio stanicu tvrdio je da nikad nije vidio nijednu gasnu komoru i da historičari imaju sumnji oko njihovog postojanja. „Da li vi yo pokušavate da mi kažete da je (postojanje gasnih komora) otkrivena istina u koju svi moraju vjerovati?", Le Pen je upitao retorički. „Ima historičara koji debatiraju o tim pitanjima".*[34] Le Pen, koji se žalio da ima previše Jevreja u francuskim medijima, smatra se liderom evropske ekstremne desnice. Karizmatičan govornik, on je eksploatirao francuske strahove od imigracije Arapa iz sjeverne Afrike i prihvatio je svojevrsni desničarski antisemitizam povezan sa aferom Dreyfus. Podrška naroda Le Penu u Francuskoj dosegla je čak 17%. Na predsjedničkim izborima 1988. godine, osvojio je 14,4% glasova, te je bio četvrti po broju glasova.*[35]

Nijanse negiranja holokausta bile su očite i na suđenju Klausu Barbieju, kada su njegovi advokati, u pokušaju da umanje značaj holokausta, tvrdili da se tjeranje ljudi u gasne komore nimalo razlikuje od ubijanja ljudi u ratu i ubistvo miliona Jevreja zato što su Jevreji nije bilo veći zločin od borbe protiv Alžiraca, Vijetnamaca, Afrikanaca ili Palestinaca koji su se pokušavali osloboditi strane vladavine.*[36] Ovi usputni pokušaji moralnog izjednačavanja predstavljaju osnovnu taktiku onih koji se vrte po periferiji negiranja holokausta (vidjeti Poglavlje 11 za analizu relativizacije holokausta u Njemačkoj.) Godine 1988, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, komesar za jevrejska pitanja u višijevskoj Francuskoj i osoba odgovorna za koordinaciju deportacije tamošnjih Jevreja u logore smrti, rekao je za francuski nedjeljnik L'Express da je nacistički genocid tipična jevrejska izmišljotina. „Nije bilo genocida –

*[32] *New Statesman*, 10. april 1981., str. 4.

*[33] *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste*, vol 1, Spring 1987., Judith Miller, *One by One by One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York, 1990.), str. 134.

*[34] Miller, *One by One by One*, str. 137; *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 23. oktobar 1987.

*[35] *Time,* 28. maj 1990., *U.S. News & World Report,* 28. maj 1990., str. 42; *Los Angeles Time,* 29. maj 1990., str. H1, H7. Na sljedećim parlamentarnim izborima Le Penova partija je izgubila, ali je to rezultat promjene sistema glasanja, a ne zbog gubitka podrške. Miller, *One by One by One,* str. 138.

*[36] *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 23. oktobar 1987., Alain Finkielkraut, *Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes Against Humanity* (New York, 1989.), str. 35-44.

that Zionist leaders both during and after the war were a separate class of rich capitalists who betrayed the Jewish masses to the Nazis. The playwright described the Holocaust as a "cozy set of family secrets, skeletons in closets." In a key passage, the leading character charges that Jews who died in Auschwitz "were murdered, not just by the force of German arms but by calculated treachery of their own Jewish leaders."*[46] Though the play did not deny the Holocaust, the result was the same: The perpetrators were absolved and the victims held responsible.

But it has not only been Europe that has witnessed this phenomenon. Since 1965, Holocaust denial material has been available throughout Latin America. In Brazil, much of it has been released by a publishing house specializing in Portuguese- language antisemitic materials. This publisher recently claimed that within four years of publication, one of its denial books had appeared in twenty-eight editions and was read by two hundred thousand people. (Though the figures may be highly inflated, the publisher did boost sales by offering bookstore owners extremely generous terms, allowing them to keep half the cover price as opposed to the usual 30 percent, and giving them 120 days to pay, a major benefit in a country with a 40 percent monthly inflation rate. Obviously, profit was not the publisher's primary motive.)*[47] Holocaust deniers have also been active in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and Peru.

In Australia and New Zealand, Holocaust denial has adopted a particularly deceptive guise. The Australian Civil Liberties Union, camouflaging its intentions behind a facade of defending civil liberties, is in fact an ardently antisemitic organization. Its bookstore sells an array of traditional antisemitic works, including denial tracts and its leader, John Bennett, has called the Holocaust a "gigantic lie" designed to foster support for Israel. Under him the Union has distributed denial and neo-Nazi material and arranged for radio interviews by Fred Leuchter, the self-described "engineer" and gas chamber expert who claims to have conducted scientific tests at Auschwitz and Majdanek proving that the gas chambers there could not have functioned as homicidal killing units. (For an analysis of Leuchter's report see chapter 9 and the Appendix).The league's meetings have been addressed by an assortment of Holocaust deniers, including hard core Nazis and representatives of the California-based Institute for Historical Review. When Leuchter was in Australia, he was interviewed on the radio and given other significant media coverage. The league, which uses conspiracy theories to attract economically vulnerable members of the working class, informed unemployed timber workers that their jobs had been lost because Jewish bankers had taken over their forests and lands.*[48] The Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission describes the league as the most "influential and effective as well as the best-organized and most substantially financed racist organization in Australia."*[49]

New Zealand has its own League of Rights whose activities approximate those of its Australian counterpart. Because these leagues do not have the same offensive public image that some of the more blatantly antisemitic and neo-Nazi groups do, they have been more successful at winning popular support. By projecting an image of being committed to

morate to izbiti sebi iz glave". Izražavajući standardno objašnjenje negatora za to da je u pitanju izmišljotina, tvrdio je da je Jevrejima bio cilj „da postignu da Jerusalem prijestolnica svijeta". Prilično dvosmisleni naslov samog članka, koji je objavljen bez ikakvih uredničkih komentara, bio je „samo su buhe ugušene gasom u Aušvicu".*37 Leon Degrelle, vođa fašističkog pokreta u Belgiji u Drugom svjetskom ratu i nacistički kolaboracionista, pozvao je evropsku desnicu da prihvati neonaciste kao časne saveznike. On je napisao i „otvoreno pismo Papi iz Aušvica", u kojem je to svešteno lice, rođeno u Poljskoj, i koji je izbliza bio svjedok rata, da u Hitlerovom Trećem rajhu nije bilo gasnih komora niti masovnog istrebljenja i da su Jevreji, koji su pobijeni, ustvari ubijeni u američkom i britanskom bombardiranju.*38

Ali ne mora se biti predan neonacističkoj ideologiji a da se bude prijemčiv za argumente negatora. U Parizu, u jednom intervjuu za ljevičarski mjesečnih Le Globe, Claude Autant-Lara, jedan od najuglednijih francuskih filmskih reditelja i u to vrijeme član Evropskog parlamenta, opisao je holokaust kao legendu „prepunu" laži i tvrdio je da je Francuska u rukama tajnog ljevičarskog društva koja je pod dominacijom jevrejskih internacionalista i kosmopolita.*40

U Austriji, gdje je skandal sa Kurtom Waldheimom razotkrio skriveni antisemitizam, negiranje holokausta je fokusirano na izvjestan broj neonacističkih publikacija, uključujući novinu *Sieg*, u kojem se tvrdi da je broj Jevreja umrlih pod nacističkom vlašću manje od 200 hiljada.*41 Izdavača Waltera Ochensbergera su austrijski sudovi nekoliko puta osuđivali zbog zločina „poticanja negiranja". Tokom predavanja koje je držao u raznim zemljama, uključujući i Sjedinjene Države, on je propovijedao doktrinu negiranja.*41 Izdavač drugog neonacističkog magazina, usmjerenog na negiranje, *Halt*, optužen je za aktivnosti negiranja holokausta.*42 Uz *Sieg* i *Halt*, u Austriji se pojavljuju i publikacije koje se obraćaju učenicima.*43 Od kraja 1980-tih, američki Ku Klux Klan je uspostavio grupe u Njemačkoj i Austriji. Te grupe su na svoj tradicionalni rasistički ekstremizam dodale negiranje holokausta.*44

U nekim dijelovima Evrope, negiranje holokausta je našlo svoj put do općeg stanovništva. U jesen 1992. godine, anketa javnog mijenja u Italiji, gdje se pojavio cijeli niz

*37 *L'Express,* 28. oktobar – 4. novembar 1978., Gill Seidel, *The Holocaust Denial* (Leeds, England, 1986.).

*38 *New Statesman,* 7. septembar 1979., str. 332.

*39 *The Times,* 11. maj 1990., Jewish Week, 15. septembar 1989.

*40 *Dokumentationszentrum,* 1988. Annual Report, Beč, Austrija.

*41 *Austrian News,* Ambasada Austrije, Odsjek za štampu i informiranje, Washington, oktobar 1989.

*42 *Spotligt*, 1. juni 1992.

*43 Godine 1991, organizacija Gallup provela je istraživanje javnog mnijenja u Austriji o stavovima prema Jevrejima koje je naručio Američki jevrejski komitet. Pedeset i tri procenta anketiranih je smatralo da je došlo vrijeme da se "sjećanje na holokaust ostavi iza nas", a 39% je vjerovalo da su „Jevreji izazvali veliku štetu kroz povijest". Gotovo identičan broj njih je vjerovao da Jevreji imaju prevelik "utjecaj" na svjetske poslove; blizu 20% ih je željelo da Jevreji napuste Austriju. Ova statistika ukazuje na zemlju "zrelu" za antisemitsku ideologiju poput negiranja holokausta. Fritz Karmasin, *Austrian Attitudes Towards Jews,* Israel and the Holocaust (New York, 1992.).

*44 *Jewish Telegraph Agency,* 18. avgust 1992., str. 4; 11. novembar 1992.

the defense of free speech, these pseudo-human rights organizations have attracted followers who would normally shun neo-Nazi and overtly antisemitic organizations and activities. The manner in which they obfuscate and camouflage their agenda is the tactic Holocaust deniers will increasingly adopt in the future. It is part of the movement's strategy to infiltrate the mainstream.

In Japan, an array of antisemitic books have reached the best-seller list in recent years. Masami Uno, the author of some of the most popular of these books, asserts that Jews form a "behind-the-scenes nation" controlling American corporations. His books link Jews to Japan's deepest economic fears, declaring America a "Jewish nation" and proclaiming Jews responsible for Japan bashing. Uno, whose books have sold millions of copies, has told Japanese audiences that the Holocaust is a hoax and the *Diary of Anne Frank* full of "lies."*[50] Holocaust denial in Japan must be seen as part of the country's revisionist attitude toward World War II in general. Japan has ignored those aspects of the war that focus on its own wrongdoings. Japanese textbooks distort the historical reality of the Japanese "rape of Nanking," calling it the "Nanking Incident." No mention either is made of the medical experiments conducted by the Japanese on prisoners of war, or the army's exploitation of Korean "comfort women." Even the attack on Pearl Harbor is presented as a defense tactic which the Japanese were compelled to take because of America's refusal to acquiesce to reasonable Japanese demands. The use of Koreans as slave labor is also left unmentioned in official war histories.*[51] Since the Holocaust deniers try to prove that it was the Allies, not the Axis, who committed atrocities during World War II, Holocaust denial may find an increasingly receptive audience in Japan, particularly if the economic situation there worsens and a scapegoat is needed.

Not surprisingly, given deniers' objective of delegitimizing Israel, Arab countries have proven particularly receptive. During the 1970s, when Holocaust denial was first trying to present itself as a credible academic enterprise, Saudi Arabia financed the publication of a number of books accusing Jews of creating the Holocaust hoax in order to win support for Israel. These books were distributed worldwide.*[52] Articles denying the genocide against the Jews have appeared in publications of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, an affiliate of the International Red Cross. The latter published an article charging that "the lie concerning the existence of gas chambers enabled the Jews to establish the State of Israel."*[53] Another article in a Palestinian journal chided Jews for complaining about Gestapo treatment when they were really "served healthy food" by the Germans.*[54] Arabs have long argued that Israel was created by the United Nations because the world felt guilty over Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. The deniers' claims add fuel to these charges. Not only did the world, as Robert Faurisson said to me, displace one people "from its land so another could acquire it," but Holocaust denial proves that it was deceived into doing so.*[55]

The confluence between anti-Israel, antisemitic, and Holocaust denial forces was exemplified by a world anti-Zionist conference

publikacija usmjerenih na negiranje, razotkrila je da blizu 10% talijanskog stanovništva vjeruje da se holokaust nikad nije dogodio.*45

Negatorska argumentacija prožima rad onih koji sebe ne bi opisali kao negatore. U engleskoj drami pod naslovom *Perdition* tvrdi da su cionistički lideri i tokom i nakon rata bili zasebna klasa bogatih kapitalista koji su jevrejske mase izručili nacistima. Autor drame opisuje holokaust kao „zgodan set porodičnih tajnih, kostura skrivnih u ormaru". U ključnom odlomku, glavni junak tvrdi da su Jevreji, koji su umrli u Aušvicu, „ubijeni ne silom njemačkog oružja, već proračunatom izdajom samih jevrejskih vođa".*46 Mada komad ne poriče holokaust, rezultat je isti: počinioci su oslobođeni krivice, dok se žrtve smatraju odgovornim.

Ali nismo samo u Evropi svjedoci tog fenomena. Od 1965. godine, građa sa negiranjem holokausta dostupna je diljem Latinske Amerike. U Brazilu izdavačka kuća koja se specijalizirala za antisemitsku građu na portugalskom jeziku objavila je mnogo građe. Ovaj izdavač nedavno je tvrdio da se u četiri godine objavljivanja, jedna od njegovih knjiga posvećenih negiranju holokausta pojavila u 28 izdanja i da ju je pročitalo 200 hiljada ljudi. „Mada brojke mogu biti itekako napuhane, izdavač jeste povećao prodaju time što je vlasnicima knjižara nudio izuzetno velikodušne uslove, dozvoljavajući im da zadrže polovinu cijene iskazane na koricama umjesto uobičajenih 30%, te im dajući 120 dana za uplatu, što je velika korist u zemlji gdje je mjesečna stopa inflacije 40%. Očito je da profit nije bio izdavačev primarni motiv."*47 Negatori holokausta aktivni su i u Argentini, Meksiku, Čileu i Peruu.

U Australiji i Novom Zelandu, negiranje holokausta ima posebno varljivu masku. The Australian Civil Liberties Union (Australijska unija za građanske slobode), prikrivajući svoje namjera iza fasade odbrane građanskih sloboda, zapravo je žestoko antisemitska organizacija. Njena knjižara prodaje cijeli niz tradicionalnih antisemitskih radova, uključujući traktate s negiranjem, a njegov lider, John Bennett, holokaust je nazvao „gigantskom laži", osmišljenom da se jača podrška za Izrael. Pod njegovim vodstvom, ova Unija je distribuirala materijal sa negiranjem i neonacistički materijal i aranžirala radio intervjue za Freda Leuchtera, čovjeka koji je sam sebe proglasio „inžinjerom" i ekspertom za gasne komore, koji tvrdi da je proveo naučne testove u Aušvicu i Majdaneku i dokazao da tamošnje gasne komore nisu mogle funkcionirati kao jedinice za ubijanje ljudi. (Za analizu Leuchterovog izvještaja vidjeti Poglavlje 9 i Dodatak). Na sastancima ovog saveza govorio je cijeli niz probranih negatora holokausta, uključujući tvrde naciste i predstavnike Instituta za historijsku reviziju sa sjedištem u Kaliforniji. Kada je Leuchter bio u Australiji, intervjuiran na radiju i imao je znatno medijsko pokrivanje. Ova liga, koja koristi teorije zavjere da privuče ekonomski ranjive pripadnike radničke klase, obavijestila je nezaposlene radnike u drvnoj industriji da su izgubili posao zato što su bankari Jevreji preuzeli njihove šume i zemlju.*48

*45 *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 2, 4. novembar 1992.

*46 *Arab News,* 8. maj 1988.

*47 *New York Times,* 10. decembar 1989.

*48 *New Statesman*, 7. septembar 1979., Searchlight, novembar 1988., str.15.

scheduled for Sweden in November 1992. Though canceled at the last minute by the Swedish government, scheduled speakers included Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, Faurisson, Irving, and Leuchter. Also scheduled to participate were representatives of a variety of antisemitic and anti-Israel organizations, including the Russian group Pamyat, the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, and the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas.*56

Echoes of Holocaust denial have also been heard from individuals who are not associated with extremist or overtly antisemitic groups. In an interview with Esquire magazine in February 1983, Robert Mitchum, who played a leading role in the television production of Herman Wouk's World War II saga, *Winds of War and War and Remembrance,* suggested that there was doubt about the Holocaust. Asked about the slaughter of six million Jews, he replied, "so the Jews say." The interviewer, incredulous, repeated Mitchum's comment verbatim, "So the Jews say?" and Mitchum responded, "I don't know. People dispute that."*57

The editor of *The Progressive,* a socialist monthly, recently observed that while he is used to receiving a significant amount of "crackpot mail," the material he receives from Holocaust deniers is a "more subtly packed, slicker" form of hate propaganda. Despite its restrained and objective tone, he wondered who if anyone might be convinced by such "pernicious rot." His question was answered when he received a letter from a high school senior who described himself as eager for articles that grappled with difficult ideas. He complimented the editor for the wide variety of topics covered in the magazine but urged that he also address "controversial ideas about the Holocaust" such as the existence of gas chambers. The editor, himself a survivor of the Holocaust, wrote the young student assuring him that if he meant to suggest that there were no gas chambers he was wrong. The student sent back a strongly worded challenge asking the editor to reveal precisely how many gas chambers he had actually seen and how he had managed to survive.*58

In Illinois, two parents have conducted an extremely focused letter campaign against the state law that mandates teaching of the Holocaust in all schools in the state. Though many of their arguments are the standard charges repeated ad infinitum in denial publications, these parents have added a new element, threatening to withdraw their children from classes that taught the history of the Holocaust to protect them from "this highly questionable and vulgar hate material."*59 Their letter, sent to thousands of people including elected officials, educators, academicians, and parents, asked recipients to ponder how it was that a small minority was able to use the school systems and to "manipulate our children for their political and national purposes."*60

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The inroads deniers have been able to make into the American educational establishment are most disconcerting. Defenders – Noam Chomsky probably the best known among them – have turned up in a variety of quarters. The MIT professor of linguistics wrote the introduction to a book by Faurisson. Faurisson, whom the New York Times described as having "no particular prominence on the French

Australijska komisija za ljudska prava i jednake prilike opisuje ovu ligu kao „najutjecajniju i najučinkovitiju, kao i najbolje organiziranu i najznačajnije finansiranu rasističku organizaciju u Australiji“.*49

Novi Zeland ima svoju League of Rights (Liga prava), čije su aktivnosti slične onima organizacija u Australiji. Zato što te lige nemaju isti ofanzivni javni imidž, kojeg imaju neke otvorenije antisemitske i neonacističke grupe, one su uspješnije u osvajanju podrške naroda. Projiciranjem slike o sebi kao organizaciji posvećenoj odbrani slobode govora, ove pseudo organizacije za ljudska prava privukle su sljedbenike koji bi normalno odbacili neonacističke i otvoreno antisemitske organizacije i aktivnosti. Način na koji one prikrivaju i kamufliraju svoju agendu je taktika koju će negatori holokausta sve više u budućnosti usvajati. To je dio strategije pokreta da se infiltrira u umjerenu struju javnog života.

U Japanu, cijeli niz antisemitskih knjiga dospjele su na listu bestselera u posljednjim godinama. Masami Uno, autor nekih od najpopularnijih takvih knjiga, tvrdi da su Jevreji „nacija iza scene“, koja kontrolira američke korporacije. Njegove knjige povezuju Jevreje sa najdubljim ekonomskim strahovima Japana, proglašavajući Ameriku „jevrejskom nacijom“ a Jevreje odgovornim za tamošnje antijapansko raspoloženje. Uno, čije knjige se prodaju u milionima primjeraka, japanskoj publici govori da je holokaust izmišljotina, a da je Dnevnik Ane Frank pun „laži“.*50 Negiranje holokausta u Japanu mora se posmatrati kao dio revizionističkog stava te zemlje prema Drugom svjetskom ratu općenito. Japan ignorira one aspekte rata koji su usmjereni na njihova vlastita nedjela. Japanski udžbenici iskrivljuju historijsku realnost japanskog „silovanja u Nankingu“, nazivajući to „incidentom u Nankingu“. Nema ni spomena medicinskih eksperimenata koji su Japanci provodili nad ratnim zarobljenicima ili eksploatacije korejskih „žena za razonodu” od strane japanske armije. Čak i napad na Pearl Harbor predstavljen je kao odbrambena taktika koju su Japanci bili prisiljeni primijeniti zato što je Amerika odbijala da prihvati razumne zahtjeve Japana. Korištenje Koreanaca kao robovskih radnika, također se ne spominje u službenim ratnim historijama.*51 Pošto negatori holokausta pokušavaju dokazati da su saveznici, a ne Sile osovine, oni koji su počinili zlodjela tokom Drugog svjetskog rata, negiranje holokausta može naići na sve prijemčiviju publiku u Japanu, posebno ako se tamošnja ekonomska situacija pogorša i ako im bude potreban žrtveni jarac.

*49 Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 22. decembar 1992. Izvan Unije, neki Australci su u stanju nekažnjeno iznositi tvrdnje kojim se negira holokaust. Dr. Anice Morsey, istaknuti član australijske araske zajednice, optužio je cioniste za izmišljanje priče o holokaustu. On je tvrdio da su Jevreji koji su ubijeni bili ili petokolonaši ili špijuni. Morsey je tvrdio da je Izrael imao finansijsku korist od te izmišljotine, a da je Njemačka žrtva. Morseyjeva gledišta čini se nisu ga omela u karijeri. Nakon ove izjave imenovan je za povjerenika za etnička pitanja Vlade Viktorije. *An Nahar,* 8. novembar 1982., citirano u knjizi Jeremyja Jonesa „Holocaust revisonisim in Australia“, u *Without Prejudice* (Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs), 4. decembar 1991., str. 53. Knjiga *Holocaust Denial* Kennetha Sterna sadrži koristan pregled skorijih aktivnosti negiranja holokausta diljem svijeta (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1993.), Pogl. 2.

*50 *New York Times,* 12. mart 1987., Jennifer Golub, *Japanese Attitudes Toward Jews* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1992.).

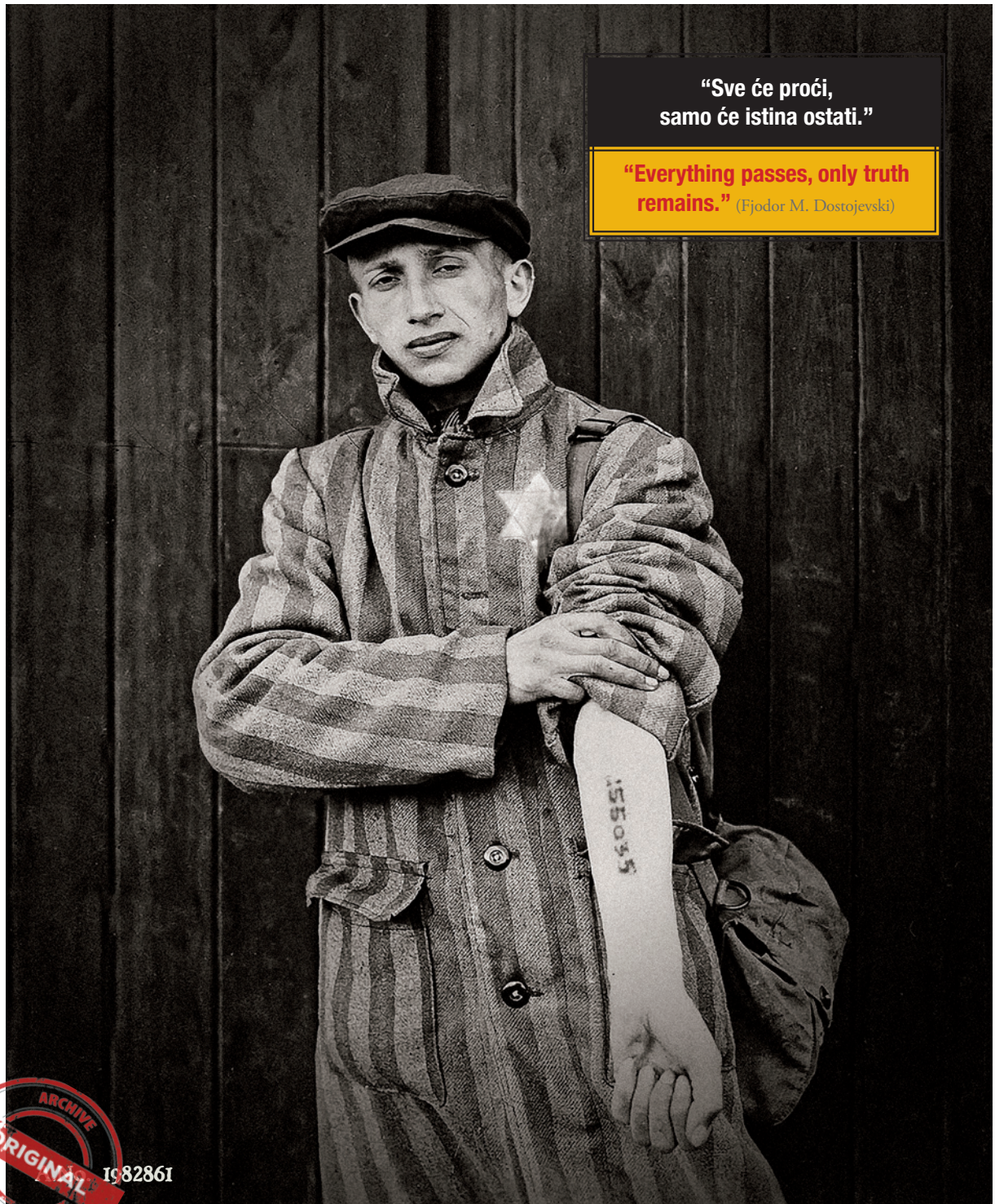
*51 *The Weekend Australian*, 19-20. avgust 1989., *New York Times,* 20. decembar 1988., *Time,* 7. oktobar 1991.

intellectual or academic scene," has argued that one of the reasons he does not believe that homicidal gas chambers existed is that no death-camp victim has given eyewitness testimony of actual gassings.*[61] This argument contradicts accepted standards of evidence. It is as if a jury refused to convict a serial killer until one of his victims came back to say, "Yes, he is the one who killed me." Such reasoning is so soft that it makes one wonder who could possibly take him seriously. Moreover, it ignores the extensive testimony of the Sonderkommandos who dragged the bodies from the gas chambers.

Chomsky contended that, based on what he had read of Faurisson's work, he saw "no proof" that would lead him to conclude that the Frenchman was an antisemite.*[62] According to Chomsky, not even Faurisson's claims that the Holocaust is a "Zionist lie" are proof of his antisemitism. "Is it antisemitic to speak of Zionist lies? Is Zionism the first nationalist movement in history not to have concocted lies in its own interest?"*[63] That students editing a college newspaper or television producers interested in winning viewers should prove unable to make such distinctions is disturbing. That someone of Chomsky's stature should confuse the issue is appalling. Indeed, it was this kind of reasoning that led Alfred Kazin to describe Chomsky as a "dupe of intellectual pride so overweening that he is incapable of making distinctions between totalitarian and democratic societies, between oppressors and victims."*[64] Though Chomsky is his own unique case, his spirited defense of the deniers shocked many people including those who thought they were inured to his antics.

In his essay Chomsky argued that scholars' ideas cannot be censored irrespective of how distasteful they may be.*# Throughout this imbroglio Chomsky claimed that his interest was Faurisson's civil rights and freedom to make his views known.*[64] During the past few years, as deniers have intensified their efforts to insinuate themselves into the university world by placing ads denying the Holocaust in campus newspapers, echoes of Chomsky's arguments have been voiced by students, professors, and even university presidents. (See chapter 10 for additional information about denial on campus.) In response to student and faculty protests about the decision of the Duke Chronicle to run an ad denying the Holocaust, the president of Duke University, Keith Brodie, said that to have done otherwise would have "violated our commitment to free speech and contradicted Duke's long tradition of supporting First Amendment rights."*[66] Brodie failed to note that the paper had recently rejected an ad it deemed offensive to women. No one had complained about possible violations of the First Amendment.

Let this point not be misunderstood. The deniers have the absolute right to stand on any street corner and spread their calumnies. They have the right to publish their articles and books and hold their gatherings. But free speech does not guarantee them the right to be treated as the "other" side of a legitimate debate. Nor does it guarantee them space on op-ed pages or time on television and radio shows. Most important, it does not call for people such as Chomsky to stand by them and thereby commend their views to the public.**#


“Sve će proći,
samo će istina ostati.”
“Everything passes, only truth remains.” (Fjodor M. Dostojevski)
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We have only witnessed the beginning of this movement's efforts to permeate cultural, historical, and educational orbits. They must be taken seriously: Far more than the history of the Holocaust is at stake.

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While Holocaust denial is not a new phenomenon, it has increased in scope and intensity since the mid-1970s. It is important to understand that the deniers do not work in a vacuum. Part of their success can be traced to an intellectual climate that has made its mark in the scholarly world during the past two decades. The deniers are plying their trade at a time when much of history seems to be up for grabs and attacks on the Western rationalist tradition have become commonplace.
This tendency can be traced, at least in part, to intellectual currents that began to emerge in the late 1960s. Various scholars began to argue that texts had no fixed meaning. The reader's interpretation, not the author's intention, determined meaning. Duke University professor Stanley Fish is most closely associated with this approach in the literary field*[67] It became more difficult to talk about the objective truth of a text, legal concept, or even an event. In academic circles some scholars spoke of relative truths, rejecting the notion that there was one version of the world that was necessarily right while another was wrong.*[68] Proponents of this methodology, such as the prominent and widely read philosopher Richard Rorty, denied the allegation that they believed that two incompatible views on a significant issue were of equal worth.*[69] But others disagreed. Hilary Putnam, one of the most influential contemporary academic philosophers, thought it particularly dangerous because it seemed to suggest that every conceptual system was "just as good as the other."*[70] Still others rightfully worried that it opened the doors of the academy, and of society at large, to an array of farfetched notions that could no longer be dismissed out of hand simply because they were absurd.

Nonetheless, as a methodology this approach to texts had something to recommend it. It placed an important, though possibly overstated, emphasis on the role played by the reader's perspective in assigning meaning to a text. It was also a reminder that the interpretations of the less powerful groups in society have generally been ignored. But it also fostered an atmosphere in which it became harder to say that an idea was beyond the pale of rational thought. At its most radical it contended that there was no bedrock thing such as experience. Experience was mediated through one's language. The scholars who supported this deconstructionist approach were neither deniers themselves nor sympathetic to the deniers' attitudes; most had no trouble identifying Holocaust denial as disingenuous. But because deconstructionism argued that experience was relative and nothing was fixed, it created an atmosphere of permissiveness toward questioning the meaning of historical events and made it hard for its proponents to assert that there was anything "off limits" for this skeptical approach. The legacy of this kind of thinking was evident when students had to confront the issue. Far too many of them found it impossible to recognize Holocaust denial as a movement with no scholarly, intellectual,

Ne iznenađuje, s obzirom na cilj negatora da deligitimizira Izrael, da su arapske zemlje posebno prijemčive na negiranje holokausta. Tokom 1970-tih, kada se negiranje holokausta prvi put pokušavalo prezentirati kao vjerodostojan akademski pothvat, Saudijska Arabija je finansirala objavljivanje cijelog niza knjiga u kojim se Jevreji optužuju da su stvorili izmišljotinu holokausta, kako bi zadobili podršku za Izrael. Te knjige se distribuiraju u cijelom svijetu.*52 Članci kojima se poriče genocid protiv Jevreja, pojavljuju se u publikacijama Palestinske oslobodilačke organizacije i palestinskog Udruženja crvenog krsta, pridružene članice Međunarodnog crvenog krsta. Ova druga organizacija objavila je članak u kojem tvrdi da je „laž koja se tiče postojanja gasnih komora omogućila Jevrejima da uspostave državu Izrael".*53 Drugi članak u jednom palestinskom časopisu napada Jevreje što se žale na gestapovski tretman, kada su, zapravo, dobijali „zdravu hranu" od Nijemaca.*54 Arapi već dugo vremena tvrde da su Ujedinjene nacije stvorile Izrael zato što se svijet osjećao krivim zbog jevrejskog stradanja tokom holokausta. Tvrdnje negatora samo dodatno raspaljuju te tvrdnje. Svijet, kao što je meni rekao Robert Faurisson, ne samo da je raselio jedan narod „sa njegove zemlje u drugu, tako da sbi drugi mogao da tu zemlju dobije", već negiranje holokausta dokazuje da je svijet to učinio zahvaljujući prevari.*55

Saglasnost između antiizraelskih i antisemitskih snaga negatora holokausta se pokazuju u primjeru svjetske anticionističke konferencije planirane u Švedskoj u novembru 1992. godine. Mada ju je Vlada Švedske u posljednji trenutak otkazala, među planiranim govornicima ubili su vođa Crnih muslimana, Louis Farrakhan, Faurisson, Irving i Leuchter. Također je planirano učešće predstavnika cijelog niza antisemitskih i antiizraelskih organizacija, uključujući rusku grupu Pamyat, Hezbollah koji ima iransku podršku, te fundamentalističku islamsku organizaciju Hamas.*56

Odjeci negiranja holokausta čuju se i od pojedinaca koji nisu povezani sa ekstremističkim ili otvoreno antisemitskim grupama. U jednom intervjuu za magazin *Esquire* u februaru 1983. godine, Robert Mitchum, koji je igrao glavnu ulogu u televizijskoj produkciji sage o Drugom svjetskom ratu po romanu Hermana Wouka *Vjetrovi rata* i *Rat i sjećanja*, sugerirao je da ima sumnje oko holokausta. Upitan o pokolju 6 miliona Jevreja, odgovorio je, „To kažu Jevreji". Novinar je, u nevjerici, ponovio Mitchumov komentar od riječi do riječi, „To kažu Jevreji?", a Mitchum je odgovorio, „Ne znam. Ljudi to osporavaju".*57

Urednik socijalističkog mjesečnika *The Progressive* nedavno je zapazio da je, mada je navikao da prima znatnu količinu „ludačkih pisama čitalaca", materijal koji dobija od negatora holokausta „suptilnije upakovan, profinjeniji" oblik mrziteljske propagande. Unatoč njihovom uzdržanom i objektivnom tonu, on se upitao koga uopće može ubijediti

*52 Yehuda Bauer, „'Revisionism' – The Repudiation of the Holocaust and Its Historical Significance", u *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period,* Yisrael Gutman and Gideon Grief, ur. (Jerusalem, 1988.), str. 702.

*53 *Los Angeles Times*, 18. decembar 1990.

*54 Near East Report, 16. april 1990., str. 72.

*55 Razgovori sa Robertom Faurissonom, *Vichy,* Francuska, juni 1989.

*56 *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 26. novembar 1992.

*57 *Esquire,* februar 1983.

or rational validity. A sentiment had been generated in society – not just on campus – that made it difficult to say: "This has nothing to do with ideas. This is bigotry."

This relativistic approach to the truth has permeated the arena of popular culture, where there is an increasing fascination with, and acceptance of, the irrational. One area in which this has been evident is in the recurring debate regarding the assassination of President Kennedy. While there is reason to question some of the conclusions of the Warren Commission, the theories regarding the killing that have increasingly gained acceptance border on the irrational. Notions of a conspiracy within the highest echelons of American government are readily accepted as plausible. According to Oliver Stone's 1991 movie *JFK*, a coup d'Etat was underway in the United States, with the collusion of the vice president, Joint Chiefs of Staff, chief justice of the United States, FBI, CIA, members of Congress, and the Mafia. Stone's film imposed a neat coherence on a mass of confusing information, providing a self-contained explanation for what still seemed to be an unbelievable event. Many reviewers and moviegoers alike pondered these charges with great seriousness.

In another debasing of history, serious credence has been given to reverse racist charges about white scholarship. Some extremist Afrocentrists, who rightfully assert that Africa's role in shaping Western civilization is too often ignored, would have us believe that the basis of all intellectual and scientific thought as we know it originated on that continent. Leonard Jeffries, professor of Afro-American studies at New York's City College, has declared blacks to be "sun people" and whites "ice people." All that is warm, communal, and full of hope comes from the former; all that is oppressive, cold, and rigid from the latter.*[71] In these instances, history is rewritten for political ends and scientific historiography is replaced, in the words of Henry Louis Gates, Jr., professor of Afro-American studies at Harvard, with "ideological conformity."*[72] Scholars who might once have dismissed these outlandish views feel compelled to treat them as having some validity.

These attacks on history and knowledge have the potential to alter dramatically the way established truth is transmitted from generation to generation. Ultimately the climate they create is of no less importance than the specific truth they attack – be it the Holocaust or the assassination of President Kennedy. It is a climate that fosters deconstructionist history at its worst. No fact, no event, and no aspect of history has any fixed meaning or content. Any truth can be retold. Any fact can be recast. There is no ultimate historical reality.

Holocaust denial is part of this phenomenon. It is not an assault on the history of one particular group. Though denial of the Holocaust may be an attack on the history of the annihilation of the Jews, at its core it poses a threat to all who believe that knowledge and memory are among the keystones of our civilization. Just as the Holocaust was not a tragedy of the Jews but a tragedy of civilization in which the victims were Jews, so too denial of the Holocaust is not a threat just to Jewish history but a threat to all who believe in the ultimate power of reason.

tako „opako smeće“. Na njegovo pitanje je odgovoreno kada je dobio pismo od nekog učenika srednje škole, koji je sebe opisao kao osobu željnu članaka koji se bave teškim idejama. On je uredniku prvo dao kompliment za raznovrsnost tema koje objavljuje u svom časopisu, ali je tražio da se pozabavi i „kontroverznim idejama o holokaustu“, naprimjer, o postojanju gasnih komora. Urednik, i sam preživjeli holokausta, mladom učeniku je odgovorio, uvjeravajući ga da, ako je mislio da sugerira da gasnih komora nije bilo – nije u pravu. Student je odgovorio vrlo oštro, tražeći od urednika da precizno kaže koliko je gasnih komora on zapravo vidio i kako je uspio preživjeti.*58

U Illinoisu, dva roditelja su provela ekstremno usmjerenu kampanju slanja pisama protiv državnog zakona koji obavezuje nastavnike da predaju o holokaustu u svim školama te države. Mada su mnogi njihovi argumenti predstavljali standardne tvrdnje koje se ad infinitum ponavljaju u negatorskim publikacijama, ovi su roditelji dodali jedan novi element, zaprijetivši da će povući svoju djecu sa časova historije kad se predaje o holokaustu, kako bi ih zaštitili od „te veoma upitne i prostačke mrziteljske građe“.*59 U pismu koje su poslali hiljadama ljudi, uključujući i izabrane zvaničnike, edukatore, pripadnike akademske zajednice i roditelje, traženo je od primalaca pisma da porazmisle o tome kako se desilo da tako mala manjina bude u stanju koristiti školske sisteme i „manipulirati našom djecom za svoje političke i nacionalne ciljeve“.*60

*58 *The Progressive,* april 1986., str. 4.

*59 Peter Hayes, „A Historian Confronts Denial“, u T*he Netherlands and Nazi Genocide,* ur. G. Jan Colijn and Marcia S. Littell, (Lewiston, 1992.), str. 522.

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Način na koji su negatori uspjeli prodrijeti u američki obrazovni establišment najviše zabrinjava. Branioci negatora – Noam Chomsky, vjerovatno najpoznatiji među njima – pojavili su se na raznim stranama. Profesor lingvistike na Univerzitetu MIT napisao je uvod za Faurissonovu knjigu. Faurisson, kojeg je *New York Times* opisao kao osobu koja „nije posebno značajna na francuskoj intelektualnoj ili akademskoj sceni“, tvrdio je da je jedan od razloga što ne vjeruje da su postojale gasne komore u kojima su ljudi ubijani, da nijedna žrtva logora smrti nije svjedočila iz prve ruke o stvarnom gušenju u gasnim komorama.*61 Ovaj argument suprotan je prihvaćenom standardu dokaza. To je kao da porota odbije da osudi serijskog ubojicu sve dok se jedna od njegovih žrtava ne vrati iz mrtvih i ne kaže, „da, on me je ubio“. Takvo rezoniranje je toliko besmisleno da se čovjek pita ko ga je uopće mogao shvatiti ozbiljno. Štoviše, ono ignorira ekstenzivno svjedočenje sonderkommandosa koji su izvlačili tijela iz gasnih komora.

Chomsky je tvrdio da, na osnovu onoga što je čitao od Faurissonovih radova,nije vidio „dokaza“ da bi ga to navelo na zaključak da su Francuzi antisemiti.*62 Prema Chomskom, čak ni Faurissonove tvrdnje da je holokaust „cionistička laž“ nisu dokaz njegovog antisemitizma. „Je li antisemitski govoriti o cionističkim lažima? Da li je cionizam

*60 Safet M. Sarich edukatorima u *Winnetki*, maj 1991.

*61 *New York Times,* 1. januar 1981.

*62 Gitta Sereny, „The Judgment of History“, *New Statesman,* 17. juli 1981., str. 16; Noam Chomsky, „The Commissars of Literature“, *New Statesman,* 14. avgust 1981., str. 13.



A.No. 1893872

"Istina je
izdaja u carstvu laži."

"Truth is treason in the empire of lies." (George Orwell)



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Führer und Reichskanzler

prvi nacionalistički pokret u historiji koji nije izmišljao laži u vlastitom interesu?“[*63] Uznemirujuće je to da se pokaže da su studenti, koji uređuju univerzitetske novine ili televizijski producenti, zainteresirani za privlačenje gledalaca, nesposobni da vide razliku. Zapanjujuće je da neko ugleda kakav uživa Chomsky treba da pravi zbrku oko ovog pitanja. Doista, upravo ta vrsta rezoniranja je dovela Alfreda Kazina to toga da Chomskog opiše kao „toliko intelektualno zaglupljen i tašt da nije sposoban vidjeti razliku između totalitarnih i demokratskih društava, između tlačitelja i žrtava“.[*64] Mada je Chomsky zaista jedinstven slučaj, njegova gorljiva odbrana negatora šokira mnoge, uključujući i one koji su smatrali da su otporni na njegova pretjerivanja.

U jednom eseju, Chomsky tvrdi da se ideje naučnika ne mogu cenzurirati, bez obzira na to koliko mogu biti neukusne.[**b] U tom svom bućkurišu od eseja Chomsky tvrdi da njega zanimaju Faurissonova građanska prava i sloboda da ljudima iznese svoja gledišta.[*65] Tokom posljednjih nekoliko godina, kako su negatori intenzivirali nastojanja da se uvuku u akademski svijet tako što u univerzitetske novine daju oglase u kojima se poriče holokaust, odjeci argumenata Chomskog čuju se i od studenata, profesora, čak iod predsjednika univerziteta. (Vidjeti Poglavlje 10 za dodatne informacije o negiranju na univerzitetima). Odgovarajući na proteste studenata i profesora zbog odluke lista *Duke Chronicle* da objavi oglas u kojem se poriče holokaust, predsjednik Univerziteta Duke Chris Brodie rekao je da bi drugačija odluka predstavljala „kršenje naše predanosti slobodi govora i bila bi suprotna Dukeovoj dugoj tradiciji podrške pravima iz Prvog amandmana“.[*66] Brodieju je promaklo da je isti taj list nešto ranije odbio oglas koji su smatrali uvredljivim za žene. U tom slučaju, niko se nije žalio zbog mogućih kršenja Prvog amandmana.

Neka me se ovdje ne shvati pogrešno. Negatori imaju apsolutno pravo da stanu na ugao bilo koje ulice i šire svoje klevete. Imaju pravo objavljivati svoje članke i knjige i održavati svoje skupove, ali sloboda govora ne garantira im pravo da budu tretirani kao „druga“ strana u jednoj legitimnoj debati. Niti im to garantira prostor za oglase u novinama ili vrijeme u televizijskim ili radijskim emisijama. Što je najvažnije, to ne poziva ljude kao što je Chomsky da stanu uz njih i time hvale njihova gledišta pred javnošću.[**c]

[*63] Noam Chomsky, „Chomsky: Freedom of Expression? Absolutely“, *Village Voice,* 1-7 juli 1981., str. 12. Vidjeti također Noam Chomsky, „The Faurisson Affair: His Right to Say It“, *Nation,* 28. februar 1981., str. 231. Gitta Sereny, „Let History Judge“, *New Statesman,* 11. septembar 1981., str. 12.

[*64] Alfred Kazin, „Americans Right, Left and Indifferent: Responses to the Holocaust“, *Dimensions,* tom 4, br. 1 (1988.), str. 12.

[**b] Ironično je da ovaj međunarodno poznati profesor postane takav branitelj Faurissonovog prava da govori, kada bi on sam odrekao takva prava onima koji propagiraju američki angažman u Vijetnamu. U knjizi American Power and the New Mandarins zapisao je, „Prihvativši pretpostavku legitimnosti debate o određenim pitanjima, čovjek već time gubi ljudskost“. Mada napisana mnogo prije Faurissonovog slučaja, njegovi komentari predstavljaju najprecizniju procjenu njegovog vlastitog ponašanja.

[*65] On je bio posebno pogođen odlukom Univerziteta u Lyonu da ne dozvoli Faurissonu da predaje jer mu nije mogao jamčiti sigurnost.

[*66] Izjava predsjednika H. Keitha H. Brodieja, *Duke University,* 6. novembar 1991.

It repudiates reasoned discussion the way the Holocaust repudiated civilized values. It is undeniably a form of antisemitism, and as such it constitutes an attack on the most basic values of a reasoned society. Like any form of prejudice, it is an irrational animus that cannot be countered with the normal forces of investigation, argument, and debate. The deniers' arguments are at their roots not only antisemitic and anti-intellectual but, in the words of historian Charles Maier, "blatantly racist anthropology."*[73] Holocaust denial is the apotheosis of irrationalism.

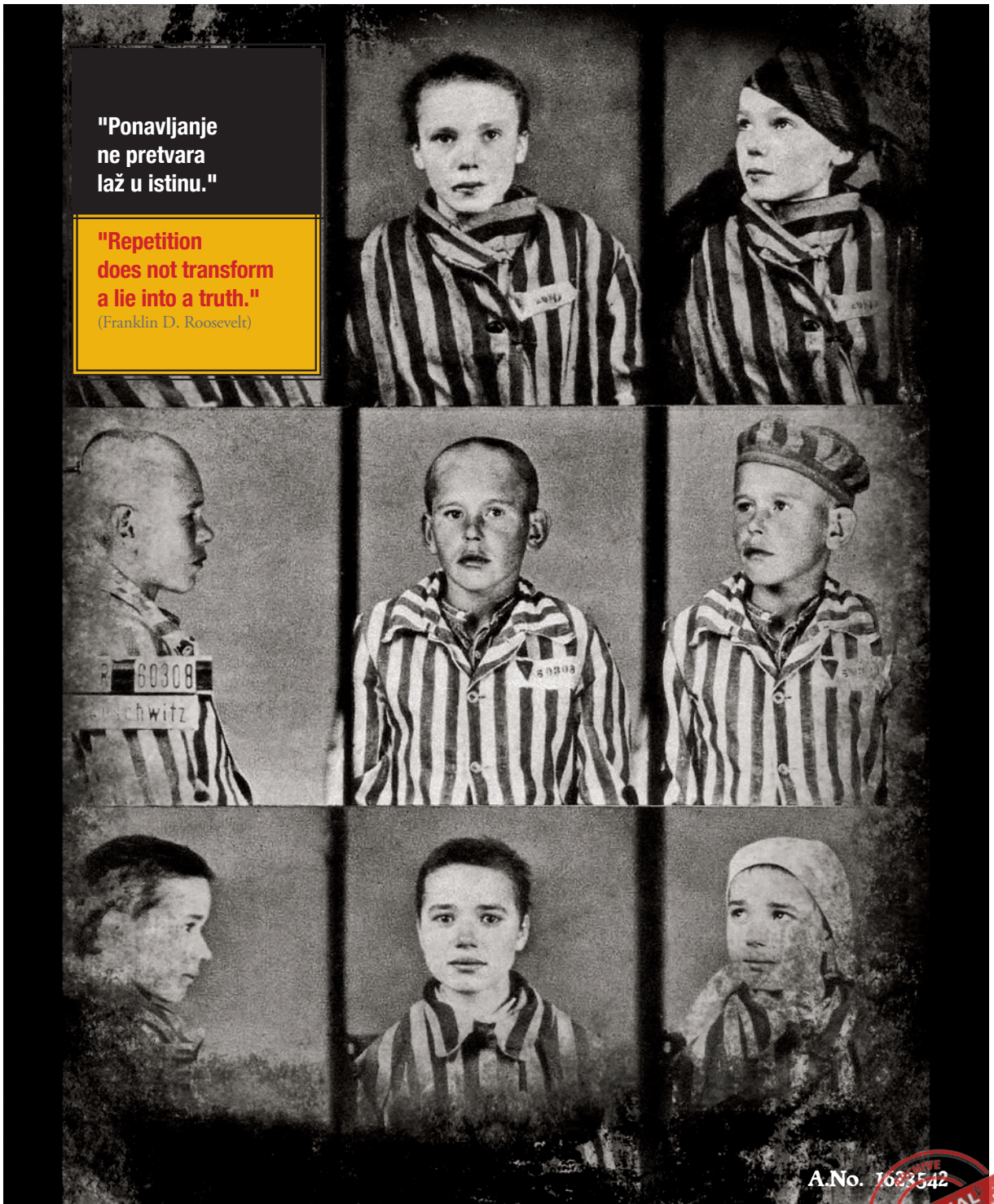
Because the movement to disseminate these myths is neither scholarship nor historiography, I have chosen to eschew the term revisionism whenever possible and instead to use the term denial to describe it. The deniers' selection of the name revisionist to describe themselves is indicative of their basic strategy of deceit and distortion and of their attempt to portray themselves as legitimate historians engaged in the traditional practice of illuminating the past. For historians, in fact, the name revisionism has a resonance that is perfectly legitimate – it recalls the controversial historical school known as World War I "revisionists," who argued that the Germans were unjustly held responsible for the war and that consequently the Versailles treaty was a politically misguided document based on a false premise. Thus the deniers link themselves to a specific historiographic tradition of reevaluating the past. Claiming the mantle of the World War I revisionists and denying they have any objective other than the dissemination of the truth constitute a tactical attempt to acquire an intellectual credibility that would otherwise elude them.

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Revisionism is also the name given to a more contemporary approach to historical research. Associated with the noted historian William Appleman Williams, a past president of the Organization of American Historians, it addresses itself to questions of American foreign policy particularly as they relate to the origins of the Cold War and the conflict between the West and the Communist world. Because this form of revisionism is critical of American foreign policy, which it sees as motivated by a desire for hegemony via open-door imperialism, it is a useful model for the deniers.*[74] While many historians strongly disagree with its particular bias, all agree that for the "Wisconsin school," as Williams's followers came to be known, and its descendants, the canons of evidence are as incontrovertible as they are for all other historians. In contrast, evidence plays no role for deniers.

Finally I abjure the term revisionist because on some level revisionism is what all legitimate historians engage in. Historians are not just chroniclers – they do not simply retell the tale. Each one tries to glean some new insight or understanding from a story already known, seeking some new way of interpreting the past to help us better understand the present. That interpretation always involves some constant "re- visioning" of the past. By its very nature the business of interpretation cannot be purely objective. But it is built on a certain body of irrefutable evidence: Slavery happened; so did the Black Plague and the Holocaust.

In order to maintain their facade as a group whose only objective is the pursuit of truth,


"Ponavljanje
ne pretvara
laž u istinu."
"Repetition
does not transform
a lie into a truth."
(Franklin D. Roosevelt)
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the deniers have filled their publications with articles that ostensibly have nothing to do with World War II but are designed to demonstrate that theirs is a global effort to attack and revise historical falsehoods. Articles on the Civil War, World War I, and Pearl Harbor are included in their journals as a means of illustrating how establishment historians, with ulterior political motives, have repeatedly put forward distorted views of history. The deniers aim to undermine readers' faith in "orthodox" historians' commitment to transmitting the truth. They argue that this tactic of distortion by "court historians" for political means reached its zenith in the Holocaust "myth."

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What claims do the deniers make? The Holocaust – the attempt to annihilate the Jewish people – never happened. Typical of the deniers' attempt to obfuscate is their claim that they do not deny that there was a Holocaust, only that there was a plan or an attempt to annihilate the Jewish people.*[75] They have distorted and deconstructed the definition of the term Holocaust. But this and all the ancillary claims that accompany it are embedded in a series of other arguments. They begin with a relatively innocuous supposition: War is evil. Assigning blame to one side is ultimately a meaningless enterprise. Since the central crime of which the Nazis are accused never happened, there really is no difference in this war, as in any other, between victor and vanquished.*[76] Still, they assert, if guilt is to be assigned, it is not the Germans who were guilty of aggression and atrocities during the war. The real crimes against civilization were committed by the Americans, Russians, Britons, and French against the Germans. The atrocities inflicted on the Germans by the Allies were – in the words of Harry Elmer Barnes, a once-prominent historian and one of the seminal figures in the history of North American Holocaust denial – "more brutal and painful than the alleged exterminations in the gas chambers."*[77] Once we recognize that the Allies were the aggressors, we must turn to the Germans and, in the words of Austin App, a professor of English literature who became one of the major "theoreticians" of Holocaust denial, implore them "to forgive us the awful atrocities our policy caused to be inflicted upon them."*[78]

For some deniers Hitler was a man of peace, pushed into war by the aggressive Allies.*[79] According to them, the Germans suffered the bombing of Dresden, wartime starvation, invasions, postwar population transfers from areas of Germany incorporated into post-war Poland, victor's vengeance at Nuremberg, and brutal mistreatment by Soviet and Allied occupiers. Portrayed as a criminal nation that had committed outrageous atrocities, Germany became and remains a victim of the world's emotional and scholarly aggression.

But it is showing the Holocaust to have been a myth that is the deniers' real agenda. They contend that the ultimate injustice is the false accusation that Germans committed the most heinous crime in human history. The postwar venom toward Germany has been so extreme that Germans have found it impossible to defend themselves. Consequently, rather than fight this ignominious accusation, they decided to acknowledge their complicity. This seeming contradiction – namely that the perpetrators

Mi tek svjedočimo početku nastojanja ovog pokreta da prodre u kulturne, historijske i obrazovne orbite. Oni moraju biti shvaćeni ozbiljno: ovdje je u pitanju mnogo više od povijesti holokausta.

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Mada negiranje holokausta nije novi fenomen, on je u obimu i intenzitetu povećan od sredine 1970-tih. Važno je razumjeti da negatori ne rade u vakuumu. Dio objašnjenja njihovog uspjeha može se naći u intelektualnoj klimi koja je obilježila naučni svijet u posljednje dvije decenije. Negatori peku svoj zanat u vrijeme kad je veliki dio historije izgleda izložen za grabežljivce koji je otimaju za sebe, a napadi na zapadnu racionalističku tradiciju postaju opće mjesto.

Ova tendencija se može pratiti, barem dijelom, u intelektualnim strujanjima koje su se započela krajem 1960-tih. Razni naučnici počeli su tvrditi da tekst nema fiksirano značenje. Čitaočevo tumačenje, ne autorova namjera je ono što određuje značenje. Profesor sa Univerziteta Duke, Stanley Fish se blisko povezuje s tim pristupom na polju literature.*67 Sve je teže govoriti o objektivnoj istini teksta, pravnog koncepta, ili čak nekog događaja. U akademskim krugovima neki naučnici govore o relativnim istinama i odbacuju ideju da postoji samo jedna verzija svijeta koja je obavezno ispravna, dok su druge pogrešne.*68 Predstavnici ove metodologije, kao što je istaknuti i veoma čitani filozof Richard Rorty, negira da oni vjeruju da dva nekompatibilna gledišta o značajnom pitanju imaju jednaku vrijednost.*69 Ali drugi se nisu složili. Hilary Putnam, jedna od najutjecajnijih savremenih akademskih filozofa smatra to posebno opasnim zato što se čini da se sugerira da je svaki konceptualni sistem „jednako dobar kao i drugi".*70 Ipak, drugi su s pravom zabrinuti da je to otvorilo vrata naučnoj misli, akademskoj zajednici i društvu generalno, za cijeli niz nevjerovatnih pojmova i ideja koje se nisu više mogle odbaciti naprosto zato što su bile apsurdne.

Ipak, kao metodologija ovaj pristup

**c Ponašanje Chomskog može se suprotstaviti ponašanju 34 francuska vodeća historičara koji su, u odgovoru na Faurissonova nastojanja, objavili deklaraciju kojom izražavaju protest protiv njegovih pokušaja negiranja holokausta. Ta deklaracija dijelom glasi: „Svako je slobodan da tumači fenomen poput Hitlerovog genocida prema vlastitoj filozofiji. Svako je slobodan da ga poredi sa drugim ubistvima koja su počinjena ranije, u isto vrijeme, kasnije. Svako je slobodan da ponudi takvu vrstu objašnjenja; svako je slobodan, do određene granice, da zamišlja ili sanja kako se ta monstruozna djela nisu dogodila. Nažalost, ona su se dogodila i niko ne može poreći njihovo postojanje, a da ne uputi izazov, da ne izvrši udar na istinu. Nije potrebno pitati kako su *tehnički* bila moguća tako masovna ubijanja. Bilo je to tehnički moguće, jer smo vidjeli da se to desilo. To je ono potrebno polazište svakog historijskog ispitivanja ove teme. Ta istina traži od nas da je zapamtimo jednostavno: nema i ne može biti debate o postojanju gasnih komora." Potpuni tekst Deklaracije pojavio se u dnevniku *Le Monde* 21. februara 1979. godine.

*67 Fish je tvrdio da se on nije bavio „otkrivanjem" tekstova, već „stvaranjem tekstova i podučavanjem kako stvarati tekstove". On je smatrao da je to pristup koji oslobađa jer njega oslobađa "obaveze da se bude upravu... i zahtijeva samo da se bude zanimljiv ". Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988.), str. 544.

*68 Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis, 1978.), citirano u Novick, That Noble Dream, str. 539.

*69 Richard Rorty, „Pragmatism, Relativism, and Irrationalism", *Consequences of Pragmatism* (Minneapolis, 1982.), str 166. Vidjeti također Novick, *The Noble Dream*, str. 540.

*70 Hilary Putnam, *Truth and History* (Cambridge, 1981.), str. 54.

admit they committed a crime while those who were not present exonerate them –presents a potential problem for the deniers. How can a group that did not witness what happened claim that the perpetrators are innocent while the perpetrators acknowledge their guilt? The deniers explain this problem away by arguing that in the aftermath of World War II the Germans faced a strategic conflict. In order to be readmitted to the "family of nations," they had to confess their wrongdoing, even though they knew that these charges were false. They were in the same situation as a defendant who has been falsely convicted of committing horrendous crimes. He knows he will be more likely to receive a lenient sentence if he admits his guilt, shows contrition, and makes amends. So too the innocent Germans admitted their guilt and made (and continue to make) financial amends.

The defendants at the war crimes trials adopted a similar strategy. They admitted that the Holocaust happened but tried to vindicate themselves by claiming they were not personally guilty. Arthur Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, is the denier who has most fully developed this theory of what I call incrimination to avoid self-incrimination. (For a fuller treatment of this see chapter 7.)

Deniers acknowledge that some Jews were incarcerated in places such as Auschwitz, but, they maintain, as they did at the trial of a Holocaust denier in Canada, it was equipped with "all the luxuries of a country club," including a swimming pool, dance hall, and recreational facilities.*[80] Some Jews may have died, they said, but this was the natural consequence of wartime deprivations.##*

The central assertion for the deniers is that Jews are not victims but victimizers. They "stole" billions in reparations, destroyed Germany's good name by spreading the "myth" of the Holocaust, and won international sympathy because of what they claimed had been done to them. In the paramount miscarriage of injustice, they used the world's sympathy to "displace" another people so that the state of Israel could be established.*[81] This contention relating to the establishment of Israel is a linchpin of their argument. It constitutes a motive for the creation of the Holocaust "legend" by the Jews. Once the deniers add this to the equation, the essential elements of their argument are in place.

Some have a distinct political objective: If there was no Holocaust, what is so wrong with national socialism? It is the Holocaust that gives fascism a bad name. Extremist groups know that every time they extol the virtues of national socialism they must contend with the question: If it was so benign, how was the Holocaust possible? Before fascism can be resurrected, this blot must be removed. At first they attempted to justify it; now they deny it. This is the means by which those who still advocate the principles of fascism attempt to reintroduce it as a viable political system (see chapter 6). For many falsifiers this, not antisemitism, is their primary agenda. It is certainly a central theme for the European deniers on the emerging far right.

When one first encounters them it is easy to wonder who could or would take them seriously. Given the preponderance of evidence from victims, bystanders, and perpetrators, and given the fact that the de [incomplete

tekstovima mogla se i preporučiti. Stavljala je, mada pretjerano, naglasak na ulogu koju igra čitaočeva perspektiva u pripisivanju značenja tekstu. Bila je i podsjetnik da je tumačenje manje moćnih grupa u društvu generalno zanemareno. Ali jačala je i atmosferu u kojoj je bilo teže reći da je neka ideja mimo razuma. U svom najradikalnijem obliku ona je tvrdila da ne postoji nešto što je temelj našeg života, a što zovemo iskustvom. Iskustvo se prenosi jezikom. Naučnici koji su podržavali ovaj dekonstruktivistički pristup nisu sami bili negatori, niti su imali simpatije za stavove negatora; većina nije imala problem da identificira negiranje holokausta kao neosnovano. Ali, pošto dekonstrukcionizam tvrdi da je iskustvo relativno i da nije nešto fiksno i utvrđeno, stvorio je atmosferu dopustivosti za pitanja značenja historijskih događaja i otežalo njihovim zagovornicima da tvrde da ima nešto što je nedopustivo za taj skeptični pristup. Naslijeđe ove vrste mišljenja bilo je evidentno kada su se studenti morali suočiti sa ovim pitanjem. Previše njih jednostavno nije moglo prepoznati negiranje holokausta kao pokret koji nema naučnu,intelektualnu niti racionalnu valjanost. U društvu je stvoren osjećaj – ne samo na univerzitetskim kampusima – zbog kojeg je bilo teško reći: „Ovo nema nikakve veze sa idejama. Ovo je zatucanost".

Ovaj relativistički pristup istini je prožimao arenu popularne kulture, gdje vidimo sve veću fasciniranost i prihvatanje iracionalnog. Jedino područje u kojem je to evidentno je debata koja se stalno pojavljuje u vezi sa ubojstvom predsjednika Kennedyja. Mada ima razloga da se propitaju neki zaključci Warrenove komisije, teorije vezane za ubojstvo koje sve više nailaze na prihvatanje, graniče sa iracionalnim. Ideje o zavjeri u najvišim ešalonima američke vlade spremno se prihvataju kao uvjerljive. Prema filmu J.F.K. Olivera Stonea iz 1991. godine, u Sjedinjenim Državama je bio u toku državni udar u kojem su učestvovali komandant Zajedničke komande, vrhovni sudija Sjedinjenih Država, FBI, CIA, članovi Kongresa i mafija. Stoneov film je postigao da masu zbunjujućih informacija izgleda prilično koherentno, čime je pružio samorazumljivo objašnjenje za ono što se još uvijek činilo kao nevjerovatan događaj. Mnogi gledaoci i kritičari su podjednako razmišljali vrlo ozbiljno o tim optužbama.

U jednom drugom ponižavanju historije, ozbiljno se povjerovalo u obrnute rasističke tvrdnje o bijeloj nauci. Neki ekstremisti, afrocentristi, koji s pravom tvrde da se uloga Afrike u oblikovanju zapadne civilizacije prečesto ignorira, hoće da mi vjerujemo da temelji *svekolike* intelektualne i naučne misli, kako je mi sada poznajemo, potiču sa tog kontinenta. Leonard Jeffries, profesor afroameričkih studija na njujorškom City koledžu, objavio je da su crnci „ljudi sunca", a bijelci „ljudi leda". Sve što je toplo, prihvatljivo i puno nade dolazi od ovih prvih; sve što tlači i što je ledeno i rigidno dolazi od drugih.*[71] U ovim slučajevima, historija se nanovo piše radi političkih ciljeva a naučna historiografiju zamjenjuju, po riječima Henryja Louisa Gatesa Jr., profesora afroameričkih studija na Harvardu, „ideološkim konformizmom".*[72] Naučnici koji su možda nekad odbacili te

*[71] *Time*, 26. avgust 1991., str. 19.

*[72] *Newsweek,* 18. septembar 1991., str. 47.

sentence] appears to be ludicrous to devote much, if any, mental energy to them. They are a group motivated by a strange conglomeration of conspiracy theories, delusions, and neo-Nazi tendencies. The natural inclination of many rational people, including historians and social scientists, is to dismiss them as an irrelevant fringe group. Some have equated them with the flat-earth theorists, worthy at best of bemused attention but not of serious analysis or concern. They regard Holocaust denial as quirky and malicious but do not believe it poses a clear and present danger.

There are a number of compelling reasons not to dismiss the deniers and their beliefs so lightly. First, their methodology has changed in the past decade. Initially Holocaust denial was an enterprise engaged in by a small group of political extremists. Their arguments tended to appear in poorly printed pamphlets and in right-wing newspapers such as the *Spotlight, Thunderbolt,* or the Ku Klux Klan's Crusader. In recent years, however, their productivity has increased, their style has changed, and, consequently, their impact has been enhanced. They disguise their political and ideological agendas.*[82] Their subterfuge enhances the danger they pose. Their publications, including the *Journal of Historical Review* – the leading denial journal – mimic legitimate scholarly works, generating confusion among those who (like the Yale history student) do not immediately recognize the Journal's intention. Their books and journals have been given an academic format, and they have worked hard to find ways to insinuate themselves into the arena of historical deliberation. One of the primary loci of their activities is the college campus, where they have tried to stimulate a debate on the existence of the Holocaust. It is here that they may find their most fertile field, as is evident from the success they have had in placing advertisements that deny the Holocaust in college newspapers (see chapter 10). They have also begun to make active use of computer bulletin boards, where they post their familiar arguments. Certain computer networks have been flooded with their materials. Their objective is to plant seeds of doubt that will bear fruit in coming years, when there are no more survivors or eyewitnesses alive to attest to the truth.

There is an obvious danger in assuming that because Holocaust denial is so outlandish it can be ignored. The deniers' worldview is no more bizarre than that enshrined in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* a report purporting to be the text of a secret plan to establish Jewish world supremacy.*[83] The deniers draw inspiration from the *Protocols,* which has enjoyed a sustained and vibrant life despite the fact it has long been proved a forgery.

Many years ago the prominent German historian Theodor Mommsen warned that it would be a mistake to believe that reason alone was enough to keep people from believing such falsehoods. If this were the case, he said, then racism, antisemitism, and other forms of prejudice would find no home. To expect rational dialogue to constitute the sole barriers against the attempts to deny the Nazi annihilation of European Jewry would be to ignore one of the ultimate lessons of the event itself: Reasoned dialogue has a limited ability to withstand an assault by the mythic power of falsehood, especially when that falsehood is rooted in an age-old social and cultural phenomenon.

sumanute stavove, osjećaju se prisiljenim da ih tretiraju kao nešto što ima neku valjanost.

Ti napadi na historiju i znanje imaju potencijal da dramatično promijene način na koji se utvrđene istine prenose s generacije na generaciju. U konačnici, klima koju oni stvaraju manje je značajna od konkretne istine koju napadaju – bilo da je holokaust ili ubojstvo Kennedyja. To je klima koja jača dekonstrukcionističku historiju na najgori način. Nijedna činjenica, nijedan događaj i nijedan aspekt povijesti nema nikakvo utvrđeno značenje ili sadržaj. Svaka istina se mora ponovo ispričati, svaka činjenica se može ponovo oblikovati. Nema konačne historijske realnosti. Negiranje holokausta je dio ovog našeg fenomena. Nije to napad na historiju jedne pojedinačne grupe. Mada negiranje holokausta može biti napad na historiju istrebljenja Jevreja, u svojoj srži on predstavlja prijetnju svima koji vjeruju da su znanje i sjećanje neki od kamena temeljaca naše civilizacije. Jednako kao što holokaust nije bila tragedija Jevreja, već tragedija civilizacije u kojoj su žrtve bili Jevreji, tako i negiranje holokausta nije prijetnja samo za jevrejsku povijest, već i prijetnja za sve koji vjeruju u krajnju moć razuma. Ono odbacuje razložnu diskusiju na isti način na koji je holokaust odbacio vrijednosti civilizacije. Nesumnjivo je to jedan oblik antisemitizma i, kao takav, predstavlja napad na najtemeljnije vrijednosti razumnog društva. Kao i sa svakim drugim oblikom predrasude, iracionalnom animusu ne može se suprotstaviti normalnim silama istrage, argumenta i debate. Argumenti negatora su u svom korijenu ne samo antisemitski i antiintelektualni, već su, po riječima historičara Charlesa Maiera, „očito rasistička antropologija“.*[73] Negiranje holokausta je apoteoza iracionalizma.

Zbog toga što pokret koji se bavi širenjem tih mitova nije ni nauka ni historiografija, odlučila sam odbaciti termin *revizionizam,* gdje god je to moguće i ja umjesto njega koristim termin negiranje, kako bih ga opisala. Izbor imena revizionizam koji za sebe koriste sami negatori ukazuje na njihovu osnovnu strategiju prevare i iskrivljavanja istine, i njihov pokušaj da sebe predstave kao legitimne historičare koji se bave tradicionalnom praksom rasvjetljavanja prošlosti. Historičarima zapravo termin revizionizam zvuči kao savršeno legitimno. On poziva da se kontroverzna škola historije, poznata kao ”revizionisti Prvog svjetskog rata”, koji su tvrdili da se Nijemci nepravedno smatraju odgovornim za rat i da je, prema tome, Versajski ugovor politički pogrešan dokument zasnovan na lažnoj premisi. Time negatori povezuju sebe i specifičnu historiografsku tradiciju re-evaluacije prošlosti. Uzimanje na sebe odoru revizionista Prvog svjetskog rata i negiranje da imaju bilo kakav cilj osim da šire istinu, predstavlja taktički pokušaj da se stekne intelektualna vjerodostojnost, koja bi im inače bila nedostižna.

*[71] *Time*, 26. avgust 1991., str. 19.

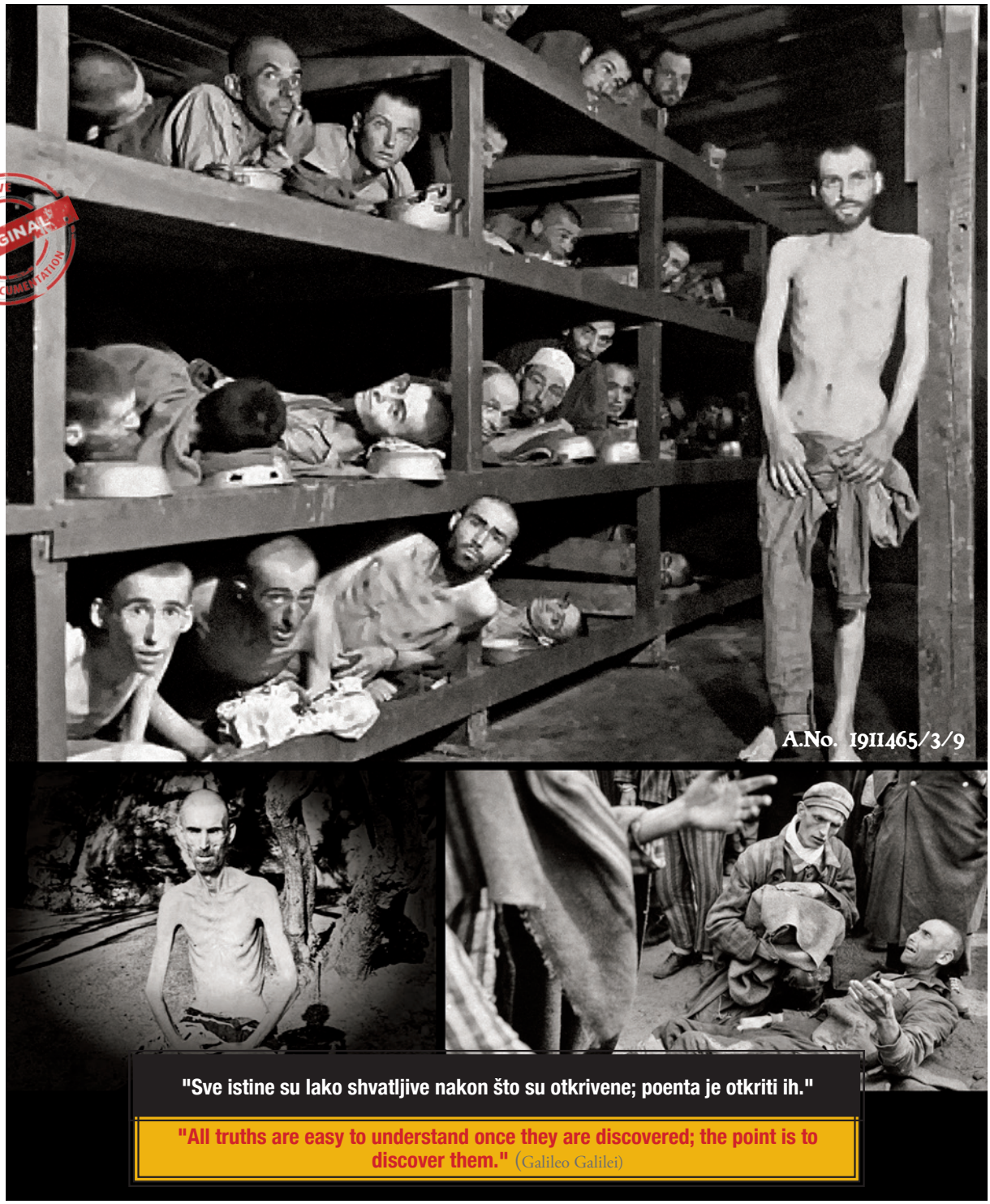
*[72] *Newsweek,* 18. septembar 1991., str. 47.

*[73] Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity* (Cambridge 1988.), str. 64.



"Čovjek će se s vremena na vrijeme spotaknuti o istinu, ali većina njih će ustati i nastaviti hodati kao da se ništa nije desilo."

"Man will occasionally stumble over the truth, but usually manages to pick himself up, walk over or around it, and carry on." (Winston Churchill)


A.No. 1911465/3/9
"Sve istine su lako shvatljive nakon što su otkrivene; poenta je otkriti ih."
"All truths are easy to understand once they are discovered; the point is to discover them." (Galileo Galilei)

There was no rational basis to the Nazi atrocities. There was, however, the mythic appeal of antisemitism. Hitler and the Nazis understood this. Mythical thinking and the force of the irrational have a strange and compelling allure for the educated and uneducated alike. Intellectuals in Nazi Germany were not immune from irrational, mystical thinking. So, too, among the deniers.

The vast majority of intellectuals in the Western world have not fallen prey to these falsehoods. But some have succumbed in another fashion, supporting Holocaust denial in the name of free speech, free inquiry, or intellectual freedom. An absolutist commitment to the liberal idea of dialogue may cause its proponents to fail to recognize that there is a significant difference between reasoned dialogue and anti- intellectual pseudoscientific arguments. They have failed to make the critical distinction between a conclusion, however outrageous it may be, that has been reached through reasonable inquiry and the use of standards of evidence, on the one hand, and ideological extremism that rejects anything that contradicts its preset conclusions, on the other. Thomas Jefferson long ago argued that in a setting committed to the pursuit of truth all ideas and opinions must be tolerated. But he added a caveat that is particularly applicable to this investigation: Reason must be left free to combat error.*[84] One of the ways of combating errors is by making the distinctions between scholarship and myth. In the case of Holocaust denial, we are dealing with people who consciously confuse these categories. As a result reason becomes hostage to a particularly odious ideology.

Reasoned dialogue, particularly as it applies to the understanding of history, is rooted in the notion that there exists a historical reality that – though it may be subjected by the historian to a multiplicity of interpretations – is ultimately found and not made.*[85] The historian does not create, the historian uncovers. The validity of a historical interpretation is determined by how well it accounts for the facts. Though the historian's role is to act as a neutral observer trying to follow the facts, there is increasing recognition that the historian brings to this enterprise his or her own values and biases. Consequently there is no such thing as value-free history. However, even the historian with a particular bias is dramatically different from the proponents of these pseudo reasoned ideologies. The latter freely shape or create information to buttress their convictions and reject as implausible any evidence that counters them. They use the language of scientific inquiry, but theirs is a purely ideological enterprise.

This absolutist commitment to free inquiry and the power of irrational mythical thinking at least partially explain how the deniers have managed to find defenders among various establishment figures and institutions. Even the supposed protectors of Western liberal ideals of reasoned dialogue can fall prey to the absolutist notion that all arguments are equally legitimate arenas of debate. By arguing that the deniers' views, however ugly, must be given a fair hearing, they take a positive Western value to an extremist end. They fail to recognize that the deniers' contentions are a composite of claims founded on racism, extremism, and virulent antisemitism. The issue is not interpretation: The challenge presented by the deniers is whether

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Revizionizam je također naziv dat savremenijem pristupu historijskom istraživanju. Povezuje ses poznatim historičarom Williamom Applemanom Williamsom, koji je nekad bio predsjednik Organizacije američkih historičara, i koji se bavi pitanjima američke vanjske politike, posebno u korijenima Hladnog rata i sukobima između Zapada i komunističkog svijeta. Pošto ovaj oblik revizionizma kritizira američku vanjsku politiku, koju vidi kao politiku motiviranu željom za hegemonijom putem otvorenog imperijalizma, on je koristan model za negatore.*[74] Dok se mnogi historičari žestoko ne slažu sa tim posebnim uklonom, svi se slažu da su za "Školu iz Wisconsina", kako su sljedbenici Williamsa, i njegovi nasljednici postali poznati", kanoni dokaza jednako neoborivi kao što su za sve druge historičare. Nasuprot tome, dokazi negatorima ne igraju nikakvu ulogu.

Konačno, ja odbacujem termin revizionistički, zato što je na izvjesnom nivou revizionizam ono čime se bave svi legitimni historičari. Historičari nisu naprosto hroničari – oni ne pričaju ponovno neku priču. Svi oni pokušavaju donijeti neki novi uvid ili razumijevanje priče koja je već poznata, tražeći neki novi način tumačenja prošlosti kako bi nam pomogli da bolje razumijemo sadašnjost. To tumačenje uvijek uključuje izvjesno neprestano „revidiranje" prošlosti. Po samoj svojoj prirodi, posao tumačenja ne može biti čisto objektivan. Ali on se temelji na određenom korpusu neoborivih dokaza: ropstvo se desilo; također su se desili i crna kuga i holokaust.

Da bi sačuvali fasadu grupe čiji je jedini cilj potraga za istinom, negatori svoje publikacije pune člancima koji, naizgled, nemaju ništa sa Drugim svjetskim ratom, već su osmišljeni da pokažu da je njihovo nastojanje jedno globalno nastojanje da se ospore i revidiraju historijske laži. Članci o Građanskom ratu, Prvom svjetskom ratu i Pearl Harboru, također su u sadržajunjihovih časopisa, kao sredstvo ilustriranja kako su etablirani historičari, sa krajnje političkim motivima, iznova stalno iznosili iskrivljene poglede na historiju. Negatori ciljaju na to da podriju čitaočevu vjeru u predanost „pravovjernih" historičara prenošenju istine. Oni tvrde da ta taktika iskrivljavanja, koju u političke svrhe primjenjuju „dvorski" historičari, svoj vrhunac dosegla kroz „mit" o holokaustu

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Kakve tvrdnje nude negatori? Holokaust – pokušaj istrebljenja jevrejskog naroda – nikad se nije desio. Tipičan pokušaj negatora da sakriju istinu je njihova tvrdnja da ne poriču da je holokausta bilo, već samo da nije postojao plan ili pokušaj da se jevrejski narod istrijebi.*[75] Oni su iskrivili i dekonstruirali definiciju pojma holokaust. Ali, ta i sve popratne tvrdnje usađene su u cijeli niz drugih argumenata. Oni počinju od relativno bezazlene premise: rat je zlo. Pripisivanje krivice jednoj strani u konačnici je besmisleni pothvat. Pošto se središnji zločin za koji su optuženi nacisti nije nikada desio, onda ustvari nema nikakve razlike u ovom ratu, kao i u bilo kojem drugom

*[74] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, str. 448ff.

*[75] Mark Lane, pismo uredniku, *Los Angeles Daily Journal,* 13. novembar 1991.

disinformation should be granted the same status and intellectual privileges as real history.

I reiterate that I am not advocating the muzzling of the deniers. They have the right to free speech, however abhorrent. However, they are using that right not as a shield, as it was intended by the Constitution, but as a sword. There is a qualitative difference between barring someone's right to speech and providing him or her with a platform from which to deliver a message. Quick to exploit this situation, the deniers have engaged in a calculated manipulation of two principles dear to Americans: free speech and the search for historical truth.

In the pages that follow I shall examine both the *modus operandi* of Holocaust denial and the impact it has had on contemporary culture. I undertake this task with some hesitation, since readers might wonder how marginal the deniers can be if historians do not simply dismiss them. Does scholars' attention suggest that they are not merely falsifiers? Does research on them give them the publicity they crave?[#*#] Indeed, deniers are quick to pounce joyfully on any discussion of their work as evidence of the serious consideration their views are receiving.

In 1981 President Reagan, speaking at the official commemoration of the Days of Remembrance of the Holocaust, related how "horrified" he was to learn that there were people who claimed that the Holocaust was an invention. In its newsletter the Institute for Historical Review, the leading disseminator of Holocaust denial material, cited the president's comments to demonstrate Holocaust denial's "vibrancy" and "just how far Revisionism has come since our founding"[*86] – a response reminiscent of the witticism: I don't care what they say about me as long as they say something.

The deniers understand how to gain respectability for outrageous and absolutely false ideas. The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins has described how this process operates in the academic arena. Professor X publishes a theory despite the fact that reams of documented information contradict his conclusions. In the "highest moral tones" he expresses his disregard for all evidence that sheds doubt on his findings. He engages in *ad hominem* attacks on those who have authored the critical works in this field and on the people silly enough to believe them. The scholars who have come under attack by this professor are provoked to respond. Before long he has become "the controversial Prof. X" and his theory is discussed seriously by nonprofessionals, that is, journalists. He soon becomes a familiar figure on television and radio, where he "explains" his ideas to interviewers who cannot challenge him or demonstrate the fallaciousness of his argument.[*87]

While we have not yet descended to the point at which respectful reviews of denial literature appear in *Time, Newsweek,* or *The New Yorker,* virtually all else has evolved as Sahlins described. Normal and accepted standards of scholarship, including the proper use of evidence, are discarded. What remains, in the word of this eminent anthropologist, is a "scandal."

The danger that my research might inadvertently give the deniers a certain stature is not my only cause for trepidation. Another more serious problem is inherent in the process of refuting the deniers. It is possible, as the French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet has observed, that in the course of answering the

između, pobjednika i pobijeđenih.*76 Ipak, oni tvrde, ako se krivica treba prepisati nekome, nisu Nijemci ti koji su krivi za agresiju i zločine tokom rata. Stvarne zločine protiv civilizacije počinili su Amerikanci, Rusi, Britanci i Francuzi protiv Nijemaca. Zločini koje su saveznici počinili nad Nijemcima bili su – po riječima Harryja Elmera Barnesa, nekad istaknutog historičara i jednog od ključnih ličnosti historije sjevernoameričkog negiranja holokausta – „suroviji i bolniji nego navodna istrebljenja u gasnim komorama“.*77 Kada priznamo da su saveznici bili agresori, moramo se obratiti Nijemcima i, po riječima Austina Appa, profesora engleske književnosti koji je postao jedan od glavnih teoretičara „negiranja holokausta“, i zamoliti ih „da nam oproste za užasna zlodjela koja je naša politika izazvala i koja su im učinjena“.*78

Za neke negatore, Hitler je bio čovjek mira, kojeg su u rat gurnuli agresivni saveznici.*79 Po njima, Nijemci su stradali u bombardiranju Dresdena, izgladnjivanjem tokom rata, invaziji, u poslijeratnim transferima stanovništva iz raznih područja Njemačke, koja su postala dio poslijeratne Poljske, od osvete pobjednika u Nirnbergu i surovog maltretiranja koje su nad njima činili sovjetski i savezнички okupatori. Prikazani kao kriminalna nacija koja je počinila neshvatljiva zlodjela, Njemačka je postala i ostala žrtva emocionalne i naučne agresije svijeta.

Ali, pokazati da je holokaust bio mit je ono što je stvarna agenda negatora. Oni tvrde da je lažna optužba da su Nijemci počinili najodvratnija zlodjela u ljudskoj historiji bila krajnje nepravedna. Poslijeratna otrovna mržnja prema Njemačkoj bila je tako ekstremna da se Nijemcima bilo nemoguće odbraniti. Prema tome, umjesto da se bore protiv sramnih optužbi, oni su odlučili priznati svoje saučesništvo. Ta prividna kontradikcija – da počinioci priznaju da su počinili zločin, dok ih oni koji nisu tu ni bili prisutni oslobađaju krivice – predstavlja potencijalni problem za negatore. Kako može neka grupa, koja nije bila svjedok onoga što se desilo, tvrditi da su počinioci nevini, kad počinioci sami priznaju svoju krivicu. Negatori ovaj problem objašnjavaju tvrdnjom da su, nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, Nijemci bili suočeni sa strateškim konfliktom. Kako bi ponovo bili prihvaćeni u „porodicu nacija“, oni su morali priznati svoja nedjela, mada su znali da su te optužbe lažne. Oni su bili u situaciji u kojoj se nađe optuženi koji su lažno optužen da je počinio užasne zločine, ali zna da će vjerovatno dobiti blažu kaznu ako priznaju krivicu, pokaju se i plate nadoknadu. Isto su tako nevini Nijemci priznali krivicu i plaćali (i nastavili plaćati) finansijsku nadoknadu.

Optuženi na suđenjima za ratne zločine usvojili su sličnu strategiju. Oni su priznali da se holokaust desio, ali su pokušali sebe odbraniti tvrdnjom da oni nisu *lično* krivi. Arthur Butz, profesor elektrotehnike na Univerzitetu Northwestern je negator koji

*76 Razgovori sa Robertom Faurissonom, *Vichy*, Francuska, juni 1989.

*77 Harry Elmer Barnes, „Revisionism: A Key to Peace“, *Rampart Journal* (Spring 1966.), str.3.

*78 Austin J. App, *History's Most Terrifying Peace,* str. 106, citirano u „Prevent World War III“ n.d, str. 7.

*79 Harry Elemer Barnes, *Revisionism and Brainwashing: A Survey of the War-Guilt Question in Germany After Two World Wars* (n.p, 1962), str. 33 (u daljem tekstu se navodi kao *ispiranje mozga*).

deniers an "exterminationist" school will be created in opposition to the "revisionist" one.[*88] Such was the case when radio and television producers wondered why I wouldn't talk to the "other side." Deniers have, in fact, already taken to calling those who do research on the Holocaust "exterminationists."

Despite these dangers I have undertaken this work for a number of reasons. First, denial of an individual's or a group's persecution, degradation, and suffering is the ultimate cruelty – on some level worse than the persecution itself. Those who have not experienced the Holocaust or the sting of antisemitism may find it difficult to understand the vulnerability it endangers in the victim. So, too, those who have never experienced racism cannot fully grasp the pain and anger it causes. This book is, in part, an attempt to convey the pain the deniers inflict. In writing it I have often found myself angry with them despite the facts that they live in a strange mental wonderland and that neither they nor the nonsense they spread are worthy of my anger. Although we do not take their conclusions seriously, contradictory as it may sound, we must make their method the subject of study. We must do so not because of the inherent value of their ideas but because of the fragility of reason and society's susceptibility to such farfetched notions. Many powerful movements have been founded by people living in similar irrational wonderlands, national socialism foremost among them.

I have also delved into this distasteful topic because of my conviction that only when society – particularly that portion of society committed to intellectual inquiry – comprehends the full import of this group's intentions will there be any hope that history will not be reshaped to fit a variety of pernicious motives. Time need not be wasted in answering each and every one of the deniers' contentions. It would be a never-ending effort to respond to arguments posed by those who falsify findings, quote out of context, and dismiss reams of testimony because it counters their arguments. It is the speciousness of their arguments, not the arguments themselves, that demands a response. The way they confuse and distort is what I wish to demonstrate; above all, it is essential to expose the illusion of reasoned inquiry that conceals their extremist views.

It is also crucial to understand that this is not an arcane controversy. The past and, more important, our perception of it have a powerful impact on the way we respond to contemporary problems. Deniers are well aware of history's significance. Not by chance did Harry Elmer Barnes believe that history could serve as a "means for a deliberate and conscious instrument of social transformation."[*89] History matters. Whether the focus be the Middle East, Vietnam, the Balkans, the Cold War, or slavery in this country, the public's perception of past events and their meaning has a tremendous influence on how it views and responds to the present. Adolf Hitler's rise to power was facilitated by the artful way in which he advanced views of recent German history that appealed to the masses. It did not matter if his was a distorted version, it appealed to the German people because it laid the blame for their current problems elsewhere. Although history will always be at a disadvantage when contending with the mythic power of irrational prejudices, it must contend nonetheless.

je najpotpunije razradio teoriju onoga što ja zovem inkriminacija kako bi se izbjegla samoinkriminacija. (za potpuniju obradu ovoga, vidjeti Poglavlje 7).

Negatori priznaju da su neki Jevreji ubijani na mjestima poput Aušvica, ali, tvrde da je – kao što je to učinjeno na suđenju jednom negatoru holokausta u Kanadi – Aušvic je bio opremljen luksuzom kakav ima jedan elitni klub, „uključujući bazen, plesnu dvoranu i prostorije za rekreaciju".[*80] Neki Jevreji su možda umrli, govorili su oni, ali to je bila prirodna posljedica oskudice tokom rata.[**d]

Glavna tvrdnja za negatore je da Jevreji nisu bili žrtve, već su oni druge učinili žrtvama. Oni su „pokrali" milijarde u reparacijama, uništili dobro ime Njemačke, šireći „mit" o holokaustu, i osvojili su međunarodne simpatije zbog onoga što su tvrdili da im je učinjeno. Najveća moguća nepravda je da su oni koristili simpatiju svijeta da „izmjeste" jedan drugi narod, kako bi se mogla uspostaviti država Izrael.[*81] Ova tvrdnja vezana za uspostavu Izraela je glavni dio njihove argumentacije. Ona je bila motiv Jevreja da kreiraju „legendu" o holokaustu. Kada negatori ovo dodaju na jednačinu, bitni elementi njihove argumentacije su svi na broju.

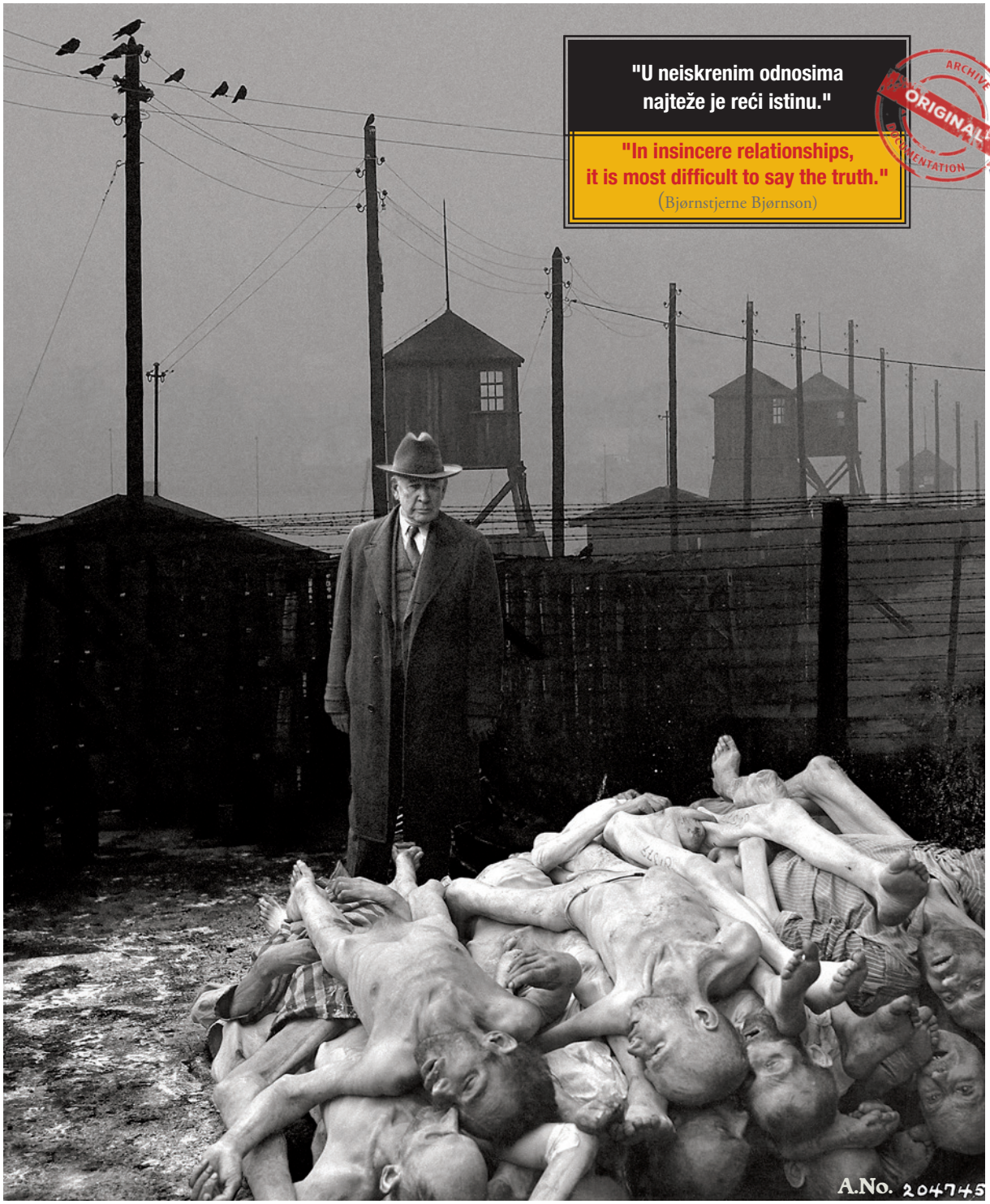
Neki imaju jasan politički cilj: ako nije bilo holokausta, u čemu je onda nacionalsocijalizam pogrešan? Holokaust je taj koji je fašizmu dao loše ime. Ekstremističke grupe znaju da svaki put kada nacionalsocijalizmu daju vrijednosti, oni moraju odgovoriti na pitanje: ako je bio tako benigan, kako je bio moguć holokaust? Prije nego što se fašizam obnovi, ova mrlja mora biti uklonjena. Prvo su to pokušali opravdati; sada to negiraju. Ovo je sredstvo pomoću kojeg oni, koji još uvijek zagovaraju načela fašizma, pokušavaju fašizam ponovno uvesti kao mogući politički sistem (vidjeti Poglavlje 6). Za mnoge falsifikatore to je, a ne antisemitizam, njihova primarna agenda. Svakako je to središnja tema evropskih negatora na krajnjoj desnici, koja se sve više pojavljuje.

Kada se čovjek prvi put s njima sretne lako se čuditi kako ih iko može shvatiti ozbiljno. S obzirom na masu dokaza prikupljenih od žrtava, posmatrača i počinilaca, i s obzirom na činjenicu da se argumenti negatora zasad nalaze izvan domena naučne argumentacije, čini nam se da je smiješno posvetiti im toliko – ako uopće – mentalne energije. Oni su grupa motivirana čudnom konglomeracijom teorija zavjere, samozavaravanja i neonacističkih tendencija. Prirodna sklonost mnogih racionalnih ljudi, uključujući historičare i sociologe, je da ih

[*80] Kanadske novine koje su izvještavale sa suđenja redovno su imale naslove poput: „Nacistički logor je imao bazen, plesnu dvoranu " (*Toronto Sun,* 13. februar 1985.); „Zatvorenici u Aušvicu su večerali, plesali uz orkestar, svjedoči Zundelov svjedok" (*Toronto Star,* 13. februar 1985.).

[**d] Očito imitirajući metode koje primjenjuju negatori, grupica Amerikanaca, predvođena jednom ženom iz Kalifornije, Lillian Baker, iste stvari je tvrdila za japanske koncentracione logore u Sjedinjenim Državama u Drugom svjetskom ratu. U Manzanaru, zloglasnom koncentracionom logoru za Amerikance japanskog porijekla, držani su samo „dobrovoljni posjetioci". Oni su imali kraljevski tretman, imali su sve što im treba i „sve što su mogli pojesti, sve o trošku naše vlade". Kao i za Jevreje, Baker i njena grupa tvrde da savremeni Amerikanci japanskog porijekla, koji sada propagiraju laž, imaju razlog zašto to čine – da skrenu pažnju sa saučesništva svoje zajednice sa Japanom tokom rata (*Los Angeles Times,* 28. avgust i 6. decembar 1991. godine).

[*81] Razgovori sa Robertom Faurissonom, *Vichy,* Francuska, juni 1989.


"U neiskrenim odnosima najteže je reći istinu."
"In insincere relationships, it is most difficult to say the truth."
(Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson)
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odbaci kao irelevantnu rubnu grupu. Neki ih izjednačavaju sa pronosiocima teorije da je zemlja ravna i koji, u najboljem slučaju, zaslužuju podsmijeh, ali ne i ozbiljnu analizu i zabrinutost. Oni negiranje holokausta smatraju čudnim i malicioznim, ali ne vjeruju da predstavlja očitu i prisutnu prijetnju.

Postoji izvjestan broj jakih razloga da se ne odbace tako olako ni negatori ni njihova uvjerenja. Prvo, njihova se metodologija promijenila u posljednjoj deceniji. U početku, negiranje holokausta bio je pothvat kojim se bavila tek grupica političkih ekstremista. Njihovi argumenti obično su se pojavljivali u loše štampanim pamfletima i desničarskim novinama, kao što su *Spotlight, Thunderbolt* ili *Crusader,* koji je izdavao Ku Klux Klan. Posljednjih godina, međutim, njihova produktivnost je povećana, njihov stil se promijenio i, konsekventno, njihov se utjecaj pojačao. Oni svoje političke i ideološke agende dobro prikrivaju.[*82] Opasniji su zbog svog lukavstva. Njihove publikacije, uključujući *Journal of Historical Review* – vodeći časopis koji je posvećen negiranju – imitiraju legitimne naučne radove, stvarajući tako zabunu među onima koji (kao onaj student historije sa Yalea) ne prepoznaju odmah namjeru *Journala.* Njihove knjige i časopisi imaju akademski format i veoma se trude da nađu načina da se uguraju u krugove koji se bave istinskim historijskim razmatranjima.

Jedno od primarnih mjesta njihove aktivnosti su univerzitetski kampusi, gdje pokušavaju potaknuti debatu o postojanju holokausta. Tu oni mogu naći svoje najplodnije tlo, kao što je očito iz uspjeha koji su imali u plasiranju oglasa u univerzitetskim novinama u kojem se poriče holokaust (vidjeti Poglavlje 10). Oni su također počeli aktivno koristiti internetske portale, gdje stavljaju svoje dobro poznate argumente. Određene kompjuterske mreže su zatrpane njihovom građom. Njihov cilj je posaditi sjeme sumnje koje će uroditi plodom kasnije, u predstojećim godinama, onda kad više ne bude ni preživjelih ni svjedoka da potvrde pravu istinu.

Očita opasnost krije se u pretpostavci da je negiranje holokausta toliko bizarno da ga se može ignorirati. Pogled na svijet negatora nije bizarniji od onog koji je usađen u Protokole sionskih mudraca, izvještaj u kojem se tvrdi da je tekst o tajnom planu za uspostavu supremacije Jevreja nad svijetom.[*83] Negatori crpe nadahnuće iz tih Protokola, koji su veoma dugo prisutni i žive unatoč činjenici da je odavno dokazano da su falsifikat.

Prije mnogo godina, istaknuti njemački historičar Theodor Mommsen upozorio je da bi bilo pogrešno vjerovati da je samo razum dovoljan da ljude odvrati od vjerovanja u takve krivotvorine. Da je tako, rekao je on, onda rasizam, antisemitizam i drugi oblici predrasuda neće naći plodno tlo. Očekivati da racionalan dijalog bude jedina barijera pokušajima da se porekne nacističko istrebljenje evropskih Jevreja, značilo bi ignorirati jednu od krajnjih lekcija samog tog događaja: razuman dijalog ima ograničenu sposobnost da izdrži pod udarom mitske snage laži, pogotovo kada je ta laž usađena u jedan vjekovni društveni i

[*82] Maier, *The Unmasterable Past,* str. 64.

[*83] Colin Holmes, „Historical Revisionism in Britain, The Polities of History", u *Trends in Historical Revisionism: History as a Political Device* (London, 1985.), str. 8.

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I was reminded of the potency of history when, on the eve of the Louisiana gubernatorial election in 1991, one of David Duke's followers remarked in a television interview that there was all this talk about Duke's past views on Jews and blacks and his Ku Klux Klan activities. That, the follower observed, was the past; what relevance he wondered, did it have for this election? The answer was obvious: His past had everything to do with his quest for election; it shaped who he was and who he remained. It has never been more clearly illustrated that history matters. (Neither was it pure happenstance that the late Paul de Man, one of the founders of deconstructionism, also falsified his past and reworked his personal history.)*[90]

And if history matters, its practitioners matter even more. The historian's role has been compared to that of the canary in the coal mine whose death warned the miners that dangerous fumes were in the air – "any poisonous nonsense and the canary expires."*[91] There is much poisonous nonsense in the atmosphere these days. The deniers hope to achieve their goals by winning recognition as a legitimate scholarly cadre and by planting seeds of doubt in the younger generation. Only by recognizing the threat denial poses to both the past and the future will we ultimately thwart their efforts.

NOTES

In-text notes

* Ironically, those who conceived of the poll originally considered omitting this question because they assumed that the affirmative responses would be negligible.

** According to certain surveys the number who believe Elvis Presley is alive is in the double digits.

*** The University of Michigan editors displayed the same confused thinking that typified their colleagues' behavior two years earlier. While explicitly rejecting the notion that the Holocaust was a hoax, the editors ran the ad as an op-ed piece in the paper's Viewpoint section. They claimed that because the first time they ran the ad there had been such a strong reaction on campus, this new ad was "relevant" to the community. (One could argue that if there had been a homophobic incident on the campus, everything homophobes wrote would be relevant to the university community.) The editors' primary reason for running the ad was that if it was "suppress[ed]" the notions it expounded "would fester and grow." The editors contended that it was their responsibility to make sure that such claims received the "scrutiny they deserve." While they did not fall prey to a mistaken notion that this was a First Amendment issue, the wisdom of their tactic is open to question. They could have published an analytical article that used segments of the ad to explain Holocaust denial's tactics and nonsensical nature. Rather they gave this nonsense the status of a viewpoint," something the deniers are quick to exploit. (*Michigan Daily,* October 6, 1993)

The editors of Brandeis University's Justice took a similar approach and proclaimed that they ran the ad so readers would "know that such thinking existed." When they were castigated by other students on campus for their actions, the editors condemned the students for their lack of "empathy." (*The Justice,* December 7, 1993; *New York Times,* December 12, 1993)

kulturalni fenomen. Nema racionalne osnove za nacističke zločine. Bilo je, međutim, mitske privlačnosti u antisemitizmu. Hitler i nacisti su to shvatili. Mitsko razmišljanje i snaga iracionalnog imaju snažnu i neodoljivu privlačnost podjednako za obrazovane i neobrazovane. Intelektualci u nacističkoj Njemačkoj nisu bili imuni na iracionalno mistično mišljenje. Tako je i sa negatorima. Velika većina intelektualaca u Tako je i sa negatorima. Velika većina intelektualaca u zapadnom svijetu nije postala plijen tih laži. Ali, neki su popustili na jedan drugi način, podržavajući negiranje holokausta u ime slobode govora, slobode istraživanja ili intelektualne slobode. Apsolutistička predanost liberalnoj ideji dijaloga može njene zagovornike navesti da ne prepoznaju da postoji bitna razlika između razumnog dijaloga i antiintelektualne pseudonaučne argumentacije. Oni ne uspijevaju napraviti kritičku distinkciju između zaključka, koliko god bio nategnut, do kojeg se došlo kroz razumno istraživanje i korištenje standarda dokaza, s jedne strane, i ideološkog ekstremizma koji odbacuje sve što je suprotno njihovim prethodno utvrđenim zaključcima, s druge. Thomas Jefferson je davno tvrdio da, kad se posvetimo težnji za istinom, sve ideje i mišljenja moraju biti tolerirana. Ali je on dodao izuzetak koji je posebno primjenjiv na ovo istraživanje: razumu se mora dati sloboda da se bori protiv greške.[*84] Jedan od načina borbe protiv greške je praviti distinkciju između naučnog rada i mita. U slučaju negiranja holokausta, mi se bavimo ljudima koji svjesno brkaju te kategorije. Kao rezultat, razum postaje talac jedne posebno odvratne ideologije. Razum i dijalog, posebno kako se on primjenjuje na razumijevanje historije, usađen je u samy ideju da postoji historijska realnost do koje se – mada je historičar može na više načina tumačiti – u konačnici otkrivena, a nije izmišljena.[*85] Historičar ne kreira, historičar otkriva. Valjanost historijskog tumačenja utvrđuje se time koliko su dobro date činjenice. Mada uloga historičara jeste da djeluje kao neutralni posmatrač koji pokušava slijediti činjenice, sve se više priznaje da historičar u taj pothvat unosi i svoje vlastite vrijednosti i predrasude. Konsekventno, nema nečega što bi se zvalo historija oslobođena vrijednosti. Međutim, čak i historičar sa nekim posebnim uklonom dramatično se razlikuje od propagatora tih pseudorazumnih ideologija. Oni slobodno oblikuju ili kreiraju informacije kako bi pojačali svoja ubjeđenja, a odbacili kao nevjerovatne sve dokaze koji su tome suprotni. Oni koriste jezik naučnog istraživanja, ali je njihov pothvat čisto ideološki. Ova apsolutistička posvećenost slobodnom istraživanju i moć iracionalnog mitskog mišljenja, barem djelomično objašnjava kako su negatori uspjeli naći svoje branitelje među raznim etabliranim ličnostima i institucijama. Čak i pretpostavljeni zvaničnici koji drže do zapadnih liberalnih ideala razumnog dijaloga mogu postati plijen apsolutističke ideje da svi argumenti pripadaju legitimnoj areni za debatu. Tvrdeći da gledišta negatore, koliko god da su ružna, moraju biti pravično saslušana, oni ekstremistima predaju u ruke pozitivne zapadne

[*84] Maier, *The Unmasterable Past,* str. 64.

[*85] Colin Holmes, „Historical Revisionism in Britain, The Polities of History“, u *Trends in Historical Revisionism: History as a Political Device* (London, 1985.), str. 8.

The editor of the *Stanford Daily* published an eloquent and impassioned editorial attacking Holocaust deniers and ran the ad, with the address for additional information obscured, as a sidebar to the editorial. Students and faculty protested that he could have accomplished the same ends with the editorial but without the ad. (*Stanford Daily,* October 26, 1993)

When the Notre Dame *Observer* ran the ad as a result of an oversight," it received a long letter from a student who compared the deniers' claims to other historical assumptions that have been altered as a result of scholarly inquiry including the Ptolemaic view that the earth is the center of the solar system. This student granted the deniers exactly what they wished: they became a legitimate other side that would eventually be vindicated by the evidence. (*The Observer,* November 18, 19, 23, 1993)

Buchanan's statements were made as part of his defense of John Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland auto worker accused of being Ivan the Terrible, a notorious camp guard and a mass murderer at Treblinka. It is not Buchanan's defense of Demjanjuk with which I take issue – it is his use of denial arguments to do so. Buchanan has consistently opposed any prosecution of Nazi war criminals.

It is ironic that Duke's efforts to win the Republican presidential nomination were overshadowed by Buchanan, who had earlier advocated that the Republicans stop feeling guilty about their "exploitation" of the Willie Horton issue and instead take a "hard look at Duke's portfolio of winning issues" (*New Republic,* October 15, 1990, p. 19).

His solution to unemployment would be to declare the employment of a female a "criminal offense."

*# It is ironic that this internationally known professor should have become such a defender of Faurisson's right to speak when he would have denied those same rights to proponents of America's involvement in Vietnam. In *American Power and the New Mandarins* he wrote, "By accepting the presumption of legitimacy of debate on certain issues, one has already lost one's humanity." Though written long before the Faurisson affair, his comments constitute the most accurate assessment of his own behavior.

 # Chomsky's behavior can be contrasted with that of thirty-four of France's leading historians who, in response to Faurisson's efforts, issued a declaration protesting his attempt to deny the Holocaust. The declaration read in part: "Everyone is free to interpret a phenomenon like the Hitlerite genocide according to his own philosophy. Everyone is free to compare it with other enterprises of murder committed earlier, at the same time, later. Everyone is free to offer such or such kind of explanations; everyone is free, to the limit, to imagine or to dream that these monstrous deeds did not take place. Unfortunately, they did take place and no one can deny their existence without committing an outrage on the truth. It is not necessary to ask how **technically such mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every historical inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple terms: there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers." The full text of the declaration appeared in *Le Monde,* February 21, 1979.

In an apparent emulation of the deniers, a small group of Americans, led by a woman in California, Lillian Baker, has made the same claims about the World War II Japanese concentration camps in the United States. Manzanar, the infamous concentration camp for Japanese Americans, contained only "voluntary visitors." They were treated royally, given every amenity, and had "all they could eat at our government's expense."' Like the Jews, Baker and her group claim, the contemporary Japanese Americans who foster this hoax have a rationale for doing so – to divert attention from their community's complicity with Japan during the war (*Los Angeles Times,* August 28 and December 6, 1991).

*## Robert Lifton expressed similar ambivalences about the potential impact of his research on doctors who participated in the Nazi killing system. He feared that his explanation would sound as if he were condoning or rationalizing their actions (Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing, and the Psychology of Genocide* [New York, 1986], pp. xi-xii).

vrijednosti. Oni ne prepoznaju da su tvrdnje negatora samo mješavina tvrdnji zasnovanih na rasizmu, ekstremizmu i žilavom antisemitizmu. Ovo pitanje se ne tiče tumačenja: izazov koji predstavljaju negatori je da li dezinformaciji treba dati isti status i intelektualne privilegije kao pravoj historiji.

Ja ponavljam da ja ne zagovaram da se negatori ušutkaju. Oni imaju pravo na slobodu govora, koliko kod da su odurni. Međutim, oni koriste to pravo, ne kao štit, što mu je namjera upisana u Ustav, već kao mač. Postoji kvalitativna razlika između zabrane nečijeg prava na govor i pružanja osobi platforme sa koje će prenijeti poruku. Brzi u eksploataciji te situacije, negatori se bave proračunatim manipuliranjem dva principa, tako draga Amerikancima: slobode govora i traganja za historijskom istinom. Na sljedećim stranicama ja ću razmotriti kako modus operandi negiranja holokausta tako i efekt koji ima na savremenu kulturu. Ja ovaj zadatak uzimam uz izvjesno oklijevanje, pošto se čitalac može pitati koliko negatori mogu biti marginalni, ako ih historičari naprosto ne odbace. Da li pažnja naučnika sugerira da oni nisu puki falsifikatori? Da li istraživanje njihovog djelovanja njima daje publicitet za kojim žude.**[e]

I doista, negatori se jako brzo i radosno uključuju u *svaku diskusiju* o njihovom radu jer im to dokaz da se njihovo gledište uzima ozbiljno. Godine 1981, predsjednik Regan, govoreći na zvaničnom obilježavanju Dana sjećanja na holokaust, izjavio je koliko je „užasnut“ bio kad je shvatio da ima ljudi koji tvrde da je holokaust izmišljotina. U informativnom letku, Institut za historijsku reviziju, vodeća organizacija koja širi građu negiranja holokausta, naveo je predsjednikove komentare kako bi pokazao da je negiranje holokausta „živo“ i „kao dokaz koliko je uspjeha revizionizam postigao od samog početka“*[86] – što je odgovor koji podsjeća na onu duhovitu opasku: nije mi važno šta govore o meni, dok god nešto govore. Negatori razumiju kako postići da se poštuju nevjerovatne, apsolutno lažne ideje. Antropolog Marshall Sahlins je opisao kako ovaj proces djeluje na akademskoj sceni. Profesor X objavi teoriju, unatoč činjenici da je masa dokumentarnih informacija suprotna njegovim zaključcima. U „najvišim moralnim tonovima“ on izražava svoje nepoštovanje prema svim dokazima koji bacaju sumnju na njegove nalaze. Onda kreće u napad *ad hominem* na one koji su autori kritičkih radova na tom polju kao i na ljude koji su dovoljno blesavi da mu povjeruju. Naučnici, koji su predmet napada ovog profesora, budu isprovocirani da mu odgovore. Ne prođe mnogo vremena i on postaje „kontroverzni profesor X“, a o njegovoj teoriji ozbiljno raspravljaju neprofesionalci, tj. novinari. On uskoro postaje poznata ličnost na televiziji i radiju, gdje „objašnjava“ svoje ideje novinarima koji mu ne mogu oponirati ili mu pokazati koliko je njegova argumentacija pogrešna.*[87]

**[e] Robert Lifton izrazio je slične nedoumice o potencijalnom utjecaju njegovog istraživanja na ljekare koji su učestvovali u nacističkom sistemu ubijanja. On je strahovao da bi njegovo objašnjenje moglo zvučati kao da on opravdava ili racionalizira te njihove akcije. Lifton, T*he Nazi Doctors' Medical killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986. godine, str. XI-XII).

*[86] Institute for Historical Review, *Newsletter* (april 1987.), str. 1.

*[87] *New York Review of Books,* 22. mart 1979., str. 47. Vidjeti također Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory,* str. 3-7.

End-of-volume notes Chapter 1. Canaries in the Mine

1. Dumas Malone, *The Sage of Monticello: Jefferson and His Time,* vol. 6 (Boston, 1981), pp. 417-18.

2. Marvin Perry, "Denying the Holocaust History as Myth and Delusion," *Encore American and Worldwide News,* Sept. 1981, pp. 28-33.

3. For an example of this see how the deniers have treated Anne Frank's diary. David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, eds., *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York, 1989), pp. 91-101.

4. The incident occurred at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis on February 9, 1990. It was subsequently revealed that the teacher had been arrested for stealing war memorabilia from a local museum *(Indianapolis News,* Feb. 16, 1990).

5. *Indianapolis Star,* Feb. 22 and 23, 1990.

6. *The Sagamore,* Feb. 26, 1990.

7. "Like your uncle from Peoria," was how actress Whoopi Goldberg described the neo-Nazi Tom Metzger, whom she hosted on her television show in September 1992. Metzger, an ardent racist and antisemite, advocates the forced racial segregation of blacks. Goldberg acknowledged that he was particularly dangerous because he appeared so civil. Howard Rosenberg, the television critic of the *Los Angeles Times,* wondered why, if Goldberg recognized this, it was necessary for her to host him on her show. Obviously she had fallen prey to the same syndrome afflicting those who invite the deniers to appear *(Los Angeles Times,* Sept. 21, 1992).

8. *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* Aug. 26, 1990.

9. From a letter signed by David Duke accompanying the *Crusader,* February 1980, as cited in *David Duke: In His Own Words* (New York, n.d.).

10. Interview with David Duke conducted by *Hustler* magazine, reprinted in the *National Association for the Advancement of White People News,* Aug. 1982.

11. Jason Berry, "Duke's Disguise," *New York Times,* Oct. 16, 1991. See also Letters to the Editor, *New York Times,* Oct. 19, 1991.

12. Jason Berry, "The Hazards of Duke," *Washington Post,* May 14, 1989. He also tried to appear as if he had modulated his views on other topics. No longer did he speak of sterilizing welfare mothers; now it was "birth control incentives" *(Los Angeles Times,* June 10, 1990). See also Lawrence N. Powell, "Read my Liposuction: The Makeover of David Duke," *New Republic,* Oct. 15, 1990.

13. Jacob Weisberg, "The Heresies of Pat Buchanan," *New Republic,* Oct. 22, 1990, pp. 26-27.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

15. Report of the Anti-Defamation League on Pat Buchanan, *Los Angeles Jewish Journal,* Sept. 28, 1991.

16. *New York Times,* Feb. 14, 1992.

17. David Warshofsky (pseud.), interview with author, December 1992. "Warshofsky" is a regular participant in the Institute's meetings and is in constant communication with various deniers both in the United States and in Europe.

18. Robert D. Kaplan, "Croatianism: The Latest Balkan Ugliness," *New Republic,* Nov. 25, 1991, p. 16.

19. "Croatia," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), Israel Gutman, ed., p. 326.

20. Some of the key Slovakian separatists have engaged in actual denial. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* Mar. 17, 1992.

21. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* Nov. 6, 1992; *The Times,* Mar. 6, 1988.

22. *Daily Telegraph,* July 10, 1992.

23. *Sunday Telegraph,* Jan. 12, 1992.

24. *Daily Telegraph,* July 10, 1992.

25. *Independent on Sunday,* May 10, 1992.

26. Frederick Brown, "French Amnesia," *Harpers,* Dec. 1981, p. 70.

27. Nadine Fresco, "The Denial of the Dead: On the Faurisson Affair," *Dissent,* Fall 1981, p. 467.

28. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (New York, 1993), pp. 40-41; Serge Thion, ed., *Vérité historique or vérité politique?* (Paris, 1980), pp. 187, 190, 211.

29. Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory, p.* 115.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Guardian,* July 3, 1986; *Le Monde,* July 4, 1986.

32. *New Statesman,* Apr. 10, 1981, p. 4.

Dok se još nismo spustili do te tačke da se cijenjeni kritički prikazi negatorske literature pojavljuju u *Timesu, Newsweeku* Ili *New Yorkeru,* gotovo sve drugo je postalo baš onako kako Sahlins opisuje. Normalni i prihvaćeni standardi naučnog rada, uključujući pravilno korištenje dokaza, bivaju odbačeni. Ono što ostaje, po riječima ovog eminentnog antropologa, jeste „skandal".

Opasnost da moje istraživanje može, nenamjerno, negatorima dati određeni status, nije bio moj jedini razlog za oklijevanje. Još jedan ozbiljniji problem inherentan je procesu odbacivanja tvrdnji negatora. Moguće je, kao što francuski historičar Pierre Vidal-Naquet zapaža, da će prilikom odgovaranja, negatori stvoriti školu "eksterminacionista", nasuprot „revizionističkoj".*[88] To je bio slučaj kada su se radio i televizijski producenti pitali zašto ja ne želim da razgovaram sa „drugom stranom". Negatori su, zapravo, već one koji istražuju holokaust nazvali eksterminacionistima. Unatoč tim opasnostima, ja sam ušla u ovaj posao iz niza razloga. Prvo, negiranje da su neki pojedinac ili grupa bili žrtva progona, degradacije i stradanja, krajnje je okrutno – na izvjesnom nivou, gore od samog progona. Onima koji nisu iskusili holokaust, ili žaoku antisemitizma, možda je teško da shvate koliko je žrtva ranjiva. Isto tako, oni koji nisu iskusili rasizam, ne mogu potpuno shvatiti bol i gnjev koji on izaziva. Ova knjiga je, dijelom, pokušaj da se opiše bol koji negatori zadaju. Dok pišem, ja se često uhvatim kako sam na njih gnjevna, unatoč činjenici da oni žive u jednom bizarnom mentalnom svijetu i da, ni oni ni budalaštine koje šire, nisu vrijedni moga gnjeva. Mada njihove zaključke ne uzimamo ozbiljno, koliko god to može zvučati kontradiktorno, mi moramo njihovu metodu učiniti predmetom proučavanja. Mi moramo to učiniti, ne zato što njihove ideje imaju inherentnih vrijednosti, već zbog ranjivosti razuma i podložnosti društva na tako neshvatljive ideje. Mnogo moćnije pokrete osnovali su ljudi koji žive u sličnim iracionalnim svjetovima – nacionalsocijalizam je u tome naistaknutiji. Zaronila sam također u ovu odvratnu temu zbog uvjerenja da će tek kada društvo – pogotovo onaj dio društva koji je posvećen intelektualnom preispitivanju – potpuno shvati puni smisao namjera ove grupe, biti nade da historija neće biti preoblikovana kako bi se uklopila u cijeli niz njihovih opasnih motiva. Vrijeme ne smijemo tračiti na svaku tvrdnju negatora. Bio bi to beskonačan trud odgovarati na argumente koje nude oni koji krivotvore nalaze, citiraju van konteksta i odbacuju ogromnu masu svjedočenja, zato što je to suprotno njihovim argumentima. Upravo varljivost njihovih argumenata, a ne sami argumenti, je ono što zahtijeva odgovor. Način na koji oni brkaju i iskrivljuju stvari ja želim ovdje pokazati; *iznad svega, suštinski je važno raskrinkati privid racionalnog istraživanja koji prikriva njihova ekstremistička gledišta*.

Također je od ključnog značaja razumjeti da ovo nije neka tajnovita kontroverza. Prošlost i, što je još važnije, naša percepcija prošlosti imaju moćan utjecaj na način na koji mi odgovaramo na savremene probleme. Negatori su veoma svjesni značaja historije. Nije slučajno Harry Elmer Barnes vjerovao da historija može poslužiti kao „sredstvo za namjernu i svjesnu transformaciju društva".*[89] Historija je važna. Da li je fokus na Bliskom

*[88] *Democracy,* tomovi 1-2 (april 1981.), str. 73ff.

33. *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste,* vol. 1, Spring 1987; Judith Miller, *One by One by One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), p. 134.

34. Miller, *One by One by One,* p. 137; *Jewish Telegraph Agency,* Oct. 23, 1987.

35. *Time,* May 28, 1990; *U. S. News & World Report,* May 28, 1990, p. 42; *Los Angeles Times,* May 29, 1990, pp. H1, H7. In the following parliamentary election Le Pen's party was routed but this resulted from a change in the voting system and not a loss of support. Miller, *One by One by One,* p. 138.

36. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* Oct. 23, 1987; Alain Finkielkraut *Remembering in Vain: The Klaus Barbie Trial and Crimes Against Humanity* (New York, 1989), pp. 35-44.

37. *L'Express,* Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1978; Gill Seidel, *The Holocaust Denial* (Leeds, England, 1986).

38. *New Statesman,* Sept. 7, 1979, p. 332.

39. *The Times,* May 11, *1990; Jewish Week,* Sept. 15, 1989.

40. *Dokumentationszentrum,* 1988 Annual Report, Vienna, Austria.

41. *Austrian News,* Embassy of Austria, Press and Information Dept., Washington, Oct., 1989.

42. *Spotlight,* June 1, 1992.

43. In 1991, the Gallup organization conducted a poll of Austrian attitudes toward Jews commissioned by the American Jewish Committee. Fifty-three percent of the people surveyed thought it was time to "put the memory of the Holocaust behind us" and 39 percent believed that "Jews have caused much harm in the course of history." An almost identical proportion believed that Jews had "too much influence" over world affairs; close to 20 percent wanted them out of the country. These statistics indicate a country "ripe" for an antisemitic ideology such as Holocaust denial. Fritz Karmasin, *Austrian Attitudes Towards Jews, Israel and the Holocaust* (New York, 1992).

44. *Jewish Telegraph Agency,* Aug. 18, 1992, p. 4; Nov. 11, 1992.

45. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* Nov. 2, 4, 1992.

46. *Arab News,* May 8, 1988.

47. *New York Times,* Dec. 10, 1989.

48. *New Statesman,* Sept. 7, 1979; *Searchlight,* Nov. 1988, p. 15.

49. *Jewish Telegraph Agency,* Dec. 22, 1992. Outside of the Union, some Australians have been able to voice Holocaust denial charges with impunity. Dr. Anice Morsey, a prominent member of the Australian Arab community, has accused Zionists of fabricating the story of the Holocaust. He maintained that the Jews who were killed were fifth columnists or spies. Morsey asserted that Israel was the financial beneficiary of this hoax and Germany the victim. Morsey's views did not seem to have hampered his career. Subsequent to making that statement he was appointed ethnic affairs commissioner by the Victorian government. *An Nahar,* Nov. 8, 1982, quoted in Jeremy Jones, "Holocaust revisionism in Australia," in *Without Prejudice* (Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs), Dec. 4, 1991, p. 53. Kenneth Stern's *Holocaust Denial* contains a useful survey of recent Holocaust denial activities throughout the world (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1993), chap. 2.

50. *New York Times,* Mar. 12, 1987; Jennifer Golub, *Japanese Attitudes Toward Jews* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1992), p. 6.

51. *The Weekend Australian,* Aug. 19-20, 1989; *New York Times,* Dec. 25, 1988; *Time,* Oct. 7, 1991.

52. Yehuda Bauer, " 'Revisionism' – The Repudiation of the Holocaust and Its Historical Significance," in *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period,* Yisrael Gutman and Gideon Grief, eds. (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 702.

53. *Los Angeles Times,* Dec. 18, 1990.

54. *Near East Report,* Apr. 16, 1990, p. 72.

55. Interview with Robert Faurisson, Vichy, France, June 1989.

56. *Jewish Telegraphic Agency,* Nov. 26, 1992.

57. *Esquire,* Feb. 1983.

58. *The Progressive,* Apr. 1986, p. 4.

59. Peter Hayes, "A Historian Confronts Denial," in *The Netherlands and Nazi Genocide,* G. Jan Colijn and Marcia S. Littell, eds. (Lewiston, 1992), p. 522.

60. Safet M. Sarich to Winnetka educators, May 1991.

61. *New York Times,* Jan. 1, 1981.

62. Gitta Sereny, "The Judgment of History," *New Statesman,* July 17, 1981, p. 16; Noam Chomsky, "The Commissars of Literature," *New Statesman,* Aug. 14, 1981, p. 13.

63. Noam Chomsky, "Chomsky: Freedom of Expression? Absolutely," *Village Voice,* July 1-7, 1981, p. 12. See also Noam Chomsky, "The Faurisson Affair: His Right to Say It," *Nation,* Feb.

Istoku, Vijetnamu, Balkanu, Hladnom ratu ili ropstvu u ovoj zemlji, javna percepcija prošlih događaja i njihovo značenje imaju ogroman utjecaj na to kako se posmatra i odgovara na sadašnjost. Uspon i rast Adolfa Hitlera bio je moguć zbog vještog načina na koji je on iznosio gledišta o nedavnoj njemačkoj prošlosti koja su bila privlačna masama. Nije bilo važno da li je njegova verzija bila iskrivljena – bila je privlačna njemačkom narodu zato što je krivicu za njihove tadašnje probleme prebacivala nekom drugom. Mada će historija uvijek biti slabija u natjecanju sa mitskom snagom iracionalnih predrasuda, ipak mu se mora suprotstavljati.

Sjetila sam se moći historije kada sam u izbornoj večeri u Okrugu Louisiana, 1991. godine, onih izbora na kojima su sljedbenici Davida Dukea govorili u jednom televizijskom intervjuu kako se stalno priča o Dukeovim ranijim gledištima o Jevrejima i crncima i o aktivnostima njegovog Ku Klux Klana. To je prošlost, rekao je jedna od njih; zbog čega je to važno, pitao se on, kada su u pitanju ovi izbori? Odgovor je bio očit: njegova prošlost ima itekako veze sa njegovom željom da bude izabran; ona je oblikovala ono što je on bio i ono što je on ostao. Nikad nije bilo jasnije ilustracije koliko je historija važna (niti je bio puki slučaj to što je pokojni Paul de Man, jedan od utemeljitelja dekonstrukcionizma, također falsificirao svoju prošlost i ponovo napisao svoju ličnu historiju.[*90]). A ako je historija važna, njeni praktičari su još važniji. Uloga historičara se poredi sa ulogom kanarinca u rudniku uglja, čija smrt upozorava rudare da su opasni gasovi u zraku – „učinite neku opasnu budalaštinu i kanarinac umire".[*91] Mnogo je opasnih budalaština u atmosferi ovih dana. Negatori se nadaju da će postići svoje ciljeve tako što će biti priznati kao legitimni naučnici i posijati sjeme sumnje kod mlađe generacije. Samo prepoznavanjem prijetnje koju negiranje predstavlja i za prošlost i za budućnost, mi ćemo u konačnici uspjeti poništiti njihova nastojanja.

[*89] Justus D. Doenecke, „Harry Elmer Barnes: Prophet of a Usable Past", *History Teacher* (februar 1975.), str. 273.

[*90] Geoffrey Hartman, „Blindness and Insight", *New Republic,* 7. mart 1988., str. 26-31.

[*91] Donald Cameron Watt, „The Political Misuse of History", u *Trends in Historical Revisionism: History as a Political Device* (London, 1985.), str. 11.

Debora Ester Lipstat je američka historičarka. Poznata je kao autor knjiga: *Negacija holokausta* (1993.); *Historija na ispitu: Moj dan u sudu sa jednim negatorom holokausta – sve jači napad na istinu i pamćenje* (2005.); *Ajhmanovo suđenje* (2011.). Lipstat je profesorica Moderne jevrejske historije i studija holokausta na Emory univerzitetu u Đorđiji (Georgia), Sjedinjene Američke Države.

Lipstat je bila konsultant u Američkom memorijalnom muzeju holokausta. Godine 1994. predsjednik Bil Klintom ju je imenovao u Vijeće američkog memorijalnog holokaust u dva mandata.

28, 1981, p. 231. Gitta Sereny, "Let History Judge," *New Statesman,* Sept. 11, 1981, p. 12.

64. Alfred Kazin, "Americans Right, Left and Indifferent: Responses to the Holocaust," *Dimensions,* vol. 4, no. 1 (1988), p. 12.

65. He was particularly distressed by the University of Lyons's decision not to let Faurisson teach because it could not guarantee his safety.

66. Statement by President H. Keith H. Brodie, Duke University, Nov. 6, 1991.

67. Fish argued that he was not in the business of "recovering" texts but "in the business of **making** texts and of teaching others to make them." He found this a liberating approach because it relieved him of "the obligation to be right... and demands only that I be interesting." Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 544.

68. Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis, 1978), cited in Novick, *That Noble Dream,* p. 539.

69. Richard Rorty, "Pragmatism, Relativism, and Irrationalism," *Consequences of Pragmatism* (Minneapolis, 1982), p. 166. See also Novick, *That Noble Dream,* p. 540.

70. Hilary Putnam, *Truth and History* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 54.

71. *Time,* Aug. 26, 1991, p. 19.

72. *Newsweek,* Sept. 18, 1991, p. 47.

73. Charles Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust and German National Identity* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 64.

74. Novick, *That Noble Dream,* pp. 448ff.

75. Mark Lane, letter to the editor, *Los Angeles Daily Journal,* Nov. 13, 1991.

76. Conversations with Robert Faurisson, Vichy, France, June 1989.

77. Harry Elmer Barnes, "Revisionism: A Key to Peace," *Rampart Journal* (Spring 1966), p. 3.

78. Austin J. App, *History's Most Terrifying Peace,* p. 106, cited in "Prevent World War III," n.d., p. 7.

79. Harry Elmer Barnes, *Revisionism and Brainwashing: A Survey of the War-Guilt Question in Germany After Two World Wars* (n.p., 1962), p. 33 (hereafter referred to as *Brainwashing).*

80. Canadian papers covering the trial regularly carried headlines such as: "Nazi Camp had Pool, Ballroom" *(Toronto Sun,* Feb. 13, 1985); "Prisoners at Auschwitz dined, danced to band, Zündel Witness Testifies" *(Toronto Star,* Feb. 13, 1985).

81. Conversations with Robert Faurisson, Vichy, France, June 1989.

82. Maier, *The Unnasterable Past,* p. 64.

83. Colin Holmes, "Historical Revisionism in Britain, The Politics of History," in *Trends in Historical Revisionism: History as a Political Device* (London, 1985), p. 8.

84. Dumas Malone, *The Sage of Monticello,* pp. 417-418.

85. Novick, *That Noble Dream,* p. 2.

86. Institute for Historical Review, *Newsletter* (Apr. 1987), p. 1.

87. *New York Review of Books,* Mar. 22, 1979, p. 47. See also Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory,* pp. 3-7.

88. *Democracy,* vol. 1-2 (Apr. 1981), pp. 73ff.

89. Justus D. Doenecke, "Harry Elmer Barnes: Prophet of a Usable Past," *History Teacher* (Feb. 1975), p. 273.

90. Geoffrey Hartman, "Blindness and Insight," *New Republic,* Mar. 7, 1988, pp. 26-31.

91. Donald Cameron Watt, "The Political Misuse of History," in *Trends in Historical Revisionism: History as a Political Device* (London, 1985), p. 11.

Debora Ester Lipstat an American historian. She is well known as the author of the books: *Denying the Holocaust* (1993); *History on Trial: My Day in Court with a Holocaust Denier* (2005); and *The Eichmann Trial* (2011). She is the Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies at Emory University in Georgia, United States of America.

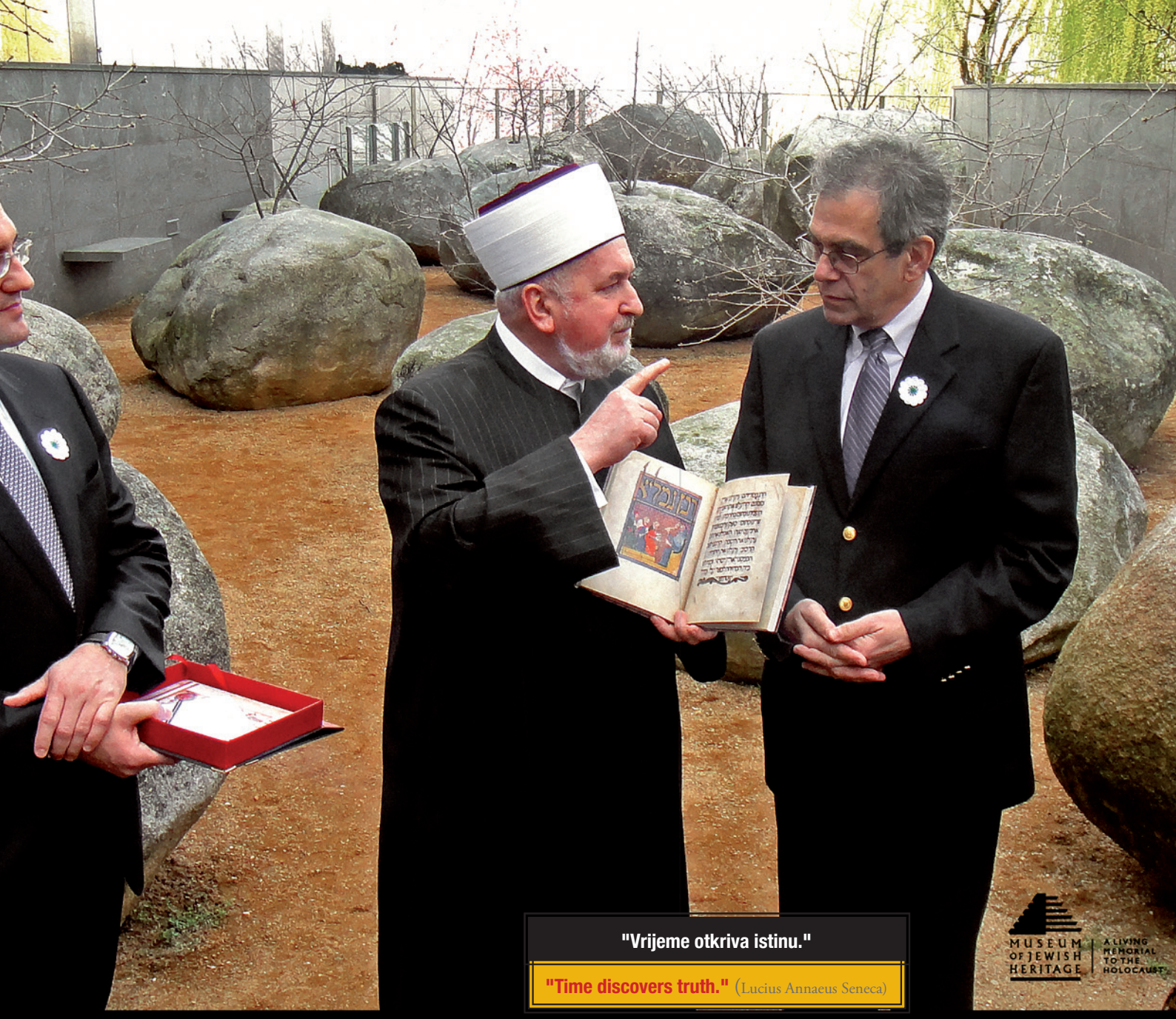
Lipstadt was a consultant to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. In 1994 she was appointed by Bill Clinton to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, serving two terms.


HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL
DAY 27/1









"Vrijeme otkriva istinu."

"Time discovers truth." (Lucius Annaeus Seneca)







A SURVEY OF TOPICS, PARTICIPANTS AND CONTENT OF PREVIOUS CONFERENCES:

I[st] International Conference, June 11 and 12, 2015
The Research, Documentation and Prosecuting of Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina

INTRODUCTORY SPEAKERS: Theodor Meron, Lars Gunnar Wigemark, Serge Brammertz, David Scheffer, Ernest Petrič, Hassan B. Jallow and Goran Salihovic.

Panel I: *Research and Documentation of the Crime of Genocide* – Dennis Gratz, Klaus Zorn, Jean Rene Ruez, Bob Reid, Amir Ahmic and Smail Cekic.

Panel II: *Proof of Genocide before the ICTY, the Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina and ICTR – Experiences* – Alan Tieger, Andrew Cayley, Almiro Rodrigues, Minka Kreho, Ibro Bulic and Hassan B. Jallow.

Panel III: *The role of Independent Media in the Investigation of Genocide and Other Serious Forms of War Crimes* – Arijana Saracevic-Helac, Julija Bogoeva and Sejo Omeragic.

Panel IV: *Negation of Genocide and Holocaust: Legal, Political and Ethical Dimensions* – Carmel Agius, Bostjan Plostajner, Patricia Whalen, Elijas Tauber and Jelko Kacin.

Panel V: *Implementation of a National Strategy for War Crimes Cases and a Regional Dimension to Combat Impunity* – Jasmina Dolmagic, Vladimir Vukcevic, Stojanka Radovic, Goran Salihovic and Jonathan Moore.

Panel VI: *Contribution of Victims in the Proof of Justice* – Irfan Ajanovic, Kada Hotic, Hasib Muratovic and Satko Mujagic.

II International Conference, May 14, 2016
Obstacles in Prosecuting War Crime.

INTRODUCTORY SPEAKER: Serge Brammertz.

Panel I: *Dual Citizenship in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Region* – Prof. Enis Omerovic.

Panel II: *ICTY 'A' List of Items* – Amir Ahmic.

Panel III: TOUR OF Baščaršija and Markale.

Panel IV: PRESENTATION: *Members of the UN International Law Commission.*
Prof. Ernest Petrič, Prof. Sean D. Murphy, Prof. Mathias Forteau and Prof. Dire Tladi.

Panel V: *Presentation of the Documentary Film 'Shot in the Soul'* („Pucanj u dušu")
PRESENTATION: Conversation with Survivors: Amir Omerspahic and Emina Boracic.

DEPARTURE TO SREBRENICA

III International Conference, April 18 and 19, 2018
The Prosecution of Genocide in Bosnia.

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH: Kada Hotic.

The role of the International Commission on Missing Persons in the Process of Addressing Missing Persons in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Matthew Hollida).

PROSECUTION: *Presentation of the Prosecution's Arguments in the Appeal Procedure in the Krstić Case* (Inge Onsea).

DEFENCE: *Presentation of Defence Arguments in the Krstić Appeal* (Norman Sepnuk).

STUDENTS OF LAW: Simulation of the Appeal Process – hypothetical Case.

PRESENTATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY FILM: *' Shot in the Soul '* („Pucanj u dušu").

FINAL PRESENTATION: *Presentation of the Krstic Second Instance Judgment and the Development of International Humanitarian Law on the Crime of Genocide* (Theodor Meron).

VERDICT: *Simulation of the Trial* (Theodor Meron).

DEPARTURE IN SREBRENICA – Visit Battle Sites

- STADION IN NOVA KASABA – hangar Kravice (Exhibit – Mark Harmon).
- TOUR OF the Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari
- HISTORICAL LESSON – The Mother of Srebrenica and the Curator of the Memorial Center.