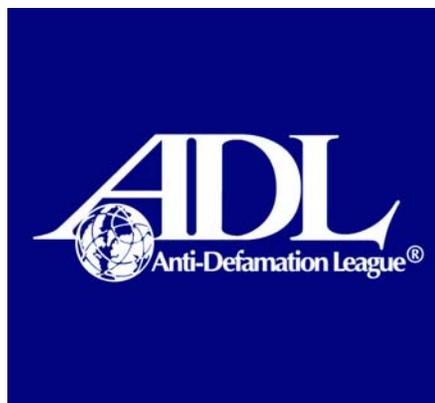


Fighting Holocaust Denial in Campus Newspaper Advertisements

A Manual for Action

Revised: May 2010





ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

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This publication is dedicated to the memory of Jeffrey Ross, Ph.D. Dr. Ross served as ADL's Campus Director from 1984 until his untimely passing in 2003 and authored the first edition of this publication.

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Introduction

Holocaust denial is an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory which claims that the well-documented destruction of six million Jews during World War II is actually a myth created by Jews to serve their own self-interested purposes. On college campuses, Holocaust denial is most often encountered in the form of advertisements submitted to student newspapers by Bradley Smith and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH). These ads are an affront to truth and an insult to the memory of those who were murdered by the Nazis. They create a divisive atmosphere for Jews on campus and foster conflict among students, faculty, administrators and the local community.

Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life, and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) have worked together for years to counteract these ads and to restore civility to the campus community when they have been published. Students, campus professionals and local community leaders necessarily play the major role in this effort.

The Holocaust is a central tragedy in the sweep of Jewish and human history and a trauma that continues to inform Jewish life today. It is also a cautionary tale about human character that deserves retelling in every generation, to Jews and non-Jews alike. By fighting Holocaust denial on campuses we honor the memory of the victims, confront the forces of hatred, and help shape a responsible new generation of Americans. We urge you to join us in this effort.

Abraham H. Foxman
National Director
Anti-Defamation League

Wayne L. Firestone
President
Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is one of the nation's premier civil rights and human relations agencies. Founded in 1913, with a mission is to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people and secure justice and fair treatment to all," ADL carries out its work through 30 regional offices in the United States and abroad. Its Civil Rights staff combats discrimination and helps protect religious freedom through education, legislation and advocacy. The League's Center on Extremism monitors and exposes extremist groups, from neo-Nazis to skinheads to international terrorist groups, and trains law enforcement on threats and on responding to hate crimes. Its Education Division seeks to break the cycle of hatred by issuing curricula and conducting trainings that build bridges of communication, understanding and respect among diverse racial, religious and ethnic groups around the world. ADL's International Affairs staff fights anti-Semitism and bigotry, promoting Jewish security, and supporting Israel and the advancement of the peace process in the Middle East.

HILLEL: THE FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CAMPUS LIFE

Since 1923, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life has contributed to the success of the Jewish community by creating welcoming campus environments in which Jewish students can pursue the dream of higher education. Today, Hillel is the largest Jewish campus organization in the world.

Hillel seeks to inspire every Jewish student to make an enduring commitment to Jewish life. Its mission is to enrich the lives of Jewish undergraduate and graduate students so that they may enrich the Jewish people and the world. Hillel pursues its mission by: Creating a pluralistic, welcoming and inclusive environment; Fostering student growth and the balance in being distinctively Jewish and universally human; Pursuing *tzedek* (social justice), *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) and Jewish learning; Supporting Israel and global Jewish peoplehood; A commitment to excellence, innovation, accountability and results.

SECTION I:

Holocaust Denial

What is Holocaust Denial?

Holocaust denial is a form of anti-Semitism. It is a propaganda movement which seeks to minimize or deny the reality of the Nazi regime's systematic mass murder of six million Jews in Europe during World War II. It suggests that Jews have pulled off a scam of monumental proportions, convincing virtually the entire world of a catastrophe that never really happened. Holocaust deniers imply that Jews have manipulated the media, the academic community, and governments – even the German government, which has admitted the culpability of the Nazi regime in the genocide of European Jews. Deniers claim that Jews were motivated to create such a scam out of greed, arrogance and a lust for power. These are classic anti-Semitic stereotypes.

From the 1960s until the 1990s, virtually all Holocaust deniers were neo-Nazis and white supremacists. Even today, many deniers are adherents of these ideologies. This population embraces Holocaust denial to redeem the image of Adolf Hitler, who they see as a great leader who defended the white race.

Today, the internet and other communications technologies have helped facilitate the spread of Holocaust denial to other groups as well. Newer proponents use Holocaust denial for anti-Semitic and anti-Israel purposes. Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is a visible Holocaust denier. He termed Zionists “the most detested people in all humanity”¹ and called the extermination of six million Jews during World War II “a myth,” claiming that Jews have played up Nazi atrocities during the Holocaust in a bid to extort sympathy for Israel from European governments. There are strong indications that Holocaust denial is widespread in the Arab and Muslim world.

To make themselves sound more respectable and scholarly, many Holocaust deniers prefer to call themselves Holocaust “revisionists.” This manual uses the term “Holocaust denial” because deniers reject legitimate forms of scholarship about the Holocaust.

For a thorough investigation into “revisionists” read Richard Evans' book *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*, and Deborah Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*.

Bradley Smith and Holocaust Denial on Campus

Most Holocaust denial today is encountered on the internet. While many Holocaust denial websites do not hide their anti-Semitic beliefs, others try to appear more objective and credible by avoiding the use of crude anti-Semitic stereotypes. One such site, called CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the

¹ (as quoted by Iranian state television)

Holocaust) is run by Bradley Smith, who has targeted college campuses for the promotion of Holocaust denial since the late 1980s.

In addition to his website, Smith generally tries to place advertisements in campus newspapers, posing provocative but seemingly reasonable questions about the Holocaust in order to lead students into the world of denial. In his most recent ads, Smith addresses professors, students, and scholars of Holocaust history. For Smith, his paid campus ads are also a means to garner the free publicity which generally flows from the controversy they generate and so provide a way to entice young people onto his website.

In a campaign begun in 2009, Smith ran ads in college newspapers asking why prominent historians do not answer his request to provide, “with proof, the name of one person who was killed in a gas chamber at Auschwitz.” In one ad, he claims to have asked this question to more than 2000 scholars and that none provided a satisfactory answer. [See figure 1] He implies that there is no answer and that the Holocaust is a fraud. Another one of Smith’s techniques is to publish “help wanted” type ads [see figure 2] to entice students to read further. In the spring of 2009, Smith successfully ran ads promoting Holocaust denial in about a dozen college newspapers.

Figure 1:

**A QUESTION FOR THE
U.S. HOLOCAUST
MEMORIAL MUSEUM**

I have asked the Director of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Dr. Paul Shapiro, to provide, with proof, the name of one person who was killed in a gas chamber at Auschwitz. One out of an alleged million! He does not respond. In fact, the weapons of mass destruction needed for killing the alleged “Auschwitz million” deserve the same scrutiny as the WMD imputed to Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. I have asked more than 2,000 academics the Auschwitz Question. None has responded to it.

The charge that the Iraqi Government had weapons of mass destruction was exploited to morally justify the U.S. invasion of Iraq. There were no such weapons.

The charge that during WWII the German State used weapons of mass destruction—“gas chambers”— for mass murder was exploited after the war to morally justify the conquest of Palestine in the name of European Jews and, following that, the ruinous U.S. alliance with Israel against the Palestinians.

Proof that the German WMD actually existed is so frail that one Western government after another is driven to imprison those who question it!

“Can you provide, with proof, the name of one person who was killed in a gas chamber at Auschwitz?”

I am willing to be convinced that I am wrong to ask this question. I can be reached at bsmith@prodiqv.net

Bradley Smith, Founder
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust
www.codoh.com

Figure 2:

Are you a student?

I have a research project I need help with.

The project is this. I need a few carefree (you *must* be carefree), independent students to help me find one professor who will attempt to answer one question about a specific historical issue. The question is: "Can you provide, with proof, the name of one person killed in a gas chamber at Auschwitz?"

Will you help me find one professor on your campus who will attempt to answer this question? Will you keep me advised of your progress? I can be reached at bradlev1930@yahoo.com

I understand that the question will be considered controversial by some academics and students alike. You may be charged with "challenging authority," but it is not illegal to challenge authority on a university campus in a free society. You may have been told that it is "morally wrong" to ask this question. Do you think it is? Tell me why.

If you can find the one professor I am looking for, I'll owe you a beer. At the very least.

Bradley R. Smith, Founder
Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust www.codoh.com

Of course, Smith's "One person with proof" campaign is just the latest example of his decades-long obsession with promoting Holocaust denial to college students. His portrayal of himself as an earnest seeker of truth about the Holocaust is belied by his well-documented statements flatly dismissing conventional testimony and scholarship about the destruction of European Jewry. In one of Smith's early ads from 1992, he dismissed eyewitness testimony as "ludicrously unreliable;" claimed that Nazi confessions were obtained through "coercion, intimidation and even physical torture;" and rejected documentation from World War II. In 2006, Smith attended the infamous Iranian Holocaust denial conference, where he claimed that American professors are purposely obfuscating the issue of the "Holocaust question."

Given Smith's obvious agenda, is it any wonder that reputable scholars refuse to be drawn into debate with him?

Online ads

In a variation on his advertisements in campus newspapers, Bradley Smith has also begun placing Holocaust denial ads on college newspaper websites. College newspaper websites are usually subject to less editorial supervision than the newspapers' print editions. His online ads are shorter than his typical print ads, featuring just a line or two of text alongside a link to CODOH's website, further masking Smith's hateful message. The editors of California State University-Fullerton's *Daily Titan* revealed that Smith used "a deliberate process" to avoid having his ads subjected to careful editorial scrutiny: he used a third-party to purchase the ad space, and then provided the text of the ad after the normal deadline required by the newspaper. "In a rush to meet their end of the deal," the *Daily Titan* editors wrote, "the publications allow the [ad] to go live without taking the time they normally would to review that content of the ad and what it linked to" ("Free Speech vs. Moral Obligation," *The Daily Titan*, April 21, 2010).

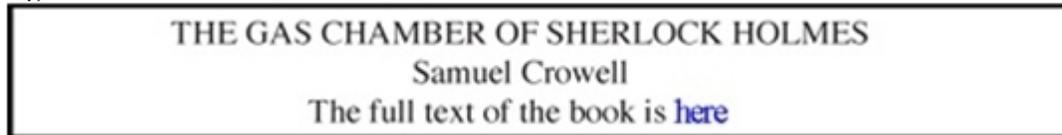
Smith placed his first online ad on the University of Wisconsin-Madison's *Badger Herald* website in February 2010. The ad's appearance, and the defense of its publication by *Badger Herald* editors, proved controversial on campus. Many students and professors strongly protested the decision to run Smith's ad. In response, the paper's editors apologized for the "harm done to the Jewish community" by their decision to run the ad.

Samples of Smith's online ads:

Figure 3:



Figure 4:



The Anti-Defamation League's full profile of Bradley Smith is found in Appendix II.

SECTION II:

Holocaust Denial, Campus Newspapers, and the First Amendment

Campus Editors and the First Amendment

Are college newspapers required to print ads from Holocaust deniers or other haters? The answer is NO. Although campus media are a natural venue for the expression of ideas – even controversial ideas – editors should be aware that privately owned publications have editorial autonomy to decide what will and will not be published. Courts generally view student newspapers (even those at public schools) as private when student editors, and not school administrators, make decisions about content and advertising policies. Campus newspapers are under no legal or moral obligation to accept unsolicited articles or advertising containing false, misleading and/or defamatory statements.

In fact, commercial newspapers generally do not accept such advertising. One federal appellate court observed: “The right to freedom of speech does not open every avenue to one who desires to use a particular outlet for expression.”² Determining the paper’s editorial content and deciding what stories to print and ads to accept are solely the province of editors.

The First Amendment, which inspires and protects American journalism, ensures that the U.S. government cannot dictate what newspapers may or may not publish. The First Amendment does not restrict editors from exercising their own editorial discretion in determining what to publish. Editors should feel comfortable refusing to allow their newspapers to become venues for anti-Semitic conspiracy theories like Holocaust denial.

Advertising Policies

Most commercial newspapers, and some student newspapers as well, have set formal standards for accepting advertisements of a controversial nature. Having such standards set up in advance makes it easier for newspaper staff to determine whether or not to publish ads containing Holocaust denial, and to justify their decisions on the issue should controversy arise later.

The New York Times:

WILL: run advertisements from a variety of groups/individuals who wish to comment on controversial issues even if many people may disagree.

² *Avins v. Rutgers*, 385 F.2d 151, 153 (3rd Cir. 1967)

WON'T: run an advertisement that denies a recognized crime of substantial proportions or vividness, e.g., the Holocaust, Irish famine, or slavery. The Times has publicly and specifically stated that it would never accept Holocaust denial advertising.

University of California at San Diego's *The Guardian*:

WILL: publish opinion pieces submitted with controversial subject matter with the understanding that they may be edited.

WON'T: accept advertisements that do not promote a product, but seek to use advertising as a way of avoiding editorial scrutiny of controversial subject matters.

University of North Carolina at Wilmington's *The Seahawk*:

WILL: provide an open forum for discussion of issues under the First Amendment, giving the readers accurate, fair, not libelous or misleading information.

WON'T: intentionally publish ads attacking or criticizing directly or by implication, any race, sex, creed, religion, organization, business or profession without firm justification and foundation.

Statements from Campus Newspapers on Publishing Holocaust Denial

Some college newspapers have directly addressed the issue of publishing Holocaust denial advertisements. In some cases they did so after running one of Bradley Smith's ads; in others they felt the need to explain to their readership why they rejected Smith's ad in the first place.

In March 2009, the CODOH advertisement was printed in the University of Houston's newspaper, *The Daily Cougar*. The advertisement was designed to be misleading with a large amount of text that included Holocaust denial language in the last sentence. The advertising editor made an unintentional, careless mistake and did not read the full text of the ad before it was placed. When students, Hillel professionals, and local ADL staff contacted the newspaper, the editor-in-chief apologized and took personal responsibility for not catching the mistake herself. The next day, the staff of *The Daily Cougar* wrote this apology:

Printing ad was unfortunate mistake, oversight by editors

Staff editorial

Published March 27, 2009

Newspapers have long been considered the guardians of free speech, but they also act as gatekeepers. For instance, when an editor chooses one story over another, the editor uses his or her best discretion to decide which is the most relevant. Also, when a writer investigates a story, he or she uses only the most credible sources to inform. In the end, some opinions and viewpoints go unpublished. Some would call this a violation of free speech, but gatekeeping — or controlling access to information — is an unavoidable reality of journalism.

And at times, there is a place for it.

We at *The Daily Cougar* deeply regret and apologize for the publication of an advertisement in Wednesday's edition (Issue 116, Volume 74). The ad, sponsored by the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, subtly suggests the possibility that the Holocaust did not occur.

The information intimated in this ad is misleading and the argument is flawed. It was not our intention to legitimize this opinion.

This incident was an unfortunate oversight. It was printed accidentally when our advertising manager, who screens out ads of this nature as a rule, fell ill. The ad was calculating, manipulative and specifically designed to target a vulnerable audience and to fly under the radar of proofreaders.

We refuse to recognize this so-called "debate" as such by responding to it, except to say that Holocaust denial is recognized by many, including the editors of *The Daily Cougar*, as a form of anti-Semitism.

We apologize to anyone who was offended by the ad. We will continue to work hard and be diligent in maintaining the credibility of *The Daily Cougar*. Our first steps will be to investigate ad revenue policies and return any funds received from this organization.

Let it be clear: this isn't an issue of free speech. Holocaust deniers often conflate the right to make an argument with the right to be judged for it. We at *The Daily Cougar* believe that while they have the right to their opinions, they do not have the right to have them validated — even tacitly — in the printing of our newspaper.

<http://www.thedailycougar.com/printing-ad-was-unfortunate-mistake-oversight-by-editors-1.1631933>

In September 2009, Harvard University's *The Harvard Crimson* printed a CODOH advertisement. The President of *The Harvard Crimson* published the following opinion piece claiming that the ad was mistakenly placed and the "decision fell through the cracks."

Opinion: A Letter To Crimson Readers

Published September 9, 2009

By Maxwell L. Child

In yesterday's newspaper, *The Crimson* ran an advertisement that questioned whether the Holocaust occurred and which unsurprisingly angered many members of the Harvard community. We did not intend to run the ad—a decision we made over the summer when it was initially submitted. Unfortunately, with three weeks of vacation between submission and publication, that decision fell through the cracks.

Yesterday's advertisement was the result of that miscommunication. And while running the ad was not our intent, we accept responsibility for our failure to carry out the planned cancellation. We recognize how sensitive a subject this is for our community and appreciate all the e-mails and letters we have received about it from concerned members of the University. We have made sure that the rest of the ad's planned run has been terminated, and any money that has changed hands in exchange for the ad to date will be returned.

We want to stress that we do not endorse the views put forth in any advertisement that runs in *The Crimson*, and this case was no different. That said, we do recognize that in our role as distributors we are responsible for the content that runs in our newspaper. And though we did seek to intervene in this case, we failed to see the process through to its conclusion. We will work hard to avoid such lapses in communication in the future, and hope our readers will accept that yesterday's error was a logistical failure and not a philosophical one.

Sincerely,

Maxwell L. Child
President
The Harvard Crimson

<http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=528828>

The editor of University of Louisville's *The Louisville Cardinal* published the following letter after an ad from Smith ran in her newspaper.

Letter From the Editor: Let Me Set Things Straight

Why you won't see an advertisement regarding the Holocaust this week

By Kathy Lynch, Editor

Published: Monday, April 13, 2009

Over the past week, I have received numerous e-mails, text messages, voice mails and even a poke on my Facebook. To what do I owe all this extra attention? People were upset about an advertisement placed in *The Louisville Cardinal* by someone attempting to disprove the atrocities of Auschwitz and other concentration camps.

I would like to take a moment of your time to explain that first of all, as editor, I saw the ad the same time you, our readers, did. Although this individual wanted to run the ad again, it was up to me to make the decision of whether or not it would. I decided without hesitation to pull the ad; it will not run again.

Second, let me explain how the paper works. *The Cardinal* is broken into two groups, the editorial side and the advertising side. This paper is an independent student

newspaper, a non-profit organization that makes all its income via ad sales. Those of us on the editorial side do not have anything to do with the ad sales part. Although, I am sure when this particular ad was purchased, our ad people were under the assumption it was a legitimate request for assistance in a research project, which we get all the time.

And finally, I would like to apologize to anyone who was offended by the ad in question. As the niece of one of the first American troops to enter Auschwitz; I have heard personal accounts of the mayhem committed against an entire race. The genocide has left a scar on mankind, which will never fade. It is important for us not to forget what happened; I know when my uncle thinks back to entering the camp, he becomes emotional. This man, larger than life, the monarch of our large family, cannot escape the memories of what he saw that day.

I am not Jewish; I did not lose anyone in those camps. But I know it happened. The heartrending and hopelessness I sensed through my uncle's words of the carnage and destruction of human life he and the other troops found left a profound imprint on his soul. But, even as the proud soldier he is, my uncle donated the medals he was awarded to the Patton Museum in Ft. Knox. I have always thought he did not need medals to remind him of that war, or what he experienced during it.

This individual who placed the ad, offered to buy a beer for anyone who can find the evidence he is looking for to disprove this event. I would like to see him spend 10 minutes with my uncle; he would need more than a beer.

<http://www.louisvillecardinal.com/sections/opinion/letter-from-the-editor-let-me-set-things-straight-1.1712500>

SECTION III:

Taking Action Against Holocaust Denial in Newspaper Advertisements

Preventing Holocaust Denial from Disturbing Your Campus

- **Be proactive. Meet with your campus newspaper editor and advertising manager every year (in some cases staff changes every term) soon after they are appointed or elected to establish a close working relationship.**
 - Let them know what Hillel does on your campus: upcoming events, speakers, student leaders and new staff.
 - Ask them how you can better inform them so that Hillel can receive coverage in their newspaper.
 - Ask if they are aware that groups such as Bradley Smith's Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) seek to place Holocaust denial ads in school newspapers.
 - Advise them of ADL's research on Bradley Smith and Holocaust denial.
 - Emphasize that they have the right to refuse to publish any material the editorial board deems offensive or inappropriate. Holocaust denial ads are untrue and offensive. The First Amendment does not guarantee that editors must print all content that is submitted. Rather, the First Amendment means that the government cannot censor the press.
 - Share with them statements and editorials from other campus journalists who have rejected such advertising.
 - Urge them to educate all advertising staff about Holocaust denial.
 - Encourage them to create and implement policies regarding acceptable advertising which they can reference when declining to run hateful ads.

- **Meet with your school's ombudsman, dean of students, public affairs director and president annually.**
 - Update them on Hillel activities find areas of common concern and apprise them of the continuing threat of Holocaust denial ads.
 - Advise them of ADL's research and advocacy on the threat of anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial.
 - Ask them to encourage students to use the campus media as a tool for civil and respectful dialogue instead of hate or bigotry.
 - Ask them to engage the student leadership of the campus media in a dialogue regarding their rights and responsibilities as journalists.
 - Ask them to urge faculty members and top administrators to take a public stand against the

use of the campus newspaper to spread hateful propaganda. Administrators always have the right to criticize an article or the decisions made by newspaper staff.

- Build relationships with members of various student organizations before a crisis occurs. Host a reception where student leaders from different organizations can meet with faculty and administrators to start to create the relationships that will build trust and dialogue between the groups.
- **Compose a list of local key contacts, including their emergency contact information, and share it with your important partners. This is very helpful in a variety of situations.**
 - Student Hillel Board President
 - Lay Hillel Board Chairman
 - Student Communications Chair
 - Lay Hillel Communications Chairman
 - ADL Regional Office
 - Hillel Regional Office
 - University President's Office
 - Dean of Students
 - Ombudsman
 - University Public Affairs Director
 - Campus Security
 - Local Jewish Community Relations Council
 - Local Jewish Federation Director
 - Local Jewish Public Affairs Director
- Help bring anti-bias education programs to campus. This can be run through the Dean of Students office, the residence association, student union, Hillel, or other campus groups. ADL's A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE™ has had excellent results on many campuses throughout the country.
- Provide Holocaust education and material, especially on *Yom Hasboab*, Holocaust Remembrance Day.

Strategizing a Response When the Ad is Published

The publication of a Holocaust denial ad can be extremely upsetting to the campus environment. When an ad is published, Jewish students and other minority members may feel unsettled and anxious. University administrators, board members, faculty and the surrounding Jewish community become involved in the controversy. The school newspaper staff comes under fire. Local and national media may descend upon the campus. Hillel and ADL professionals, students and faculty advisors should be prepared for the firestorm that follows the publication of a Holocaust denial ad.

In the aftermath of publication, Hillel objectives should be to:

- reassure Jewish students that you are there to help;
- secure a high-profile retraction and apology from the school newspaper;
- secure a clear and strong statement from the college/university president;
- turn the incident into an opportunity for growth and education.

Campus Jewish leaders can rely on the support of Hillel and ADL professionals and lay leaders at the local, regional and national level.

If an advertisement is placed in your campus newspaper, it is important to strategize your response.

- If a Holocaust denial advertisement appears, it is best to begin by privately expressing your deep concerns with the highest ranking person on the school newspaper, i.e., the editor in chief, the publisher, or the advertising manager. In many cases the editor in chief will have had no role in accepting the advertisement. Bradley Smith's advertisements were sometimes placed because the staff did not read the text closely enough to see that it promoted Holocaust denial.
- Ask the editor to publicly denounce the ad and its content. Encourage the editor to educate the editorial and advertising staff about the situation and the harm it inflicts on the Jewish community.
- Contact the Anti-Defamation League. ADL can provide expertise in rebutting denial ads, working with the administration and speaking to the community at large. In addition to the resources in this publication, consult the ADL Web site, www.adl.org, for information on Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism.
- Notify Hillel student leaders and professional staff. Work with students to turn this incident into a positive community-building experience.
- If the newspaper does not denounce the ad, write a concise op-ed or letter to the editors stating that the systematic extermination of the Jewish people and the murder of six million Jews is a fact and is not debatable. Encourage people to learn more about the Holocaust, Holocaust victims (including their names) and the functioning of Auschwitz, by visiting several online sources including the [U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum](#), [Yad Vashem](#), and the [Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum](#). Additional action steps that can be taken:
 - call for a retraction and apology from the school newspaper
 - ask for a letter of support from the school administration
 - characterize the newspaper's action as unfortunate, misguided and misinformed
 - reiterate that the First Amendment does not require the publication of all material, no matter how offensive, and that it is the height of editorial responsibility to reject unsolicited defamatory and false information, whether editorial or advertising
 - utilize ADL's research on Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism
 - point out that Hillel seeks to strengthen the campus community and that concerted action can lead to a more harmonious campus.
- Alert the appropriate school administration officials to the probable fall-out from this incident including a sense of anger among Jewish students and community members and media interest.

Ask administration officials for a letter of condemnation from the president and for their assistance in gaining a retraction from the newspaper.

- It is not recommended to request that the newspaper withholds its distribution if it includes a Holocaust denial ad. This can have the effect of punishing the entire campus community for the judgment error of the newspaper staff.
- No attempt should be made to confiscate and discard copies of the newspaper so as to prevent its circulation. This would be a direct violation of freedom of speech, and could result in disciplinary action by the university.

Sample Letter to the Editor

Adapt this sample letter for use with media in your community.

To the Editor:

Hillel regrets the decision of the (NAME OF NEWSPAPER) to publish an advertisement that challenges the veracity of the Holocaust. The fact that 6 million Jews were systematically murdered during World War II is beyond question. The event is extensively documented by scholars and eyewitnesses and was confirmed by perpetrators themselves. The advertisement is an affront to history and a desecration of the memory of those who perished.

Hillel calls on the "publication name" to issue a retraction of the ad and to publish an apology to the campus community. We further call upon the university's administration to condemn the ad's publication.

It is the right and obligation of a newspaper staff to exercise sound editorial judgment in rejecting material that is offensive to the community, that promotes hatred, and that distorts the truth. "Publication name" has clearly failed to do so in this instance.

Example of a Community Response

The following article was written by ADL's Ohio Regional Director in response to the placement of Bradley Smith's Holocaust denial advertisement in Youngstown State University's newspaper, *The Jambar*. The editorial board of *The Jambar* defended their decision to place the ad.

Youngstown State University, *The Jambar*

Letter to the editor, February 10, 2009

By Shari Kochman, Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League

To the Editor:

There is no doubt that *The Jambar* has the right to decide what advertisements it chooses to publish. Freedom of the press is one of the treasured hallmarks of our free society. Newspaper editors are also obliged, however, to make editorial judgment calls every day. They are under no legal or ethical obligation to publish every letter or ad submitted to them. Indeed, they would likely reject obscene material, libelous screeds, and obviously inflammatory claims like "there was no slavery in the United States." Unfortunately, *The Jambar's* editors have acted irresponsibly in publishing Bradley Smith's ad, which promotes a view of history that is manifestly false and profoundly offensive. These editors might learn something if they looked to one of the most respected newspapers in the world, The New York Times, as a model. The Times makes its judgments according to "Standards of Advertising Acceptability" it has clearly defined, exercising discretion to refuse to run "fraudulent, deceptive or misleading" ads and copy that does not stay within the bounds of "decency and good taste." Bradley Smith's ad is not a meaningful contribution to the marketplace of ideas. Rather, it is an attempt to promulgate anti-Semitism. Although it casts itself as an effort to objectively examine the history of World War II, Holocaust denial has at its heart an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory, claiming that Jews have perpetrated a scam of monumental proportions, convincing virtually the entire world of a catastrophe that never really happened. Holocaust deniers imply that Jews have manipulated the media, the academic community, and governments - even the German government, which has admitted the culpability of the Nazi regime in the genocide of European Jews. Deniers, including Bradley Smith, claim that Jews were motivated to perpetuate such a scam out of greed, arrogance and a lust for power. These are classic anti-Semitic stereotypes. It is no accident that the ranks of Holocaust deniers are filled with neo-Nazis and open anti-Semites. Bradley Smith's effort to recruit for Holocaust denial propagates anti-Semitism and can do real damage to intergroup relations on the Youngstown State University campus. It is unfortunate that *The Jambar* allowed itself to be co-opted into this effort. More information on Bradley Smith and his twenty-year effort to spread Holocaust denial is available on the ADL website, www.adl.org.

<http://media.www.thejambar.com/media/storage/paper324/news/2009/02/10/Opinion/Letter.To.The.Editor.Feb.10-3621763.shtml>

Case Studies

Stopping the Problem in Its Tracks: University of Virginia and University of Kentucky

When *The Cavalier Daily*, at the University of Virginia, was approached by CODOH to publish the Holocaust denial advertisement, the editor immediately contacted the Anti-Defamation League. After a discussion of the moral and legal ethics involved, the insert was denied publication.

Similarly, the Hillel faculty advisor at the University of Kentucky contacted ADL when he learned of the impending publication of the insert in the *Kentucky Kernel*. ADL provided materials and advice, which the Hillel advisor brought to the newspaper. As a result, the staff decided not to carry the insert.

The Best of a Bad Situation: Wake Forest University

The *Old Gold and Black* at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina realized its error in publishing Bradley Smith's insert. The newspaper's editorial and advertising staff and the Resident Student Association came to a solution that produced a valuable learning experience for the university.

After publication, the Resident Student Association sponsored a forum in which the issue was discussed.

The newspaper's 12-person editorial board published an editorial explaining the issue and apologizing. As a result of the insert, a formal advertising policy was established and goals were set to improve communication between the editorial and business offices.

In addition, the advertising manager also wrote an op-ed piece regretting her mistake and taking full responsibility. The proceeds of the ad were donated to a Holocaust center. The president of the University issued a powerful public statement uniting the campus community against the hatred represented in the insert. A schedule of Holocaust-related speakers and events were planned for the following semesters.

A Cautionary Tale

A Mid-Atlantic university published the 27-page insert entitled *The Revisionist*, which questioned the existence of the Holocaust, from CODOH Director Bradley R. Smith.

The local Hillel was notified three days prior to publication by the newspaper staff of the impending advertisement. The newspaper staff explained that it was too late to stop publication and that they had no interest in doing so. The school administration was not alerted to the newspaper's decision. It was the third year in a row that a Holocaust denial ad had appeared, and the previous silence from the administration was seen as implied consent to continue publication of such material.

The campus became outraged over the 5,000-copy publication. A forum sponsored by the University was held in which more than 200 students, faculty and staff were able to air their opinions and hurt. The episode received extensive media coverage in the metropolitan area.

What could have been done after learning of the intended publication?

- the ad should have been labeled “paid advertisement” to avoid confusion;
- the administration should have been notified and encouraged to condemn Holocaust denial;
- an editorial should have been published by the editor-in-chief to clarify the newspaper’s advertising policy and a disclaimer that the content represented in the paid insert does not represent the opinion of the editorial board;
- the president of Hillel should have written an editorial explaining why the insert was hurtful and completely inappropriate.

On the Defensive

Youngstown State University’s newspaper, *The Jambar*, chose to print Bradley Smith’s Holocaust denial advertisement in January 2009. When the ad was placed, students, faculty and community members were outraged that the editorial board approved the ad for publication. One student wrote that the campus “is all about diversity and this was nothing short of an anti-Semitic attack on history. I understand this was a paid ad and not the opinion of *The Jambar* or anyone who represents *The Jambar* or YSU, but does the paper not have a responsibility to keep the integrity of our campus intact? The Holocaust is a historical fact.” Several days later, the editorial board ran the ad a second time accompanied by a statement defending its decision. “We are an open forum. Just as Smith was able to run his ad in our pages, anyone is free to shout him down, and is welcome to do so. We enjoy a tremendous freedom in this country. It is not a freedom not to be offended. Rather, it is a freedom to hear all voices, and have ours be heard. It is through the marketplace of ideas that bad ideas are defeated.”³

It is essential to fight hate speech with more speech and defeat bigotry through words. However, the editorial board failed to realize that it repeatedly made choices on whether to print content that was obscene, libelous, or obviously inflammatory (e.g., a claim that “there was no slavery in the United States.”) Additionally, by giving a platform to Holocaust denial, it gave legitimacy to a view of history that is manifestly false and profoundly offensive.

What can be done after such an ad’s publication?

- Ask the administration, university board members, and faculty to publicly condemn Holocaust denial.

³ Traficant, Edward S.(2009, February 3)Letter to the Editor. *The Jambar*. Retrieved from http://www.thejambar.com/home/index.cfm?event=displayArticlePrinterFriendly&uStory_id=422f8887-affd-49f5-bfd0-8a39db05bb4b

- Coordinate an educational campus program on the Holocaust that might include hearing from a Holocaust survivor.
- Plan a *Yom HaShoah*, *Holocaust Remembrance Day* commemoration. Secure and allocate funding to make this an annual event.

APPENDIX I:

Resources on the Holocaust

The following is a list of authoritative sources that provide comprehensive discussions of the Holocaust and related subjects. They focus on specific issues within the larger series of events, and each offers a slightly different interpretation of various incidents, but they all attest to the enormity of the Holocaust's devastation and the brutality of Nazi policy in implementing mass murder.

Web-based Resources

- Yad Vashem: www.yad-vashem.org.il/collections/index/html. The collection of archival material and publications about the Holocaust at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority located in Jerusalem.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: <http://www.ushmm.org/>. Featuring an Encyclopedia of the Holocaust and information about recent genocides
- Deborah Lipstadt's "Holocaust Denial on Trial": <http://www.hdot.org/>. Professor Lipstadt gives a full account of her legal battle with Holocaust denier David Irving, and disproves Holocaust denial arguments.
- Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum: <http://en.auschwitz.org.pl/m/>. The history of the largest Nazi extermination camp.
- The Nizkor Project: <http://www.nizkor.org/>. The site provides research guides on Holocaust topics and helpful information to refute Holocaust deniers.
- The Cybrary of the Holocaust: www.remember.org. The Cybrary uses art, discussion groups, photos, poems and facts to educate about the Holocaust.
- Holocaust Survivors: www.holocaustsurvivors.org. Read and listen to the stories of Holocaust survivors first-hand, along with photos, an art gallery and library references.
- Documentary Resources on Nazi Genocide and its Denial: www.anti-rev.org. This server provides full texts of essays and lists Internet resources on the Nazi genocide and its denial.

Text Resources

- Evans, Richard J. *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*. Basic Books, 2001.
- Kaufman, Debra ; Gerald Herman; James Ross; and David Phillips. *From the Protocols of the Elders of Zion to Holocaust Denial Trials*. Mitchell Vallentine & Co, 2007.
- Lipstadt, Deborah. *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. Free Press, 1993.
- Lipstadt, Deborah. *History on Trial: My Day in Court with a Holocaust Denier*. Ecco, 2005.
- Shermer, Michael and Alex Grobman. *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* University of California Press, 2000.
- Van Pelt, Robert Jan. *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Indiana University Press, 2002.
- Zimmerman, John C. *Holocaust Denial: Demographics, Testimonies and Ideologies*. University Press of America, 2000.

APPENDIX II:

ADL Background on Bradley Smith

Bradley Smith

Though he often tries to present himself as a free speech activist, Bradley Smith has functioned as a propagandist for the Holocaust denial movement since 1983. He has achieved his greatest notoriety as the director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), whose mission is to disseminate Holocaust denial to students on college campuses. In lectures promoting his book, *Break His Bones*, Smith sought to refocus his message on the free speech issue and to “decriminalize Holocaust history.” Privately, he admits that his aim continues to be promoting “revisionism” and anti-Israel propaganda.

Born: 1930

Organization: Founded the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust in 1987.

Location: Offices have been located in Visalia, California, and Baja, Mexico.

Publications: *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist* (book); *Smith's Report* (newsletter). Defunct newsletters: *The Revisionist*, *Smith's Journal*, *Prima Facie*, *Revisionist Letters*, *Campus Update for Editors*.

Strategy: Campus ad campaigns and speaking tours.

Associates: Smith is the only member of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust. He has been helped with his publications by Germar Rudolf, George Brewer, Bill Halvorson, Samuel Crowell, David Thomas, Richard Widmann, Martin Henry, Ernest Sommers, and MacKenzie Paine (deceased). Smith previously worked for the Institute for Historical Review and speaks at many of its conferences.

Quotes:

“I don't want to spend time with adults anymore. I want to go to



filled”.

“What I wanted to do was I wanted to set forth three or four ideas that students might be interested in, that might cause them to think about [the Holocaust] or to have questions about [the Holocaust]. And I wanted to make it as simple as possible, and to set it up in a way that could not really be debated.”

Bradley Smith: Ideology/Motivations

Bradley Smith is a Holocaust denier, anti-Semite, and anti-Israel propagandist. To audiences of college students, who are the primary targets of his activities, he presents himself as a crusading advocate for free speech and free debate. Despite this public claim that he aims merely to awaken students to the value of “dissident history” and free speech, in extremist forums Smith candidly and cynically explains that arguing for freedom of academic inquiry into the Holocaust enables him to introduce Holocaust denial to skeptical audiences.

In the company of fellow deniers, Smith even admits that he carefully constructs his campus speeches to minimize the possibility of disagreement with his ideas. In a lecture he gave at an April 2004 convention of the Institute for Historical Review and the neo-Nazi National Alliance, Smith said that his stump campus speech is constructed “as simpl[y] as possible...to set [the issues] up in a way that could not really be debated.”

In public, Smith often presents himself as an agnostic on the factuality of the Holocaust, adding earnest-sounding fillips to his writings like “I’m willing to be convinced I’m wrong about the gas chambers,” “I don’t care anymore who’s right or wrong about the gas chamber stories,” and “authentic physical remains or wartime-generated documents would do the trick.” These statements are belied, however, by his emphatic printed references to the “gas chamber hoax” and the “monstrous falsehoods” propagated by the “Holocaust industry.” Like every other denier, Smith dismisses the records of World War II, including thousands of documents that were used immediately after the war in the Nuremberg trials, as forgeries. He rejects survivors as greedy charlatans and claims that American GI’s who saw the death apparatus in the camps were duped by the American military itself, which was also complicit in the conspiracy.

While he tries to avoid explicit racism or anti-Semitism, an examination of his writings betrays an angry anti-Semitism. He describes the survivor stories as self-punishing reveries, wondering “what is there about sado-masochism that gives it such appeal among so many Jews?” and musing about “Israeli-Jewish ‘Samson’ and ‘Masada’ complexes.” He describes Hillel as “the leading private Jewish intelligence agency on college campuses,” whose rabbis have “broad political agendas but no spiritual one,” are “sweaty with self-righteousness and bad faith,” and harbor a “lust to control the thoughts of others.” In a January 2009 posting on his website, Smith fulminated against “Jewish greed” and “Jewish monomaniacal self-regard,” which he claims are responsible for the widespread acknowledgement of the Holocaust in society.

In recent years Smith's distaste for the state of Israel has increasingly informed his “revisionist” propaganda. Smith writes that Israel was founded on “a mountain of fraud and greed,” and claims that Israel is seeking to “destroy Palestinian culture and hold the Palestinian people in racist subjugation.” To Smith, the Holocaust “gas chamber fraud” and its Jewish inventors are responsible for global terrorism, the Middle East conflict, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and the U.S.-led war in Iraq. As Smith wrote in a September 2004 edition of his *Outlaw History* newsletter, “[I]here would be no moral justification for war in Iraq without 9/11. There would be no moral justification for 9/11 without the U.S. alliance with Israel. No moral justification for the U.S. alliance with Israel without the Holocaust story. And no Holocaust story without the ‘gas chambers.’ The irony being that revisionists have shown that the gas-chamber stories cannot be demonstrated to have existed.”

Most troublingly, Smith appears to recognize that his denial of the Holocaust itself contributes to anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic violence, especially in the Arab world. Smith writes that Holocaust deniers “understand that [telling] the truth about the gas chambers ...will result in Arab fanatics having yet one more moral justification for killing innocent, unarmed Jews.” Yet Smith and his cohorts continue to disseminate their lies anyway.

Bradley Smith: Extremist Affiliations

Smith began his career in Holocaust denial with the Institute for Historical Review, writing and editing its newsletter. He co-founded the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) with Mark Weber. The pages of Smith's monthly newsletter, *Smith's Report*, have become a forum for Holocaust deniers. Smith publishes articles written by and concerning an international coterie of well-known revisionists like David Irving (UK), Arthur Butz (USA), and Robert Faurisson (France) as well as obscure Holocaust denier bloggers, whose comments are sometimes published anonymously. Additionally, Smith has been helped with his publications by Germar Rudolf (Germany), Richard Widmann (USA), and Paul Grubach (USA), among others.

Bradley Smith: Background

Personal Background:

According to an autobiographical work, Bradley Smith tried his hand at many things during the first period of his life. He worked in rail yards, milk plants and the construction industry; he drove a Good Humor ice cream truck and owned a bookshop. He was married twice. He served in Korea and traveled to Vietnam in the hope of becoming a war correspondent.

His life changed, he says, on the day he read an article by French Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson entitled “The Problem of the Gas Chambers, or The Rumor of Auschwitz.” From Faurisson he moved on to Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Bradley Smith, at the age of 49, had discovered Holocaust denial.

Smith's revisionist activities, sometimes in association with the Institute for Historical Review (see below), were based from 1980-1997 in Hollywood and Visalia, California. In 1997 Smith moved to Mexico, where he has been located since. His frequent requests for money from readers of *Smith's Report* indicate that for years, Holocaust denial has been his primary source of income.

With the Institute for Historical Review (1980-1986)

Smith says that by 1980, a year after he had first encountered Holocaust denial, he had contacted the Southern California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), then the major Holocaust denial organization in the United States. He had “regular contact” with David McCalden, who was then IHR's director. He also developed a relationship with IHR's founder, the notorious anti-Semitic propagandist Willis Carto; Smith says Carto sent him to Canada in 1984 to cover the trial of Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel for *The Spotlight*, the weekly tabloid of Carto's Liberty Lobby.

Smith's relationship with IHR entered a new, more substantive phase in July of 1984. At the time, Smith claims, IHR was prepared to publish his first completed manuscript, entitled “The Holocaust Cult and the Suppression of Free Inquiry: An Autobiographical Narrative.” Although an arson attack on IHR's building that month apparently caused the Institute to indefinitely divert its attention from Smith's manuscript, Smith's enthusiasm for the IHR and Holocaust denial only grew. He immediately began working on his next manuscript, which he later published as “Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist.” He also offered the IHR his services as “public spokesperson.” The result of this offer was the creation of *Prima Facie*, a monthly newsletter written by Smith and funded by IHR.

In *Prima Facie*, Smith aimed to inform the press and the media about what he described as the censorship and suppression of free inquiry commonly used to promote belief in the Holocaust. In a mimeographed letter that accompanied *Prima Facie*'s first issue, Smith explained that the newsletter would inform about “fraudulent documents, and the dishonest manipulation of authentic documents, used to substantiate the ‘gas chamber’ thesis,” “acts of suppression and censorship used to prevent critical examination of the ‘gas chamber’ thesis,” and “the intimidation and slander used by such organizations as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, to silence Holocaust revisionists.”

The first issue of *Prima Facie* was published in October 1984, and according to Smith was sent to approximately 4000 journalists in editors in major media markets.

Smith was able to produce seven issues of *Prima Facie* before budget constraints at the IHR forced the cancellation of the venture. He also served as editor of the *IHR Newsletter* for five issues, and continued as a contributing editor for some time.

In January of 1986, Smith became the first director of the IHR Radio Project, which soon came to be called the Media Project. Its goal was to disseminate Holocaust denial propaganda by soliciting the producers of radio and television talk shows to interview a ‘revisionist’ — almost always Smith himself, but occasionally other prominent American Holocaust deniers such as Mark Weber, David Cole or Tom Marcellus. After a failed attempt at provoking discussion about the landmark documentary *Shoah* — which he described as a “fraudulent film” — Smith promoted a critique of “the Dachau gas chamber hoax, the Jews-made-into-soap hoax and the Elie Wiesel hoax about how Jewish cadavers are supposed

to be able to spurt ‘geysers of blood’ from their graves.” By 1993, IHR was claiming that Smith had appeared on “more than three hundred” radio and television shows.

For reasons unclear, in 1993 the IHR ceased referring to Smith as the director of its Media Project and stopped including updates on the Media Project in its publications. At the time, IHR was embroiled in a costly lawsuit with its founder, Willis Carto, whom the board of directors had recently ousted. Deprived of Carto's financial resources, IHR might have been forced to cancel the Media Project due to a lack of funds. Although Smith has not held any other official positions in IHR, he has continued playing important roles in IHR's revisionist conferences.

CODOH and the Campus Project (1987-2001)

In 1987, while serving as the director of IHR's Media Project, Smith, along with IHR Editorial Advisor Mark Weber, founded the Committee for Open Debate of the Holocaust — a somewhat misleading name, for the two “directors” were the only members of the “Committee” (Weber has since left). Its stated goal was to “encourage public awareness of the controversy that has developed about the truthfulness of the claims that Germans systematically exterminated some six million European Jews during the Second World War.”

CODOH's most ambitious and important effort was its Campus Project, a semiannual campaign undertaken by Smith to place Holocaust-denying advertisements in college newspapers. Smith's first major offering in a student paper was headlined “The Holocaust Story: How Much is False? The Case for Open Debate.” In the text, he railed against “thought police” and the “politically correct,” and argued that students and professors should “be free to investigate the Holocaust story in the same way they are free to examine every other historical event.” Smith's first ad was submitted in the fall of 1991 to the student newspapers of about 40 of the nation's larger colleges. More than half the schools rejected the ad outright. Over the course of several months, however, enough papers ran the ad to trigger nationwide controversy. The *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* weighed in with editorials, and many of the nation's prominent columnists produced op-eds on the subject. Public sentiment, as reflected by the media, was mixed. Most applauded those college editors who had refused the ad, which was almost universally recognized as a piece of specious anti-Semitic propaganda; some defended the editors, however, claiming that despite its offensiveness, newspaper editors had a First Amendment obligation to print the ad. Furthermore, they argued that the best way of discrediting the views of Holocaust deniers was to publicize them and expose them to rational criticism.

After 1991 Smith was unable to attract the national coverage that his cause received during his first campaign. Since 1991 he has conducted eight major campaigns, each one featuring an ad of his own composition. Smith's other ads in college newspapers have included similar calls for “free inquiry” into the Holocaust while denouncing attempts to “censor” Holocaust deniers (1991); attempts to discredit photographs, documents and eyewitnesses (1991-1992); and attacks on Elie Wiesel (1999-2000), the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (1994-1995), the Simon Wiesenthal Center (2000-2001) and mainstream historians who study the Holocaust (1992-1993). Two of his ads posed public challenges: in 1998 he announced a \$100,000 cash award for anyone who could arrange a prime time network broadcast of a video on the “disputed Auschwitz ‘gas chamber’” produced by his protégé, David Cole. In 1999 he upped the ante to \$250,000 for anyone who could arrange a prime-time debate with a

representative of the Anti-Defamation League, to be broadcast on a national network. Neither of these challenges met with success.

In the January 2001 edition of his occasional newsletter, *Smith's Report*, he admitted that the Campus Project “has been in decline for perhaps the last three years.” Smith attributed his lessening effectiveness not to increasingly savvy student communities, but to an organized attempt at repression. As a result, Smith said that he decided to change his strategy. Instead of his regular ads, he intended to rely on subtler, op-ed-style pieces, which would deal with Holocaust denial in a more oblique fashion, and which he would “frequently” submit to the “300 biggest and best universities in the land.” Substantive obstacles notwithstanding, Smith's plan would save him the expenses of an ad campaign. In addition, he said that he planned to branch out into the commercial press as well (at the time he had already published one piece (“Hard to Know What's Right and Wrong”), combining anti-Israel polemic with Holocaust denial, in a January 2001 issue of *The Asian Reporter*).

Smith was disappointed, however, when he found that there was almost no interest in these his articles. He eventually abandoned this approach as well, and for a time limited his activity to posting occasional pieces of Holocaust denial or anti-Israel propaganda on his Web site.

Break His Bones and Other Efforts (2002-2009)

In October 2002 Smith self-published an autobiographical work entitled *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*, which consists largely of recycled essays on his life, Holocaust denial and free speech that have been available at various locations on the Internet for years. He sought to promote his book through a now-defunct Web site (breakhisbones.com) and ads in campus newspapers. Smith soon reported that many of these ads were being rejected by editorial staff.

Realizing, perhaps, that the agenda of his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust had become too well-known to allow him easy entrée to campuses and student newspapers, in early 2004 Smith took down the previous Internet home of his Campus Project (at CODOH.org), and started anew with a “Campaign to Decriminalize Holocaust History” (CDHH). With CDHH Smith took his greatest pains yet to portray himself as a free speech advocate. With a dense essay entitled “No one should be imprisoned for writing a book” at their core, Smith's new efforts focused on the legislation that some European countries have enacted to prohibit extremist attempts to deny the Holocaust and demonize Jews. He argued that this legislation turns innocent historians and researchers into “thought criminals” and alleged, based on an obscure paper presented at a 1988 academic legal conference, that such legislation is even now being prepared for enactment in the United States.

Although he announced with much fanfare that he was ending CODOH and launching the “Campaign to Decriminalize Holocaust History” (sometimes rendered the “Campaign to Decriminalize World War II History”), he does not appear to have followed through with the strategy and has retained the former as the name for his website.

In 2004 Smith attempted, with limited success, to bring his newly focused message to college campuses. In several instances he was able to arrange to speak on campuses in Southern California.

Smith also promoted his book through an occasional electronic newsletter, *Outlaw History: The Newsletter*, which he founded in September 2004, but discontinued shortly thereafter.

In the June 2005 issue of Smith's Report, Smith announced a new project in which he would write a running commentary and journal on his reaction to reading Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Titled "Adolf Hitler and Me: A Work in Progress," Smith published several chapters of the work in his newsletter but has not updated it since August 2006.

Smith's attempts to articulate his message before college audiences continue, albeit with little success or public recognition. He gave a talk before a philosophy class at Baja, Mexico's Universidad de las Californias in the fall of 2005.

In December 2006, Smith delivered a speech ("The Irrational Vocabulary of the American Professorial Class with Regard to the Holocaust Question") at a Holocaust denial conference in Tehran sponsored by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The conference, roundly condemned internationally, was attended by David Duke, representatives of the Lebanese terror group Hezbollah, and scores of other Holocaust deniers. In his address, Smith railed against mainstream professors that refuse to give credence to Holocaust revisionist ideologies.

In his May 2007 newsletter, Smith reports giving an interview to *The Spectator*, Seattle University's student newspaper, and being approached for an interview by a reporter from San Jose State University's *Spartan Daily*.

Smith released a film in Spanish, *El Gran Tabu*, with Germar Rudolf and Ernst Zundel. The film, which rehashes Smith's standard repertoire of Holocaust denial, anti-Zionist, and free speech arguments, was screened at the "Corto Creativo 07" film festival in Mexico in June, 2007.

In January 2009, Bradley Smith embarked on a new campaign to place Holocaust denial ads in college newspapers. His ads suggest that scholars cannot provide the name of even one Holocaust victim along with proof that s/he was killed in a gas chamber. By September, his ads made their way into at least 12 papers, including *The Harvard Crimson*.

Smith's ads in college newspapers follow earlier efforts in which he contacted academics, challenging them to name, "with proof," one Holocaust victim killed in a gas chamber. Despite having emailed numerous scholars, Smith received very few responses and no public attention. Smith's new ad suggests that the lack of responses somehow implies that there is no proof of the execution of even one Holocaust victim by lethal gas, and that therefore the Holocaust is a fraud.

It is not surprising that reputable scholars have not engaged Smith on a question that can be answered by a trip to any public or university library, or the websites of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yad Vashem, or the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. It is also hard to imagine that any standard of "proof" would be acceptable to Smith, who has already rejected eyewitness testimony, Nazi confessions, period documentation, and scholarly studies.

Bradley Smith: In His Own Words

“I don't want to spend time with adults anymore. I want to go to students. They are superficial. They are empty vessels to be filled.”

Oral presentation, August 5, 1987

“Promoting [Break His] Bones is promoting revisionism because there is no light between the two.”

Smith's Report, April 2004, no. 104, p. 6

“There were no gas chambers. The Jews were not the victims of a genocidal plot.”

Outlaw History Newsletter, no. 18

“Jewish greed, Jewish monomaniacal self-regard, joined with the self-defeating and degenerate acquiescence of both by non-Jews throughout the American political system, media, and academic worlds, ensure that the taboo against questioning any of this murderous nonsense is enforced.”

Smith's blog, January 2009

“[Israel is] despised by almost every people that comes into contact with it.”

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist p. 47

“Why Christians or anyone else put up with this vulgar man [Simon Wiesenthal], his idiotic pronouncements and his lying accusations is beyond me.”

Prima Facie no. 4, January 1985

“It wasn't long ago when I was ten thousand dollars in debt and sinking. There was no way I could find to make a living writing about the gas chamber hoax [...] In desperation I mailed out a solicitation begging for money, promising I would use part of it to get college speaking dates to talk about Holocaust revisionism. Within a month I'd gotten enough money to pay off my debts.”

Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist, San Ysidro, CA. p. 204

“What I wanted to do was I wanted to set forth three or four ideas that students might be interested in, that might cause them to think about things or to have questions about things. And I wanted to make it as simple as possible, and to set it up in a way that could not really be debated.”

Sacramento IHR/NA conference, 04/24/2004

“Holocaust fanatics are justified in fearing that revisionist arguments will add fuel to Arab fanaticism [...] If they allow the truth about the gas-chamber stories to emerge freely into the

light of day, one result will be that Arab fanatics will kill Jews, using the Holocaust 'Hoax' as morally justifying it....”

Outlaw History Newsletter, no. 2

“The entire Israeli enterprise is based on a mountain of fraud and greed.”

Outlaw History Newsletter, no. 18