

way through the court system. Those knowledgeable about the IHR's problems but not in attendance, such as Wayne Lutton, worried from a distance that Weber might not survive the battle with Willis Carto.⁶

For his part, Carto used *The Spotlight* to regularly besmirch individual IHR staff members. He also launched a monthly magazine to compete directly with Weber's *Journal*. Entitled *The Barnes Review*, the first issue was dated October 1994. The August 29 edition of the *The Spotlight*, published just prior to the IHR's Labor Day meeting, carried a three-page spread announcing the magazine, including its first editorial. And Carto demonstrated that he had learned a lesson from this dispute. Rather than hide his control, he prominently posted his own name on the magazine's title page. The first issue published twenty plus congratulatory "letters to the editor." LaVonne Furr and Tom Kerr, the two Legion for the Survival of Freedom board members whose (temporary) perfidy had enabled Weber's crew to seize control, re-signed up with Carto. Not surprisingly, five people closely associated with Liberty Lobby, including its counsel, Mark Lane, formally added their names. Two additional attorneys, Kirk Lyons and Sam Dickson, sent letters of support as well. Finally, Jeanne Degrelle, widow of Waffen SS General Leon Degrelle, wrote her special regards.⁷ Each name provided a clue to Carto's standing among his peers.

Although the IHR's 1994 conference counted as a significant marker in the staff's nine-year battle with its former boss, the most remarkable event that weekend was a speech by Ernst Zundel. Born in southeastern Germany in 1939, Ernst Christof Friedrich Zundel grew up under the occupying Allied forces before immigrating to Canada in 1958. By the mid-1970s he had become a fully fledged apologist for Hitler while eschewing the uniforms and buffoonery of Hollywood-style neo-Nazism, according to Stanley Barrett, a scholar whose 1987 book on Canada's right wing, *Is God a Racist?*, chronicled much of Zundel's early career.⁸ Under a barely disguised pseudonym, Zundel authored a book entitled *The Hitler We Loved and Why* and contributed regularly to an unabashed national socialist monthly bulletin produced by another German émigré then living in West Virginia.⁹ Despite this history, Zundel exhibited an almost endless capacity for self-promotion. From a house in Toronto, he did business using the name Samisdat Publications, evoking the image of an underground dissident press battling a totalitarian state. It was only one of Zundel's many clever marketing gambits. One of the booklets on his distribution list was *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and it was this piece of propaganda that turned Zundel's name into a Canadian newspaper headline.¹⁰

In 1983, following a criminal complaint by a private citizen, Cana-

dian prosecutors charged him with willfully publishing false news that "is likely to cause mischief to a public interest." They cited the *Six Million* pamphlet and one other publication. When the case finally went to court in 1985, Zundel was convicted. But not before he had wrung "one million dollars" of publicity out of the six-week trial. Dressed each day in a bulletproof vest and a hard hat inscribed with the slogan "Freedom of Speech," he walked into the courthouse surrounded by a gaggle of supporters, also wearing hard hats. Television cameras could not resist the action.¹¹

Zundel appealed the conviction, and an Ontario court overturned the verdict on technicalities in 1987. A few months later a second trial on the same charges began. During this second trial, defending Zundel became the business of the entire revisionist industry. Widespread financial support enabled him to mount a vigorous legal defense. David Irving traveled from England and testified on his behalf, as did Mark Weber and several other lesser-known figures. Zundel supporters even underwrote a thirty-five-thousand-dollar expense to send a team of "experts" to take rock brick samples from Auschwitz in an attempt to prove that gas chambers never existed. Despite the elaborate defense, Zundel was once again convicted on the facts and sentenced this time to nine months. On this occasion he showed up for prison in a concentration camp costume with television cameras in tow, once more squeezing every possible ounce of publicity from his legal travails. He served only one week before being bailed out while his case was appealed to the Canadian Supreme Court.¹²

When Canadian justices rendered their final decision in 1992, they noted that the statute under which Zundel had been charged dated from the year 1275 in England, "a society dominated by extremely powerful landowners." The justices noted that England had already abolished this old law and that the United States had never adopted it. They decided that the statute prohibiting "false news" abridged the freedom of expression guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the charges against Zundel were dismissed.¹³

Fifteen years after attending the IHR's first convention as a German émigré with a small personal footprint, Zundel returned to the 1994 conference after these battles as a veritable yeti. At the Saturday night banquet address he was formally introduced as the "leading distributor of revisionist" materials. The staff added an unusual disclaimer: the IHR's goals were "fundamentally different" from Zundel's, an apparent reference to his open advocacy of national socialism. Nevertheless, he was described to great applause as the "ring master" who had tamed the "huge media circus" attendant at his two trials.¹⁴