

Herman Bernstein (1935) and Norman Cohn (1971) argue that the Protocols of Zion is a forgery.

Peter Myers, September 20, 2002; update February 25, 2018. My comments are shown {thus}

Cohn only has an introduction here. For his detailed arguments in *Warrant For Genocide*, see <http://mailstar.net/cohn.html>

Bernstein's Exhibit A, Maurice Joly's book *Dialogues in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, is excluded here, but is at <http://mailstar.net/joly.doc>

For arguments that the Bernstein / Cohn "forgery" hypothesis is flawed, see *The Protocols of Zion Toolkit* at <http://mailstar.net/toolkit.html>

{p. iii} **THE TRUTH ABOUT "THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION"**

A Complete Exposure

By HERMAN BERNSTEIN

Introduction by NORMAN COHN

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

{p. v} TO LOVERS OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE AND PARTICULARLY TO THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN EMINENT AMERICAN CHRISTIANS WHO, ON JANUARY 16, 1921, SIGNED THE PROTEST AGAINST THE DISSEMINATION OF THE **SPURIOUS** "PROTOCOLS OF THE WISE MEN OF ZION" AND THE "VICIOUS PROPAGANDA" OF PREJUDICE AND HATRED AND WHO CALLED UPON MOLDERS OF PUBLIC OPINION - THE CLERGY AND MINISTERS OF ALL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, PUBLICISTS, TEACHERS, EDITORS AND STATESMEN, TO STRIKE AT THIS UN-AMERICAN AND UN-CHRISTIAN AGITATION," THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE AUTHOR

{p. vi} ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I ACKNOWLEDGE with gratitude the helpful suggestions and encouragement given me by Dr. Cyrus Adler, and the invaluable co-operation of Mr. Harry Schneiderman in the preparation Of the manuscript. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Father A. Sacchetti and to Dr. Stephen S. Wise for their thoughtful counsel; to Dr. Joshua Bloch, New York Public Library, and to Dr. Israel Schapiro, Library of Congress, Washington, for their helpfulness in connection with my work of research. THE AUTHOR.

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{p. ix} INTRODUCTION {by Norman Cohn}

The **notorious fabrication** known as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was first published in Russia in 1903 and 1905; but **it became important only when right-wing Russian extremists, arriving as refugees from the Bolshevik revolution, brought it to the West.** In 1920 the *Protocols* were a major sensation: translations published in that single year include two American, two German, two French, two Polish and one English. Nor was the sensation confined to the naive or the uneducated: serious newspapers such as the London Times and the Philadelphia Public Ledger earnestly debated the authenticity of the *Protocols*.

{Cohn completely glosses over the question of whether the Bolshevik Revolution was led by Jews, and whether both the adherents to the Old Regime, and the socialists alarmed at finding their government usurped by Jews, might have had cause to compare the tyranny unleashed, with that foretold in the *Protocols*. He seems not to consider this question relevant, and instead hurries on to link the *Protocols* with Hitler, and thereby tarnish their credibility}

The unmasking of the fabrication also began at once. In his little book, *The History of a Lie*, which appeared at the beginning of 1921, the American Herman Bernstein showed that the *Protocols* were modelled on an episode in a German novel called **Biarritz**, published in 1868 over the pseudonym of Sir John Ratcliffe (the author was really a disreputable journalist called Herman Goedsche). Six months later the Constantinople correspondent of the London Times, Philip Graves, was able to point to another source of the fantasy: large parts of the *Protocols* had been taken almost verbatim from *Maurice Joly's Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, which is a satire on Napoleon III, published in Brussels in 1864. The *Protocols* continued to be printed and sold in many countries even after their spuriousness had been proved; and when Hitler came to power they took on a new kind of importance. In

{p. x} **Germany the *Protocols* became one of the sacred texts of National Socialism**, published by the Party itself; and unlike Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, this sacred text was not only bought but read. By 1935 a German Minister of Education was even able to prescribe the *Protocols* as one of the basic textbooks for schools. Meanwhile throughout vast areas of the world - in most European countries, in the United States, Canada and Argentina, even in Japan - new editions of the *Protocols* were published and propagated by Nazi sympathizers or Nazi-type parties and movements.

This was the context in which Herman Bernstein produced his second and much longer book on the *Protocols*. *The Truth about the Protocols of Zion* contains, in English translation, all the material bearing on the fabrication: Maurice Joly's *Dialogues* and Philip Graves' account of his finding of the *Dialogues*; the relevant passage from Goedsche's **Biarritz**; the *Protocols* themselves, and evidence concerning the Russian religious fanatic, **Sergei Nilus, who in 1905 published the first complete text of the Protocols** as part of his mystical tract on the coming of Antichrist. Thirty-six years have passed since Bernstein's book appeared; but it remains the only work of its kind. **Nowhere else can one find such a comprehensive collection of the relevant documents.**

Bernstein's five introductory chapters also remain valid as a general introduction to the history of the fabrication. But, inevitably, perspectives have changed. Since Bernstein wrote, a vast amount of research has been done on the history of antisemitism and on the ideological roots of National Socialism. To appreciate the full significance of the *Protocols* one has to know what tradition they sprang from; what changes they underwent when they reached Germany; and what they meant to Hitler himself. The following pages will be devoted to situating the *Protocols* in this wider context.

Over very large areas of the earth, Jews have been seen traditionally as mysterious beings, endowed with uncanny and sinister powers. It is known where these ideas originated. Between the second and the fourth centuries C.E., when the Church

{p. xi} and the Synagogue were competing for converts in the Hellenistic world, and when moreover the Church and the Synagogue were struggling to win adherents from one another, this conception of the Jew came into being. **St. John Chrysostom** is a case in point: in order **to terrorize the Christians of Antioch, who showed a certain inclination to revert to Judaism**, he **called the Synagogue "the temple of demons, the cavern of devils, a gulf and abyss of perdition"**, and portrayed Jews as habitual murderers and destroyers, people possessed by an evil spirit. Likewise, St. Augustine was much concerned to protect his catechumens against **the attractions of Judaism** - and so he described how the Jews, who had been the favourite sons of God, were now transformed into the sons of Satan. Such were the beginnings.

Seven or eight centuries later, in the most militant period in the history of the Roman Catholic church, these ancient fantasies were revived, and integrated into what was really a whole new demonology. The change came with the First Crusade (1096); from then onwards, Jews were presented as children of the Devil, **agents employed by Satan for the express purpose of combating Christianity** and harming individual Christians. In the twelfth century Jews were for the first time accused of such things as ritually murdering Christian children, torturing the consecrated wafer, poisoning the wells. Although popes and bishops frequently and emphatically condemned these stories as gross fabrications, the lower clergy continued to propagate them; and in the end the stories came to be generally believed. Above all, it was said that Jews worshipped the Devil and that the Devil in return rewarded them by making them collectively masters of black magic. From this it followed that however helpless individual Jews might seem, Jews collectively were regarded as possessing limitless powers for evil.

The propagation of such views by the clergy, century after century, gradually but in the end decisively influenced the attitude of the laity. **It is true that Judaism, with its idea of the Chosen People and with its elaborate system of taboos, tended in any case to make Jews into a people apart;** but what now happened went far beyond that. The Jews became much more

{p. xii} than a people apart, **they came to be regarded as most dangerous enemies**; and for that Christian teaching and preaching were responsible. To be convinced of this, **one only has to consider the case of the Jewish settlements in India and China: they existed for some two thousand years, without ever attracting any particular attention.** But there is no need to labour the point. There are, after all, many other minorities in the world which show traits of separateness in one way or another, and they are by no means always seen as enemies.

During the Middle Ages Jews were almost wholly without legal rights and were frequently massacred by the mob; and of course such experiences as these in turn **greatly encouraged the Jewish tendency to exclusiveness.** During the long centuries of persecution, **Jews became a wholly alien people within Christendom,** compulsorily restricted to the most sordid trades, **regarding the Gentile world with bitterness.** In the eyes of most Christians these strange creatures were demons in human form; and some of the demonology that was woven around them then has proved extraordinarily durable.

The myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy is the typical modern adaptation of this ancient demonology. According to this myth, there exists a **secret Jewish government** which **operates through a world-wide network of camouflaged agencies and organizations,** and in this way controls political parties and governments, the press and public opinion, banks and economic developments. This secret government is supposed to be doing all these things in pursuance of an age-old plan, a plan with **a single aim: establishing Jewish domination over the whole world.** And this secret government is supposed to be dangerously near to achieving its aim.

Now in this fantasy of the Jewish world-conspiracy one recognizes the ancient demonological terrors, stemming from the Middle Ages, but one also recognizes certain anxieties and resentments which are purely modern. 'The Jew' became in fact the scapegoat for many of the discontents of the modern world. The myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy is a particularly **degraded and distorted** expression of the new social tensions which

{p. xiii} century; that is to say, at a moment when Europe entered upon a period of exceptionally rapid and deep-going change. In the nineteenth century traditional social relationships were shaken, hereditary privileges were attacked, age-old values and beliefs were called in question - all to an extent never seen before. The slow-moving and conservative life of the countryside was increasingly challenged by an urban civilization which was dynamic, restless, given to innovation. Industrialization brought to the fore a bourgeoisie intent on increasing its wealth and extending its rights, while gradually the new class of the industrial proletariat began to exert pressure on its own account. By the middle of the century such things as democracy, liberalism, secularism, even socialism, were forces to be reckoned with. But all over Continental Europe there were large numbers of people who abominated all these things. A long, bitter struggle began; a struggle between those who accepted **the new mobile society** and the opportunities it offered, and those who hoped to retain or restore **the vanishing traditional order.** To Europe's Jews these changes brought both new possibilities and new dangers.

In the centuries since the Middle Ages Jews in most European countries had suffered from all kinds of disabilities. They were forbidden to own land, they were debarred from the professional guilds of artisans, and they were confined to a few sordid occupations. In many places they were also subject to residential restrictions, being forced to live a segregated existence in ghettos. But **all this began to change with the French Revolution;** and in the course of the nineteenth century Jews were relieved of their legal disabilities in one country after another in western and central Europe. Most Jews wanted nothing so much as to **live by the same routines as other people,** and they adapted themselves very quietly and smoothly to their new freedom. Nevertheless, in the eyes of many people 'the Jew' still had a highly symbolic significance, and for two quite different reasons. On the one hand Jews remained an identifiable and - though to a diminishing extent - an **exclusive** community. This meant that they retained something of that mysterious demonological quality

{p. xiv} which had been wished upon them in the Middle Ages. But on the other hand Jews came to be seen as **symbolic of the modern world,** and precisely by those people who most detested the modern world.

There were various reasons for this. For centuries Jews had been town-dwellers - of necessity, since they were not allowed to own land - and in the nineteenth century they still remained to an overwhelming extent in the cities, especially in the capital cities. **In politics Jews naturally tended to side with the liberal and democratic forces, as the only ones** which might be expected to **guarantee and increase their own liberties.** Moreover, Jews were still denied access to many traditional occupations. This encouraged them to find new ways of making a living; and in doing so, some of them became extremely rich. And in general it can be said that a feeling of suddenly liberated energies made many Jews more enterprising than the average - above all, exceptionally given to experiment and innovation. In industry and in commerce, in politics and journalism, **Jews achieved an influence quite out of proportion to their total numbers.**

There is nothing surprising in all this. There are perfectly sound sociological explanations for the pre-eminence of Jews in all these fields. Moreover, the number of Jews who did in fact become pre-eminent in any of them was relatively small; and conversely, banking and journalism and radical politics would all have developed in much the same way if there had been no Jews at all. But these facts were not evident to everyone. Some persuaded themselves that without the Jews and their Satanic arts the vast changes inaugurated by the French Revolution and the industrial revolution **would never have taken place at all.**

There were in the nineteenth century various types of antisemitism. This particular type flourished amongst the people who were most thoroughly **disconcerted** by the civilization of the nineteenth century; that is to say, it flourished above all **among the landed aristocracy and the clergy.** These were the people who saw in 'the Jew' a symbol of all that most threatened their own world - meaning not only their material interests but also the values which gave meaning to their lives. These people were

{p. xv} only too happy to believe that the alarming changes which they witnessed all around them sprang not from any defects in the old order, nor from impersonal historic processes, but from **the machinations of a handful of demons in human form.**

This way of interpreting the contemporary scene could also serve highly practical aims. There was now a growing electorate, but it was still in the main an **ill-educated electorate.** By portraying **democracy, liberalism and secularism as the work of the Jews,** people hoped to make these things suspect in the eyes of the electorate. A new form of antisemitism came into being: **political**

antisemitism. From now on antisemitism was to be **deliberately whipped up by ultra-conservative politicians and publicists**, in their struggle against the progressives.

So the old and the new accusations flourished side by side. In many parts of Europe Jews were still accused of such things as ritual murder, as they had been in the Middle Ages. But gradually these age-old superstitions yielded in importance to the new political superstition concerning a secret Jewish government.

In its modern form the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy can be **traced back to a French Jesuit, the Abbe Barruel**. As early as 1797 Barruel had produced a great five-volume *Memoire pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, in which he argued that **the French Revolution represented the culmination of an age-old conspiracy of the most secret of secret societies**. In his view, the source of the trouble **lay in the medieval Order of Templars**. In reality this order had been exterminated in 1314 - but in Barruel's **fantasy** it still survived as a secret society, pledged to abolish all monarchies, overthrow the papacy, preach unrestricted liberty to all peoples, and found **a world-wide republic under its own control. In modern times it was operating through the Order of Freemasons**, and particularly through a group of Bavarians called **the Illuminati**, whom Barruel called "enemies of the human race, sons of Satan". In Barruel's view it was this little handful of Bavarian Illuminati, who, carrying on the doctrine of the medieval Knights Templars, and controlling all Freemasons and Jacobins in France, had brought about the cataclysm

{p. xvi} of the French Revolution. He was also convinced that unless the Illuminati were stopped, they would very soon **dominate the whole world**.

{But Trotsky acknowledged in his autobiography, *My Life*, the role of the Freemasons and Illuminati in the French Revolution}

Of course, this was all the **merest fantasy**. The idea that the French Revolution was produced by a conspiracy reaching back to the fourteenth century **needs no comment**. As for the obscure German group known as the **Illuminati**, they were **not Freemasons** at all **but rivals of the Freemasons**, and they had in any case **ceased to exist by 1786**. And Barruel also fantastically oversimplified and exaggerated the role of the Freemasons themselves. It is true that Freemasons shared that concern with humanitarian reform which is commonly associated with the Enlightenment - for instance, they contributed to the abolition of judicial torture and of witchcraft trials, and to the improvement of schools. On the other hand at the time of the Revolution most Freemasons were Catholic and monarchists; indeed, **King Louis XVI and his brothers were all Freemasons**. And during the revolutionary Terror Freemasons were guillotined by the hundreds and their organization, the Grand Orient, was suppressed.

{But certain branches of Freemasonry may have been taken over; its very secrecy makes this possible}

Moreover Barruel himself, though he lived through the Revolution, **never noticed** any of the mysterious Masonic influence while the Revolution was in progress. The idea came to him when he was **in London some years after the Revolution**; and it was not even his own idea. He heard of it **from a Scottish mathematician called John Robison**, who was himself preparing a book called *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on by Secret Meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati and Reading Societies*. It occurred to Barruel that he might produce a book on the same subject, if possible before Robison; and so he did. His *Memoire* came out one year before Robison's book; it was translated into English, Spanish, Italian, Russian and Polish, and it made Barruel a rich man.

At the time when Barruel wrote his five volumes he still imposed certain limits on **his imagination**. He was concerned with

{p. xvii} Freemasons only and hardly mentioned the Jews - understandably, since no Jew played any significant part either in the Revolution itself or in the philosophical revolution, the Enlightenment, which had preceded it. But in 1806 Barruel received a document which was in effect the **earliest prototype of the Protocols**. This was a letter from Florence, supposedly written by an Italian army officer called **J. B. Simonini**. Nothing whatsoever is known about this Simonini, and Barruel never managed to establish contact with him. The object of the letter was to persuade Barruel that he had **overlooked the heart of the conspiracy; this was 'the Judaic sect'**, which the mysterious Simonini calls "the most formidable power, if one considers its great wealth and the protection it enjoys in almost all European countries." And Simonini goes on to claim that he has penetrated to the secrets of this sect. The Jews promise themselves that **in less than a century they will be masters of the world**. Then they **will abolish all other religions**, and establish the rule of their own sect. They will **turn Christian churches into so many synagogues**. They will **buy up** all lands, houses and other property, and **reduce the remaining Christians to slavery**. Only one obstacle stands in their way: the House of Bourbon. But the Jews have a plan to annihilate that obstacle; and the French Revolution is a part of this plan.

The Simonini letter was a **forgery** {If Cohn has evidence of this, why does he not produce it?}; almost certainly it was produced by someone in the French political police under Fouché, with the object of influencing Napoleon himself against the Jews. The context was the great debate over Jewish emancipation. For the first Jews in Europe to be emancipated were the French Jews, during the Revolution; and later, **during the Napoleonic wars, Jews were emancipated wherever the French armies were victorious**. In the Simonini letter one seems to hear the crash of the Italian ghetto walls as they fell before the advance of the French armies. Nevertheless, there were many in France itself who were uneasy about Jewish emancipation. The intention was that Barruel should pass the Simonini letter around in these circles; and so he did.

After the fall of Napoleon, Barruel himself emerged as an

{p. xviii} enthusiastic believer **not simply in the Masonic conspiracy but in the Jewish conspiracy** as well. **Just before his death in 1820**, at the age of 79, **he propounded the idea that the whole of Europe was in the grip of a vast revolutionary organization**, which extended downwards into every single village of France, Spain, Italy and Germany and which was rigidly controlled by a supreme council, which in turn was controlled by Jews. He even describes how the secret orders in code from the Jewish headquarters are transmitted throughout Europe by relays of Freemasons, all of them speeding briskly about on foot. "The mail coach," he says, "takes ten hours from Paris to Orleans, stopping for an hour; the distance is thirty leagues. Fifteen or twenty pedestrians, replacing one another, and stopping neither to eat nor to sleep, can reach Orleans from Paris in nine hours, using short-cuts". Clearly, the

supreme council already possessed that **capacity for organizing vast and invisible manoeuvres** which was to be so characteristic of the Elders of Zion.

{Yet Cohn surely knew of how the British Rothschilds, using their intelligence network, learned before anyone else of Napoleon's defeat, and feigned the opposite news, crashing the London stock-market and buying it up. Cohn is silent about this} ***

Bernstein has told how the *Protocols* came to be **fabricated and disseminated**. It was not part of his task to explain the extraordinary success that came their way in Germany.

The *Protocols* acquired a completely new dimension when they came into contact with that peculiar outlook which is known as *voelkisch*. The beginnings of this outlook - it was really a pseudo-religion - go back to the Napoleonic wars. Germany is by no means the only country which first began to develop a national consciousness as a result of being invaded - but it so happened that in this case the invading power was itself the standard-bearer of the modern age. For **revolutionary France was the champion of democracy, liberalism and rationalism**. It is normal to reject the values of the invader and to affirm the opposite values. But in the case of Germany, this meant that **German nationalism was from the start partly backward-looking**; to an exceptional degree, it was inspired by a repudiation of modernity and a nostalgia for

{p. xix} a past which was imagined as altogether unlike the modern world. Moreover, this attitude not only persisted but was greatly intensified when economic developments pitchforked Germany into the modern world. At the very time when Germany was turning into a great industrial power, a land of factories and cities, technology and bureaucracy, many Germans were dreaming of an archaic world of Germanic peasants, bound together by bonds of blood in a 'natural', 'organic' community.

Such a view of the world requires an anti-figure. This anti-figure was supplied partly by the liberal West - that is to say, France and Britain; but it was also, and more effectively, supplied by the Jews.

{What of Judaism itself? Does it not itself have its anti-figures: the pagans, goyim, non-Jews, The Nations?}

As we have seen, it is characteristic of modern, political antisemites that they see 'the Jew' not only as an uncanny, demonic being but also as an embodiment of modernity, a symbol of all those forces in the modern world which they themselves fear and hate. This was the case also with German antisemites of the *voelkisch* variety - but with a difference. When these people **looked to the past, to the ideal state** which they supposed to have preceded the modern age, **they looked a very long way back**. They looked far beyond throne and altar, back to an infinitely remote and almost entirely mythical world. For them 'the Jew' was not only, or mainly, the destroyer of kings and the enemy of the Church - he was above all the age-old antagonist of the Germanic peasant, he was the force which for two thousand years had been undermining the true, original German way of life. Historical **Christianity itself was a Jewish creation which had helped to destroy the archaic Germanic world**; and now capitalism, liberalism, democracy, socialism, and the urban way of life were continuing this process. Together these things were supposed to make up 'the Jew's' world, that modern age which was imagined as his creation and in which he flourished.

The first major proponents of this outlook were certain writers who flourished in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They included an eccentric scholar called Paul Botticher, but who is usually known by his adopted name of Paul de Lagarde; Wilhelm Marr, who is the **probable inventor of the word 'antisemitism'**

{p. xx} and who wrote a book called *The Victory of Jewry over Germandom*; and Eugen **Duhring**, a lecturer in economics and philosophy at Berlin University and the author of *The Jewish Question as a Question of Race, Morals and Civilization*. But the most important and influential of these writers was Houston Stewart Chamberlain. An Englishman by birth and the son of a British admiral, Chamberlain became a German by choice and eventually by nationality; and in the year 1900 he published, in German, a two-volume work called the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. It was a very eloquent work, it had an appearance of learning, and it became the bible of the whole *voelkisch*-racist movement in Germany. In this book all human **history was presented as a bitter struggle between spirituality**, embodied in the German 'race', **and materialism, embodied in the Jewish 'race'** - the only two pure races, all others being only a 'chaos of peoples' (*Voelkerchaos*). In Chamberlain's view the Jewish 'race' had been relentlessly striving, down the ages, to **secure absolute dominion over all other nations**. If once this 'race' were decisively defeated, the Germanic 'race' would be free to realize its own divinely appointed destiny - which was to create a new, radiant world, transfused with a noble spirituality and mysteriously combining modern technology and science with the rural, hierarchical culture of earlier times.

The *voelkisch*-racist outlook made its main appeal to certain sections of the middle class, and above all to artisans and small retailers. It has often been remarked that these people were particularly prone to antisemitism, and in due course they provided the bulk of the votes which brought Hitler to power. There is nothing mysterious about this. These sections of the population were survivals from an earlier age and they were gravely threatened by the development of modern capitalism. They lived in a state of almost perpetual crisis. They were barely able to cope with **the new world of giant industrial and commercial undertakings**, and at the same time they lacked even that **rudimentary understanding of this world which, in Germany, industrial workers received from Marxism**. Artisans and small retailers struggled frantically to preserve their status and they felt an overwhelming need for a scapegoat.

{Cohn also ignores what Marx wrote about the covert Jewish role in the finance sector of industrial societies, which, according to Schlomo Avineri, was provided to Marx by Moses Hess, the Zionist leader now buried in Israel: <http://mailstar.net/avineri.html>}

{p. xxi} The Jews were perfectly suited for this role - not because they occupied the commanding heights in the German economy, nor because they were mostly well-to-do, nor because they were obviously foreign. None of these things were true, though they were often said. The main factor was the **concentration of small numbers of well-to-do Jews in certain areas of Berlin and Hamburg**; a concentration which could lead the unthinking to suppose that all Jews were rich, or even that all rich people were Jews. Another factor was the typical Jewish zeal in getting the sons to universities and thence into the liberal professions; for this brought them into direct conflict with the more aspiring members of the lower middle class.

However, the appeal of the voelkisch-racist outlook was even stronger among the German element in the Habsburg empire than it was in Germany itself. On this Austrian periphery of the German-speaking world, where the German element felt isolated and threatened by the preponderant Slav element, the aggressive affirmation of German superiority had particular attraction. Moreover, **Jews were far more conspicuous in Austria than in Germany**, and they were conspicuous at both ends of the social scale. The great majority of Jews lived in appalling poverty. At the same time, **a minority of Jews made up a large part of the professional class, and a few of them were bankers of great wealth.**

These Austrian Jews regarded themselves as belonging entirely to the German group in the Austro-Hungarian empire; but this helped not at all - the Germans rejected them. And here, as in Germany, the most militant antisemites were to be found in the lower-middle class. When Hitler came to power in 1933 a joke circulated in Germany: that Hitler was Austria's revenge for the defeat which she had suffered at the hands of Prussia in 1866. There was a good deal in this. The petty-bourgeois Hitler embodied a whole century of frustration, disappointment, and insecurity; and the **boundless lust for revenge** which possessed him was a magnified version of something which possessed a whole stratum of Austrian society.

Already in the years immediately preceding the first world

p. xxii} **war Austrian racists developed the cult of the swastika**; some even foretold that one day Jews would be castrated and killed under the aegis of the swastika {Cohn provides no evidence for this statement}. In Germany too there appeared a multitude of more or less esoteric bodies such as the Order of Teutons and Volsungs, which also had the swastika as its emblem. Yet at that time few imagined that this voelkisch-racist outlook would ever impinge on practical politics. It was the outcome of the first world war that made this possible. The humiliation of defeat and the great sufferings that followed it; the mortification which was felt in Germany over the peace treaty of Versailles, and in Austria over the peace treaty of St. Germain; above all, the absolute disorientation and the **widespread financial ruin which accompanied the collapse of the currency** - these things produced an entirely new atmosphere.

Already in 1919 there appeared an extreme right-wing body called the Deutsch-voelkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund (the German voelkisch Defensive and Offensive Alliance). This alliance too had the swastika as its emblem and it quickly acquired a membership of 300,000. Meanwhile the old Order of Teutons and Volsungs continued to exist, also using the swastika. In November 1918, just after the armistice, this Order produced a cover-organization called **the Thule Society**; and early in 1919 this body joined forces with another organization, the German workers' party, shortly to become the Nazi party.

All these organizations were indoctrinated with the voelkisch-racist outlook in its most fanatical form; and **when the Protocols came into their hands, they reinterpreted them in the light of this outlook.** In their eyes the machinations of the Elders of Zion were the supreme expression of the characteristics which they attributed to the Jewish 'race': the Jewish world-conspiracy was seen as the product of **an ineradicable destructiveness**, a will to evil which was believed to be inborn in every Jew.

{Although I believe the *Protocols* genuine, I do not accept the idea of group souls, whether Aryan, Jewish, Communist, Japanese or any other. Jewish political practice is a product of the Jewish religion; persons of Jewish origin who grow up without a Jewish consciousness would not exhibit it}

As they saw it, a peculiar breed of creatures, dark and earthbound - the Jews - were working conspiratorially to destroy those sons of light, the 'Aryan' or Germanic 'race'; and the *Protocols* contained their plan of campaign.

Now this same world-view obsessed Hitler himself throughout

{p. xxiii} his political career. There were signs of this obsession already in the very first of his political utterances: a letter which he wrote to a certain Gemlich on 16th September 1919, when Hitler was acting as so-called education officer with an army command in Munich. Already in this letter Hitler insists that it is not enough to dislike Jews; Germans must realize that Jewry forms **a racial entity** with very strongly marked racial characteristics, of which the passion for material gain is the most dominant. This makes Jewry 'the racial tuberculosis of the peoples'. Hitler goes on to say that mere pogroms are inadequate to cope with such a dangerous foe. Instead, he demands the formation of a government which will start by restricting the legal rights of the Jews, and whose long-term aim will be **the removal (Entfernung) of the Jews altogether.** So spoke the unknown ex-corporal a couple of days before he attended the first meeting of the tiny group which was to be the nucleus of the future Nazi party.

{Cohn's strategy is to disconnect the Protocols with the Bolsheviks, where they belong (<http://mailstar.net/zioncom.html>), and instead to link them with Hitler. This then makes it difficult for those who believe Leninism a phony, deceitful and tyrannical socialism, and yet who uphold socialism in principle. I disavow Hitler's idea that Jews constitute a racial entity. Further, I oppose his ostracising the assimilated Jews; this only plays into the hands of the separatist Zionists.}

Probably Hitler knew of the *Protocols* already at that time; for they were already being advertised and circulated in manuscript, in preparation for their publication at the beginning of 1920. Certainly by the time Hitler emerged in the political limelight in 1923, his thinking was permeated by the Protocols.

{Cohn ignores the role of the Balfour Declaration, by which Zionists gained Palestine and Germany lost the World War, whose machinations were discovered by the Germans at the Treaty of Versailles: <http://mailstar.net/balfour.html>}

Germany passed through the inferno of the great inflation, in which the savings of the middle and working classes were wiped out and wages and salaries became meaningless. As this happened, Hitler already had his explanation of the catastrophe: "According to the *Protocols of Zion* the peoples are to be reduced to submission by hunger. **The second revolution under the Star of David is the aim of the Jews in our time**" - **the first revolution being the establishment of the Weimar Republic** and the overthrow of the German monarchy. In the following year Hitler took part in an abortive putsch in Munich and was arrested and lodged in a comfortable prison.

{Cohn makes no mention of the extent of Jewish control in Weimar Germany, revealed by Benjamin Ginsberg:
<http://mailstar.net/ginsberg.html>}

There he dictated *Mein Kampf* - and much of that dreary but revealing work is devoted to the manoeuvres by which Jewry is supposed to be pursuing world-domination. **Hitler points out how the Jews have first used Freemasonry as their weapon, and are now using Bolshevism.** The object of all this is **to come to power with the help of the masses,**

{p. xxiv} **and then dominate the masses in the interests of the Jews.**

The source of all this was certainly the Protocols, even though by that time the Protocols had been **proved, by Herman Bernstein and Philip Graves, to be a forgery.**

{Not so. The parallels in Joly are compatible with an ongoing conspiracy, occasionally put to writing, Joly partly composing his Dialogues from a copy of the text. There is no way to prove the Protocols genuine, but the most important way to test them is to compare their predictions with the events that unfold. Cohn makes no attempt to do that, and regards that as unwarranted.}

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler explicitly names the Protocols as a major influence on his thinking: "The extent to which the whole existence of the Jewish people is based on a continual lie, is shown in an incomparable manner in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. What many Jews do **perhaps unconsciously is here consciously exposed.** But that is what matters. It is a matter of indifference which Jewish brain produced these revelations. What matters is that they uncover, with really horrifying reliability, the nature and activity of the Jewish people, and expose them in their inner logic and their final aims. But **reality provides the best commentary. Whoever examines the historical development of the last hundred years** from the standpoint of this book will at once understand why the Jewish press makes such an uproar about it. For **once this book becomes generally familiar to a people, the Jewish menace can be regarded as already vanquished.**"

Years later, when Germany was in the throes of the great depression, Hitler accounted for this world-wide disaster in precisely the same way as he had accounted for the German inflation. To Hermann Rauschning, who afterwards published it in his book *Hitler Speaks*, he explained that **the Jews had invented the economic system of booms and slumps, otherwise known as capitalism.** "Capitalism is the creation of the Jews, and under their exclusive control. It is their super-state, planted by them above all the states of the world in all their glory." He went on, "I have read the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and it simply appalled me. The stealthiness of the enemy, and his ubiquity. I saw at once that **we must copy it - in our own way of course.** ... It is in truth the critical battle for the fate of the world."

{I disagree that one must adopt such foul tactics, as if by that means a good end can be secured}

There is another source for Hitler's belief in the Protocols. It is a little book called *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin: a dialogue between Adolf Hitler and myself*, which was written by a poet and journalist called Dietrich Eckart and published posthumously in 1924. Eckart was not only one of the founding

{p. xxv} members of the Nazi party, he was also one of the very few real friends that Hitler ever had-in fact *Mein Kampf* ends with an invocation of the memory of Dietrich Eckart. So the book can be taken as reliably presenting Hitler's views.

The booklet shows Hitler combining the Protocols with voelkisch-racist speculations, to conduct a whole 'philosophy of history'. As he sees it, human history forms part of nature and follows the same laws as the rest of nature. If it has gone wrong, that shows that some force is at work to frustrate nature's intention; and this has in fact been the case for thousands of years. There follows an outline of **history** which portrays it as **one long degeneration. Nature, says Hitler, demands inequality, hierarchy, subordination** of the inferior to the superior - but human history has consisted of a series of revolts against this natural order, leading to ever greater egalitarianism. This process is compared with disease, with the work of a bacillus: "a proliferation right across the world, now slow, now leaping ahead. Everywhere it sucks and sucks. At first there is teeming abundance, in the end only dried-up sap."

The force behind this disastrous process is the Jewish spirit, "which has been there from the beginning". **Already in ancient Egypt the Children of Israel** undermined a healthy, 'natural' society. They did this by **inciting the lower orders to revolt**, until all nationally minded **Egyptians** rose in their wrath and **chased the trouble-makers from the land; this is the true meaning of Exodus. Moses therefore is the first Bolshevik, a true precursor of Lenin.** And so a process began which has been repeated over and over again ever since. In Hitler's eyes the lower social strata consist, all over the world, of similar, racially mixed and therefore inferior human material. The essence of the **Jewish world-conspiracy is that it uses this racial hotchpotch to overthrow the racially pure upper classes** and thereby to further its own drive for world-domination.

One can penetrate further still into this **strange fantasy.** There is in *Mein Kampf* an astonishing passage which ought to have attracted more attention than it did. It reads as follows: "If **the Jew, with the help of his Marxist catechism,** triumphs over the

{p. xxvi} peoples of this world, his crown will be the dance of death for mankind, and as once before, millions of years ago, this planet will again sail empty of all human life through the ether.... I believe that **I am today acting according to the purposes of the almighty Creator. In resisting the Jew, I am fighting the Lord's battle!**" One is forced to ask: What ever can the man have meant? What possible sense can there be in this talk of an earth empty of all human life? Amid the answer to these questions, when one faces up to it, goes a long way to explain the monstrous deeds perpetrated by the Germans during the second world war. Naturally, it has nothing to do with atomic warfare - these words were written in 1924. What Hitler means is that only a tiny part of what is usually regarded as mankind really consists of human beings - notably those whom he imagined to be of Nordic descent, plus for political reasons, the Japanese. All the rest - what he called the racial mish-mash - belongs not to mankind but to an inferior species.

{Perhaps Hitler meant, instead, that Jewish rule would mean the obliteration of non-Jews. The footnote on page 23 refers to G. **Butmi's** book entitled "The Enemy of the Human Race".}

In using these creatures to kill off the ruling strata - who in his view must ipso facto be Nordic - the Jew is therefore literally depriving the earth of its human population. What will be left will be simply animals disguised as human beings, under the leadership of Jews, who are demonic beings disguised as human beings.

Even by the crazy standards of German racism these ideas were eccentric and extreme. Unfortunately they were held by the man who became dictator of Germany; and this meant that instead of remaining the property of some obscure group of cranks, they became the creed of the SS. It was in the name of these **weird fantasies**, disguised as scientific truth, that the SS at the height of their power terrorized and martyred Europe from the English Channel to the Volga. How Hitler's special version of the Jewish world-conspiracy was presented to these men can be seen from the following quotations from a tract issued by SS headquarters: "Just as night rises up against the day, just as light and darkness are eternal enemies, so the greatest enemy of world-dominating man is **the sub-man**. That creature which looks as though biologically it were of absolutely the same kind, endowed by nature with hands, feet and a sort of

{Cohn might have noted similar passages, about non-Jews, in his own Jewish Bible }

{p. xxvii} brain, with eyes and mouth, is nevertheless a totally different, a fearful creature. It is only an attempt at a human being, with a quasi-human face, yet in mind and spirit lower than any animal. Inside this being a cruel chaos of wild, unchecked passions; a nameless will to destruction, the most primitive lusts, the most undisguised vileness. A sub-man-nothing else!.... Never has the sub-man granted peace, never has he permitted rest.... To preserve himself he needed mud, he needed hell, but not the sun. And this underworld of sub-men found its leader: the eternal Jew!"

Once such a creed was applied it could only lead to massacre. The victims were not only the six million Jews who were killed as bearers of an imaginary plague. In Hitler's eyes Russia was the country in which the Jews, through the Bolshevik revolution, had most completely 'infected' the population; and this certainly had much to do with the extraordinary ferocity of the SS in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union. When the German attack began, Himmler announced that it was intended to kill thirty million Russians.

{It would help if Cohn provided a reference for this statement. The Nazis had conflicting aims: to build an empire, and destroy the Soviet regime. On the latter count they were welcomed by some, but on the former this welcome was undone}

The number of Russian dead is in fact put at twenty million; and the way in which whole armies of prisoners of war were put behind barbed wire and left to starve, and whole villages of men and women herded into barns to be burned alive, is certainly connected with the fact that these people were regarded as sub-human beings, bastardized by the Jews and enlisted in their service.

As for the Jews, in Hitler's mind the war of 1939 was above all the final struggle against Jewry; and from 1939 onwards Hitler himself publicly talked of the war in just those terms. German editors of the Protocols had always insisted that the first world war was the work of the Jews; now Hitler blamed them for the war he was about to inflict on the world, and at the same time prophesied the genocide he was about to carry out. In a speech to the Reichstag on 30 January 1939, eight months before the war began, he declared: "Today I will once more be a prophet: if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization

{p. xxviii} of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

Hitler repeated this again and again during the war, and in the last weeks before he committed suicide, he returned to the theme. "I have played straight with the Jews," he said. "On the eve of war I gave them a last warning. I warned them that if they again plunged the world into war, they would not be spared this time - that the vermin would be finally exterminated in Europe. They replied to this warning by a declaration of war. ... We have pierced the Jewish abscess. The world of the future will be eternally grateful to us."

One of the chapters in Bernstein's excellent book is entitled "The End of the Protocols." It was a reasonable supposition. Nobody in 1935 could have foreseen that within ten years the Protocols, as interpreted by Hitler, would have borne fruit in the greatest and cruellest massacres the world has ever seen.

NORMAN COHN {end of Norman Cohn's 1971 Introduction}

{What of the Communist massacres? Cohn has devoted most of his Introduction, to the Nazis' use of the Protocols, but none to the reasons the anti-Bolshevik forces within the USSR believed the Protocols genuine. They came first, not Hitler.}

{p. xxix} PREFACE {by Herman Bernstein 1935}

IN FEBRUARY 1921, I presented documentary evidence in my book, "The History of a Lie," which showed that the notorious "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," published in Russia in 1905, were based on an **absurdly fantastic** work of German fiction, published in 1868, about a centennial secret midnight meeting of representatives of the "Twelve Tribes of Israel" in the ancient Jewish cemetery of Prague - a story which was part of a pseudo-historical romance entitled "**To Sedan**," one of a series of novels called "**Biarritz-Rome**," by Hermann Goedsche, a petty official of the German post office who turned to writing fiction after his dishonorable discharge for participation in the then scandalous Waldeck forgery case. I also showed how Goedsche afterward transformed the "testimony" he had placed in the mouths of his fictitious "Elders of Israel" into an alleged speech said by him to have been delivered by an unnamed rabbi at a mythical Jewish congress in Lemberg.

In August, 1921, about six months after "The History of a Lie" appeared, the London Times published, in three successive issues, articles by Mr. Philip Graves, then its Constantinople correspondent, proving that the "Protocols" had been plagiarized from "Dialogues in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu," a French book brought out anonymously at Brussels in 1864, four years before the publication of Goedsche's novel "To Sedan." The discovery of that plagiarism was an invaluable supplement to the numerous evidences of forgery already known. **The German novelist was not the originator of the sinister plans he had attributed to the "Elect of Israel." He merely pirated the fiendish conceptions from the work of Maurice Joly**, and changed them

{p. xxx} into a weird story of a Jewish plot for world domination. **The "Dialogues in Hell" did not deal in any way with Jewish subjects, but were a satirical attack against Napoleon III.** Their author, Maurice Joly, a Parisian attorney (not a Jew, as has been stated by some anti-Semites), was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for this act of lese majeste. As all the Joly books upon which the French police were able to lay their hands were destroyed, copies are extremely rare. The Times correspondent secured one copy which belonged to a Russian army officer who had emigrated to Turkey after the Bolshevik revolution. One copy is in the British Museum and another is in the New York Public Library. **A complete translation of the "Dialogues in Hell," Exhibit A, is presented in this volume for the first time in the English language.** The similarity between the Joly book, published in 1864, and the story of the cemetery meeting in Goedsche's German novel "To Sedan," published in 1868, and translated into Russian in 1872, becomes apparent upon even a superficial examination. Goedsche had taken the anti-social, **anti-democratic, imperialistic ideas which Joly had imputed to Napoleon III through the shade of Machiavelli,** and placed them in the mouths of the "Elect of Israel" assembled at the tomb of a "Holy Rabbi" in Prague, and, later, in the mouth of an imaginary rabbi. The authors of the "Protocols" went a step further. They attributed the expression of these subversive ideas to invented "Elders" or "Sages" of Zion. Some of them endeavored to identify these forged documents with Theodore Herzl and the first Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897. Documentary evidence is presented in this volume showing that the "Protocols" were brought to Russia from France in 1895, two years before the first Zionist Congress

{Norman Cohn, in *Warrant For Genocide*, writes that this date must be erroneous, probably because the affidavit relied on memory to relate events thirty years earlier}

, and that they were first published privately in Russia with the aid of a high Tsarist official of the Holy Synod who was closely connected with Grand Duke Sergius, the uncle of Tsar Nicholas II. Tsar Nicholas himself was also deeply interested in the "Protocols." In the course of my research, **I discovered a copy**

{p. xxxi} of the 1906 **Butmi** edition of this anti-Jewish document **in the private library of the Tsar** acquired several years ago by the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

{If the Tsar believed it a forgery, as Cohn says he was persuaded (after initial belief), why did he bother to keep a copy?}

While the inspiration for the Russian "Protocols" obviously came first from the weird German novelette and fictitious "Rabbi's Speech" by Goedsche, the Joly "Dialogues in Hell" undoubtedly served as the textual basis of the fabrication, as will be shown in parallel columns reproduced in this volume.

"The History of a Lie" was prepared by me with the closest co-operation of the late Louis Marshall, distinguished attorney and civic worker, widely recognized by the Jews for his courageous and able defense of the honor of the Jewish people.

In 1926, Father A. Sacchetti, of the Catholic Agricultural School at Beitgemat, Palestine, a noted scholar and traveler who was visiting New York, wrote me a letter referring to my "History of a Lie," in the course of which he said:

"You who have documented so well the affair of the 'Protocols' will certainly be gratified to recognize in the 'Dialogue aux Enfers' the paternity of the legend of Hermann Goedsche and the truly diabolical 'Protocols.' You must complete your work and render a real service to the cause of truth and justice.

"The publication of this document (the 'Dialogues in Hell') will help the task of many writers in search of the truth. Public opinion is completely ignorant of the enormity of the manufacture and propagation of the 'Protocols' in so many editions and so many languages, and it is necessary to inform it correctly.

"I have formed the personal conviction that the 'Protocols' belong to the category of those **malicious inventions** which took a literary form in past ages, the most striking of which are the celebrated **'Secret Instructions (Monita Secreta)' of the Jesuits;** a species of protocols of secret instructions from the superiors to the subordinates to put into practice the shameful and Machiavellian policies of the Society of Jesus. That the 'Monita' are a **brazen invention** is admitted even by adversaries. Nevertheless the so-called 'Legend of the Jesuits' has grown up, and it is

{p. xxxii} believed to be genuine by **credulous** opponents and taken seriously by not a few of the faith.

"I will close by insisting again that it is necessary for the 'Dialogues' of Joly to reach the public mind. Moreover, the book is interesting in itself and reveals uncommon intelligence in the author."

Preoccupation with other literary work and my duties as Minister of the United States to Albania have prevented until now the carrying out of this suggestion. The present revival in the dissemination of the "Protocols," both here and abroad, the intensified use of these **spurious** documents, particularly in Germany, and the recent proceedings in Switzerland at which the authenticity of the "Protocols" was submitted for judicial determination, make the publication of this book of facts especially timely.

I submit in this volume all the available documentary evidence showing clearly the various stages of the **brazen** literary and political **fraud** known as the "Protocols," the illegitimate offspring of the "Dialogues in Hell," which has served as the chief basis of the anti-Jewish propaganda in Tsarist Russia and Nazi Germany, and which has indeed made the life of Jews under those regimes a veritable hell on earth.

Herman Bernstein
New York City
December, 1934.

{p. 15} CHAPTER ONE

Dialogues in Hell

IN 1864 a French **lawyer** named Maurice Joly published an anonymous book in which he made a veiled attack against Napoleon III. The volume, which appeared in Brussels, **signed "by a contemporary,"** was entitled "Dialogues in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, **or the Policies of Machiavelli in the Nineteenth Century.**"

The author explained his motives for writing the "Dialogues in Hell" in a pamphlet called "**Maurice Joly, his past, his program expounded by himself,**" published in 1870, by Lacroix, Verbeckhoven and Co., 13, Faubourg-Montmartre."*

Among other things, Joly wrote in that pamphlet as follows:

"I meditated for a year on a book which would show the terrible inroads that the imperial legislation had made on all branches of the administration and the gaps which it had opened by **completely wiping out all public liberties.**

"I reflected that, among the French, so severe a book would have no readers. I then sought to **shape my work in a form appropriate to our sarcastic temper** which, since the time of the Empire, has been forced to **make attacks only behind a disguise.** I thought of a history of the Lower Empire, and then suddenly I recalled the impression that had been made on me by a book known only to dilettantes, entitled '*Dialogue sur les Bles*,' by the Abbe Galiani.

"To have living persons or dead ones converse on contemporary politics: this was the idea that came to me.

*Library of the Bar Association, Paris. No. 122.10. 15

{p. 16} "One evening while I was walking on the terrace along the river near Pont Royal in bad weather which I still remember, suddenly **the name of Montesquieu came into my mind as the personification of one side of the ideas which I wanted to express. But who would be the opponent of Montesquieu?**

"The idea came to my mind. Why, to be sure! Machiavelli!

"It is Machiavelli who represents the policy of **force as opposed to Montesquieu who will represent** the policy of **justice; and Machiavelli will be Napoleon III,** who himself would describe his abominable policies.

{Karl Marx also juxtaposes Machiavelli and Montesquieu Jacob Venedy likewise ...}

"The idea was found. The execution came after infinite research and I will not dwell here for long upon the difficulties which it represented. I hoped to have my book published in France; but the printer Bourdier to whom I explained that it was a translation from an English author named McPhersoll, **recognized Napoleon III at the end of three dialogues.** He refused to continue the printing.

"It was during my vacation that I left for Belgium."

When it became generally known that the "Dialogues in Hell" were aimed at Napoleon III, the French police began to search for the author. Maurice Joly was soon **placed under arrest and sentenced on April 25, 1865, to fifteen months' imprisonment** and a fine of 300 francs. The judgment of the court of the Seine disappeared, but it was announced in the newspaper *Le Droit* and published *in extenso* on April 26, 1865. It read as follows:

"Whereas, in a dialogue between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, the author begins by opposing the political principles developed in the writings of these famous men, then establishes a general thesis that the dreadful despotism taught by Machiavelli in his treatise, 'The Prince,' succeeded, by artifice and evil ways, in imposing itself on modern society.... That this work is **neither an abstract and speculative criticism nor a political argument** inspired by a sincere spirit; that **the author charges the French Government with having, through shameful means, hypocritical ways and perfidious contrivances,** led the public astray,

{p. 17} degraded the character of the nation and corrupted its morals. ... Finally for having, as the writer himself describes it in the last page but one of his book, composed 'this gathering of monstrous things before which the mind recoils in fright, this work that only hell itself could accomplish.'

"For these reasons, Maurice Joly, **having committed the crime of inciting hatred and contempt for the Government,** is sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment, 300 francs fine, and to the confiscation of the copies of the 'Dialogues in Hell.'"

The "Dialogues" are a very apparent criticism of the despotism of Napoleon III, in the form of a series of twenty-five conversations between Montesquieu and Machiavelli. In the preface, the anonymous author points out that certain passages are applicable to all governments, "but it particularly personifies **a political system which has not varied** in its applications **for a single day** since the fatal, and alas, too distant date when it was enthroned." It refers to and indicts the policies of Napoleon - his repressive measures, his wasteful financial system, his foreign wars, **his use of secret societies,** his relations with the Vatican, and his **control of the press.**

The book opens with the meeting of the spirits of Montesquieu and Machiavelli on **a desolate beach in Hell.** Greetings are exchanged, and then Montesquieu asks Machiavelli to explain why he has become the author of the "Prince," and "founder of that somber school of thought which has **made all crowned heads your disciples,** but which is well fitted to **justify the worst crimes of tyranny.**" Montesquieu seems puzzled because, as he says, **Machiavelli had originally been an ardent republican. Machiavelli replies that he is a realist.** He proceeds to justify his change in viewpoint by explaining its applicability to the situation of the states of Europe in 1864. He describes at length how he would solve the problem of society. **Machiavelli is in reality Napoleon III** and the greater part of the dialogues is devoted to his ideas. Montesquieu satisfies himself with short explanations and exclama-

*See Exhibit A for the complete text of the "Dialogues in Hell."

{p. 18} tions of surprise. He is profoundly shocked by Machiavelli's defense of an able and ruthless dictatorship, but his arguments grow briefer and weaker.

Joly paid dearly for his daring attack on Napoleon III, and though his book was confiscated, it has had a long and **terrible** history. Surely, he never suspected that his fantastic "Dialogues" would some day be utilized by plagiarists and forgers for the purpose of **bolstering up tottering autocracies** and ruthless dictatorships against which he had fought. The "Dialogues in Hell," which a liberal and liberty-loving French lawyer had conceived while walking in the rain near the Pont Royal, were to be converted by a Prussian novelist and by **Russian Political Police agents** into the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," the modern bible of anti-Semitism.*

A comparison of Joly's "Dialogues in Hell," the veiled political attack against Napoleon III, and the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," containing the outlines of an alleged Jewish conspiracy for world domination, shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the "Protocols" were plagiarized and paraphrased from the Joly original and other works of fiction inspired by it.†

The German introducer-in-chief of the "Protocols," Gottfried zur Beek, in an effort to discredit the expose that the "Protocols" had been plagiarized from Maurice Joly's "Dialogues in Hell," wrote in 1925 that Maurice Joly was a Jew, a leader of the Terrorist movement, and that Gambetta delivered the funeral oration at his grave in 1878. The German anti-Semite thus resorted to another falsification. **Maurice Joly was not a Jew**, and the man **at whose death Leon Gambetta delivered the funeral oration was Albert Joly, a deputy belonging to Gambetta's party.**

~The full text of "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" is given in Exhibit F.

† The similarity between the Protocols and the Dialogues was first shown by Mr. Philip P. Graves, Constantinople correspondent of the *Times*, London, in his articles published on August 16, 17, and 18, 1921. Extracts from his articles describing his discovery, and his affidavit submitted to the Swiss court, are reproduced in Exhibit B.

{The *Times*' "expose" was done under **Henry Wickham-Steed** as editor. But Lord Northcliffe, part-proprietor, had in May 1920 printed in the *Times* an article favourably reviewing the Protocols. **Northcliffe and Steed fell out**, and Northcliffe was ousted from any control over editorial policy. see Douglas Reed in his book *The Controversy of Zion*, Veritas Publishing Company, Bullsbrook, Western Australia, 1985, pp. 295-9.}

{p. 19} Albert Joly died about three years after **Maurice Joly** had **committed suicide**.

Roger Lambelin, who wrote the introduction to the French edition of the "Protocols," in an article published in 1921 in *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, of Paris, stated that **Joly's book appeared in several editions in both Geneva and Brussels**, that on the fourth page of one of these editions there was an announcement that "on sale at the same publisher's" were other books against the regime of Napoleon III by **Victor Hugo**, Bouchot and the Duc d'Aumale. That edition also mentioned the fact that on April 28, 1865, "the publication of the first anonymous edition of this book cost its author, M. Maurice Joly, a sentence to fifteen months' imprisonment and 300 francs fine for inciting to hatred and distrust of the imperial government."

M. Lambelin also declared at the same time that **his researches proved that Maurice Joly was not of Jewish origin**, as some anti-Semites had asserted, but that his family was of Italian descent {but Jews are a religion; they can have any nationality}. His grandfather was paymaster in the army of the First Empire, and his father was councillor-general of the Jura under the July Monarchy. Joly was born in Lons-le-Saunier in 1831. He was a prolific writer, but his articles, philosophical and severe, were not often accepted by the Parisian journals to which he had submitted them for publication. He committed suicide in 1878, several months before Marshal MacMahon resigned and the Republicans triumphed.

{p. 20} CHAPTER TWO

"To Sedan"

ABOUT two years after the publication of Maurice Joly's "Dialogues in Hell," a series of novels entitled "**Biarritz-Rome**" appeared in Berlin, purporting to have been written by "**Sir John Retcliffe**," the pseudonym of **Hermann Goedsche**, a German novelist **with an unsavory past**. To conceal his identity and to convey the impression that the anti-Semitism with which his writings abounded emanated from English sources, he selected "Sir John Retcliffe" as his pen-name.

According to *Meyer's Konversations Lexikon* (Sixth edition, 1904, Volume VIII, page 77), Hermann Goedsche was born in February, 1815, in Trachtenberg, Silesia, and died on November 8th, 1878, at Warmbrunn. He was employed in the postal service, but when he was implicated in the **Waldeck forgery case**, he left the service in 1849, and devoted himself to literary work. Under the name of "Armin" he published a number of works of fiction, but he was best known under the name of "**Sir John Retcliffe**," by which he signed a series of **sensational novels describing the Crimean war**, "Sebastopol," "Rena-Sahib," "Villafranca," "Puebla," "**Biarritz**," in 1866. A new edition of these works appeared in Berlin in 1903-1904.

Brockhaus' Konversations Lexikon (supplement volume XVII, 1904) refers to Goedsche, the novelist, known under the name of "Sir John Retcliffe" (formerly "Armin"), as having played an infamous role in the Waldeck forgery case. He was compelled to leave the postal service, and later became a member of the staff of the *Preussische Kreuz Zeitung*.

{p. 21} **In Goedsche's novel, "To Sedan," there appeared a chapter entitled "The Jewish Cemetery in Prague and the Council of Representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel,"** in which he described a secret centennial midnight meeting of the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel in the ancient cemetery in Prague. According to Goedsche's fantastic story, the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel **meet once in a hundred years in the Prague cemetery** for the purpose of reporting what had happened to the Jewish people during the past century and of elaborating plans for the next century. The midnight meeting, depicted by Hermann Goedsche in the style of blood-curdling fiction, is **secretly attended by a converted Jew** and by a "large-sized man, with the pale serious face of Germanic type." The Devil himself, the son of "the accursed one," is also present at that

midnight meeting of the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel. And from time to time **the Devil is quoted as making side remarks.**

{Berstein is wrong on this - see my refutation}

{This is a loose statement. On p. 283 is stated, "**It seemed to the doctor that on the top of the tombstone, in the bluish flame, there appeared a monstrous golden figure of an animal.**" . This is a reference to the Golden Calf story and the worship of money. **The doctor is a gentile German scientist introduced on p. 270**; there is no other statement that the Devil was present at the meeting in the cemetery}

The chapter of the Retcliffe-Goedsche novel was published as a separate booklet in a Russian translation in 1872, avowedly as a work of fiction. On even a cursory reading this book will be found to **contain the essence of the "Dialogues in Hell," except** that the Machiavellian arguments have been **changed** by the German novelist **into an outline of an alleged Jewish conspiracy against the Gentile world.** A copy of this little volume is in the Russian Department of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

In this **weird, fantastic thriller**, lifted from the "Dialogues in Hell," and transformed afterward into the infamous "Protocols," the story is told of a secret meeting of the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel, ten of which totally disappeared nearly twenty-five centuries ago. **The Devil, who is represented as having attended that meeting,** was assigned the function of **spreading the decisions of the "Wise Men of Zion"** among the Jews in order that they may conquer the world.

An examination of "The Jewish Cemetery in Prague and the

{p. 22} Council of Representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel," discloses the fact that **every substantive statement contained in the "Dialogues in Hell" and elaborated in the "Protocols," appears in the Goedsche-Retcliffe novelette.**

Inspired by Maurice Joly's "Dialogues in Hell," Goedsche-Retcliffe, the German novelist, changed **the Machiavelli-Montesquieu meeting in Hades** into a mysterious centennial midnight meeting of the elders of Israel in the ancient cemetery of Prague.

{But if Joly's *Dialogues* was so rare, having been destroyed by the authorities, how is that the author had a copy? Could there have been another source of the common material?}

The Russian translation of the Goedsche novelette was published first in a magazine edited by Nikolay S. Lvoff and then in booklet form, with the following foreword:

"The contents of the legend are not the invention of Retcliffe himself; rather Retcliffe, with his characteristic fantastic imagination, collected various parts into one whole and painted all with poetic colors, which strike one perhaps by their excessive gaudiness, but which are nevertheless interesting.

"Passed by the Censor, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1872."*

Several years after the publication of this fantastic story in his novel "To Sedan," and after the Russian translation had appeared, "Sir John Retcliffe," alias Goedsche, deeming it important for his purpose of adding fuel to the flame of anti-Semitism that had been lighted in Germany, undertook to convert his work of fiction, the offspring of his imagination, into a statement of fact. This led him to adopt a simple device of **consolidating into one continuous speech the dialogue contained in his imaginative thriller, and of putting the speech into the mouth of an imaginary Rabbi** in such a way as to make it appear to be an address delivered by him to a secret convocation of Jews. And the very man who had plagiarized from the "Dialogues in Hell" the speeches set down in his work of fiction now vouched for the

*A translation of the Goedsche-Retcliffe chapter, "**The Jewish Cemetery in Prague** and the Council of Representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel," together with a photostat reproduction of the title page of the Russian booklet in the Library of Congress, Washington, is given in full in **Exhibits C** and I.

{p. 23} authenticity of the speech which he himself had **fabricated** and attributed to a Rabbi.

G. **Butmi**, a **notorious** Russian **reactionary** and anti-Semitic writer, who reproduced the translation of the "Rabbi's Speech" * in 1905, prefaced it with the following editorial comment:

"Toward the end of the last century there appeared a book in London by Retcliffe entitled '**A Review of Political and Historical Events During the Past Ten Years.**' This work was translated into French. The French periodical press, without waiting for the complete translation of the book, reproduced certain parts of it because they were of special interest. Thus the French newspapers and magazines published translations from the English of an intensely interesting speech (from the Hebrew), most edifying for Russia, delivered by one of the Rabbis, the authenticity of which speech is vouched for by the above-mentioned author. This inimitable gem must in the eyes of the Russians assume all the more importance since it is brought out by that 'highly civilized,' humane and practical country, England, which has given protection to the Russian Jews against the poorly invented persecutions on the part of the Russian government and people. This **monstrous** document was sent at the time in printed form, in the French language, to the editorial office of the Odessa newspaper Nouorosisky Telegraf for those who might want to examine the accuracy of the translation published in No. 4996 of that newspaper, dated January 22, 1891, and reprinted in No. 21 of the St. Petersburg newspaper Znamya, dated January 22, 1904. The speech relates to the time of the **Sanhedrin of 1869.**"

The **Butmi** preface to the "Rabbi's Speech," vouched for by Goedsche-Retcliffe, furnishes further evidence of the **unscrupulous** methods and motives of the **forgers** and **plagiarists** who **fabricated** the "Protocols." They used them to save the **crumbling** Russian

*A translation from the Russian of the apocryphal "**Rabbi's Speech**," as published in G. **Butmi's** book entitled "The Enemy of the Human Race," dedicated by the author to the Black Hundreds, the Tsarist pogrom-makers, is presented in this volume, in **Exhibit D**, together with the passages omitted from the French version of that "Speech."

{p. 24} autocracy by endeavoring to discredit the Jews and to justify the Tsarist pogrom policy against them. In the first place, no book entitled "A Review of Political and Historical Events During the Past Ten Years," by Retcliffe, ever appeared in England. Secondly, the only authority given for the authenticity of the "Rabbi's Speech" is the assurance of the novelist-forger Goedsche-Retcliffe who had used most of the passages of that speech years before in his own weird work of fiction about the secret meeting in the Prague cemetery. Thirdly, **the Black Hundred publicist, Butmi**, sought to convey the impression in Russia that Retcliffe was an Englishman and that his work was published in London. His ironic reference to England as "that 'highly civilized,' humane and practical country, which has given protection to the Russian Jews against the poorly invented persecutions on the part of the Russian government and people" is quite typical of the Russian reactionaries' attitude toward England's liberalism at the time. The Black Hundreds, the party of the Russian pogromists, was furious at England's sympathetic treatment of the Russian Jews who had fled from Russia because of religious persecution and found refuge there. In order to minimize the significance of the liberalism of the English people, the reactionary anti-Semitic Russian writers developed a theory that the English are really the "lost tribes of Israel." The Russian anti-Semitic writings of that period abound in references to the English people as mercenaries and "pure-blooded Jews."

Finally the statement in **Butmi's** foreword that **the Rabbi's Speech "relates to the time of the Sanhedrin of 1869,"** reaches the climax of **absurdities** by which the Russian anti-Semite sought to substantiate the authenticity of the invented "Rabbi's Speech."

The Great Sanhedrin, the highest political magistracy of the Jews of Biblical times, ceased to exist when **the Jewish state perished with the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70** of the Christian era. It was composed of seventy elders, members of the nobility and priesthood. The Religious Sanhedrin, which existed at the same time and supervised various religious problems, was

{p. 25} carried on after the destruction of the Temple by the Academy of Jabneh, which in turn was superseded by Jewish academies under the patriarchs of the family of Hillel. The institution lasted until the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.

The French Sanhedrin was convened by Napoleon I to give legal sanction to the principles expressed by the Jewish Assembly of Notables in answer to twelve questions propounded to it by the Imperial Government. It was **composed of 71 members, two-thirds of whom were rabbis** and the rest laymen. The last session of the French Sanhedrin was held on April 6, 1807.

A comparison of the "Rabbi's Speech" with the Goedsche-Retcliffe scene in the Prague cemetery easily identifies its authorship. **It was this "Rabbi's Speech" by Goedsche-Retcliffe, originally published in a Russian translation in 1891, that undoubtedly furnished the inspiration to convert the "Dialogues in Hell" into the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."**

{p. 26} CHAPTER THREE The Protocols in Russia

THE "Protocols" were concocted not for the purpose of impressing statesmen, theologians, or even public opinion; they were drawn up in France and published in Russia to influence and inflame a **feeble-minded** person whose spirit already was filled with **hatred** of the Jew.

That person was none other than Tsar Nicholas II.

The Russian autocrat, who felt his throne tottering under him in the middle of the nineties and particularly after the Russo-Japanese war, when the revolutionary movement assumed serious proportions, was unwilling to grant the Russian people the reforms advocated by Count Sergius Witte. The influence of his tutor, Pobyedonostsev, the head of the Holy Synod, one of the most **sinister** and brilliant Russian reactionaries, and the pressure brought by Dubrovin, the leader of the Black Hundred pogromists, caused the weak-willed Tsar Nicholas to resist the counsel of Count Witte, who urged the saving of the Russian dynasty by means of a major operation in the form of a Constitution. **It was first Gen. Orzhevsky and, later, Ratchkovsky, unscrupulous Paris representatives of the Russian Okhrana, political secret police department, who conceived the idea of fabricating the document** with which to impress the Tsar that **the Jews and the Freemasons were responsible for the revolutionary upheavals in Russia** and that they were also engaged in a conspiracy for world domination. The Jews were represented as possessing all the infernal wisdom and the wealth which would enable the revolutionary ideas of the Freemasons to be realized, thus bringing about **the subju-**

{p. 27} **gation of Russia and then of the rest of the world.** To the political danger of anti-Tsarism was added the spiritual danger of the anti-Christ, and the fabricators of the "Protocols" strove to persuade Tsar Nicholas that it was in his power alone to save the world and especially his own dynasty from the threatening forces of disruption and revolution.

The Tsar was informed that already in 1901 a "mystic saint," Sergius Nilus, had published a deeply religious and powerful book, "The Great in Little - The Coming of the Anti-Christ and the Rule of Satan on Earth." In 1905 that book by Nilus was **reprinted by the Government Press at Tsarskoye Selo, the home of the Tsar, and the "Protocols" were added as a commentary** on the Nilus prophecy and as an illustration of its approaching fulfillment. Thus appeared the notorious **Nilus edition of the "Protocols," a copy of which is registered in the British Museum under the date of August 10, 1906.**

Because the writings of Sergius Nilus are typical of the "literature" produced under the auspices of the Russian Black Hundred organizations which sought to save the Tsar's throne by pogroms, I examined a large number of publications brought out in Russia during the period when "the Russian Mystic," Sergius Nilus, published his pretended discovery, the "Protocols." **His book, "The Great in Little - the Coming of the Anti-Christ and the Rule of Satan on Earth," appeared in 1905 after the Russo-Japanese War, when the Russian revolutionists made an attempt to overthrow the Tsar's government.** A new organization was formed for the support of the Russian throne. It was known as "the Union of the Russian People" - the Black Hundreds - whose program was Jew-baiting. **It was then that Russia adopted a definite, anti-Jewish policy of vengeance** - a pogrom

policy. **The Black Hundreds held the Jews responsible for Russia's defeat in the war and for the attempted revolution**, - and neither the Tsar nor his loyal organization of the Black Hundreds ever forgave Count Sergius Witte, who won for Russia at the Portsmouth Peace Conference what she had lost on the battlefields, for

{Bernstein never once considers the evidence that Jewish money did finance the Japanese side, which Jacob Schiff confirmed in his writings, and that Jews largely led the 1905 revolution}

{p. 28} inducing Nicholas II to grant a constitution to Russia. **The Black Hundreds nick-named Witte "the Jewish Count of Portsmouth."** They attacked him and attempted to assassinate him. They assassinated at that time two Jewish members of the Duma, Yolloos and Hertzenstein. It was during the period of **Judophobia** that Sergius Nilus published his book containing the "Protocols."

What are these mysterious Protocols which have been exhumed from obscurity for the purpose of enlightening the world, and which point to the Jews as the cause of all unrest, chaos and confusion? How did they come to "the Russian mystic," Sergius Nilus, who revealed them in 1905?

Nilus is credited with several versions of how he had secured the Protocols, and his stories flatly contradict one another. In 1905 he said that the Protocols were given to him by a prominent Russian conservative whose name he did not mention, and who in turn had received them from an unnamed woman who had stolen them from "one of the most influential leaders of Freemasonry at the close of a secret meeting of the initiated in France." Then, several years later, Nilus wrote that his friend himself had stolen the Protocols from "the headquarters of the Society of Zion in France." Several years afterwards, in a new edition of his book, Nilus said that the Protocols came from Switzerland and not from France. This time he named his Russian conservative friend, Sukhotin, who had died in the meantime. He added that the Protocols were **not Jewish-Masonic but Zionist documents secretly read at the Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897.**

Then followed **a new edition of the Nilus book bearing the date of 1917. A translation of this edition appeared in this country in 1920**, containing a brand-new explanation as to how the Protocols were rescued and given to the world. This explanation is taken from the German versions published in Charlottenburg. The introduction to that edition says that the Protocols, having been read from day to day at the Basle Congress, were

{p. 29} sent as read to Frankfort-on-the-Main. The disclosure of them came through the infidelity of the messenger.

The 1917 edition is published with a prologue and an epilogue, like a drama, which indeed it is, with all the ingredients of melodrama: a villain, a mysterious woman, a Grand Duke, a conspiracy to destroy the world, and a saint-Nilus, who convicts himself in his own writings of falsification in the giving of these various accounts of how the Protocols came into his possession.

The anonymous American editor of the Nilus book gave the following information about Nilus:

"Serge Nilus, in the 1905 edition of whose book was first published the Zionist Protocols, was, as he states, born in the year 1862, of Russian parents holding liberal opinions. His family was fairly well known in Moscow, for its members were educated people who were firm in their allegiance to the Tsar and the Greek Church. On one side he is said to have been connected by marriage with the nobility of the Baltic provinces. Nilus himself was graduated from the University of Moscow and early entered the civil service, obtaining a small appointment in the law courts. Later, he received a post under the Procurator of a provincial court in the Caucasus. Finally, tiring of the law, he went to the Government of Orel, where he was a landowner and a noble. His spiritual life had been tumultuous and full of trouble, and finally he entered the Troitsky-Sergevsky Monastery near Moscow. 'In answer to his appeal for pardon, Saint Sergei, stern and angry, appeared to him twice in a vision. He left the Monastery a converted man.'

"From 1905 until the present, little is known of his activities. Articles are said to have appeared from time to time in the Russian press from his pen. A returning traveller from Siberia in August, 1919, was positive in his statement that Nilus was in Irkutsk in June of that year. Whether his final fate was that of Admiral Kolchak is not known."

In the German edition, Nilus is described as follows:

{p. 30} "Sergius Nilus was an employee of the Russian secret police department, of the *okhrana*, connected with the Church, especially relating to 'foreign religions.' He lived for some time at the Optina Pustina Monastery. In 1901 he published a book entitled 'The Great in the Small and the Anti-Christ.' According to the Lutsch Sueta, Nilus claims to have received in 1901 a copy of the text of the Protocols from the secret archives of the Main Zionist organization in France, but he published the Protocols only in 1905. A second edition appeared in 1911, and finally another edition was brought out in the beginning of 1917, but all copies are said to have been destroyed."

"The Cause of the World Unrest," an anonymous book published in England and reprinted in this country, speaks of Nilus and the "Protocols" as follows:

"In the year 1903 a Russian, Serge Nilus, published a book entitled *The Great in Little*. The second edition, which was published at Tsarskoye Selo in 1905, had an additional chapter, the twelfth, under the heading 'Anti-Christ as a Near Political Possibility.' This chapter consisted of some twenty pages of introduction followed by the text of twenty-four 'Protocols of Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion,' and the book ends with some twenty pages.

"Directly after the protocols, comes a statement by Nilus that they are 'signed by representatives of Zion of the thirty-third degree.' These protocols were secretly extracted or were stolen from a whole volume of protocols. All this was got by my correspondent out of the secret depositories of the Head Chancellery of Zion. This Chancellery is at present on French territory."

In the edition of 1917 Sergius Nilus wrote:

"My book has already reached the fourth edition, but it is only definitely known to me now and in a manner worthy of belief, and that through Jewish sources, that these protocols are nothing other than the strategic plans for the conquest of the world under the heel of Israel, and worked out by the leaders of the Jewish people and read by the 'Prince of Exile,' Theodore

{p. 31} Herzl, during the first Zionist Congress, summoned by him in August, 1897, in Basle." *

Sergius Nilus also wrote:

"In 1901 I came into possession of a manuscript, and this comparatively small book was destined to cause a deep change in my entire viewpoint as can only be caused in the heart of man by Divine Power. It was comparable with the miracle of making the blind see. 'May Divine acts enlighten him.'

"This manuscript was called 'the protocols of the Zionist Men of Wisdom,' and it was given to me by the now deceased leader of the Tchernigov nobility, who later became vice-governor of Stavropol, Alexis Nikolayevitch Sukhotin. I had already begun to work with my pen for the glory of the Lord, and I was friendly with Sukhotin. *He was a man of my own opinion*, that is, extremely conservative, as they are now termed.

"Sukhotin told me that he in turn had obtained the manuscript from a lady who always lived abroad. This lady was a noblewoman from Tchernigov. He mentioned her by name, but I have forgotten it. He said that she obtained it in some mysterious way, by theft, I believe.

"Sukhotin also said that one copy of the manuscript was given by this lady to Sipiagin, the Minister of the Interior, upon her return from abroad, and that Sipiagin was subsequently killed. He said other things of the same mysterious character. But when I first became acquainted with the contents of the manuscript I was convinced that its terrible, cruel and straightforward truth is witness of its true origin from the 'Zionist Men of Wisdom,' and that no other evidence of its origin would be needed."

Feodor Roditchev, one of Russia's most famous liberals, a member of the nobility, a former member of the Duma, writing of the Nilus protocols and of Sukhotin, whom Nilus described as a man of his own opinion, said in 1920:

* It will be shown later that the so-called **Butmi** edition of the "protocols" published in 1907 contains the definite statement of the man who claims to have translated them into Russian from the French in 1901 that the Elders of Zion are not to be confounded with the Zionist movement.

{p. 32} "For months I hear on all sides about the Nilus book and its success in England, and I am asked, who is Nilus? There was a Nilus, an associate justice of the Moscow District Court. It is said that the manuscript was given to Nilus by Sukhotin, the **notorious** zemstvo official of Chernsk.

"The Berlin edition contains no mention of Sukhotin, but in that edition Nilus said, 'Pray for the soul of the *boyar* Alexis.'

"The name of the notorious Alexey Nikolayevitch Sukhotin means nothing to the present generation. But there was a time when his name attracted attention.

"Sukhotin arrested the peasants of a whole village for refusing to cart manure from his stables because the animals there were infected with glanders. Judge Tsurikov released the peasants. Tsurikov was removed for this, while Sukhotin justified his act by writing to the Minister of the Interior, Durnovo, that he had arrested the peasants not because they refused to cart his manure, but because they dared disobey him as a zemstvo official. The reactionary Chernsk nobility made Sukhotin marshal of nobility. So it was this man who furnished the protocols of the secret meetings of the representatives of Zion! But how did Sukhotin get the protocols? An unknown friend had brought them to him. They were given to him by an unknown lady who had received them from an unknown but energetic participant in the Basle Congress. Is this credible? Well, then, there is another version of the origin of the protocols - but that is for the German readers. The Russian government sent a spy to the Basle Congress. He did not go to the Congress himself, but bribed one of the participants. He was carrying the protocols from Basle to Frankfurt to the local masonic organization. He stopped on the way in a little town, and gave the protocols to the spy. He engaged copyists who worked all night and copied the protocols.

"In the first Russian version the protocols were supposed to have been brought to Russia in French. According to the German version, the protocols were copied, consequently they were in German, but the most important thing is that the protocols are

{p. 33} not protocols at all, but a monograph - which could be called the dream of a member of the 'Black Hundreds'."

In the book issued by G. **Butmi** to which reference has been made, and which contains the "Rabbi's Speech" already considered, there is to be found still another version of the protocols. **Butmi** was a **notorious** Black Hundred writer. This book was dedicated to the Black Hundred organization. Appropriately enough it was published by the Society of Deaf and Dumb, as will be seen from the facsimile reproduction of the title page. With exceeding **naivete** **Butmi** published the **forged** speech attributed by Retcliffe-Goedsche to a Jewish Rabbi as proof of the genuineness of the protocols, and side by side with the fabricated speech appears the **Butmi** version of the protocols.

The headlines over the protocols in the **Butmi** 1906 and 1907 versions read as follows:

"PROTOCOLS TAKEN OUT OF THE SECRET DEPOSITORIES OF THE MAIN OFFICE OF ZION.

"(Extracts from ancient and modern protocols of the **Sages of Zion** of the Universal **Organization of Freemasons**.)"

Thus the Protocols were in 1907 presented by G. **Butmi**, dedicated to the Black Hundreds, **as Masonic, not as Jewish documents**. In his introduction the author says, in part, as follows:

"These secret protocols were **secured with great difficulty in fragmentary form**, and were translated into Russian in December, 1901. It is almost impossible to get at the secret depositories again where they are hidden, and therefore they cannot be reinforced by definite information as to the place, day, month, year, where and when they were composed.

"The reader who is more or less familiar with the secrets of Freemasonry will draw from the general character of the criminal plot, outlined in the protocols, the conclusion as to their authenticity, and from several details he will suppose with great certainty that the mentioned protocols were taken from the documents of the Masonic lodge of Egyptian ritual, or Mizraim, which is joined mostly by Jews.

...

{p. 34} "But the above-mentioned failure to mention the time and place where the protocols were composed might call forth in the reader, who is entirely unfamiliar with the abominations of Masonic doctrines, doubts as to the authenticity of these documents."

At the end of the Protocols published in this edition by **Butmi**, in 1907, there appears a note by the man who declares that he had **secured and translated the documents from the French, on December 9, 1901**, and in the very first two lines of his note, he states that the representatives of Zion mentioned in the documents are **not to be confounded with** the representatives of **the Zionist movement**. The Russian mystic Serge Nilus, in his later editions, connected the documents with the Zionist Congress in Basle and with the head of the Zionist movement, Dr. Theodore Herzl.

The translator, as do Nilus and Lutostansky, also gives a version of "the political plan devised by the Wise Men of Zion." This translator, however, states that the "political plan was conceived 929 years before the birth of Christ. It was invented by Solomon and Judean sages in theory."

Here follow extracts from the so-called Translator's Note:

"The expounded protocols are signed by the representatives of Zion (*do not confound them with the representatives of the Zionist movement*). They were taken out of a whole book of protocols, the entire contents of which it was impossible to copy because of the short time allowed the translator for reading these protocols. A small appendix was attached to them and a plan of conquering the world by the Jews by peaceful means. These protocols and the Sketch were taken from the secret depositories of the Main Office of Zion, now located on French territory.

"The above-mentioned Sketch contained the entire political plan of Zion with regard to the stages to be passed through by this movement and to the means of passing from one to another. The aforesaid political plan was conceived 929 years before the birth of Christ. It was invented by Solomon and the Judean

{p. 35} Sages in theory; according to historical events, it was elaborated and enlarged by their followers initiated in this plan.

"These sages decided to conquer the world peacefully for Zion, with the cunning of the Symbolic Snake, whose head should be composed of the Jewish Government initiated in the plans of the Wise Men (always masked even to their people), and the body - the Jewish nation.

"Crawling into the bosom of governments, this snake has undermined or eaten away all non-Jewish governmental powers, according to their growth, in various continents, but particularly in Europe, which it should do also in the future, following exactly the outlines of the plan until the cycle of the road travelled by it will close by the return of the head of the Snake to Zion - that is, until this snake will include in the sphere of its circle all Europe, and through Europe the whole world, utilizing all forces conquered by economic means in order to draw the other continents into the sphere of its cycle.

"For instance, the economic theory of the ballot system has made it possible to carry out everything that was desirable in the interests of the elevation of Zion. The Jewish authorities commenced to act by means of bribing or by instigating the majority of votes as soon as they succeeded to manage so that the decisions of that majority became the determining factor in questions of national life. The crowd always in need, or the greedy intelligent class, short-sighted liberals and other blind people have also rendered good service to Zion. Therefore the republican is the most desirable and convenient form of government for Zion because it gives full sway for the activities of the armies of Zion - for anarchists of thought and action, called socialists.

"All that which is outlined above is the work of the hands of the nation without a territory, constituting but a drop in the ocean of humanity, but possessing the most ideal Government, every member of which is familiarized with the plan of action worked out in the course of centuries, from which he cannot

{p. 36} deviate. The politics of the goyim is the politics of accidental circumstances, engineered by the Jews, and tends not towards perfecting the affairs of the state, but towards struggle for the sake of greed, or more often for the personal aggrandizement of the administrators.

"From this it is clear, on whose side there must be victory and the guidance of the world.

"Translation from the French, December 9, 1901."

The Russian and German anti-Semites have maintained that the Protocols were the minutes of the secret proceedings of the first Zionist Congress at Basle, held in 1897, presided over by Dr. Theodore Herzl. Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologist of anti-Semitism and translator of the Protocols into German, declared that they were the work of the Zionist leaders, Herzl, Nordau and Achad Ha'Am. **Even Butmi, who published the translator's note** to the effect that the "representatives of Zion who signed the Protocols" should **not be confounded with** the representatives of **the Zionist movement, declared in his edition of 1906** as follows:

"In vain does the translator in his note ask us not to confound the doctrines of the Zionist sages of Masonry with those of the representatives of the Zionist movement, that is Zionism, founded by Dr. Theodore Herzl in 1896. Particularly in Russia the **Zionist-Masons** in their activities, directed against the Church and the State, **found a natural ally in Judaism**, especially in the so-called

Zionism which is so widespread among Jewish intelligentsia in Russia, which uses but as an external pretext the plan of the emigration of Jews to Palestine, but which is in reality a revolutionary organization, secretly guided by the Jewish 'Bund.' ...

"England, through its agents, the Russian Masons, is co-operating for the internal enslavement of Russia by the Jews, by Jewish Zionists, by means of stirring up internal sedition, paralyzing the potential resistance of Russia to the wiles of British foreign policy. The agreement on this subject between the Zionists and the Mason was apparently arrived at in 1900, at the initiative

{p. 37} of Dr. Herzl, founder of modern Zionism. Thus Jewish Zionism, working in Russia under the protection of Russian Masons, is well-organized and spread throughout Russia by the treacherous agency of the British foreign policy, which is always inimical to Russia but friendly to the Jews."

While the Russian **fabricators** and **forgers** of the Protocols could not agree on any one version of how and when the Protocols reached Russia, and under whose sponsorship the **spurious** anti-Semitic document first made its appearance there, they all sought to identify the Protocols with the **first Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897**.

Fortunately, I find documentary evidence, submitted by the anti-Semites themselves, in their desperate effort to prove the authenticity of the first Russian version of the Protocols, that they were brought to Russia in 1895, two years before the first Zionist Congress.

L. Fry, in a book entitled "**Water Flowing Eastward**," published in Paris in 1933, thus describes "How the Protocols Came to Russia":

"In 1884 the daughter of a Russian General, Mlle. Justine Glinka, was endeavoring to serve her country in Paris by **obtaining political information**, which she communicated to General Orgevkii (at that time Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, General Cherevin), in St. Petersburg. For this purpose she **employed a Jew, Joseph Schorst** (alias **Schapiro**, whose father had been sentenced in London, two years previous, to ten years' penal servitude for counterfeiting), member of **Mizraim Lodge in Paris**. One day Schorst offered to obtain for her a document of great importance to Russia, on payment of 2,500 francs. This sum being received from St. Petersburg was paid over and the **document handed to Mlle. Glinka** (Schorst fled to Egypt where, according to French police archives, he was murdered).

"She forwarded the French original, accompanied by a Russian translation, to Orgevkii, who in turn handed it to his chief, General Cherevin, for transmission to the Tsar. But **Cherevin**,

{p. 38} **under obligation to wealthy Jews, refused to transmit it**, merely filing it in the archives (on his death in 1896, he willed a copy of his memoirs containing the Protocols to Nicholas II).

"Meantime there appeared in Paris certain books on Russian court life, (published under the pseudonym 'Count Vassilii,' their real author was Mme. Juliette Adam, using material furnished by Princess Demidov-San Donato, Princess Radziwill and other Russians), which displeased the Tsar, who ordered his secret police to discover their authorship. This was falsely attributed, perhaps with malicious intent (among the Jews in the Russian secret service in Paris was Manuilov, whose odious character is drawn by M. Paleologue, *Memoires*), to Mlle. Glinka, and on her return to Russia she was banished to her estate in Orel. To the Marechal de noblesse of this district, Alexis Sukhotin, Mlle. Glinka gave a copy of the Protocols. **Sukhotin showed the document to two friends, Stepanov and Nilus; the former had it printed and circulated privately in 1897; the second, Professor Sergius A. Nilus, published it for the first time in Tsarskoye Selo (Russia) in 1901, in a book entitled The Great Within the Small**. Then, about the same time, a friend of Nilus, G. **Butmi**, also brought it out and a copy was deposited in the British Museum on August 10, 1906.

"Meantime, **through Jewish members** (notably Evno Azev and Efron) **of the Russian police, minutes of the proceedings of the Basle Congress in 1897 had been obtained and these were found to correspond with the Protocols**. The Russian government had learned that **at meetings of the B'nai B'rith in New York in 1893-94, Jacob Schiff had been named chairman of the Committee on the revolutionary movement in Russia.***

"In January, 1917, Nilus had prepared a second edition, revised and documented, for publication. But before it could be put on the market, the revolution of March, 1917, had taken place, and Kerenski, who had succeeded to power, ordered the whole edition of Nilus' book to be destroyed. In 1924, **Prof. Nilus**

***Jacob H. Schiff was never an officer or chairman of any Committee of the B'nai B'rith. {But Schiff did confirm that he funded Japan's military buildup against Russia - and Bernstein makes no mention of this. His letters frequently deal with Russia}**

{p. 39} **was arrested by the Cheka in Kiev, imprisoned, and tortured; he was told by the Jewish president of the court, that this treatment was meted out to him 'for having done them incalculable harm in publishing the Protocols.'** Released for a few months, he was again led before the G. P. U. (Cheka), this time in Moscow and confined. Set at liberty in February, 1926, he died in exile in the district of Vladimir on January 13, 1929.

"A few copies of Nilus' second edition were saved and sent to other countries where they were published: In Germany, by Gottfried zur Beek (1919); in England, by *The Britons* (1920); in France, by Mgr. Jouin in *La Revue Internationale des Societes Secretes*, and by Urbain Gohier in *La Vieille France*; in the United States, by Small, Maynard & Co. (Boston, 1920), and by The Beckwith Co. (New York, 1921). Later, editions appeared in Italian, Russian, Arabic and even in Japanese.

"Such is the simple story of how these Protocols reached Russia and thence came into general circulation." *

This account of the history of the Protocols in Russia is accompanied by a **facsimile affidavit made in 1927 by Philip Stepanov, one of the two friends** to whom Sukhotin first showed the Protocols in Russia. Stepanov's telltale affidavit, translated from the Russian, reads as follows:

"In 1895 my neighboring estate owner in the province of Tula, retired Major Alexey Nikolayevitch **Sukhotin, gave me a handwritten copy of the 'Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion.'** He told me that a lady of his acquaintance (he did not mention her name), residing in Paris, had **found them at the home of a friend of hers (probably of Jewish origin),** and before leaving Paris, had translated them secretly, without his knowledge, and had brought one copy of that translation to Russia, and had given that copy to him, Sukhotin.

"At first I mimeographed one hundred copies of the Protocols, but that edition was difficult to read, and I resolved to have it

*A copy of L. Fry's book, "Waters Flowing Eastward," second edition, Paris, 1933, is in the New York Public Library

{p. 40} printed somewhere, without mentioning the time, the city and the printer; I was helped in this by Arcady Ippolitovitch Kelepkovsky, who at that time was Privy Councillor with Grand Duke Sergey Alexandrovitch; he had these documents printed at the Provincial Printing Press; that was in 1897. S. A. Nilus reprinted these Protocols in full in his book, with his own commentaries.

"Philip Petrovitch Stepanov, former Procurator of the Moscow Synod Office; Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, and at the time of the publication of that edition, Chief of the district railway service of the Moscow-Kursk railway (in Orel).

"This is the signature of a member of the colony of Russian refugees at Stary and Novy Futog. (Cor. C. X. S.)

"Witnessed by me, Stary Futog, April 17, 1927.

"Chairman of the Administration of the Colony,
"Prince Vladimir Galitzin." (Seal) *

The translation of this handwritten affidavit by Stepanov, given in **L. Fry's book, contains several minor inaccuracies.** The signature of Prince Vladimir Galitzin is transcribed as "Prince Dimitri Galitzin."

Thus the Russian anti-Semites themselves, anxious to vouch for the authenticity of the "Protocols" and their Zionist origin, **by this affidavit give the lie to the Russian fabricators** and disseminators of the Protocols, revealing that the Russian translation of the spurious document **had reached Russia two years before the first Zionist Congress was held in Basle.** This affidavit furnishes the missing link in the chain of incontrovertible evidence establishing the falsity of the Protocols and the sinister motives of the anti-Jewish forgers. It also confirms the fact that officials close to the Tsar's family participated in the launching of the Protocols in Russia.

{But Norman Cohn, in *Warrant For Genocide*, pp. 111-3, gives reasons why the Protocols are unlikely to be earlier than 1897, and writes that this 1895 date is erroneous, probably because the **affidavit relied on memory to relate events thirty years earlier**}

Several years ago the Library of Congress, of Washington, had purchased a collection of books belonging to the library of Tsar Nicholas II. That collection, as yet uncatalogued, is now in a vault in the Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts.

* facsimile of this letter in Russian is reproduced in Exhibit I.

{p. 41} **Recently I examined the volumes of the Tsar's library and found among them the 1906 edition of Butmi's book, "Enemies of the Human Race,"** dedicated to the Union of the Russian People (the Black Hundreds), and **containing the Protocols.**

{If the Tsar believed The Protocols a forgery done by his own agents, as Cohn says he was persuaded (after initial belief), why did he bother to keep a copy?}

The special binding bears the Imperial crest of the Russian Empress. **Butmi's** foreword to that edition, dated St. Petersburg, December 5, 1905, offers the following explanation:

"The Protocols, being secret, were obtained with great difficulty, in fragmentary form, and translated into Russian on December 9, 1901. It is almost impossible to get again at the secret depositories where they are hidden, and therefore they cannot be reinforced by definite information concerning the place, the day or the month, where and when they were composed. This circumstance might arouse suspicion as to the genuineness of the Protocols."

However, **Butmi** is sure that the Protocols are genuine Jewish documents because of their contents. The **Butmi** version of the Protocols in the Tsar's library differs from the other **Butmi** editions in that the attacks on the "British foreign policy" and the British Masons co-operating with the "Jewish Zionists" are not included in this particular edition. Apparently **Butmi** feared to weaken the impression of his anti-Jewish book on the Tsar by the offensive references to the British government.

Father Gleb E. Verchovsky, a Roman Catholic priest of the Byzantine Slavic rite, residing in Chicago, who knew the Russian anti-Semitic writer, George **Butmi**, intimately, states that **it was Butmi who first brought the French "Protocols" into Russia, translated and published them** shortly after the close of the Dreyfus Affair. **Butmi** published several editions of the "Protocols" in his book entitled "Accusatory Addresses - Enemies of the Human Race," **dedicated to the Black Hundreds.**

Butmi's version differs from that of Nilus in the style of the translation as well as in the order and division of the "Protocols." **Butmi's** text is divided into **27 Protocols**, while the Nilus Proto-

{p. 42} cols are 24 in number. **Butmi's translation also contains several passages that are not included in the Nilus version.**

The "Protocols" were **fabricated by Russians in Paris, apparently during the first year of the Dreyfus Affair**, for political purposes. The **spurious** documents were intended not only to inflame general hatred against the Jews in Russia but also to **discredit the Russian liberals who deplored the anti-Jewish discriminations and persecutions**, and were **aimed particularly at Sergius Witte**, then Minister of Finance, who introduced the Gold Standard in Russia and irritated the reactionaries by advocating liberal reforms and sympathizing with the Jews.

The plagiarists of the Joly "Dialogues in Hell" also drew upon the works of various French, German and Russian rabid anti-Semites for the preparation of the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

The authors of the "Protocols" had evidently no idea of the hopes, the ethical aspirations, the religious traditions, the historical destiny of Judaism and the Jew. Every intelligent reader of the melange of ignorance and **venom** contained in the "Protocols" must recognize that the writer of these calumnies had never read a Jewish or even an authoritative non-Jewish book dealing with Jewish history. None of the plans, ideas and aspirations outlined in the "Protocols," none of the political conspiracies are, in any detail, based on Jewish psychology or Jewish history.

{p. 43} CHAPTER FOUR

Spread and Expose of the Protocols

UPON my return in January, 1919, from the Far East, where I had represented the New York *Herald* and a syndicate of American newspapers as war correspondent accredited to General William S. Graves, head of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, I was informed by Mr. Ohl, then managing editor of the New York Herald, that an American physician, Dr. Harris Houghton, connected with the Army Intelligence Department, had submitted to him a very important document concerning the Jewish people and their role in world affairs, and that he desired me to examine the manuscript and give my opinion as to its authenticity and significance.

The physician soon called on me with the document. He told me in the strictest confidence that he had come upon a most amazing find, the secret "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," **which he said had been prepared by Dr. Theodore Herzl**, the father of modern Zionism, and **which he believed had been adopted at the first Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897.** He said that the manuscript in his possession was a translation from a Russian book by Sergius Nilus, a monk, who had secured and made public the "Protocols." He spoke of the far-reaching significance of the "Protocols" with an air of great mystery. He said that he had submitted the manuscript to several members of President Wilson's Cabinet, and a few high officers of the Intelligence Department, and that all these people were deeply impressed with the astounding revelations of a universal sinister plot on the part of the Jewish people to secure world domination

{p. 44} by instigating war and revolution and bringing about the collapse of Christianity. He pointed to Bolshevism in Russia as the fulfillment of the plan outlined in the "Protocols" of the Zionists under the presidency of Theodore Herzl.

Dr. Houghton, who seemed to treasure this document as his most precious possession, asked me to read the "Protocols" and express my opinion, for Mr. Ohl, managing editor of the New York *Herald*, to whom he had submitted them for publication, had told him that he would be guided by my report as to the document's authenticity and importance. I replied that I would be glad to examine the "Protocols" and give my opinion, and told him that I would need three days for the examination. At first he hesitated to part with his precious document, but finally he decided to let me have it for three days, on condition that I sign a receipt promising to return the manuscript within that time and not to let anyone else see it.

I read and reread the "Protocols" and returned them to him within the three days, stating that, in my opinion, the "Protocols" were a **clumsy** falsification, and that from my intimate knowledge of Jewish life and Zionist activities I was convinced that neither Dr. Theodore Herzl nor any other responsible Jewish or Zionist leader could have prepared such a document. I even suggested that I would be willing to have the "Protocols" published, provided they would be accompanied by my comments exposing the absurdity of their fantastic charges against the Jewish people. When I informed Mr. Ohl of my opinion, he decided against their publication.

Upon investigation I soon learned that the Russian text of the "Protocols" was brought to the doctor's attention by Boris Brasol, a Russian monarchist in this country, a former Tsarist minor official of the Department of Justice under the **notorious** Minister of Justice Scheglovitov, who had staged the ritual murder trial in Kiev for the purpose of discrediting the Jewish people and of justifying the Tsarist government's anti-Jewish policy of pogroms.

{p. 45} Shortly afterward I left for Paris to describe the Peace Conference for the New York Herald. **In Paris I learned that typewritten copies of the "Protocols" were circulated among delegates to the Peace Conference.**

{Bernstein makes no reference to the observations by E. J. Dillon in his book *The Peace Conference*}

A year later translations of the "Protocols" began to appear throughout the world with the prolificacy of **poisonous** fungi. In England they were published under the title, "The Jewish Peril." Then a German version appeared, followed shortly by a Polish translation. Two versions were published in the United States in 1920. One of these was the manuscript which the American Intelligence officer had submitted to me for an opinion. Three different translations of the "Protocols" were published in France, followed by Italian, Danish, Swedish and Finnish versions. Hungary joined the merry dance and even in far-away Japan and China the "Protocols" made their appearance - **in Russian, due to the efforts of Russian White Guards.** All these translations, with conflicting explanations and introductions, emanated from the Russian **reactionary** emigres and the Prussian Jew-baiters who had for years been trying to build up a case for their "scientific" anti-Semitism.

In Germany the "Protocols" were welcomed by the anti-Semites and their **dupes** with loud enthusiasm. Count Reventlow, one of the foremost disciples of the "Russian mystic," Sergius Nilus, and now a member of the National Socialist Government, led the campaign against the Jews. No nationalistic newspaper was too important or too small to devote much space to the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

Professor Hermann L. Strack, Privy Councillor in Germany, and one of the foremost German theological scholars, published an annihilating criticism of the "Protocols" and described them as a network of falsifications. The anti-Semites attacked the disinterested truth-loving professor, branding him as being in pay of the Jews, and his lone voice was drowned in the **raucous** noise of hate-inflamed ignorance and **deliberate** distortion of the truth.

{But **Bernstein never once considers the Jewish composition of the early Bolshevik Government**, or its totalitarian Terror. He considers such topics irrelevant}

The English press also paid serious attention to the "Protocols."

{p. 46} The *Times* as well as the *Spectator* seriously discussed this conglomeration of falsehood and absurdity as a genuine document. The *Morning Post* published a series of articles under the general title "Cause of the World Unrest," in which the entire course of history was reviewed and interpreted in the light of the "Protocols." These articles appeared later in book form and were widely read, discussed and reprinted in England and, to a certain extent, also in the United States.

In France the "Protocols" were discussed not only in the ultra-chauvinistic and anti-Semitic press, such as *La Libre Parole* and *La Vieille France*, but even serious and dignified publications of the type of *L'Opinion* carried leading articles about the monstrous falsehoods without questioning the authenticity of the documents. Many of the daily newspapers were full of allusions to the "Protocols," and no critical journalist there seemed to grasp the psychological and historical impossibility of the whole tragic falsification.

In Italy, where the "Protocols" had already appeared in April, 1920, the Milan paper *Perseverenza* reprinted in July extensive excerpts from the London *Morning Post* articles, and the *Resto del Carlino* in Bologna soon followed suit. The widely read *Vita Italiana* of Rome devoted considerable space to serious discussion of the "Protocols," and for about two years various provincial newspapers repeatedly published articles dealing with this unsavory subject.

The "Protocols" were also translated into Arabic and were circulated in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Persia.

In America, where two versions of the Nilus book appeared in translation, such a serious newspaper as the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* published long articles about the "Protocols" as the "Red Bible" of the Bolsheviki, a "bible" which was said to contain a detailed plan for world-revolution, prepared by Russian Jewish Communists more than a decade before. **The Dearborn Independent, published by Henry Ford, took up the torch** which had been kindled by the Russian Black Hundreds and the Prussian

{p. 47} Jew-baiters in an attempt to explain the collapse of the Russian and German autocracies and the rise of Bolshevism. The *Dearborn Independent* articles, for which material was supplied by the American physician and the Russian monarchist, Boris Brasol, who introduced the "Protocols" in this country, were based chiefly on the "Protocols." **These articles reached a wide reading public, and were afterwards reprinted in book form.** A collection of these articles, entitled "The International Jew," was brought out in a German translation in Leipzig by the Hammer Verlag, under the editorship of the rabid Jew-baiter, Theodore Fritsch. The fact that Henry Ford's name was used in connection with the authorship of the book helped its sale and distribution immensely in Germany.

Towards the end of 1920 and early in 1921 I undertook an investigation in order to establish the origin of the "Protocols." Fortunately I found some of the original volumes in the Library of Congress at Washington, among a vast number of Russian books which had recently been purchased in Russia.

I searched among the Black Hundred publications brought out toward the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and found the **Butmi** edition of the "Protocols." I also found there a Russian version of a chapter from a German novel entitled "To Sedan" in his series "**Biarritz-Rome**," by "Sir John Retcliffe," whose real name was Hermann Goedsche, a German novelist with a criminal record.

In my book, "The History of a Lie," published in February, 1921, I showed by documentary evidence the various stages of the forgery which emanated from Prussian and Russian sources. **These documents are reproduced in the present volume.**

Count A. M. du Chayla, a Frenchman who had lived in Russia for many years, gave interesting and important testimony at **the 1934 trial in Berne, Switzerland, regarding the "Protocols" and Sergius Nilus**, whom he knew intimately.*

*Count **du Chayla** revealed the Russian origin of the "Protocols" in 1921, in *Posledniya Novosti*, the **Russian newspaper published in Paris**, {footnote continued on p. 49}

{p. 48} **The first authentic information concerning the mysterious Nilus**, the Russian sponsor of the "Protocols," was given by **Count du Chayla in 1921**. He is the author of several studies on Russian theology and culture. During the war he was commander of a detachment of Don Cossacks and was decorated for heroism. In 1909 M. du Chayla spent nine months at the monastery at Optina Poustina as a close neighbor and intimate friend of Nilus, who frequently spoke to him of the Protocols and showed him the original document and the commentaries which he was preparing for it. M. du Chayla also gathered further information concerning Nilus from people who had known him intimately.

When he was **introduced to Nilus** the third day after his arrival at Optina Poustina, du Chayla found Nilus to be "a man of about 45, a true Russian type, big and broad, with a gray beard and deep blue eyes." Nilus came from a family of Swiss emigres who had come to Russia in the reign of Peter I, and boasted of being a direct descendant of a special executioner under Ivan the Terrible. A brother of his was a judge in Moscow, who regarded Nilus as a madman. Nilus was well educated, had been graduated from the Law Academy in

Moscow, and knew perfectly French, German and English. He had been appointed judge in Trans-Caucasia but his eccentricities and capricious temperament forced him to abandon that post.

M. du Chayla made the sensational disclosure that Nilus was at one time about to become the confessor of the Czar and the Royal family of Russia but was prevented by his enemies and forced to leave in disgrace. In 1918, Nilus lived in Kiev at the convent known as "Protection of the Holy Virgin." In the winter of 1918-1919, he escaped to Germany and lived in Berlin.

{footnote continued from p. 47} under the editorship of Professor Paul Miliukoff, the eminent historian and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government in Russia after the Tsarist government had collapsed. **Count du Chayla's article** is reproduced in **Exhibit G**.

{p. 49} **Du Chayla frequently visited Nilus** at his villa near the monastery where Nilus was living on the pension that his wife was receiving from the Imperial Court. In the course of a discussion on religion, Nilus read some extracts from the text and from his commentaries, and was greatly **incensed at the Frenchman's failure to be impressed with the document** and proceeded to **show him a manuscript**, which he claimed was **the original draft** of the sessions of the Wise Men of Zion. Du Chayla noticed on the front page a large ink spot. **The text was French**, and was **in several handwritings and in different inks**.

Nilus explained this by asserting that **different people had filled the post of secretary** at the secret sessions of the Wise Men of Zion. He did not seem to be certain, however, about this detail, for at another time he told du Chayla that the manuscript was **not the original but a copy**. Nilus introduced du Chayla to a certain Mme. K. who was living with them at the villa. This Mme. K., whose name du Chayla did not divulge; had been in intimate relations with Nilus in Paris and, after Nilus had married, came to live with him and his wife. Mme. Nilus was a submissive woman who did not object to this arrangement.

Nilus told du Chayla that this **Mme. K. while in Paris had met a certain General Ratchkovsky** who had given her the manuscript of the Protocols which he said he had **removed from the secret archives of the Freemasons**. This Ratchkovsky was head of the branch of the Russian political police which watched Russian political offenders who had escaped to France. Du Chayla once asked Nilus whether he did not think that he was following a false trail in accepting as gospel truth the manuscript of Ratchkovsky, whose unreliability had been so frequently demonstrated. Nilus answered, "Did not the ass of Balaam utter prophecy? Cannot God transform the bones of a dog into sacred miracles? If He can do these things, He can also make the announcement of truth come from the mouth of a liar."

To convince du Chayla further, Nilus showed him a mass of

{p. 50} miscellaneous household utensils, insignia of technical societies, diplomatic emblems, etc., which Nilus kept in a small chest. "On each of these objects," says du Chayla, "his inflamed imagination showed him the mark of the Antichrist in the form of a triangle or a pair of crossed triangles. It was enough for any object to have on it a figure resembling somewhat a triangle for Nilus to see in it the seal of the Wise Men of Zion.

"The first two editions of the Protocols," says du Chayla, "passed almost unnoticed in Russia. In fact, only one newspaper reviewed them. The theological reviews did not even mention these books, and it is doubtful whether they knew of their existence.... Most of the authorities of the Russian Church to whom I spoke concerning Nilus and his work regarded him as a **crazed fanatic**. **In 1911, Nilus addressed a letter to the Patriarchs of the Orient, to the Holy Synod, and to the Pope, asking** them to call together the **8th OEcumenical Council** in order to take measures **to protect Christianity against** the coming of **the Antichrist**. At the same time Nilus preached this doctrine of preparedness to the Monks at Optina. The monastic peace was so troubled by Nilus that the authorities asked him never again to appear at the cloister.

"The first indications of public interest in the Protocols became apparent in 1918. A new edition of the Protocols was published by Ismailoff, a Moscow lawyer. **The center of anti-Semitic propaganda was then transferred to Rostoff**, the seat of the propaganda department for **General Denikin's army**. From Rostoff the **Protocols were sent out in great numbers and distributed among the units of the volunteers and among the Cossack troops** at Kouban. They served as fuel to a violent pogrom agitation which brought lurid and pernicious results. A circular against this propaganda was sent to all the chaplains at the front by Archpriest George Schavelsky, head of the military clergy, but the effects of this circular were paralyzed by the attitude of the commanding officers."

{p. 51} M. du Chayla also told of the use that had been made of the Protocols in the pogroms in the Ukraine and under Wrangel in the Crimea. They were constantly being used to incite the troops to pillage and excesses and this constant propaganda eventually contributed to the demoralization and the defeat of these forces.

{p. 52} CHAPTER FIVE

The End of the Protocols

THE **forgers** of the "Protocols" made alterations in each succeeding edition, mistranslating the stolen passages, adding or subtracting, endeavoring to adapt them to changing conditions in order to prove that the Jews had either predicted or instigated such events as the Russian revolution, the World War, the overthrow of the Russian and German autocracies, and the rise of Communism.

Out of the scrap heap of Tsarist autocracy, the Russian and Prussian anti-Semites *exhumed* the old weapons for the purpose of waging war on the Jewish people. Upon the structure of the old myths, made in Germany and re-made in Russia, they continued to erect new falsehoods in order to intensify chaos, confusion and dissatisfaction in the hope of a restoration of their old privileges.

Lucien Wolf, the eminent British publicist and author, in his keen **analysis of "The Jewish Peril," the first English version of the "Protocols,"** related the following episode which threw more light on the unscrupulousness of the mercenaries who had peddled the infamous documents:

"In June, 1919, the present writer, while in Paris, heard of the circulation of the Protocols as a pogrom pamphlet in Denikin's country, but he attached no importance to it. Later on came the first intimation of the proposed publication of the Protocols in Western Europe. It came in very characteristic shape. One day the members of **a certain Jewish delegation in Paris** received a visit from a mysterious Lithuanian who had been connected with

{p. 53} the Russian Secret Police. He professed himself anxious to serve the Jewish community, and said that he was in a position to **prevent the publication of an exceedingly dangerous book**, which, if it saw the light, would probably involve the whole house of Israel in ruin. Quite naturally, he wished to be paid for this service, but the sum was a mere trifle, a matter of £10,000 (about \$50,000). He was asked for a sight of the volume, and he produced it. It was, of course, the Protocols. Needless to say, no business was done. It was possibly only a coincidence that in the following December a German edition was published under the title *Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion*, and two months later the English edition saw the light under the title 'The Jewish Peril: Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.' The German and English publication would have been simultaneous but for the fact that difficulty was experienced in finding a reputable London publishing house to take the Protocols seriously."

Israel Zangwill, the brilliant **Anglo-Jewish** author, in his "**Legend of the Conquering Jew**," published by The Macmillan Company in 1921, **had this to say of the Protocols**:

"Two recent *scurrilous books*, 'Jewry Ueber Alles' and 'The Jewish Peril,' carry in their titles this legend of the conquering Jew. The latter work, a mass of mystical work from the Russian and published by concerted action in various languages after being peddled in Mss. round the Governments of Europe and America by *notorious* Russian anti-Semites as though it were a precious document, though it had already appeared in print in 1905, professes to reveal 'the secrets of the Sanhedrin'; but the tirades against England for drawing upon the support of the 'Sanhedrin' in her universal intrigues for Empire have been prudently cut out of the English edition, for they would spoil the game. (For cutting out the whole, £10,000 was asked!)

"There is no Sanhedrin now extant, no 'Learned Elders of Zion' exist whose meetings can be recorded in 'Protocols,' and Nilus, seeming to have discovered this by the time his book reached a third and enlarged edition in 1911, substituted for his

{p. 54} original melodramatic mendacities the story that his documents - described in the first edition as stolen from French Freemasonry - were simply the secret reports of the Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897. **Unfortunately for Nilus, I happened to be at all the sittings of that Congress**, which was the first, and which I have described in my 'Dreamers of the Ghetto.' Nothing could be less like the operations of a Jewish Jesuitry than this gathering, which laid the foundations of the Zionist movement and formulated its programme as 'the acquisition of a publicly, legally recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine.' As this was absolutely a new movement in Jewry, initiated in spite of great public opposition by a few more or less impecunious publicists, it seems indeed a strange manifestation on the part of the secret Semitic gang that ran - and runs - all the papers, parliaments and banks of the world, and in whose iconoclastic propaganda Charles Darwin was a prominent puppet! We have to do in fact with the forgery of a pious Russian, passionate for the Church and the Tsar, **edited in 1905 by an agency bent on drowning the Revolution of that year in Jewish blood**. Such forgeries **invariably appear in troubled periods**, they are a stock historical weapon; though rarely has a forger admitted in more Irish fashion than the author of 'The Jewish Peril' that he cannot prove the authenticity of his documents, for - he gravely explains - the essence of the criminal plot is secrecy!"

{Does Zangwill admit the Jewish leadership of the early Bolshevik Government, and its tyranny?}

Disregarding all the unmistakable documentary evidence which substantiated the falsity of the "Protocols," the anti-Semites and their *dupes* continued to spread the forged documents throughout the world, and particularly in the United States, England and Germany. **They ascribed to world Jewry the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, as part of the "Protocol" conspiracy for world conquest.**

In the United States two versions of the Nilus Protocols appeared, the Small Maynard and the Beckwith editions. The translators and promoters of the Nilus "Protocols," believing that the book exposing the "Jewish plot" would become a best seller and apparently unable to reach a satisfactory understanding as to the

{p. 55} division of their spoils, brought out rival editions. In the Beckwith edition, published anonymously by Dr. Houghton, the crude translation was somewhat doctored and revised. However, the books proved a commercial fiasco, and the "Protocol" promoters in the United States were deeply disappointed in their dreams of amassing fortunes by means of scaring people into believing in the **fantastic** legend of a "Jewish Peril."

Some of these "Protocol" venders found a new source of income from Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent, which was conducting a **violent** anti-Jewish campaign at that time. {Meanwhile, in Russia, REAL violence was orchestrated by the Bolsheviks} The "Protocols" were sold to Henry Ford's editors and were soon used as the basis for most of the **onslaughts** against the Jewish people. The fact that Henry Ford's name was identified with the rabid anti-Semitic articles on "The International Jew" served to encourage the Jew-baiters abroad, especially in Germany. They imagined that Mr. Ford would place his millions at their disposal for the purpose of waging a world-wide war against the Jews. They welcomed him as their most powerful ally. They translated "The International Jew" into German and for a time did a thriving business through the use of Henry Ford's name.

The American press, with but few exceptions, treated the "Protocols" and the Dearborn Independent articles as the *ravings of unscrupulous* trouble-breeders or unbalanced dupes. The American press condemned the efforts that were made to poison American life and institutions with *race hatred* and distrust.

The quadrennial convention of **Federal Council of the Churches of Christ** in America, in December, 1920, attended by delegates representing thirty denominations and fifty thousand churches, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, For some time there have been in circulation in this country publications tending to create race prejudice and arouse animosity against our Jewish fellow-citizens and containing charges so preposterous as to be unworthy of credence, be it resolved that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, impressed by the need at this period of our national

{p. 56} existence for unity and brotherhood, deploras all such **cruel** and unwarranted attacks upon our Jewish brethren and in a spirit of good will extends to them an expression of confidence in their patriotism and their good citizenship and earnestly admonishes our people to express disapproval of all actions which are conducive to intolerance or tend to the destruction of our national unity through arousing racial division in our body politic."

On January 16, 1921, a protest prepared under the initiative of John Spargo, eminent American author, signed by **one hundred and nineteen distinguished Americans**, was made public.

The protest read, in part, as follows:

"The undersigned citizens of Gentile birth and Christian faith, view with profound **regret** and disapproval the appearance in this country of what is apparently an organized campaign of anti-Semitism, conducted in close conformity to and co-operation with similar campaigns in Europe. We regret exceedingly the publication of a number of books, pamphlets and newspaper articles designed to foster distrust and suspicion of our fellow-citizens of Jewish ancestry and faith-distrust and suspicion of their loyalty and their patriotism.

"These publications, to which wide circulation is being given, are thus introducing into our national political life a new and dangerous spirit, one that is wholly at variance with our traditions and ideals and subversive of our system of government. American citizenship and American democracy are thus challenged and **menaced**. We protest against this organized campaign of **prejudice and hatred** not only because of its manifest injustice to those against whom it is directed, but also, and especially, because we are convinced that it is wholly incompatible with loyal and intelligent American citizenship. The logical outcome of the success of such a campaign must necessarily be the division of our citizens along racial and religious lines, and, ultimately, the introduction of religious tests and qualifications to determine citizenship. ...

"We call upon all those who are molders of public opinion-

{p. 57} the clergy and ministers of all Christian churches, publicists, teachers, editors and statesmen-to strike at this un-American and un-Christian agitation."

Here are the names of the signers of that historic protest:

Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, William Cardinal O'Connell, Lyman Abbott, Jane Addams, John C. Agar, Newton D. Baker, Ray Stannard Baker, Charles A. Beard, James M. Beck, Bernard I. Bell, Arthur E. Bestor, Albert J. Beveridge, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mabel T. Boardman, Evangeline Booth, Benjamin Brewster, Chauncey B. Brewster, Jeffrey R. Brackett, Horace J. Bridges, **William Jennings Bryan**, Henry Bruere, Nicholas Murray Butler, Bainbridge Colby, George W. Coleman, Alice B. Coleman, Paul D. Cravath, George Creel, Samuel McChord Crothers, R. Fulton Cutting, Olive Tilford Dargan, Clarence Darrow, James R. Day, Henry S. Dennison, James Duncan, Robert Erskine Ely, Charles P. Fagnani, W. H. P. Faunce, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Irving Fisher, John Ford, Raymond B. Fosdick, Robert Frost, James R. Garfield, H. A. Garfield, Lindley M. Garrison, John Palmer Gavit, Herbert Adams Gibbons, Charles Dana Gibson, Franklin H. Giddings, Martin H. Glynn, George Gray, Edward Everett Hale, James Hartness, Patrick J. Hayes, John Grier Hibben, John Haynes Holmes, Jesse H. Holmes, Hamilton Holt, Ernest Martin Hopkins, Frederic C. Howe, Henry C. Ide, Inez Haynes Irwin, Will Irwin, George R. James, David Starr Jordan, William W. Keen, Paul U. Kellogg, William Sergeant Kendall, **George Kennan**, Henry Churchill King, Darwin P. Kingsley, W. P. Ladd, Ira Landrith, Franklin K. Lane, **Robert Lansing**, Julia C. Lathrop, Ben B. Lindsey, Charles H. Levermore, Frederick Lynch, Edwin Markham, Mrs. Edwin Markham, David Gregory Mason, Joseph Ernest McAfee, J. F. McElwain, Raymond McFarland, Alexander R. Merriam, E. T. Meredith, James E. Minturn, John Moody, William Fellowes Morgan, Charles Clayton Morrison, Phillip Stafford Moxom, Joseph Fort Newton, D. J. O'Connell, Mary Boyle O'Reilly, George Wharton

{p. 58} Pepper, Louis F. Post, **Theodore Roosevelt**, Charles Edward Russell, Jacob Gould Schurman, Vida D. Scudder, Samuel Seabury, Thomas J. Shahan, Charles M. Sheldon, Edwin E. Slosson, Preston Slosson, John Spargo, Robert E. Speer, Charles Stelzle, Paul Moore Strayer, Marion Talbot, Ida M. Tarbell, Harry F. Ward, Everett P. Wheeler, Gaylord S. White, George W. Wickersham, Charles David Williams, Charles Zueblin.

In July, 1927, Henry Ford **finally became convinced of the grave** injustice committed by his Dearborn Independent and he ended its anti-Jewish campaign of vilification. He **made a public statement of retraction** and apology to the Jewish people, declaring :

"I confess I am deeply mortified that this journal (The Dearborn Independent), which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made the medium for resurrecting exploded fictions, for giving currency to the so-called Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, which have been **demonstrated, as I learn, to be gross forgeries**, and for contending that the Jews have been engaged in a conspiracy to control the capital and the industries of the world, besides laying at their door many offences against decency, public order and good morals. ...

"I deem it my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellowmen and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm I have unintentionally committed, by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and goodwill. ...

"Finally, let me add that this statement is made of my own initiative and wholly in the interest of right and justice and in accordance with what I regard as my solemn duty as a man and as a citizen."

On November 1, 1927, Henry Ford also addressed a communication to Theodore Fritsch, Leipzig, Germany, the notorious

{p. 59} anti-Semitic translator and publisher of "The International Jew." In that letter Mr. Ford wrote as follows:

"I am informed through the public prints that you are still publishing and circulating these pamphlets in various European countries in a number of languages, using my name in connection therewith and asserting that the publication rights have not been withdrawn.

"In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to my wishes in this regard, you are accordingly notified that whatever rights you have or claim to have to publish 'The International Jew' anywhere or in any language whatsoever, are hereby revoked and terminated, and that the publication, sale or other distribution of 'The International Jew' and the use of the name of Henry Ford or of the Dearborn Publishing Company in connection therewith, by you or by any person or corporation claiming under you or acting by your authority as agent, licensee or otherwise, are hereby forbidden."

Notwithstanding this letter, the German anti-Semitic publishers continued to bring out editions of "The International Jew," still using the name of Henry Ford. The latest German edition, published in 1933, was described on the title page as being the twenty-ninth.

During the past few years, under the influence of Nazism, the "Protocols" have been revived in this country by such anti-Jewish agencies as the Industrial Defense Association, of Boston, and the Silver Shirts under the guidance of the discredited William Dudley Pelley.

Former Congressman Louis T. McFadden, of Pennsylvania, the violent Jew-baiter who describes himself as a Presbyterian and Mason, made reference to the "Protocols" in the House of Representatives in order to have quotations from that spurious and malicious document reproduced in the Congressional Record.

In England the "Protocols" are still being disseminated by the "Britons," an anti-Semitic organization under the influence of Tsarist Russians and Nazi Prussians.

{p. 60} In Germany the "Protocols" have become **the cornerstone of** the system upon which **Hitlerism** is founded. The anti-Semitism of the forged "Protocols" has served as the major part of the program of vengeance which brought Adolf Hitler to power. Indeed, the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" have become the Nazi "bible," not merely in the sense that their entire anti-Jewish program is founded upon the falsified documents, but also because the Nazi dictator has apparently appropriated the Machiavellian ideas contained in the "Protocols" and the "Dialogues in Hell," and has been translating them into actuality. While accusing the Jews of scheming for world domination and pointing to the forged "Protocols" as proof of the imaginary Jewish conspiracy, the Nazi Leader has **followed the "Protocols" in many respects**, building his dictatorship upon the diabolic theories of these documents.

Several extracts from the "Protocols" will show how **peculiarly applicable they are to the Nazi Leader and his regime.**

From Protocol VII:

"Throughout all Europe, and by means of relations with Europe, in other continents also, we must create ferments, discords and hostility. Therein we gain a double advantage. In the first place we keep in check all countries, for they well know that we have the power whenever we like to create disorders or to restore order. All these countries are accustomed to see in us an indispensable force of coercion. In the second place, by our intrigues we shall tangle up all the threads which we have stretched into the cabinets of all States by means of politics, by economic treaties, or loan obligations."

From Protocol IX:

"Our Super-Government subsists in extra-legal conditions which are described in the accepted terminology by the energetic and forcible word - Dictatorship. I am in a position to tell you with a clear conscience that at the proper time we, the lawgivers, shall execute judgment and sentence, we shall slay and we shall spare, we, as head of all our troops, are mounted on the steed

{p. 61} of the leader. We rule by force of will, because in our hands are the fragments of a once powerful party, now vanquished by us. And the weapons in our hands are limitless ambitions, burning greediness, merciless vengeance, hatreds and malice.

"It is from us that the all-engulfing terror proceeds. We have in our service persons of all opinions, of all doctrines, restoring monarchists, demagogues, socialists, communists, and utopian dreamers of every kind. We have harnessed them all to the task: each one of them on his own account is boring away at the last remnants of authority, is striving to overthrow all established form of order. By these acts all States are in torture; they exhort to tranquillity, are ready to sacrifice everything for peace; but we will not give them peace until they openly acknowledge our international Super-Government, and with submissiveness."

From Protocol X:

"The mob cherishes a special affection and respect for the geniuses of political power and accepts all their deeds of violence with the admiring response: 'rascally, well, yes, it is rascally, but it's clever! ... a trick, if you like, but how craftily played, how magnificently done, what impudent audacity!'" ...

"(We shall) remove the possibility of individual minds splitting off, for the mob, handled by us, will not let them come to the front nor even give them a hearing; it is accustomed to listen to us only, who pay it for obedience and attention. In this way we shall create a blind, mighty force which will never be in a position to move in any direction without the guidance of our agents set at its head by us as leaders of the mob. The people will submit to this regime because it will know that upon these leaders will depend its earnings, gratifications and the receipt of all kinds of benefits."

From Protocol XI:

"What we want is that from the first moment of its promulgation (the new constitution), while the peoples of the world are still stunned by the accomplished fact of the revolution, still in a condition of terror and uncertainty, they should recognise once

{p. 62} for all that we are so strong, so inexpugnable, so superabundantly filled with power, that in no case shall we take any account of them, and so far from paying any attention to their opinions or wishes, we are ready and able to crush with irresistible power all expression or manifestation thereof at every moment and in every place, that we have seized at once everything we wanted and shall in no case divide our power with them...."

From Protocol XII:

"We shall deal with the press in the following way: ... We shall saddle and bridle it with a tight curb: we shall do the same also with all productions of the printing press, for where would be the sense of getting rid of the attacks of the press if we remain targets for pamphlets and books? ... No one shall with impunity lay a finger on the aureole of our government infallibility. The pretext for stopping any publication will be the alleged plea that it is agitating the public mind without occasion or justification. ... Not a single announcement will reach the public without our control. ... Literature and journalism are two of the most important educative forces, and therefore our government will become proprietor of the majority of the journals. ... When we are in the period of the new regime transitional to that of our assumption of full sovereignty we must not admit any revelations by the press of any form of public dishonesty; it is necessary that the new regime should be thought to have so perfectly contented everybody that even criminality has disappeared. ... Cases of manifestation of criminality should remain known only to their victims and to chance witnesses-no more."

These are but a few characteristic illustrations of how the Nazi leader made the "Protocols" his own, while charging the Jews with having originated them. He even borrowed his own favorite title of Leader from the "Protocols."

In 1905 the second edition of Serge Nilus' book appeared, printed on government presses at Tsarskoye Selo, containing a new and laboratcd version of the protocols.

{p. 63} The translators of the Nilus protocols published in his 1905 edition, a copy of which is in the British Museum, have deliberately omitted numerous passages from his prologue and epilogue. These passages show clearly the purpose of the volume. Nilus writes: "We may perhaps be reproached, and justly, for the apocryphal character of the document presented. But if it were possible to demonstrate its accuracy by documents or through the testimony of trustworthy witnesses; if it were possible to unveil the faces of those who are at the head of the world conspiracy and who hold its bloody strings in their hands, then the very 'mystery of lawlessness' would be infringed upon, and it must remain intact until its incarnation in the 'son of destruction.'" Then he goes on to say that there is only one force that can save it, and that is the "God-Anointed Tsar of Russia." The omitted portions of the Nilus book show distinctly that it is a work of propaganda for the Russian autocracy. **Nilus denounced Leo Tolstoy, the emancipation of women, and all movements leading toward progress.**

The editors of the protocols in Europe and America, realizing that these passages would disclose to intelligent people the real motive of the Nilus protocols and thus discredit them, have deliberately omitted them in the translations.

Here are some of the omitted portions of the notorious Nilus book, which are **his own utterances and do not purport to constitute a part of the Protocols**. They are **translated from a photographed copy of the volume in the British Museum**:

"We have succeeded in obtaining for our use from a man close to us, now deceased, a manuscript in which are described with unusual precision and clearness the course and progress of the universal fatal mystery aiming to bring the apostate world to an inevitable catastrophe. **This manuscript was given to us about four years ago (in 1901) with the assurance that it was an accurate copy - a translation of the original documents stolen by a woman from one of the most powerful and sacred directors of Freemasonry** after one of the secret meetings of the 'initiates' in

{p. 64} France, the present nest of the Freemason's sect. This manuscript under the general title 'Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion' I now call to the attention of all who wish to see or hear. These 'Protocols' at a first cursory glance might seem to be what we are accustomed to call truisms; they are more or less commonplaces although expressed with a boldness and a hatred not altogether customary in commonplaces. A proud, deeply-rooted, ancient, for a long time secretly growing, - and what is more frightful than all, - **a religious rage** boils between the lines, bubbling over and escaping from the overfilled vessel of violence and vengeance, already approaching complete triumph.

"It must be mentioned, by the way, that the title of the manuscript does not fully justify the contents: these are not protocols of a meeting but rather the report of someone in power, divided into parts which are not even always logically connected: the impression remains that this is a fragment of something much more significant, the beginning of which has been lost. The origin of the manuscript, as given by us above, furnishes sufficient explanation of this."

"The history of the Rothschilds shows that the whole republican era of France is due to Zion and that not a single one of those elected to office has to this time ever done what he promised to do, if the demands of his electors did not coincide with the plans of the government of Zion.

"What has become of unfortunate France! ...

"Let him who has ears, listen!"

"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils;

"Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron;

"Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from

{p. 65} meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.' "Is not this Tolstoy and his followers scattered over the whole world?!"

"In every age there have been many women 'drowning in sin and led on by various lusts'; the ebb and flow of this sin in woman's heart characterized whole epochs of particular human defection but at no time of the seeming triumph of sin have there been women 'constantly studying' - this sign represents entirely a universal inheritance and is an exclusive characteristic of our epoch.

"Who is ignorant of the so-called 'woman question,' **the emancipation of woman**, that has already succeeded in **breaking up so many families** and which threatens an even greater disruption in the future?! ...

"**For the sake of some phantom** the bride and **mother abandons her true mission**. Is not this the greatest and most unfortunate world revolution!"

"**The Sanhedrin was unseizable** and invulnerable. **It carried the roots of evil from France into Scotland**, where **under a different name** it entered into a league with United England, with whom, after having let it in behind the curtain of its secret and having declared deadly war to papism, it cooperates even to the present day, **helping out England in her exploits over the whole world with its capital** and concessions, in which respect the Sanhedrin was never penurious.

"As to the question why England and no other European government was chosen as the point of resistance for the fighting Sanhedrin, the Sanhedrin gives no reply. We are inclined to think that the cause is to be found in the isolated island position of the sufficiently strong government, and perhaps in the kinship between the English and the Jews.

{p. 66} "(As is known, **there is a scientific theory which tries to prove that the English are the descendants of the scattered tribes of Israel. The Sanhedrin**, which directs the course of contemporary science, **is not ashamed to produce whatever theories are advantageous to them**. According to certain tenuous evidences in the air it seems that a new theory is being produced according to which the honor of birth relationship with the God-elected Sanhedrin is extended to America and ... Japan. *Avis a l'Angleterre!* ...)

"Having covered the whole of Europe with a network of Masonic lies (the symbol of the temple of Solomon is preserved for them also), possessing countless millions, in face of the general fall of the Christian spirit among the European peoples, in whom there was artificially spread and supported the cult of the golden calf; **having poisoned** the idea of **godliness and spirituality in the heart of the peoples by 'scientific' theories**, the Sanhedrin - the priest of the golden idol created by it, has **gained control of the spiritual life of all Europe**, and with its help, with the help of its gold, with the sold consciousness of those standing at the helm of power, and with the help of **its faithful ally - England**, it has corrupted and perverted all the political foundations of Europe, and through them the well-being and spiritual health of its population. The French revolution, glorified by the Masonized historical science of 'greatness' and the fall of the 'great' Napoleon have shown to the world the significance and strength of the Sanhedrin. But the world did not recognize the new manifestation of Satan: at that time the words of truth of the Evangel and the apostolic foresight had become alien to him."

Sergius Nilus, the "mystic Russian" who first published the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," in his book published in 1905, the only existing copy of which is in the British Museum, gave **the following amazing explanation as to the reason why the authenticity of the "Protocols" could not be proved:**

"*We must not search for direct evidence:* we are forced to

{p. 67} content ourselves with indirect proofs and of these it seems that the attention of the sad Christian observer is fully satisfied."

All of the literature about the "Protocols" which commenced to appear in various parts of the world in 1920 was based on the "documents" vouched for by the mysterious Sergius Nilus who himself admitted that he might be justly reproached for "the apocryphal character" of his material and that "we must not search for direct evidence."

The Nilus protocols which were published by the Black Hundreds were not taken seriously by the reactionaries or even by the Black Hundreds, who sought every means of discrediting the Jews. In the most stupendous anti-Jewish plot ever devised by the Russian government to justify Jewish massacres - the notorious Beilis case - **the protocols published eight years previously were never used by the prosecution** even though it resorted to every foul means that could be conjured up of slandering and vilifying the Jewish people. The very persons who were instrumental in spreading the "protocols" in Russia in 1905 seemed to have realized that the false accusations which they contained were too transparent and too clumsy to deceive even the most credulous, and so they were discarded.

{On the contrary: the Protocols was probably unbelievable in Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution appeared to implement it}

But **suddenly, after the armistice, a new edition of the Nilus book, dated 1917**, made its appearance as suitable to the chaotic conditions that prevailed in Russia, and was reproduced in various countries. This time the anti-Semitic propagandists tried to connect the "Protocols" directly with Theodore Herzl, Asher G. Ginzberg and the Zionist movement. **The war, the peace treaty and bolshevism were characterized as the fulfillment of these "Protocols."** New editions of the forged "Protocols" have made their appearance in various lands for the purpose of intensifying the agitation against the Jewish people as the cause of the world unrest.

Recently the notorious "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" have had their day in courts of justice.

{p. 68} In August, 1934, the libel suit of the Rev. A. Levy, of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, against Harry Victor Inch, Johannes von Strauss von Moltke and David Hermanus Olivier, Jr., three anti-Semitic Grey Shirt leaders, was decided in favor of the plaintiff and damages were awarded against the Grey Shirt leaders with costs.

The suit was instituted in connection with another forged anti-Jewish document. In the course of the lengthy trial the "Protocols" were frequently referred to. Mr. Beamish, one of the witnesses for the Grey Shirt leaders, stated that he was a firm believer in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," and that he could "prove every one of them." He declared that in every country the aristocracy and the landowners were rapidly disappearing. He said he was satisfied that Lloyd George had introduced his land taxation measures because all the political parties throughout the world are controlled by Jews.

When he was asked about the Protocols, Beamish stated that it is merely a part of a plot which has been in existence for a large number of years, and is now being rapidly brought into effect. He said he belonged to a "secret organization, finding out all these things," that he did not go by his own name, for it would be dangerous to do so. He said that the last Spanish Revolution "was engineered by the Crypto Jews," the descendants of Jews who have been kept in "cold storage" for all these years, ever since the fifteenth century, and who have now come out.

Then he declared that the Revolution led by Cromwell in England was brought about by the Jews, that the Jews were at the back of the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, that the Jameson Raid was "engineered by Alfred Beit," that the Russo-Japanese War, the Boer War and the late World War were all results of Jewish intrigues. He said he believed that the Jews' aim is to destroy the Christian Church and religion and to Judaize the civilized world. He declared that he "opened Henry Ford's eyes to the Jewish menace." He described the Jewish Board of Deputies in England as "the super-Parliament

{p. 69} of Great Britain." Then he boasted that he had "taught Hitler" in 1921. The decision rendered by Sir Thomas Graham and Justice Gutsche, of the Supreme Court, imposing a fine on the Grey Shirt leaders, contained the following statement concerning the Protocols: "The Protocols are an impudent forgery, obviously for the purpose of anti-Jewish propaganda."

At a trial in Berne, Switzerland, which has attracted universal attention, a number of distinguished experts have testified how the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" had been **plagiarized** and forged, and they have named the actual perpetrators of the crime instigated by the Tsarist government for sinister political purposes.

Vladimir Bourtsev, the eminent historian of the Russian Revolution, who unmasked the arch agent-provocateur Azev and who exposed the workings of the Tsarist political police department, testifying as an expert at the Berne trial of the "Protocols," **declared that General Globotchov had informed him that it was General Ratchkovsky**, head of the Russian political police in Paris, **and his agents, who had actually fabricated the "Protocols"** in their present form. Mr. Bourtsev also expressed his conviction that the "Protocols" were directly responsible for a series of terrible pogroms in Southern Russia during 1919.

Count A. M. du Chayla, the Frenchman who had lived for many years in Russia and who knew Nilus intimately, appeared as a witness at the Berne trial and testified along the lines of the statement published elsewhere in this volume.

Dr. Henri Sliosberg, the well-known Russian Jewish jurist, who also appeared as an expert at the Berne trial, **declared that as far back as 1901 Sergius Witte, then Russian Minister of Finance, had asked him to prepare a memorandum on the so-called "Protocols."** He branded the document as a falsification and stated that the "Protocols" were intended not only as a weapon against the Jews but also against the Liberals in general,

{p. 70} and especially against Witte himself. He recalled that **Witte's financial plans in 1899 had been denounced by the Tsarist reactionaries as "Jewish machinations."**

The epilogue to the Nilus "Protocols" contained the following statements:

"According to secret Jewish Zionism, a political plan was devised for the peaceful conquest of the world for Zion, by Solomon and other sages already 929 years before the birth of Christ."

The French translator of the alleged original "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," in a note accompanying his translation, also gave a version of "the political plan devised by the Wise Men of Zion," stating:

"The expounded protocols are signed by the Representatives of Zion (do not confound them with the representatives of the Zionist movement). ... These protocols and the Sketch were taken from the secret depositories of the Main Office of Zion, now located on French territory. ... The aforesaid political plan was conceived 929 years before the birth of Christ. It was invented by Solomon and the Judean Sages in theory."

Thus the Prussian and Russian fabricators of the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" have endeavored in the Twentieth Century to make the world believe that 929 years before the birth of Christ, King Solomon and the Judean Sages elaborated designs for the Jewish conquest of the world by instigating the World War more than 2800 years later, by bringing about the overthrow of the Romanoff, Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties, and by the establishment of Communism in Soviet Russia. On such absurdities and "**malignant** lunacy" have the anti-Semitic agitators built their case against the Jewish people.

As I wrote in "The History of a Lie," in periods of turmoil and unrest such venomous fabrications as the "Protocols" may gain credence among the ignorant and may poison their minds. But, like all anti-Semitic myths of old, the new anti-Jewish legends are bound to destroy themselves. The truth will prevail.

Israel has no secret protocols, no hidden designs. Its dream

{p. 71} **is still of peace, of justice and of human brotherhood. After all the centuries the word that came from Sinai and the message of the prophets of old are still enshrined in its heart.** The Holy Scriptures are the only authentic protocols of the Wise Men of Zion.

{p. 73} E X H I B I T S

{ Bernstein's Exhibit A, Maurice Joly's book *Dialogues in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, is excluded here, but is at <http://mailstar.net/joly.zip>}

{p. 259} EXHIBIT B

THE LONDON TIMES EXPOSE

On August 16, 17 and 18, 1921, the London Times published a series of articles from its Constantinople correspondent, revealing that the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" had been plagiarized from Maurice Joly's "Dialogues in Hell." Mr. Philip P. Graves, the Times correspondent, described the discovery of the plagiarism as follows:

"I must confess that when the discovery was communicated to me I was at first incredulous. Mr. X., who brought me the evidence, was convinced. 'Read this book through,' he said, 'and you will find irrefutable proof that the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" is a plagiarism.'

"Mr. X., who does not wish his real name to be known, is a Russian landowner with English connections. Orthodox by religion, he is in political opinion a Constitutional Monarchist. He came here as a refugee after the final failure of the White cause in South Russia. He had long been interested in the Jewish question as far as it concerned Russia, had studied the 'Protocols,' and during the period of Denikin's ascendancy had made investigations with the object of discovering whether any occult 'Masonic' organization, such as the 'Protocols' speak of, existed in Southern Russia. The only such organization was a Monarchist one. The discovery of the key to the problem of the 'Protocols' came to him by chance.

"A few months ago he bought a number of old books from a former officer of the Okhrana (Political Police) who had fled to Constantinople. Among these books was a small volume in French, lacking the title-page with dimensions of 5 1/2 by 3 3/2 inches. It had been cheaply rebound. On the leather back is printed in Latin capitals the word

{p. 260} Joli. The preface, entitled 'simple avertissement,' is dated Geneva, October 15, 1864. The book contains 324 pages, of which numbers 315-322 inclusive follow page 24 in the only copy known to Mr. X., perhaps owing to a mistake when the book was rebound. Both the paper and the type are characteristic of the 'sixties and seventies' of the last century. These details are given in the hope that they may lead to the discovery of the title of the book. (The London Times, in an editorial introductory note, wrote: **'The British Museum has a complete copy of book, which is entitled Dialogues aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu, ou la Politique de Machiavel au XIX. Siecle. Par un Contemporain, and was published at Brussels in 1865. Shortly after its publication the author, Maurice Joly, a Paris lawyer and publicist, was arrested by the police of Napoleon III. and sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.'**)

"Mr. X. believes it must be rare, since, had it not been so, the 'Protocols' would have speedily been recognised as plagiarism by anyone who had read the original.

"That the latter is a 'fake' could not be maintained for an instant by anyone who had seen it. Its original possessor, the old Okhrana officer, did not remember where he obtained it, and attached no importance to it. Mr. X., glancing at it one day, was struck by a resemblance between a passage which had caught his eye and a phrase in the French edition of the 'Protocols.' He followed up the clue, and soon realized that the 'Protocols' were to a very large extent as much a **paraphrase** of the Geneva original as the published version of a War Office or Foreign Office telegram is a paraphrase of the ciphered original.

"Before receiving the book from Mr. X. I was, as I have said, incredulous. I did not believe that Serge Nilus' 'Protocols' were authentic; they explained too much by the theory of a vast Jewish conspiracy. Professor Nilus' account of how they were obtained was too melodramatic to be credible, and it was hard to believe that real 'Learned Elders of Zion' would not have produced a **more intelligent political scheme than the crude and theatrical subtleties** of the Protocols. But I could not have believed, had I not seen, that the writer who supplied Nilus with his originals was a **careless and shameless plagiarist.**

"The Geneva book is a very thinly veiled attack on the despotism

{p. 261} of Napoleon III, in the form of a series of 25 dialogues divided into four parts. The speakers are Montesquieu and Machiavelli. In the brief preface to his book the anonymous author points out that it contains passages which are applicable to all governments, 'but it particularly personifies a political system which has not varied in its application for a single day since the fatal, and alas, too distant date when it was enthroned.' Its references to the 'Hausmannisation' of Paris, to the repressive measures of policy of the French Emperor, to his wasteful financial system, to his foreign wars, to his use of secret societies in his foreign policy (**cf., his notorious relations with the Carbonari**), and his suppression of them in France, to his relations with the Vatican, and to his control of the Press are unmistakable.

"The Geneva Book, or as it will henceforth be called, the Geneva Dialogues, opens with the meeting of the spirits of Montesquieu and Machiavelli on a desolated beach in the world of shades. After a lengthy exchange of civilities, Montesquieu asks Machiavelli to explain why from an ardent Republican he had become the author of 'The Prince' and the 'founder of that sombre school of thought which has made all crowned heads your disciples, but which is well fitted to justify the worst crimes of tyranny.' Machiavelli replies that he is a realist and proceeds to justify the teaching of 'The Prince,' and to explain its applicability to the Western European States of 1864.

"In the first six 'Geneva Dialogues' Montesquieu is given a chance of argument of which he avails himself. In the seventh, which corresponds to the fifth, sixth, seventh and part of the eighth 'Protocols' he gives Machiavelli permission to describe at length how he would solve the problem of stabilizing political societies 'incessantly disturbed by the spirit of anarchy and revolution.' Henceforth Machiavelli, or, in reality, Napoleon III., speaking through Machiavelli, has the lion's share of the dialogue. Montesquieu's contributions thereto become more and more exclamatory; he is profoundly shocked by **Machiavelli-Napoleon's** defense of an able and ruthless dictatorship, but his counte-

arguments grow briefer and weaker. At times, indeed, the author of L'Esprit des Lois is made to cut as poor a figure as - parvum componere magno - does Dr. Watson when he attempts to talk criminology to Sherlock Holmes. **"The 'Protocols' follow almost the same order as the Dialogues. ...**

"In the last four 'Geneva Dialogues' Machiavelli's apotheosis of

{p. 262} the Second Empire, being based upon historical facts which took place between 1852 and 1864, obviously furnished scanty material for the plagiarist who wished to prove or, very possibly, had been ordered to prove in the 'Protocols' that **the ultimate aim of the leaders of Jewry was to give the world a ruler sprung from the House of David. ...**

"It is amusing to find that the only subject with which the 'Protocols' deal on lines contrary to those followed by Machiavelli in the 'Dialogues' is the private life of the Sovereign. The last words of the 'Protocols' are 'Our Sovereign must be irreproachable.' The Elders evidently propose to keep the King of Israel in great order. The historical Machiavelli was, we know, rather a scandalous old gentleman, and his shade insists that amorous adventures, so far from injuring a Sovereign's reputation, make him an object of interest and sympathy to 'the fairest half of his subjects.'"

AFFIDAVIT BY THE LONDON TIMES CORRESPONDENT

The affidavit by Philip P. Graves, of The Times, London, **submitted to the President of Court V, Berne, Switzerland, dated October 24, 1934**, follows:

5 HEREFORD SQUARE
LONDON, S. W. 7.
24th October, 1934.

To the President of Court V,

Amtehaus,
BERNE.

Sir,
In reply to your letter requesting me to appear in your Court as a witness in the law suit concerning "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" I beg to make the following sworn statement:

I, PHILIP P. GRAVES, of 5 Hereford Square, London, S.W.7. make oath and say as follows:

1. I am a journalist, and have for twenty-eight years been in the service of the "Times" newspaper, Printing House Square, London, E.C.4. I am at present a member of the Foreign Department thereof.

{p. 263} 2. There has now been produced and shown to me, marked P G 1, a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about 'The Protocols' - a Literary Forgery," published by the "Times" newspaper at the price of one shilling, at Printing House Square, London, E.C.4., containing three articles from the "Times" newspaper of August 16th, 17th and 18th, 1921, together with a preface thereto.

3. **I am the author of the articles** which are contained in this pamphlet and of my own knowledge I say that the said pamphlet in respect of the said articles is a reproduction in all essentials of the said articles as they originally appeared on the said dates in the said newspaper.

4. For the purpose of the said articles I made a study of the document which is termed "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," and of the book entitled "Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu, ou la Politique de Machiavel au XIX Siecle. Par un Contemporain" by Maurice Joly, published at Brussels in 1865. The conclusions to which I have come in my said articles in the said "Times" newspaper represent my considered opinion in respect of the said Protocols.

5. I agree entirely with the last paragraph of the preface of the said pamphlet which summarises my opinion perfectly and runs as follows--

"In the following three articles the Constantinople Correspondent of the 'Times' presents for the first time conclusive proof that the document is in the main a clumsy plagiarism. He has forwarded to the 'Times' a copy of the French book from which the plagiarism is made. The British Museum has a complete copy of the book, which is entitled 'Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu, ou la Politique de Machiavel au XIX. Siecle. Par un Contemporain,' and was published at Brussels in 1865. Shortly after its publication the author, Maurice Joly, a Paris lawyer and publicist, was arrested by the police of Napoleon III. and sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment."

I remain of the opinion that it is proper to describe the so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion (which, as stated in the preface, were published in London in 1920 under the title of "The Jewish Peril") as a **forgery** and as a clumsy plagiarism **designed in the first instance to excite hostility to the Jews and Liberals of Russia** by

{p. 264} false accusations, and used in its translations **to excite hostility towards the Jews generally**. Everything that has come to my notice - and I have endeavored to keep abreast with the material available - has strengthened the opinion expressed by me in the said articles.

6. I regret that owing to domestic causes I am unable to attend the Court and give my evidence in person.

SWORN at No. 5, Hereford
Square, South Kensington,
London, England, this
24th day of October 1934

PHILIP P. GRAVES
(Signature)

Before me -

H. PETER VENN
Not. Pub.
London

Vu a la Legation de Suisse a Londres pour legalisation de la signature de Mr. H. Peter Venn, notaire public a Londres, 24 Oct. 1934
Pour le Ministre de Suisse et par ordre

{p. 265} EXHIBIT C

Here follows a translation from the Russian of the German novelette by the **notorious** Hermann Goedsche, who used the **pseudonym** of "Sir John Retcliffe." This product of "Retcliffe's **fantastic** imagination" tells its own story, clearly **foreshadowing** the Protocols, with all its accompaniment of melodrama, **not even omitting the Devil himself.**

{This is erroneous; see my expose of this exaggeration}

The Russian version was published in St. Petersburg in 1872.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY IN PRAGUE AND THE COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL

The Jewish quarter of Prague represents a remarkable labyrinth of crooked and narrow streets; it is situated in the outskirts of Prague which witnessed numerous bloody episodes of Bohemian and German history. The dwellers of the dirty and dilapidated houses of this quarter are engaged in petty trading and profiteering in their own as well as in other parts of the city. Prague is the only city in Germany where the **Jews live entirely isolated** from the nation whose name they have taken in order to avail themselves of the privileges of the city population and to exploit it for their own purposes. The Jewish quarter in Prague is the same as the rag-fair in Vienna and the Temple in Paris. In these places **deals amounting to thousands are transacted daily.**

If you take a few steps along this dirty, foul market-place, you will suddenly come upon **an old, high, decayed wall which surrounds a space of from two to three acres.** Elder-trees and other wild shrubbery wind around this wall. Old Jewish houses are crowded all along near this wall, threatened with destruction at any moment. The strange circle formed by this wall has an unwelcome, puzzling appearance.

{p. 266} This is the city of the dead - the renowned Prague cemetery.

In this abode of rest may be seen the spirit of the nation, whose bones found shelter here after long wandering, - here is stamped all its history, full of sufferings, struggles and resistance.

It seems as though at any moment these tombs, overgrown with shrubbery, are ready to open, these stones growing for thousands of years are ready to raise themselves, and to let out into the world the restless wanderer with a pack upon his shoulder, with a staff in his hand, in order **to go again to strange peoples, - to cheat and combat them and to seek a new Canaan - his dominion!** The Jewish cemetery in Prague is the very oldest cemetery known. It was closed by order of the government a hundred years ago. For foreigners it is a historical landmark; for the Jews, it is a sacred place. The impression of this deserted spot is intensified by its surroundings. Amidst the closely crowded tombs and monuments, overgrown with moss, **only a narrow passage remains which is almost entirely covered with shrubbery** of thorn-bushes and mat-weed.

During the inspection, the watchman will tell the visitor the history of the death of **Rabbi Ben Manasseh, the great conqueror of death,** and Rabbi Loewe, the most learned Rabbi of the 17th century; he will speak of Simon the Just and of the Polish princess Anna Shmiless. He will then lead the visitor to the monument of Anna Kohn on which can be read the mysterious figure 606, which shows that the Jews, more than twelve hundred years ago, had buried their dead here, in the legendary times of Lyubush and her daughters.

If we are not to believe this figure, we must nevertheless agree with the opinion of the Jews that this is **the oldest settlement and the first Jewish community in Europe.**

Silently the Jewish guide and the curious foreigner go by one place where under an old lilac bush a heap of stone stands out, and when the foreigner asks, "What is this?" the guide gives an evasive answer -

"Beth Chaim - the house of life." Thus is the cemetery called. Yes, indeed, this place of rest is a house of life, for from here is given the mysterious impulse which **makes the exiles masters of the earth and tyrants of nations,** - the impulse which **directs the golden calf to the chosen tribe.**

The Jewish town has assumed a holiday aspect. The stands of the

{p. 267} petty retailers have disappeared; Jewish boys and girls were strolling about in their holiday attire. The houses and windows were adorned with green branches. On the old benches sat men, talking seriously; in the alleys youths were chatting. From time to time men and women in their best Sabbath clothes were going to the synagogue, carrying prayer books in their hands; while **poor Christian women whom need had forced to work in this quarter** were running with keys and dishes in order to prepare for the feast.

It was the last day of the Feast of Booths, the day of Assembly, and **dusk was gathering** over the narrow streets, while the Christian part of the city was still brightly illumined by the last rays of the setting sun. **Two men (the older wore a black silk mantle, with**

long earlocks, which showed that he was a **Polish Jew**; the **other was middle aged, in modern clothes**, with diamond studs in his shirt and a heavy golden chain on his vest) walked along the narrow streets, without paying any attention to the crowd.

The younger seemed to be the guide. Having come with his companion to **the little house where the watchman of the cemetery lived**, he knocked at the closed door, through a crevice of which the bright light of wax candles was seen, showing the watchman's holiday mood. It was a good summer - a large number of foreigners had visited the cemetery and were generous in their gifts.

In the doorway appeared the thin face of the watchman, whose short-sighted eyes began to look fixedly into the darkness.

"Come out into the street, Joel, somebody wants to talk to you!"

"O, God of Justice," said the watchman with amazement, as he came out of the door, - **"One of the trustees!** What is your pleasure to command me?"

"This Rabbi desires to make a brief prayer in the cemetery; he is leaving tomorrow morning by train."

"In the cemetery? This evening? But you know yourself, Mr. Banker, that I am forbidden to open the gates after sunset, and tonight is also the holy Sabbath."

"First of all, there is no need for you to shout here about my calling," **replied the banker**, displeased. "Every Jewish rag-picker will know that **banker Rosenberg** was here to see you. **As for the permit to open the gates, I myself, as a trustee, authorize you to do it.** I will wait here until he has completed his prayer. The company in your house

{p. 268} must not know what we are doing here. Arrange it so that the curious crowd will not rush in there."

The watchman disappeared in the house, but soon returned with a bunch of keys and opened the gates of the cemetery. **He took a lantern along and was about to light it.**

"Don't!" said the Rabbi in a low voice. **"I don't need any light. Lock the gates from the inside!"**

"But, Herr von Rosenberg "

"Lock it, I say!"

The watchman obeyed.

"Now lead me to the grave of the holy Rabbi Simeon-ben-Yehudah!"

"Hold on to my coat, esteemed sir," said the watchman. "It is dark and you may stumble over the old graves."

"I can see better at night than in the daytime, my son!" answered **the learned Polish Jew.**

"Here is the grave!"

The old Rabbi reverently leaned over the tombstone. The watchman heard him pronounce a prayer in Jewish. He used so many words of ancient Hebrew, or some other words of a language he did not understand, that he knew only a few separate expressions, although he himself had been in the past a teacher at the Bohemian community.

Having completed his prayer, the stranger turned to the watchman of the cemetery:

"When you accepted the position from your predecessor, did he not give you certain instructions?"

"Me?"

"Yes, you! It was so from the day the first person was buried in this place."

"Well, and what if he did give such instructions, - how does that concern you? This is the first time I am asked about this matter since I am employed here."

"Because **this happens once in a hundred years**, and human life rarely lasts as long as that."

"I see that you know about it, Rabbi," said the frightened watchman. "But **I can obey you only if you mention the word which was given to me by my predecessor**, because I took a sacred oath on the Bible."

{p. 269} The Polish Jew bent down and slowly pronounced **a word of seven syllables.**

The watchman bowed respectfully.

"You are the Rabbi!" he said. "All will be done as you command!"

"You will send away the friends who are feasting in your house before **the clock strikes eleven**. At the first stroke you will **open the gates of the cemetery**, and at the last stroke you will get into your house, lock the doors and windows, lie down in your bed and turn into a corpse together with the members of your household, - into a corpse that sees and hears nothing."

"I will neither look nor listen."

"The angel of death will leave your soul in your body and **will force you to wander** about among the graves **to the end of time if you do not carry out my orders correctly**. Now go, and remember that by virtue of your position **you are the servant of the great Jerusalem synagogue**. I need not tell you that you should not say anything to **that vain, worldly man who brought me here**."

Both returned to the gates, near which **the banker was still on guard**.

"Well," he said, "your desire is fulfilled, Rabbi, and you may inform my friend in Warsaw that Rosenberg and Son are always ready to do a favor to a guest recommended by such a personage. Now let us go home; my wife is waiting for us."

"Let us go, my son," replied the Rabbi. "But relieve me of worldly pleasures. I shall spend the night in prayer!"

The banker shrugged his shoulders and gave the watchman a gold coin.

"Joel," he said in a low voice, "the other trustees of the community must not know about this violation of the rule."

The watchman nodded, and the companion again disappeared in the dark streets, which had already become deserted, while in the houses people talked merrily and the sounds of holiday festivities were heard.

How poor, dirty and dark these little houses looked from outside! But it was quite different within! In the rear rooms of many of these houses the bright light of numerous wax candles was reflected in the splendid high mirrors, in expensive dishes and precious rugs. Girls and women, who in the morning perhaps walked with trays in their hands, now were seated at the tables in heavy silk gowns with golden chains and bracelets; their ornaments and diamonds were glittering.

{p. 270} The clock in the town-hall tower struck ten. In the chapel, near the statue of St. Nepomucenus, upon a stone bench, sat **a large-sized man**, with the **pale serious face of Germanic type**. Every physiognomist, looking at him, would have said that this man had devoted his youth to **serious scientific work** and that he had spent many sleepless nights over books.

The clock had just struck ten when upon the bridge appeared **a man in a light summer coat, of about the same age as the young scientist**. His face was pale, of waxen color, without the slightest natural red in his cheeks; **his particularly prominent nose indicated his Jewish extraction**; his forehead was high and large, his head was strongly developed. He walked straight over to the man who was waiting and who quickly arose.

"Good evening. I see you have received my letter. Have you it with you?"

"Yes, I know it by heart, I have read it so many times. My friend, **it is written there, I have promised to give you the key to the Caballah**, if I ever find the opportunity to do so. Although I am not always in the habit of fulfilling my vows, I am ready to fulfil this one, if you will **wait for me in the evening of October 8, in Prague, on the old Moldau bridge**, under the statue of Nepomucenus. Then follows your name."

"Yes, that is correct. Have you not yet given up your desire?"

"Less than ever before! You would render science an invaluable service."

"Listen, **doctor**, bend down a little over the rail; that of which we speak must not be heard even by the waves of the Moldau, **if we wish to remain alive**."

The young scientist looked in astonishment at his comrade, but did as he desired.

"Three years ago, in Rome, when **I promised to acquaint you with the mysteries of Caballah**, I did it more for the sake of boasting of a power and authority which, in reality, I did not possess. Although I had studied for some time the traditions of my nation, rather out of curiosity than because of the love of knowledge, I knew very well that I could hardly penetrate the corridor of those mysteries which I am still regarding as the sophistry and roguishness of exalted minds, invented for the purpose of holding fools in fear and subordination.

{p. 271} But **several accidental discoveries**, made by me since then, have changed my views and have aroused in me a sense of curiosity.

"You know, notwithstanding our brief acquaintance, that I am not the type of man who would abandon a clue or a conceived plan. What has caused me to make you my companion in satisfying my curiosity - that does not concern you. It is enough that now **we have an opportunity to satisfy our mutual desire**, and all depends on whether you will agree to accept the conditions upon which I can make you **a partner in my investigation**."

"If these are not against honor and conscience."

"In this respect you have nothing to risk, **you are rather risking something else - your life**. Do you feel that you are capable of facing a serious danger?"

"For the sake of science, yes!"

"Very well, in that case I must tell you that I will lead you to a place which **we will not leave alive, if our presence is discovered**. The slightest suspicion that we were **uninvited witnesses of the secret** will bring upon us persecution which will kill us sooner or later."

"You are whetting my curiosity, signor!"

"That is all I wanted to tell you. The other thing - you know that **I am a Jew by birth**. Although **the Jews have driven me from their midst and cursed me** according to their custom and traditions **because I adopted Christianity**, - still I have my own reasons for stipulating a condition - your word of honor that you will be silent about all you will see and hear, until I authorize you to speak."

"I swear by my honor."

"Very well. You will recall in your investigations of the Caballah that in the mysterious books **mention is made of a meeting of the heads or chosen ones of the nation**, - a meeting which takes place from time to time? "

"Yes, in the Yezire it is said very definitely, and if I understood correctly, such meetings take place **every hundred years**."

"Yes. **The last meeting took place in 1760** and you recall that **shortly afterward the movement of Judaism started**. It is **now 1787 years since the destruction of Jerusalem** and **this year is designated for a meeting of the Cabalistic Sanhedrim**. This is the day of the meeting; the place is this city. I want to be present at this meeting in spite of the danger and am ready to take you along with me."

{p. 272} "But will it not be dishonest to listen, will it not be an unlawful interference with other people's secrets?"

"Per Bacco! as we Italians say; with such hesitations you must abandon once for all the idea of fulfilling your desire. Or do you think that the people who guard the secret of the Caballah will bring it to you on a tray? As far as I am concerned, I shall discover the secret, at any cost!"

After reflecting a few minutes, the scientist came to a decision.

"I shall go with you, come what may!"

"Very well. Now we have agreed. Let us go, - there is no time to lose."

The tower clock of the town-hall **struck eleven**. At the first stroke **a key clicked in the lock of the cemetery gates**. Then followed profound silence which indicated that the cemetery was open. The lights in the Jewish houses were gradually dying out, and at the same time the sounds of the merry feasting also subsided.

Mysterious silence reigned in that terrible place.

The gates creaked softly; **the rustling of long coats was heard**, touching the stones and shrubbery; finally **a vague white figure appeared and slipped by like a shadow along the pathways**.

This figure **kneelt before one of the tombstones**; three times it touched the stone with its forehead and softly whispered a prayer.

Along the path leading from the gates came **an old man, bent, limping, sighing and coughing**. He came over to the ancient tombstone, and lowered himself on his knees near the white figure that had entered before him, and he, too, whispered a prayer.

Then heavy footsteps were heard, and a tall, impressive figure appeared on the road, clad in a white mantle, and he, too, fell down on his knees, as though unwillingly, in front of the tombstone.

Thirteen times this was repeated. **Thirteen old men came over to the tombstone. The doctor counted them**, but he could not understand whether they were alive or dead. A shiver crept down his back, his heart began to beat faster from fright. He involuntarily recalled the terrible legend of the Day of Atonement in the tenth month, Tishri, in the synagogue of Posen when, during the prayer of Kol Nidrei, the congregation kept growing larger and larger; unknown people, pushing one another, wrapped in prayer shawls, came in, one hundred

{p. 273} after another, until the terrified Rabbi lifted his hand as if to curse and exclaimed: "He who has flesh in his cheeks, let him throw off the prayer shawl!" Hundreds remained covered, and when the prayer shawls were torn away from them, all saw the skulls of the dead who had come out of the graves to celebrate the Day of Atonement with the rest of the congregation.

As there, it seemed to him that the prayer shawls had fallen off the heads of the praying old men, and a row of dead skulls appeared. **At that moment the clock struck twelve**. A sharp metallic sound rang out on the grave, after which **a blue flame appeared and illumined the thirteen kneeling figures**.

"I greet you, Roshe beth Aboth (**heads of the twelve tribes of Israel**)," **announced a dull voice**.

"We greet you, **son of the accursed.**"

"A hundred years have already passed. Where have the Nesiym (princes of the tribes) come from?"

"From the lands where the nation of Adonai has been scattered by the orders of our forefathers."

"Are you ready to fulfil the promise during the coming century?"

"We are ready!"

"Then say, whose representatives are you, and where do you come from? Tribe of Judah?"

"From Amsterdam," replied a strong, loud voice.

"Tribe of Benjamin?"

"Toledo!" came the dull answer.

"Tribe of Levi? "

"Worms! "

"Tribe of Manasseh?"

"Budapest!"

"Tribe of Gad? "

"Cracow!"

"Tribe of Simeon?"

"Rome!"

"Tribe of Zebulun?"

"Paris!"

"Tribe of Dan?"

"Constantinople!"

"Tribe of Asher?"

{p. 274} "London! "

"Tribe of Issachar?" The answer came in a faint voice and could not be heard distinctly.

"Tribe of Naphtali?~

"Prague!"

"**And I am the representative of the unfortunate and exiles,**" said the man who asked the questions in a dull voice. "I am myself wandering about all over the world in order that I may unite you for the sake of the cause of redemption which has been promised to the seed of Abraham and which was **taken from them by the sons of him who was crucified!** Who is here of the house of Aaron, let him rise, scrutinize the heads of the tribes and gather the council."

The man who was the first to arrive rose and then seated himself upon the tombstone. One by one the others came over to him and **whispered in his ear a seven-syllabled word**, and each time he nodded in approval. After that all returned to their former places. "Brethren," said the Levite, "our fathers formed a union which compels all those chosen as representatives of the tribes to **gather every hundred years at the grave of the great teacher of Caballah whose doctrines give the chosen ones power on earth and supremacy** over all the descendants of Ishmael. **Eighteen hundred years the struggle has been conducted by the nation of Israel for supremacy** which was promised to Abraham and which was **taken away from us by the Cross**. Trampled under foot by our enemies, under the terror of death and all kinds of humiliation and violence, the nation of Israel, nevertheless, has not abandoned this struggle, and as they are **scattered all over the earth, the whole earth must belong to them! Our learned men** are conducting this struggle for hundreds of years; the nation is gradually rising from its fall; its power is growing and spreading. **To us belong the earthly god, which was made for us with such sorrow by Aaron in the desert ... the Golden Calf which the backsliders are worshipping!**"

"We hear!" they whispered on all sides.

"**When all the gold on earth will be ours**, the power will go over to us. Then will be fulfilled the promise made to Abraham. **Gold is the ruler of the earth**. Gold is power, reward, pleasure ... all that human beings fear and desire. This is the mystery of **the**

Caballah ... the teachings concerning **the spirit which rules the world**, and about the future! Eighteen centuries we have belonged to our enemies. The

{p. 275} future belongs to us. **For the fifth time** in the course of **the thousand-year-old struggle to which we have consecrated ourselves**, those who know of the existence of **the secret union** have **gathered here to take counsel** as to the means which are afforded us by the sins of our enemies, and **each time, for five hundred years, a new Sanhedrim, ordered the fiercest struggle**. But, excepting Russia, **not a single century has been crowned with such success as this one**. Therefore we may think that the time for which we are striving is near, and we may say, **"The Future is ours!"**

"Yes, if persecutions against the Jews will not take place in the meantime!" pointed out one of the men with a bitter smile.

"The dark days of such a danger are passed. The success of so-called **civilization among the Christian nations** may serve as **the best protection** for our endeavors. Before listening to the individual opinions, **let us examine the material means, the pure capital possessed by the nation of Israel.** ..."

"But **against the three and a half million Jews with their money** there are 265 million enemies in Europe, or rather 500 million fists," remarked one of those present.

"The head will protect us against the fists, as in the past. **Labor is the slave of speculation**, and violence is the slave of wisdom. Who will deny that **cunning is the distinctive trait of our nation?**

"Our nation is ostentatious and greedy, arrogant and pleasure-loving.

"Where there is light there is also shadow. It is not in vain that Adonai our God gave his chosen people the tenacity of a snake, the cunning of a fox, the look of a falcon, the memory of a dog, the diligence of an ant, and the sociability of a beaver. We were in captivity on the rivers of Babylon, and have become powerful! Our temple was destroyed, but we have built a thousand new temples! For eighteen hundreds years we were slaves; now **we have grown head and shoulders above all other nations.**"

All the twelve pronounced the concluding words

"Brethren," said the Levite, "the time has come when, in accordance with the laws of the founder of our union, we must determine ways and means by which the Jews shall attain their goal as soon as possible; our experience of a hundred years will help us in this. We who know must direct and guide the masses which are blind. We, the builders,

{p. 276} will combine the dead stones into a pillar which must reach the sky."

"The Tower of Babel was destroyed by the hand of Him whose name I dare not pronounce," said the sceptic.

"Our structure rests upon the foundation of the promise made to Abraham. It is your turn to speak, representative of the tribe of Reuben! **By what means will the Jewish nation achieve power and supremacy** over all other nations on earth?"

A shrill, unpleasant voice then spoke:

"All the princes and the lands of Europe are at present in debt. The stock exchange regulates these debts. But such things are done only by movable capital; therefore all the movable capital must go over to the hands of the Jews. The foundation for this is already laid, judging from what we have heard here. If we will be supreme in the stock exchange, we will attain the same supremacy in the governments. Therefore it is necessary to facilitate loans in order to get them into our hands all the more. Wherever possible, **we must take in exchange for capital, mortgages on railroads, taxes, mines, jewels and domains.** Furthermore, **the stock exchange is a means for the transfer of the belongings of the small people to the hands of the capitalists, by drawing them into stock gambling.** Transactions in securities are a splendid invention of our nation. Although the stock exchange members cheat one another sometimes, it is **the outsider who always pays in the end.**"

The voice which **resounded on the Paris Bourse** became silent.

"Do the *zekenim* agree with the opinion of our brother? " asked the Levite.

A whisper of approbation was the answer to this question.

"Representative of the tribe of Simeon, it is your turn now!" A serious, dull voice resounded after this order. Each word was pronounced slowly and thoughtfully:

"Ownership of land is always the iron-clad, everlasting possession of every country. This in itself gives power, respect and influence. Therefore, the **Jews should secure the possibility of acquiring real estate.** It will not be hard to accomplish this, if we **acquire movable capital.** Therefore it is necessary to **facilitate loans on land.** Under the fear of scandal we will destroy land wealth and minimize its importance. Ownership of land should be mobilized, if lands are sold as other commodities. **The more we help in the breaking up of estates, the more easily will they fall into our hands.** Under the pretext of

{p. 277} relieving the poor classes, it is necessary to **levy all taxes of states and communities on the land owners.** When the land is in our hands, the labor of the Christian workers and farmers will give us a tenfold income."

He who did not belong to any tribe laughed sneeringly.

"This advice is good, but not new. **Ask in Paris and Vienna, who owns the houses there?**"

A whisper of approbation was heard again.

"Tribe of Judah, your turn!"

The voice that resounded was marked with conviction and reminded one of the sound of the Thaller.

"Industry, the power of the burgher, which hinders the Jewish nation, must be paralyzed even as agriculture. The manufacturer should be no better than an ordinary worker. The means to accomplish this may be the **unlimited freedom of trade.** The manufacturer will take the place of the artisan as he does not have to work, only to speculate. The children of Israel can adapt themselves to all branches of work. Their capital and dexterity will be the substitute for right. Transforming the artisans into our factory workers, **we will be in a position to direct the masses for our political purposes. Whoever resists this system will be destroyed by competition.** The senseless and ungrateful masses will not support the artisans in this struggle, if commodities are reduced in price to a certain extent."

A noisy approbation of the new Sanhedrim showed that the soundness of this advice had long been appreciated and even applied in practice.

"Now it is my turn," said the representative of Levi - 'I speak in the name of the tribe of Aaron. **The natural enemy of the Jews is the Christian church. Therefore we must try to humiliate it, we must instill into it free-thinking, scepticism, and conflicts.** Therefore we will, first of all, **start a war on the clergy,** we will try to arouse suspicion against it and **ridicule it.** The main pillar of the church is the school. Therefore **we must gain influence over the young. Under the guise of progress and the equal rights of all religions, we will destroy the study of religion in Christian schools.** Then the Jews may become teachers in all schools; then religion will be taught at home. And as there is little time left for that, **the spirit of religion will gradually decline, and eventually it will be destroyed altogether.** Agitation for the appropriation of property belonging to the churches and

{p. 278} schools, **the transfer of church property to the state,** or (what is the same) into the hands of the Jews, will be our reward!"

Again approbation followed the words of the man who had spoken. Nobody contradicted him and he announced:

"Representative of the tribe of Issachar, it is your turn!"

Now an old, trembling voice spoke:

"Let our brethren **strive for the abolition of armed force.** The coarse military art is not for the sons of Israel. Not everyone can be a Gideon! The army is for the defense of the throne and the school of narrow patriotism. **Not the sword, but reason and money must rule.** Therefore at every opportune instance, it is necessary to help the downfall of the military class, to arouse suspicion in the masses against it, and to incite animosity against one another. It is enough for the soldiers to do police duty and to protect the wealthy from those who have nothing."

"The Lion of Judah has spoken," said the stranger angrily. "David conquered Goliath. The nations will soon wear long coats instead of military armour. **A slap on the bourse will be equivalent to a lost battle.**"

It looked as though a storm was arising against this arrogant sarcasm, but one word from the eldest restored them all to calm.

"This is the son of Baal! He may say whatever he pleases. But he will do whatever is decided by the council of the tribes."

"The tribe of Zebulun may speak!"

A dull voice, like a storm in the distance, said as follows:

"Our nation is conservative to its very root, and clings fast to what is old. But our interest demands that we participate, or, rather, direct the movements of nations. It is indisputable that **ours is a time of many reforms, whose main purpose is the amelioration of the material condition of the needy classes.** But for this **the propertied classes must sacrifice their capitals. Capital is in the hands of the Jews.** Therefore **they must outwardly take part in the movement** and try to divert it from social and political reforms. The masses themselves are blind and foolish, and permit the shouters to rule over them. **Who shouts more loudly and more shrewdly than the Jews? Therefore our nation has been the first on the platform, in the press, and in all Christian communities!** The more communities and meetings, the more dissatisfaction and idleness. From this it follows inevitably that the people grow

{p. 279} poorer, that they become subjected to those who have money, leading to the enrichment of the latter. Besides, every movement makes us richer, for **the smaller people are ruined and are contracting debts.** The instability of the foundation increases our power and our influence. Therefore **the support of every kind of dissatisfaction, every revolution, increases our capital and brings us nearer to our goal.**"

This terrible speech was followed by prolonged silence. Every member of this secret Sanhedrim seemed to be thinking of its terrible meaning. The son of Baal again laughed hoarsely.

"Are you afraid of blood? It isn't yours."

Then one member of the gathering expressed his approval, and all others followed his example.

"Son of the tribe of Dan, your turn!"

The answer bore the stamp of a Jew of the lower order:

"Every business in which there is speculation and profit must be in our hands. That is our natural right. First of all, we must get control of the traffic in liquor, butter, wool, and bread. Then we shall have in our hands agriculture, farming. We can prepare bread everywhere, and if dissatisfaction and want should arise, we can easily throw the blame on the government. Petty things which give a great deal of trouble and yield very little profit, we can leave in the hands of the Christians. Let them work hard and suffer as the chosen people suffered for several centuries."

This speech scarcely needed approval. The Levite called on the next one.

"Tribe of Naphtali?"

The following words rang out shrilly and with assurance:

"All governmental positions should be open to us. Once this principle is established, the cunning and flattery of the Jewish employees will help them to penetrate even there, and they will have real influence. I am speaking only of the posts which bring honor, power, and pre-eminence. Positions which require work and knowledge may remain for the Christians. Therefore the Jews may neglect positions of secondary importance. **Justice is very important for us, the law is a great step forward. This occupation** is suited to the cunning and skill of our people and **gives us influence and power against our natural enemies.** Why can't a Jew be Minister of Education as he has already been more than once Minister of Finance? "

{p. 280} "Remember the scaffold of Haman, the fate of Shushan and Leopold!" said a warning voice.

"Why does the raven croak about the past which is so distant and almost forgotten? More than one of our people has been a Minister in France and respected by the King himself."

Approval was expressed in a tone of satisfied pride; then the orator continued:

"Our people must be among the legislators of the governments. **The laws of the goyim against the children of Israel must be abolished.** We will maintain the laws of our Fathers. We need no longer any laws that would protect us. No. We must concern ourselves about laws that will give us privileges. A mild law respecting bankruptcy, promulgated in the interests of humanity, would be a golden mountain in our hands. First of all **we must see to it that the law regarding usury is abolished in all countries** under the pretext that money would thereby become cheaper. **Money is just such a commodity as others,** and the law should give us the right to regulate its price according to our desire."

"Now is the turn for the tribe of Benjamin."

"What can I add to the counsel of such wise men? **The Jew** should also make use of honors, and should be at the head of all organizations that may give him honor without risks, and he **should engage in science and the arts** which are more adapted to the character of our people and which we can master more easily. We can become good actors and philosophers, because there is room for speculation in these domains. **In the arts our people will look after the receptions and will burn incense to ourselves.** In science we will take up medicine and philosophy. These afford opportunities for theories and speculation. **A physician penetrates the secrets of families and holds their lives in his hands."**

"Tribe of Asher, your turn!"

"We must demand free marriage between Jews and Christians. Israel will only be the gainer, even though there be an admixture of impure blood to a certain degree. **Our sons and daughters will marry into renowned and powerful Christian families.** We give money and thus have influence. The Christian relationship cannot have a bad influence on us, while we can exert a strong influence over them. That is one thing. Another thing is that we respect the Jewish woman and

{p. 281} we enjoy the forbidden pleasure with the women of our enemies. We have money, and for money we can get everything. **A Jew must never make a daughter of his own race his mistress.** If he should desire to sin against the Seventh Commandment he should **content himself with Christian girls."**

"What is the use of employing the beautiful girls of the goyim in our stores if not for this?" angrily interposed the representative of the evil spirit. "Whoever will not want to satisfy our desire will get no work, consequently no bread. Go to the large cities and you will see that they are not waiting for your wise men's orders. **Substitute a contract for sacrament in the marriage of Christians and their wives and daughters will come to you still more readily."**

The terrible cynicism of these words, touching such a delicate subject, must have produced a profound impression, especially since the views of the ancient doctrines were so strict on the topic of moral purity.

"What does the law say? " asked one of the twelve.

"For adultery with a woman of our own people - death; for seducing a girl - a fine, if she was not betrothed; if she was betrothed - death. But the law is not so rigorous with regard to one who lives with a slave - her body belongs to her master."

"Are the goyim better than our slaves?"

This explanation was followed by a whisper of approval.

"The tribe of Manasseh may speak now!"

The last of the orators lifted his hand and during his speech he raised and lowered it, as if desiring thus to make a stronger impression by his words. His voice was hoarse and unpleasant, but he spoke skilfully and with assurance.

"If gold is the first power in the world, the press is the second. Of what value are all the opinions and advice given here without the aid of the press? We will attain our aim only when the press is in our hands. **Our people must direct the daily publications.** We are cunning, shrewd, and we possess money which we know how to utilize for our purposes. We need great political newspapers which mold public opinion - criticism, the literature of the streets and the stage. In this way we will crowd out the Christians step by step, and will **dictate to the world what it should believe in, what it should respect, and what it should curse.** We will repeat the sorrowful cry of Israel

{p. 282} and the complaints against the persecutions which are directed against us. Then, even though each individual may be against us, **the masses, in their stupidity, will always be for us. With the press in our hands, we can turn wrong into right,** dishonesty into honesty. **We can shake all foundations, and separate families. We can destroy faith in all that our enemies, until now, have believed.** We can ruin credits and arouse passions. We can declare war; we can award fame or disgrace. We can uplift or ruin talent.

"When Israel shall have gold and the press in his hands, we will be able to ask: 'On what day will it please you to **put on Atarah (crown) which belongs to us by right,** to erect Shisse (?) and **extend the Shebet (sceptre) over the nations of the earth?'"**

A noisy greeting followed these words and the agitated men who listened hardly understood for some time what was being said at the meeting. At last the voice of the Levite called upon all to be silent.

"The Roshe-Bate-Abot of the twelve tribes have uttered words of wisdom. These words will be as pillars for the times to come, if the son of him 'who has not rest' will write these words upon his memory and spread the seeds among the nation of Israel in order that it may grow to be a mighty tree. They will be the sword with which Israel will strike down his enemies. Our posterity must share among themselves happiness, wealth and power as it shared misfortune and dangers. They must help one another. Wherever one of them places his foot, he must drag another - his brother - along with him. If one of them is unfortunate, others must help him, if he but lives according to the law of our nation.

"He who was in prison for ten years, may become a rich man to whom princes will bow, if only our people will not forsake him. Where everybody is against us, all will be for us. After forty years of wandering in the desert, the hand of Jehovah brought us to power in the land of Canaan; the same hand will lead us after forty-five times forty years from our misfortune and miseries to rule over lands which are forty-five times vaster than Canaan. If Israel shall obey the decision here adopted by the Sanhedrim of the Caballah, our grandchildren, coming a hundred years hence to **the grave of the founder of our union,** will announce to him that they have indeed become the princes of the world and that the promise made to the nation of Israel has been fulfilled. Other nations will become his slaves! Renew

{p. 283} our oath, **sons of the golden calf,** and go to all lands of the world."

The blue flame flared up brightly upon the grave of the Rabbi; each of the thirteen threw upon the tomb a stone which each carried under his cloak.

It seemed to the doctor that on the top of the tombstone, in the bluish flame, there appeared a monstrous golden figure of an animal.

Then he heard the same metallic sound that he had heard when the light first appeared. Then impenetrable darkness covered the cemetery.

The white figures again slipped by among the tombstones. The gates creaked softly.

The clock in the tower struck two past midnight. The last of the mysterious visitors knocked at the window and a hoarse voice said (as though the speaker knew that the watchman was not asleep):

"Close the house of life, watchman of those who are awaiting the resurrection, and **may your lips be sealed with the seal of Solomon for a hundred years.**"

The scholar still lay motionless; he was afraid to stir; all he had heard had made upon him such a dreadful impression.

A noise near him indicated that his companion was rising.

"To concentrate in their hands all the capital of the nations of all lands; to secure possession of all the land, railroads, mines, houses; to be at the head of all organizations, to occupy the highest governmental posts, to paralyze commerce and industry everywhere, to seize the press, to direct legislation, public opinion and national movements - and all for the purpose of subjugating all nations on earth to their power! No! **I shall struggle against the golden calf and shall smash it to pieces as Moses smashed it in the desert."**

"What we heard is a threat against all society. Here is my hand, I will be your comrade in this struggle against the power of gold."

The Italian shook his head, but accepted the extended hand. "No," he said, "I want to act alone. **There is a force which, if properly directed, is not weaker than gold. That force is poverty and her companion, labor.** I shall call them out and lead them into battle. Proud Israel! Beware! I shall put against you the *Artel* (union) and Labor."

"And I," said the scholar, with animation, "all that is lofty and noble, - science, idealism, faith - I shall lead these against this materialism."

{p. 284} His comrade laughed: "Your ideals will crumble as clay striking against metal. Only the forces of poverty and hunger can be the fighters that will defeat the golden calf. Our ways part here; you will go one way, and I another. My promise is fulfilled; but remember your vow - be silent as to all that you have heard and seen here!"

{p. 285} EXHIBIT D

This is the mythical speech alleged by the German novelist, Hermann Goedsche ("Sir John Retcliffe"), to have been delivered by an unnamed Rabbi at an imaginary Jewish Congress in Lemberg. The author of the absurdly **fantastic** story, "The Jewish Cemetery in Prague," vouched for the authenticity of the "Rabbi's Speech" which he himself had composed, along the lines of his own story. **The explanatory note is by G. V. Butmi, the Russian anti-Semitic writer who brought out one of the early versions of the Protocols in Russia.**

The paragraphs which are indented and parts in italics were omitted in the Butmi version, but are given in the French publication "Le Peril Judeo Maconnique - I. Les Protocols des Sages de Zion," by Jouin, Paris, 1920.

THE RABBI'S SPEECH TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE*

Our fathers ordained the chosen ones in Israel to gather, without fail, once every century, at the grave of our great Master Caleb, the

* NOTE. (Toward the end of the last century there appeared a book in London by Retcliffe entitled "A Review of Political and Historical Events During the Past Ten Years." This work was translated into French. The French periodical press, without waiting for the complete translation of the book, reproduced certain parts of it because they were of special interest. Thus the French newspapers and magazines published translations from the English of an intensely interesting speech (from the Hebrew), most edifying for Russia, delivered by one of the Rabbis, **THE AUTHENTICITY OF WHICH SPEECH IS VOUCHERED FOR BY THE ABOVE-MENTIONED AUTHOR.** This inimitable gem must in the eyes of Russians assume all the more importance since it is brought out by that "highly civilized" humane and practical country, England, which has given protection to the Russian Jews against the unsuccessfully invented persecutions on the part of the Russian government and people. This monstrous document was sent at the time in printed form, in the French language, to the editorial office of the Odessa newspaper "Novorosisk {footnote continued on next page}

{p. 286} sainted Rabbi Simeon Ben Judah, whose great knowledge is imparted to the elect of each generation to gain the power over the whole world and authority over all the descendants of Israel...

It is already eighteen centuries that the war of Israel is being waged with **the power which had been promised to Abraham but which had been snatched away from him by the Cross.** Trampled under foot, humiliated by his enemies, ceaselessly under threats of death, of persecution, of rapine and violence of every sort, Israel has not succumbed; and **if he is dispersed over the whole world it is because the whole world should belong to him.**

It has been for a few [eighteen] centuries now that our learned men have been fighting against the Cross with courage and persistence which nothing can break. Our people is rising gradually and, with each day, its forces are growing. *It is to us that this God of the day belongs, which was erected by Aaron in the wilderness, this golden calf, this universal deity of the epoch.*

When we become, at last, the sole possessors of all the gold to be found on earth, the true power will practically be transferred to our hands, and the promises made to Abraham will be fulfilled. *Gold - is the greatest power on earth; it is might, reward, the instrument of every authority, it is all man, both fears and desires. This is the sole mystery, the most profound science of that spirit with the aid of which the entire world is ruled.* This is what the future holds in store. **Eighteen centuries have belonged to our enemies; this century and the following must belong to us, the People of Israel, and will be ours,** without fail. Here, **for the tenth time during a thousand years of cruel and incessant struggle** with our enemies, have assembled at this cemetery; at the grave of the great Master, Caleb, the sainted Rabbi Simeon Ben Judah, **the elect of each of the tribes of the Israelite people, in order to discuss** and agree upon, the means of making use, in the interests of our cause, of all the tremendous mistakes and errors, which our enemies - the Christians - have not ceased to commit. Every

{footnote continued from p. 285} Telegraph" for those who might want to examine the accuracy of the translation published in No. 4996 of that newspaper, dated January 15, 1891, and reprinted in No. 21 of the Petersburg newspaper "Znamya, " dated January 22, 1904. **THE SPEECH RELATES TO THE TIME OF THE SANHEDRIN OF 1869.)**

{p. 287} time the new Sanhedrin (assembly) proclaimed and preached merciless warfare against our enemies, but not once during the past centuries did our forefathers succeed in concentrating in our hands such an enormous quantity of gold [and consequently of power] as the nineteenth century has given us. We are therefore able, without any senseless illusions, to flatter ourselves with the hope of attaining our goal before long, and we can look forward with assurance into the very eyes of the future.

Persecutions and insults, - these sombre and tortuous times, which the people of Israel bore with heroic patience, - have fortunately come to an end, owing to the progress of civilization among the Christians, and this progress is the best shield under which we can hide and scheme, in order that we may cover quickly and decisively the last span of that distance which divides us from our supreme aim. **Let us cast a cursory glance at the economic situation of Europe** and analyze the resources which fell to the Israelites from the beginning of the present century, owing to the concentration in their hands of the tremendous capital which is in their possession at the

present time. It turns out that **in Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Rome, Naples, etc. [and in all lands -the Rothschilds], that everywhere, the Israelites are the masters of the financial situation**, being as they are possessors of many billions, not to mention localities of the second and third class where all the financial funds are in their hands and not mentioning that, **without their direct influence, no financial operation, no work of any importance, could be carried out anywhere** at any time. At present, **all the emperors, kings and ruling princes are burdened with tremendous debts** incurred in order to be able to maintain numerous standing armies [*to sustain their tottering thrones*]. **The Bourse quotes and regulates these moneys, and we are the full masters of the Bourse** in all the centres of the globe. The problem before us now is to **facilitate** even to a greater extent the means of contracting **these loans** and thus **to become the sole managers of all valuables**, after which the exploitation of all their railroads, mines, forests, large factories and industrial plants, as well as of all other **(real property) including duties and taxes, will fall into our hands, as a security for the capital lent by us** to the various States.

Agriculture will forever remain the principal source of a country's wealth. The possession of large plots of land will pave for us even a

{p. 288} broader way to honors and will strengthen our influence (over the highest officials of the country). From this follows, that our efforts will be directed towards inducing our brethren in Israel to make large agricultural purchases. We must, therefore, do our utmost to break up large estates into small parcels, in order to be able to purchase them in the easiest and quickest way. Under the pretext of trying to help the working classes, it is necessary to oppress the large landowners with taxation in all its severity. When these possessions will thus gradually be transferred into our hands, the whole labor of the Christian proletariat will become for us a new source of tremendous profits. **Since the Christian Church is one of our most dangerous enemies, we must work tirelessly to weaken its influence, and in order to accomplish this, it is necessary to use all our efforts to implant in the Christian intellectual class ideas of atheism, scepticism, dissension and to call forth religious disputes among the newly formed groups and sects of Christendom.**

Logically, we must begin by **depreciating the ministers of this religion**. Let us declare open war on them, let us provoke suspicions on their devotion, on their private conduct, and by ridicule and persiflage we shall be right in the consideration attached to the state and the costume of the priest.

Every war, every revolution, every political and religious upheaval brings nearer the moment when we shall attain the great end for which we have been striving so long. Commerce and speculation - these branches, most plentiful in their fruits, - must never be suffered to slip out of the hands of the Israelites.

... and once these branches have become identified with us, we shall, through the flattery and perspicacity of our executives, know how to penetrate to the prime source of true influence and power. It is understood that we are concerned only with those pursuits that entail honors, power or privileges, for all those that require knowledge, labor or disagreeable conditions, these can and should be left to the Christians. **The magistrature is an institution of prime importance for us.** The legal profession develops most the faculty of civilization and initiates one furthest in the affairs of our

{p. 289} natural enemies, the Christians, and it is through it that we can subject them to our mercy. Why should not the Jews become Ministers of Instruction when they have so often been Ministers of Finance? The Jews must also aspire to the rank of legislators with the object of abrogating the laws made by the Goyim, faithless sinners, against the sons of Israel, the true believers, in their invariable attachment to the holy laws of Abraham.

Moreover, on this point, our plan is nearing the most complete realization, for progress has nearly everywhere recognized and accorded to us the same civic rights as to Christians, but that which it is of **importance to obtain**, that which must be the object of our ceaseless efforts, is **a law less severe on bankruptcy**. We shall make of it a gold mine more rich than were ever the mines of California.

With this object in view the people of Israel must direct its ambition towards those high offices of authority which have the power to distribute honors and esteem. The most assured way of attaining such offices is to have weight and importance in the various industrial enterprises, financial and commercial operations, and to be on guard for all pitfalls and temptations which may lead to the prosecution of the sons of Israel in the country's courts.

Our people, in deciding upon one operation or another, must be guided by wisdom and tact, which are the distinguishing traits of its natural gifts. We must not remain passive to anything that may aid us in gaining a place of honor in society; philosophy, medicine, law, political economy - in other words, all branches of science, art, literature - represent a wide field where even our smallest successes, developing our abilities, will be of great benefit to our cause.

These vocations are inseparable from speculation. Thus the production of a musical composition, even though it be very mediocre, will furnish to our co-religionists a plausible reason for elevating on a pedestal and **surrounding with a halo the Jew who will be the author of it**. As for the sciences, medicine and philosophy, they must equally be a part of our intellectual domain.

To the physician are usually confided the most intimate secrets of the family and he, therefore, holds in his hands the health and life

{p. 290} of our ancient enemies - the Christians. We are obliged to **encourage matrimonial unions between Israelites and Christians**, for the people of Israel, risking no loss whatsoever from such contact, will only gain from such unions.

... The introduction of a certain quantity of impure blood into our God-chosen race will not corrupt it. Our daughters will furnish us through these marriages **alliances with Christian families** that possess influence and power. **In exchange for the money that we give**, it is just that **we obtain influence** over everything that surrounds us.

Our relationship with the Christians will not make us deviate from the path we have always been following; on the contrary, with a certain degree of artfulness and cunning, this relationship will gradually make us full masters of their destinies. *It is desirable that the Israelites refrain from keeping concubines of our holy faith and rather select Christian girls for the part.* **The substitution of the simple formality of a contract before some civil power for the church ceremony** is of the greatest importance to us, because on this condition Christian women will overflow our camp. - **If gold is the first power on this earth, then the second power is undoubtedly the press. But of what significance is the latter without the former?** Since we cannot realize all the above-stated aims without the assistance of the press, **it is absolutely necessary that the management of all the newspapers and magazines of all the countries, be in our hands.** *The possession of gold, of the press and of sufficient means for the satisfaction of certain qualities of its soul, will make us masters of public opinion and will subjugate to us the masses.*

Following this method on every step of our way with a persistence which is one of our highest qualities, **we will push the Christians aside and reduce their influence to zero. We will dictate to the world what it should believe, what it must revere or despise.** It is possible that persons will be found who will arise against us; arming themselves, they will hurl insults and curses at us; but **the docile, ignorant masses will harken to us** and will take our part. *Once we become absolute masters of the press, we will easily be able to refashion the ideas of honor, of virtue, of faithfulness - and to deal the first blow to the family-conception which is considered to this day as the*

{p. 291} **most sacred institution** and which **must be reduced to a state of decay.** *We shall then be able to uproot the belief in that which our enemies, the Christians, shall have worshipped until that time and, instead of that, having brought up the army in a spirit of infatuation with the various passions, we shall openly declare war upon everything that the gentiles are at present revering and worshipping.*

May all this be understood and noted, and let every child of Israel become imbued with its true principles. Then our might will grow like a gigantic tree the branches of which will bear fruits, known as riches, pleasure, power.

... as a compensation for that hideous condition which for long centuries has been the unique lot of the people of Israel.

When one of us makes a step forward let the next one follow him. If his foot slips let his co-religionists hasten to support him. If an Israelite is trapped by the court of the country in which he resides, his brethren in faith should use all their efforts to get him out of trouble or to help him otherwise, but on the condition that the Israelite in question acted according to the laws which Israel observes strictly and guards for so many centuries, and the precepts of our religion.

Our people is conservative, faithful to the religious ceremonies and usages which our ancestors have bequeathed to us.

It is very important for us to pretend to be expounders and protagonists of social questions prevalent at the time in a country, especially of those whose aim it is to better the fate of the workingman; but, in reality, our efforts must gravitate towards possession and rule over the movements of public opinion.

The blindness of the masses and the tendency of their leaders to yield to oratory, as empty as it is loud, make them easy prey for us and a double weapon for our popularity and credit. With the aid of oratory, our speakers will be able to make people believe our artificial enthusiasm which Christians usually attain through the medium of genuine sentiment.

It is necessary to support, as much as possible, the Proletariat and to subjugate it to those in charge of the finances. Acting in this

{p. 292} manner, **it will be for us to incite the masses, whenever we shall need them. We will use them as weapons for upheavals and revolutions** and each of these catastrophes will move our cause forward with gigantic strides and will bring us, with a quick pace, nearer our goal - to reign over the entire world, as it was promised by our Father Abraham.

{p. 293} EXHIBIT E

This is a translation of Sergius Nilus' Epilogue taken from the copy of the "Protocols" in the British Museum.

THE NILUS EPILOGUE, 1917

According to secret Jewish Zionism, a political plan was devised in theory for the peaceful conquest of the world for Zion, **by Solomon and other sages already 929 years before the birth of Christ.** In the course of historical developments, the plan was elaborated and augmented by their followers initiated in this affair. These sages decided to conquer the world peacefully for Zion, by the cunning of the symbolic snake, whose head should constitute the government of the Jews initiated in the plans of the sages (always **masked even from their own people**) and the body - the Judean nation. Penetrating the bosoms of the governments encountered on the way, this snake has undermined and eaten away (overthrowing) all governments, non-Jewish forces according to their growth.

This it should also do in the future, carefully following the outlined plan, until the cycle of the road travelled by it is completed by the return of the head of the snake to Zion, and until the snake will thus include and concentrate in the sphere of its circle the whole of Europe, and through Europe the rest of the world, utilizing all forces of conquest and by economic means in order to **subject also the other continents to its influence,** to the influence of its cycle. The return of the head of the snake could be accomplished only over the razed plains of the governmental power of all the European countries, -that is **through economic disorganization and ruin, introduced by Zion everywhere by means of spiritual decadence and moral turpitude,** chiefly, with the aid of **Jewish women under the guise of French, Italian and Spanish women,** the best introducers of immorality into the conduct

{p. 294} of the rulers of nations. Women in the hands of Zion serve as bait for those, who owing to them are always in need of money, and therefore **barter their conscience** in order to get money at any cost. **This money, in fact, is only loaned to them, for it quickly comes back to the hands of bribing Zion through these very women,** and at the same time they have secured slaves for Zion.

{p. 295} EXHIBIT F

Here is "The Britons" translation of the complete text of the notorious Nilus "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

PROTOCOLS OF THE MEETINGS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

PROTOCOL NO. I

.....Putting aside fine phrases we shall speak of the significance of each thought: by comparisons and deductions we shall throw light on surrounding facts.

What I am about to set forth, then, is our system from two point of view, that of ourselves and that of the *goyim* (i.e. non-Jews).

It must be noted that men with bad instincts are more in number than the good, and therefore **the best results in governing them are obtained by violence and terrorization**, and not by academic discussions. Every man aims at power, everyone would like to become a dictator if only he could, and rare indeed are the men who would not be willing to sacrifice the welfare of all for the sake of securing their own welfare.

What has restrained the beasts of prey who are called men? What has served for their guidance hitherto?

In the beginnings of the structure of society they were subjected to brutal and blind force; afterwards - to law, which is the same force, only disguised. I draw the conclusion that by the law of nature right lies in force.

Political freedom is an idea but not a fact. This idea one must know how to apply whenever it appears necessary with this bait of an idea to attract the masses of the people to one's party for the purpose of crushing another who is in authority. This task is rendered easier if the opponent has himself been infected with the idea of freedom, *so-called liberalism*, and, for the sake of an idea, is willing

{p. 296} to yield some of his power. It is precisely here that the triumph of our theory appears: the slackened reins of government are immediately, by the law of life, caught up and gathered together by a new hand, because the blind might of the nation cannot for one single day exist without guidance, and the new authority merely fits into the place of the old already weakened by liberalism.

In our day the power which has replaced that of the rulers who were liberal is the power of Gold. Time was when Faith ruled. The idea of freedom is impossible of realization because no one knows how to use it with moderation. It is enough to hand over a people to self-government for a certain length of time for that people to be turned into a disorganized mob. From that moment on we get internecine strife which soon develops into battles between classes, in the midst of which States burn down and their importance is reduced to that of a heap of ashes.

Whether a State exhausts itself of its own convulsions, whether its internal discord brings it under the power of external foes - in any case it can be accounted irretrievably lost: *it is in our power*. The despotism of Capital, which is entirely in our hands, reaches out to it a straw that the State, willy-nilly, must take hold of: if not - it goes to the bottom.

Should anyone of a liberal mind say that such reflections as the above are immoral I would put the following questions: - If every State has two foes and if in regard to the external foe it is allowed and not considered immoral to use every manner and art of conflict, as for example to keep the enemy in ignorance of plans of attack and defence, to attack him by night or in superior numbers, then in what way can the same means in regard to a worse foe, the destroyer of the structure of society and the commonweal, be called immoral and not permissible?

Is it possible for any sound logical mind to hope with any success to guide crowds by the aid of reasonable counsels and arguments, when any objection or contradiction, senseless though it may be, can be made and when such objection may find more favour with the people, whose powers of reasoning are superficial? Men in masses and the men of the masses, being guided solely by petty passions, paltry beliefs, customs, traditions and sentimental theorism, fall a prey to party dissension, which hinders any kind of agreement even on the basis of a

{p. 297} perfectly reasonable argument. Every resolution of a crowd depends upon a chance or packed majority, which, in its ignorance of political secrets, put forth some ridiculous resolution that lays in the administration a seed of anarchy.

The political has nothing in common with the moral. The ruler who is governed by the moral is not a skilled politician, and is therefore unstable on his throne. He who wishes to rule must have recourse both to cunning and to make-believe. Great national qualities, like frankness and honesty, are vices in politics, for they bring down rulers from their thrones more effectively and more certainly than the most powerful enemy. Such qualities must be the attributes of the kingdoms of the *goyim*, but we must in no wise be guided by them.

Our right lies in force. The word "right" is an abstract thought and proved by nothing. The word means no more than: - Give me what I want in order that thereby I may have a proof that I am stronger than you.

Where does right begin? Where does it end?

In any State in which there is a bad organization of authority, an impersonality of laws and of the rulers who have lost their personality amid the flood of rights ever multiplying out of liberalism, I find a new right - to attack by the right of the strong, and to scatter to the winds all existing forces of order and regulation, to reconstruct all institutions and to become the sovereign lord of those who have left to us the rights of their power by laying them down voluntarily in their liberalism.

Our power in the present tottering condition of all forms of power will be more invisible than any other, because it will remain invisible until the moment when it has gained such strength that no cunning can any longer undermine it.

Out of the temporary evil we are now compelled to commit will emerge the good of an unshakeable rule, which will restore the regular course of the machinery of the national life, brought to naught by liberalism. The result justifies the means. Let us, however, in our plans, direct our attention not so much to what is good and moral as to what is necessary and useful.

Before us is a plan in which is laid down strategically the line from which we cannot deviate without running the risk of seeing the labour of many centuries brought to naught.

{p. 298} In order to elaborate satisfactory forms of action it is necessary to have regard to the rascality, the slackness, the instability of the mob, its lack of capacity to understand and respect the conditions of its own life, or its own welfare. It must be understood that the might of a mob is blind, senseless and unreasoning force ever at the mercy of a suggestion from any side. The blind cannot lead the blind without bringing them into the abyss: consequently, members of the mob, upstarts from the people even though they should be as a genius for wisdom, yet having no understanding of the political, cannot come forward as leaders of the mob without bringing the whole nation to ruin.

Only one trained from childhood for independent rule can have understanding of the words that can be made up of the political alphabet.

A people left to itself, *i.e.*, to upstarts from its midst, brings itself to ruin by party dissensions excited by the pursuit of power and honours and the disorders arising therefrom. Is it possible for the masses of the people calmly and without petty jealousies to form judgments, to deal with the affairs of the country, which cannot be mixed up with personal interests? Can they defend themselves from an external foe? It is unthinkable, for a plan broken up into as many parts as there are heads in the mob, loses all homogeneity, and thereby becomes unintelligible and impossible of execution.

It is only with a despotic ruler that plans can be elaborated extensively and clearly in such a way as to distribute the whole properly among the several parts of the machinery of the State: from this the conclusion is inevitable that a satisfactory form of government for any country is one that concentrates in the hands of one responsible person. Without an absolute despotism there can be no existence for civilization which is carried on not by the masses but by their guide, whosoever that person may be. The mob is a savage and displays its savagery at every opportunity. The moment the mob seizes freedom in its hands it quickly turns to anarchy, which in itself is the highest degree of savagery.

Behold the alcoholized animals, bemused with drink, the right to an immoderate use of which comes along with freedom. It is not for us and ours to walk that road. The peoples of the *goyim* are bemused with alcoholic liquors; their youth has grown stupid on classicism and

{p. 299} from early immorality, into which it has been inducted by our special agents - by tutors, lackeys, governesses in the houses of the wealthy, by clerks and others, by our women in the places of dissipation frequented by the *goyim*. In the number of these last I count also the so-called "society ladies", voluntary followers of the others in corruption and luxury.

Our countersign is - Force and Make-believe. Only force conquers in political affairs, especially if it be concealed in the talents essential to statesmen. **Violence must be the principle, and cunning and make-believe the rule** for governments which do not want to lay down their crowns at the feet of agents of some new power. This evil is the one and only means to attain the end, the good. Therefore we must not stop at bribery, deceit and treachery when they should serve towards the attainment of our end. In politics one must know how to seize the property of others without hesitation if by it we secure submission and sovereignty.

Our State, marching along the path of peaceful conquest, has the right to replace the horrors of war by less noticeable and more satisfactory sentences of death, necessary to maintain the terror which tends to produce blind submission. Just but merciless severity is the greatest factor of strength in the State: not only for the sake of gain but also in the name of duty, for the sake of victory, we must keep to the programme of **violence** and make-believe. The doctrine of squaring accounts is precisely as strong as the means of which it makes use. Therefore it is not so much by the means themselves as by the doctrine of severity that we shall triumph and bring all governments into subjection to our super-government. It is enough for them to know that we are merciless for all disobedience to cease.

Far back in ancient times we were the first to cry among the masses of the people the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", words many times repeated since those days by stupid poll-parrots who from all sides round flew down upon these baits and with them carried away the well-being of the world, true freedom of the individual, formerly so well guarded against the pressure of the mob. The would-be wise men of the *goyim*, the intellectuals, could not make anything out of the uttered words in their abstractions; did not note the contradiction of their meaning and inter-relation; did not see that in nature there is no equality, cannot be freedom; that Nature herself has established

{p. 300} inequality of minds, of characters, and capacities, just as immutably as she has established subordination to her laws: never stopped to think that the mob is a blind thing, that upstarts elected from among it to bear rule are, in regard to the political, the same blind men as the mob itself, that the adept, though he be a fool, can yet rule, whereas the non-adept, even if he were a genius, understands nothing in the political - to all these things the *goyim* paid no regard; yet all the time it was based upon these things that dynastic rule rested: the father passed on to the son a knowledge of the course of political affairs in such wise that none should know it but members of the dynasty and none could betray it to the governed. As time went on the meaning of the dynastic transference of the true position of affairs in the political was lost, and this aided the success of our cause.

In all corners of the earth the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" brought to our ranks, thanks to our blind agents, whole legions who bore our banners with enthusiasm. All the time these words were canker-worms at work boring into the well-being of the *goyim*, putting an end everywhere to peace, quiet, solidarity and destroying the foundations of the *goya* states. As you will see later, this helped us to our triumph; it gave us the possibility, among other things, of getting into our hands the master card - the destruction of the privileges, or in other words of the very existence of the aristocracy of the *goyim*, that class which was the only defense peoples and countries had against us. On the ruins of the natural and genealogical aristocracy of the *goyim* we have set up the aristocracy of our educated class headed by the aristocracy of money. The qualifications for this aristocracy we have established in wealth, which is dependent upon us, and in knowledge, for which our learned elders provide the motive force.

Our triumph has been rendered easier by the fact that in our relations with the men whom we wanted we have always worked upon the most sensitive chords of the human mind, upon the cash account, upon the cupidity, upon the insatiability for material needs of man; and each one of these human weaknesses, taken alone, is sufficient to paralyse initiative, for it hands over the will of men to the disposition of him who has bought their activities.

The abstraction of freedom has enabled us to persuade the mob in all countries that their government is nothing but the steward of the

{p. 300} people who are the owners of the country, and that the steward may be replaced like a worn-out glove.

It is this **possibility of replacing the representatives of the people** which has placed them at our disposal, and, as it were, given us **the power of appointment**.

PROTOCOL NO. 2

It is indispensable for our purpose that wars, so far as possible, should not result in territorial gains: war will thus be brought on to the economic ground, where the nations will not fail to perceive in the assistance we give the strength of our predominance, and this state of affairs will put both sides at the mercy of our international *agentur*; which possesses millions of eyes ever on the watch and unhampered by any limitations whatsoever. Our international rights will then wipe out national rights, in the proper sense of right, and will rule the nations precisely as the civil law of States rules the relations of their subjects among themselves.

The administrators, whom we shall choose from among the public, with strict regard to their capacities for servile obedience, will not be persons trained in the arts of government, and will therefore easily become pawns in our game in the hands of men of learning and genius who will be their advisers, specialists bred and reared from early childhood to rule the affairs of the whole world. As is well known to you, these specialists of ours have been drawing to fit them for rule the information they need from our political plans from the lessons of history, from observations made of the events of every moment as it passes. The *goyim* are not guided by practical use of unprejudiced historical observation, but by theoretical routine without any critical regard for consequent results. We need not, therefore, take any account of them - let them amuse themselves until the hour strikes, or live on hopes of new forms of enterprising pastime, or on the memories of all they have enjoyed. For them let that play the principal part which we have persuaded them to accept as the dictates of science (theory). It is with this object in view that we are constantly, by means of our press, arousing a blind confidence in these theories. The intellectuals of the *goyim* will puff themselves up with their knowledge and without any logical verification of them will put

{p. 302} into effect all the information available from science, which our *agentur* specialists have cunningly pieced together for the purpose of educating their minds in the direction we want.

Do not suppose for a moment that these statements are empty words: think carefully of the successes we arranged for Darwinism, Marxism, Nietzsche-ism. To us Jews, at any rate, it should be plain to see what a disintegrating importance these directives have had upon the minds of the *goyim*.

It is indispensable for us to take account of the thoughts, characters, tendencies of the nations in order to avoid making slips in the political and in the direction of administrative affairs. The triumph of our system, of which the component parts of the machinery may be variously disposed according to the temperament of the peoples met on the way, will fail of success if the practical application of it be not based upon a summing up of the lessons of the past in the light of the present.

In the hands of the States of to-day there is **a great force** that creates the movement of thought in the people, and that is the Press. The part played by the Press is to keep pointing out requirements supposed to be indispensable, to give voice to the complaints of the people, to express and create discontent. It is in the Press that the triumph of freedom of speech finds its incarnation. But the *goyim* States have not known how to make use of this force; and **it has fallen into our hands. Through the Press we have gained the power to influence while remaining ourselves in the shade**; thanks to the Press we have got the *gold* in our hands, notwithstanding that we have had to gather it out of oceans of blood and tears. But it has paid us, though we have sacrificed many of our people. Each victim on our side is worth in the sight of God a thousand *goyim*.

PROTOCOL NO. 3

To-day I may tell you that our goal is now only a few steps off. There remains a small space to cross and the whole long path we have trodden is ready now to close its cycle of the Symbolic Snake, by which we symbolize our people. When this ring closes, all the States of Europe will be locked in its coil as in a powerful vice.

The constitution scales of these days will shortly break down for we have established them with a certain lack of accurate balance in

{p. 303} order that they may oscillate incessantly until they wear through the pivot on which they turn. The *goyim* are under the impression that they have welded them sufficiently strong and they have all along kept on expecting that the scales would come into equilibrium. But the pivots - the kings on their thrones - are hemmed in by their own representatives, who play the fool, distraught with their own uncontrolled and irresponsible power. This power they owe to the terror which has been breathed into the palaces. As they have no means of getting at their people, into their very midst, the kings on their thrones are no longer able to come to terms with them and so strengthen themselves against seekers after power. We have made a gulf between the far-seeing Sovereign Power and the blind force of the people so that both have lost all meaning, for like the blind man and his stick, both are powerless apart.

In order to incite seekers after power to a misuse of power we have set all forces in opposition one to another, breaking up their liberal tendencies towards independence. To this end we have stirred up every form of enterprise, we have armed all parties, we have set up authority as a target for every ambition. Of States we have made some gladiatorial arenas where a host of confused issues contend. ... A little more, and disorders and bankruptcy will be universal.

Babblers inexhaustible have turned into oratorical contests the sittings of Parliament and Administrative Boards. Bold journalists and unscrupulous pamphleteers daily fall upon executive officials. Abuses of power will put the final touch in preparing all institutions for their overthrow and everything will fly skyward under the blows of the maddened mob.

All people are chained down to heavy toil by poverty more firmly than ever they were chained by slavery and serfdom; from these, one way and another, they might free themselves, these could be settled with, but from want they will never get away. We have included in the constitution such rights as to the masses appear fictitious and not actual rights. All these so-called "People's Rights" can exist only in idea, an idea which can never be realized in practical life. What is it to the proletarian labourer, bowed double over his heavy toll, crushed by his lot in life, if talkers get the right to babble, if journalists get the right to scribble any nonsense side by side with good stuff, once the proletariat has no other profit out of the constitution save only

{p. 304} those pitiful crumbs which we fling them from our table in return for their voting in favour of what we dictate, in favour of the men we place in power, the servants of our *agentur*. ... Republican rights for a poor man are no more than a bitter piece of irony, for the necessity he is under of toiling almost all day gives him no present use of them, but on the other hand robs him of all guarantee of regular and certain earnings by making him dependent on strikes by his comrades or lockouts by his masters.

The people under our guidance have annihilated the aristocracy, who were their one and only defence and foster-mother for the sake of their own advantage which is inseparably bound up with the well-being of the people. Nowadays, with the destruction of the aristocracy, the people have fallen into the grips of merciless money-grinding scoundrels who have laid a pitiless and cruel yoke upon the necks of the workers.

We appear on the scene as alleged saviours of the worker from this oppression when we propose to him to enter **the ranks of our fighting forces - Socialists, Anarchists, Communists** - to whom we always give support in accordance with an alleged brotherly rule (of the solidarity of all humanity) of our *social masonry*. The aristocracy, which enjoyed by law the labour of the workers, was interested in seeing that the workers were well fed, healthy and strong. We are interested in just the opposite - in the diminution, the *killing out of the GOYIM*. Our power is in the chronic shortness of food and physical weakness of the worker because by all that this implies he is made the slave of our will, and he will not find in his own authorities either strength or energy to set against our will. Hunger creates the right of capital to rule the worker more surely than it was given to the aristocracy by the legal authority of kings.

By want and the envy and hatred which it engenders we shall move the mobs and with their hands we shall wipe out all those who hinder us on our way.

When the hour strikes for our Sovereign Lord of all the World to be crowned it is these same hands which will sweep away everything that might be a hindrance thereto.

The goyim have lost the habit of thinking unless prompted by the suggestions of our specialists. Therefore they do not see the urgent necessity of what **we, when our kingdom comes**, shall adopt at once,

{p. 305} namely this, that *it is essential to teach in national schools one simple, true piece of knowledge, the basis of all knowledge - the knowledge of the structure of human life, of social existence, which requires division of labour, and, consequently, the division of men into classes and conditions.* It is essential for all to know that *owing to difference in the objects of human activity there cannot be any equality*, that he who by any act of his compromises a whole class cannot be equally responsible before the law with him who affects no one but only his own honour. The true knowledge of the structure of society, into the secrets of which we do not admit the *goyim*, would demonstrate to all men that the positions and work must be kept within a certain circle, that they may not become a source of human suffering, arising from an education which does not correspond with the work which individuals are called upon to do. After a thorough study of this knowledge the peoples will voluntarily submit to authority and accept such position as is appointed them in the State. In the present state of knowledge and the direction we have given to its development the people, blindly believing things in print - cherishes - thanks to promptings intended to mislead and to its own ignorance - a blind hatred towards all conditions which it considers above itself, for it has no understanding of the meaning of class and condition.

This hatred will be still further magnified by the effects of an *economic crisis*, which will stop dealings on the exchanges and bring industry to a standstill. We shall create by all **the secret subterranean methods open to us** and with the aid of gold, which is all in our hands, *a universal economic crisis whereby we shall throw upon the streets whole mobs of workers simultaneously in all the countries of Europe.* These mobs will *rush delightedly* to shed the blood of those whom, in the simplicity of their ignorance, they have envied from their cradles, and whose property they will then be able to loot.

"Ours" they will not touch, because the moment of attack will be known to us and we shall take measures to protect our own.

We have demonstrated that progress will bring all the *goyim* to the sovereignty of reason. Our despotism will be precisely that; for it will know how by wise severities to pacificate all unrest, to cauterise liberalism out of all institutions.

When the populace has seen that all sorts of concessions and indulgences are yielded it in the name of freedom it has imagined itself

{p. 306} to be sovereign lord and has stormed its way to power, but, naturally, like every other blind man it has come upon a host of stumbling blocks, *it has rushed to find a guide, it has never had the sense to return to the former state* and it has laid down its plenipotentiary powers at *our feet*. Remember the French Revolution, to which it was we who gave the name of "great": the secrets of its preparations are well known to us for it was wholly the work of our hands.

Ever since that time we have been leading the peoples from one disenchantment to another, so that in the end they should turn also from us in favour of that *King-Despot of the blood of Zion, whom we are preparing for the world.*

At the present day we are, as an international force, invincible, because if attacked by some we are supported by other States. It is the bottomless rascality of the *goyim* peoples, who crawl on their bellies to force, but are **merciless towards weakness**, unsparing to

faults and indulgent to crimes, unwilling to bear the **contradictions of a free social system** but **patient unto martyrdom under the violence of a bold despotism** - it is those qualities which are aiding us to independence. **From the premier-dictators of the present day the goyim peoples suffer patiently and bear such abuses** as for the least of them they would have **beheaded twenty kings**.

What is the explanation of this phenomenon, this curious inconsequence of the masses of the peoples in their attitude towards what would appear to be events of the same order?

It is explained by the fact that **these dictators whisper to the peoples** through their agents that through these abuses they are inflicting injury on the States with **the highest purpose - to secure the welfare of the peoples**, the international brotherhood of them all, their solidarity and equality of rights. Naturally, **they do not tell the peoples that this unification must be accomplished only under our sovereign rule**.

And thus the people condemn the upright and acquit the guilty, persuaded ever more and more that it can do whatsoever it wishes. Thanks to this state of things **the people are destroying every kind of stability** and creating disorders at every step.

The word "freedom" brings out the communities of men to fight against every kind of force, against every kind of authority, even

{p. 307} **against God and the laws of nature**. For this reason we, when we come into our kingdom, shall have to erase this word from the lexicon of life as implying a principle of brute force which turns mobs into bloodthirsty beasts.

These beasts, it is true, fall asleep again every time when they have drunk their fill of blood, and at such times can easily be riveted into their chains. But if they be not given blood they will not sleep and continue the struggle.

PROTOCOL NO. 4

Every republic passes through several stages. The first of these is comprised in the early days of mad raging by the blind mob, tossed hither and thither, right and left: the second is demogogy, from which is born anarchy, and that leads inevitably to despotism - not any longer legal and overt, and therefore responsible despotism, but to unseen and secretly hidden, yet nevertheless sensibly felt despotism in the hands of some secret organization or other, whose acts are the more unscrupulous inasmuch as it works behind a screen, behind the backs of all sorts of agents, the changing of whom not only does not injuriously affect but actually aids the secret force by saving it, thanks to continual changes, from the necessity of expending its resources on the rewarding of long services.

Who and what is in a position to overthrow an invisible force? And this is precisely what our force is. *Gentile masonry* blindly serves as a screen for us and our objects, but the plan of action of our force, even its very abiding-place, remains for the whole people an unknown mystery.

But every freedom might be harmless and have its place in the State economy without injury to the well-being of the peoples if it rested upon the foundation of faith in God, upon the brotherhood of humanity, unconnected with the conception of equality, which is negated by the very laws of creation, for they have established subordination. With such a faith as this a people might be governed by a wardship of parishes, and **would walk contentedly and humbly under the guiding hand of its spiritual pastor** submitting to the dispositions of God on earth. This is the reason why *it is indispensable for us*

{p. 308} *to undermine all faith, to tear of minds out of the GOYIM the very principle of Godhead and the spirit, and to put in its place arithmetical calculations and material needs.*

In order to give the *goyim* no time to think and take note, their minds must be diverted towards industry and trade. Thus, all the nations will be swallowed up in the pursuit of gain and in the race for it will not take note of their common foe. But again, in order that freedom may once for all disintegrate and ruin the communities of the *goyim*, we must put industry on a speculative basis: the result of this will be that what is withdrawn from the land by industry will slip through the hands and pass into speculation, that is, to our classes.

The intensified struggle for superiority and shocks delivered to economic life will create, nay, have already created, disenchanted, cold and heartless communities. Such communities will foster a strong aversion towards the higher political and towards religion. Their only guide is gain, that is Gold, which they will erect into a veritable cult, for the sake of those material delights which it can give. Then will the hour strike when, not for the sake of attaining the good, not even to win wealth, but solely out of hatred towards the privileged, the lower classes of the *goyim* will follow our lead against our rivals for power, the intellectuals of the *goyim*.

PROTOCOL NO. 5

What form of administrative rule can be given to communities in which corruption has penetrated everywhere, communities where riches are attained only by the clever surprise tactics of semi-swindling tricks: where looseness reigns: where morality is maintained by penal measures and harsh laws but not by voluntarily accepted principles: where the feelings toward faith and country are obliterated by cosmopolitan convictions? What form of rule is to be given to these communities if not that despotism which I shall describe to you later? We shall create an intensified centralization of government in order to grip in our hands all the forces of the community. We shall regulate mechanically all the actions of the political life of our subjects by new laws. These laws will withdraw one by one all the indulgences and liberties which have been permitted by the *goyim*, and our kingdom will be distinguished by a despotism of such

{p. 309} magnificent proportions as to be at any moment and in every place in a position to wipe out any *goyim* who oppose us by deed or word.

We shall be told that such a despotism as I speak of is not consistent with the progress of these days, but I will prove to you that it is.

In the times when the peoples looked upon kings on their thrones as on a pure manifestation of the will of God, they submitted without a murmur to the despotic power of kings: but from the day when we insinuated into their minds the conception of their own rights they began to regard the occupants of thrones as mere ordinary mortals. The holy unction of the Lord's Anointed has fallen from the heads of kings in the eye of the people, and when we also robbed them of their faith in God the might of power was flung upon the streets into the place of public proprietorship and was seized by us.

Moreover, the art of directing masses and individuals by means of cleverly manipulated theory and verbiage, by regulations of life in common and all sorts of other quirks, in all which the *goyim* understand nothing, belongs likewise to the specialists of our administrative brain. Reared on analysis, observation, on delicacies of fine calculation, in this species of skill we have no rivals, any more than we have either in the drawing up of plans of political actions and solidarity. In this respect the Jesuits alone might have compared with us, but we have contrived to discredit them in the eyes of the unthinking mob as an overt organization, while we ourselves all the while have kept our secret organization in the shade. However, it is probably all the same to the world who is its sovereign lord, whether the head of Catholicism or our despot of the blood of Zion! But to us, the Chosen People, it is very far from being a matter of indifference.

For a time perhaps we might be successfully dealt with by a coalition of the GOYIM of all the world: but from this danger we are secured by the discord existing among them whose roots are so deeply seated that they can never now be plucked up. We have set one against another the personal and national reckonings of the goyim, religious and race hatreds, which we have festered into a huge growth in the course of the past twenty centuries. This is the reason why there is not one State which would anywhere receive support if it were to raise its arm, for every one of them must bear in mind that any agreement against us would be unprofitable to itself. We are too strong - there is no

{p. 310} *evading our power. The nations cannot come to even an inconsiderable agreement without our secretly having a hand in it.*

"*Per Me reges regnant*". ("It is through me that Kings reign.") And it was said by the prophets that we were chosen by God Himself to rule over the whole earth. God has endowed us with genius that we may be equal to our task. Were genius in the opposite camp it would still struggle against us, but even so a newcomer is no match for the old-established settler: the struggle would be merciless between us, such a fight as the world has never yet seen. Aye, and the genius on their side would have arrived too late. All the wheels of the machinery of all States go by the force of the engine, which is in our hands, and that engine of the machinery of States is - Gold. The science of political economy has for long past been giving royal prestige to capital.

Capital, if it is to co-operate untrammelled, must be free to establish a monopoly of industry and trade: this is already being put in execution by an unseen hand in all quarters of the world. This freedom will give political force to those engaged in industry, and that will help to oppress the people. Nowadays it is more important to disarm the peoples than to lead them into war; more important to use for our advantage the passions which have burst into flames than to quench their fire; more important to catch up and interpret the ideas of others to suit ourselves than to eradicate them. *The principal object of our directorate consists in this: to debilitate the public mind by criticism; to lead it away from serious reflection calculated to arouse resistance; to distract the forces of its mind towards a sham fight of empty eloquence.*

In all ages the peoples of the world, equally with individuals, have accepted words for deeds, for *they are content with a show* and rarely pause to note, in the public arena, whether promises are followed by performance. Therefore we shall establish show institutions which will give eloquent proof of their benefit to progress.

We shall assume to ourselves the liberal physiognomy of all parties, of all directions, and we shall give that physiognomy a voice *in orators who will speak so much that they will exhaust the patience of their hearers and produce an abhorrence of oratory.*

In order to put public opinion into our hands we must bring it into

{p. 311} *a state of bewilderment by giving expression from all sides to so many contradictory opinions and for such length of time as will suffice to make the GOYIM lose their heads in the labyrinth and come to see that the best thing is to have no opinion of any kind in matters political, which it is not given to the public to understand, because they are understood only by him who guides the public. This is the first secret.*

The second secret requisite for the success of our government is comprised in the following: To multiply to such an extent national failings, habits, passions, conditions of civil life, that it will be impossible for anyone to know where he is in the resulting chaos, so that the people in consequence will fail to understand one another. This measure will also serve us in another way, namely, to sow discord in all parties, to dislocate all collective forces which are still unwilling to submit to us, and to discourage any kind of personal initiative which might in any degree hinder our affair. *There is nothing more dangerous than personal initiative; if it has genius behind it, such initiative can do more than can be done by millions of people among whom we have sown discord. We must so direct the education of the goyim communities that whenever they come upon a matter requiring initiative they may drop their hands in despairing impotence. The strain which results from freedom of action saps the forces when it meets with the freedom of another. From this collision arise grave moral shocks, disenchantments, failures. By all these means we shall so wear down the GOYIM that they will be compelled to offer us the international power of a nature that by its position will enable us without any violence gradually to absorb all the State forces of the world and to form a Super-Government. In place of the rulers of to-day we shall set up a bogey which will be called the Super-Government Administration. Its hands will reach out in all directions like nippers and its organization will be of such colossal dimensions that it cannot fail to subdue all the nations of the world.*

PROTOCOL NO. 6

We shall soon begin to establish huge monopolies, reservoirs of colossal riches, upon which even very large fortunes of the *goyim* will depend to such an extent that they will go to the bottom together with

{p. 312} *the credit of the States on the day after the political smash. ...*

You gentlemen here present who are economists, just strike an estimate of the significance of this combination!

In every possible way we must develop the significance of our Super-Government by representing it as the Protector and Benefactor of all those who voluntarily submit to us.

The aristocracy of the *goyim* as a political force, is dead - we need not take it into account; but as landed proprietors they can still be harmful to us from the fact that they are self-sufficing in the resources upon which they live. It is essential therefore for us at whatever cost to deprive them of their land. This object will be best attained by increasing the burdens upon landed property - in loading lands with debt. These measures will check land-holding and keep it in a state of humble and unconditional submission.

The aristocrats of the *goyim*, being hereditarily incapable of contenting themselves with little, will rapidly burn up and fizzle out.

At the same time we must intensively patronize trade and industry, but, first and foremost, speculation, the part played by which is to provide a counterpoise to industry: the absence of speculative industry will multiply capital in private hands and will serve to restore agriculture by freeing the land from indebtedness to the land banks. What we want is that industry should drain off from the land both labour and capital and by means of speculation transfer into our hands all the money of the world, and thereby throw all the *goyim* into the ranks of the proletariat. Then the *goyim* will bow down before us, if for no other reason but to get the right to exist.

To complete the ruin of the industry of the *goyim* we shall bring to the assistance of speculation the luxury which we have developed among the *goyim*, that greedy demand for luxury which is swallowing up everything. *We shall raise the rate of wages which, however, will not bring any advantage to the workers, for at the same time, we shall produce a rise in prices of the first necessities of life, alleging that it arises from the decline of agriculture and cattle-breeding: we shall further undermine artfully and deeply sources of production, by accustoming the workers to anarchy and to drunkenness and side by side therewith taking all measure to extirpate from the face of the earth all the educated forces of the GOYIM.*

In order that the true meaning of things may not strike the GOYIM

{p. 313} *before the proper time we shall mask it under an alleged ardent desire to serve the working classes and the great principles of political economy about which our economic theories are carrying on an energetic propaganda.*

PROTOCOL NO. 7

The intensification of armaments, the increase of police forces - are all essential for the completion of the aforementioned plans. What we have to get at is that there should be in all the States of the world, besides ourselves, only the masses of the proletariat, a few millionaires devoted to our interests, police and soldiers.

Throughout all Europe, and by means of relations with Europe, in other continents also, we must create ferments, discords and hostility. Therein we gain a double advantage. In the first place we keep in check all countries, for they well know that we have the power whenever we like to create disorders or to restore order. All these countries are accustomed to see in us an indispensable force of coercion. In the second place, by our intrigues we shall tangle up all the threads which we have stretched into the cabinets of all States by means of the political, by economic treaties, or loan obligations. In order to succeed in this we must use great cunning and penetration during negotiations and agreements, but, as regards what is called the "official language", we shall keep to the opposite tactics and assume the mask of honesty and compliancy. In this way the peoples and governments of the *goyim*, whom we have taught to look only at the outside whatever we present to their notice, will still continue to accept us as the benefactors and saviours of the human race.

We must be in a position to respond to every act of opposition by war with the neighbours of that country which dares to oppose us: but if these neighbours should also venture to stand collectively together against us, then we must offer resistance by a universal war.

The principal factor of success in the political is the secrecy of its undertakings: the word should not agree with the deeds of the diplomat.

We must compel the governments of the *goyim* to take action in the direction favoured by our widely-conceived plan, already approaching the desired consummation, by what we shall represent as public opinion, secretly prompted by us through the means of that

{p. 314} *so-called "Great Power" - the Press, which, with a few exceptions that may be disregarded, is already entirely in our hands.*

In a word, to sum up our system of keeping the governments of the *goyim* in Europe in check, we shall show our strength to one of them by terrorist attempts and to all, if we allow the possibility of a general rising against us, we shall respond with the guns of America or China or Japan.

PROTOCOL NO. 8

We must arm ourselves with all the weapons which our opponents might employ against us. We must search out in the very finest shades of expression and the knotty points of the lexicon of law justification for those cases where we shall have to pronounce judgments that might appear abnormally audacious and unjust, for it is important that these resolutions should be set forth in expressions that shall seem to be the most exalted moral principles cast into legal form. Our directorate must surround itself with all these forces of civilization among which it will have to work. It will surround itself with publicists, practical jurists, administrators, diplomats and, finally, with persons prepared by a special super-educational training *in our special schools*. These persons will have cognisance of all the secrets of the social structure, they will know all the languages that can be made up by political alphabets and words; they will be made acquainted with the whole underside of human nature, with all its sensitive chords on which they will have to play. These chords are the cast of mind of the *goyim*, their tendencies, shortcomings, vices and qualities, the particularities of classes and conditions. Needless to say that the talented assistants of authority, of whom I speak, will be taken not from among the *goyim*, who are accustomed to perform their administrative work without giving themselves the trouble to think what their aim is, and never consider what it is needed for. The administrators of the *goyim* sign papers without reading them, and they serve either for mercenary reasons or from ambition.

We shall surround our government with a whole world of economists. That is the reason why economic sciences form the principal subject of the teaching given to the Jews. Around us again will be a whole constellation of bankers, industrialists, capitalists and - the

{p. 315} *main thing - millionaires, because in substance everything will be settled by the question of figures.*

For a time, until there will no longer be any risk in entrusting responsible posts in our States to our brother-Jews, we shall put them in the hands of persons whose past and reputation are such that between them and the people lies an abyss, persons who, in case of disobedience to our instructions, must face criminal charges or disappear - this in order to make them defend our interests to their last gasp.

PROTOCOL NO. 9

In applying our principles let attention be paid to the character of the people in whose country you live and act; a general, identical application of them, until such time as the people shall have been re-educated to our pattern, cannot have success. But by approaching their application cautiously you will see that not a decade will pass before the most stubborn character will change and we shall add a new people to the ranks of those already subdued by us.

The words of the liberal, which are in effect the words of our masonic watchword, namely, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", will, when we come into our kingdom, be changed by us into words no longer of a watchword, but only an expression of idealism, namely, into: "The right of liberty, the duty of equality, the ideal of brotherhood." That is how we shall put it, - and so we shall catch the bull by the horns. ... *De facto* we have already wiped out every kind of rule except our own, although *de jure* there still remain a good many of them. Nowadays, if any States raise a protest against us it is only *pro forma* at our discretion and by our direction, for *their anti-Semitism is indispensable to us for the management of our lesser brethren*. I will not enter into further explanations, for this matter has formed the subject of repeated discussions amongst us.

For us there are no checks to limit the range of our activity. Our Super-Government subsists in extra-legal conditions which are described in the accepted terminology by the energetic and forcible word - Dictatorship. I am in a position to tell you with a clear conscience that at the proper time we, the lawgivers, shall execute judgement and sentence, we shall slay and we shall spare, we, as head of all our

{p. 316} troops, are mounted on the steed of the leader. We rule by force of will, because in our hands are the fragments of a once powerful party, now vanquished by us. *And the weapons in our hands are limitless ambitions, burning greediness, merciless vengeance, hatreds and malice.*

It is from us that the all-engulfing terror proceeds. We have in our service persons of all opinions, of all doctrines, restoring monarchists, demagogues, socialists, communists, and utopian dreamers of every kind. We have harnessed them all to the task: each one of them on his own account is boring away at the last remnants of authority, is striving to overthrow all established forms of order. By these acts all States are in torture; they exhort to tranquillity, are ready to sacrifice everything for peace: but we will not give them peace until they openly acknowledge our international Super-Government, and with submissiveness.

The people have raised a howl about the necessity of settling the question of Socialism by way of an international agreement. *Division into fractional parties has given them into our hands, for, in order to carry on a contested struggle one must have money, and the money is all in our hands.*

We might have reason to apprehend a union between the "clear-sighted" force of the *goy* kings on their thrones and the "blind" force of the *goy* mobs, but we have taken all the needful measures against any such possibility: between the one and the other force we have erected a bulwark in the shape of a mutual terror between them. In this way the blind force of the people remains our support and we, and only we, shall provide them with a leader and, of course, direct them along the road that leads to our goal.

In order that the hand of the blind mob may not free itself from our guiding hand, we must every now and then enter into close communication with it, if not actually in person, at any rate through one of the most trusty of our brethren. When we are acknowledged as the only authority we shall discuss with the people personally on the market places, and we shall instruct them on questions of the political in such wise as may turn them in the direction that suits us.

Who is going to verify what is taught in the village schools? But what an envoy of the government or a king on his throne himself may say cannot but become immediately known to the whole State, for it will be spread abroad by the voice of the people.

In order not to annihilate the institutions of the *goyim* before it

{p. 317} is time we have touched them with craft and delicacy, and have taken hold of the ends of the springs which move their mechanism. These springs lay in a strict but just sense of order; we have replaced them by the chaotic license of liberalism. We have got our hands into the administration of the law, into the conduct of elections, into the press, into liberty of the person, *but principally into education and training as being the cornerstones of a free existence.*

We have fooled, bemused and corrupted the youth of the goyim by rearing them in principles and theories which are known to us to be false although it is by us that they have been inculcated.

Above the existing laws without substantially altering them, and by merely twisting them into contradictions of interpretations, we have erected something grandiose in the way of results. These results found expression first in the fact that the *interpretations masked the laws*; afterwards they entirely hid them from the eyes of the governments owing to the impossibility of making anything out of the tangled web of legislation.

This is the origin of the theory of the course of arbitration.

You may say that the *goyim* will rise upon us, arms in hand, if they guess what is going on before the time comes; but in the West we have against this a manoeuvre of such appalling terror that the very stoutest hearts quail - the undergrounds, metropolitans, those subterranean corridors which, before the time comes, will be driven under all the capitals and from whence those capitals will be blown into the air with all their organizations and archives.

PROTOCOL NO. 10

To-day I begin with a repetition of what I said before, and *I beg you to bear in mind that governments and peoples are content in the political with outside appearances*. And how, indeed, are the *goyim* to perceive the underlying meaning of things when their representatives give the best of their energies to enjoying themselves? For our policy it is of the greatest importance to take cognizance of this detail; it will be of assistance to us when we come to consider the division of authority, freedom of speech, of the press, of religion (faith), of the law of association, of equality before the law, of the inviolability of property, of the dwelling, of taxation (the idea of concealed

{p. 318} taxes). of the reflex force of the laws. All these questions are such as ought not to be touched upon directly and openly before the people. In cases where it is indispensable to touch upon them they must not be categorically named, it must merely be declared without detailed exposition that the principles of contemporary law are acknowledged by us. The reason for keeping silence in this respect is that by not naming a principle we leave ourselves freedom of action, to drop this or that out of it without attracting notice: if they were all categorically named they would all appear to have been already given.

The mob cherishes a special affection and respect for the geniuses of political power and accepts all their deeds of violence with the admiring response: "rascally, well, yes, it is rascally, but it's clever! ... a trick, if you like, but how craftily played, how magnificently done, what impudent audacity!" ...

We count upon attracting all nations to the task of erecting the new fundamental structure, the project for which has been drawn up by us, This is why, before everything, it is indispensable for us to arm ourselves and to store up in ourselves that absolutely reckless audacity and irresistible might of the spirit which in the person of our active workers will break down all hindrances on our way.

When we have accomplished our coup d'etat we shall say then to the various peoples: "Everything has gone terribly badly, all have been worn out with sufferings. We are destroying the causes of your torment - nationalities, frontiers, differences of coinages. You are at liberty, of course, to pronounce sentence upon us, but can it possibly be a just one if it is confirmed by you before you make any trial of what we are offering you." ... Then will the mob exalt us and bear us up in their hands in a unanimous triumph of hopes and expectations. Voting, which we have made the instrument will set us on the throne of the world by teaching even the very smallest units of members of the human race to vote by means of meetings and agreements by groups, will then have served its purposes and will play its part for the last time by a unanimity of desire to make close acquaintance with us before condemning us.

To secure this we must have everybody vote without distinction of classes and qualifications, in order to establish an absolute majority, which cannot be got from the educated propertied classes. In this way, by inculcating in all a sense of self-importance, **we shall destroy among**

{p. 319} **the goyim the importance of the family and its educational value** and remove the possibility of individual minds splitting off, for the mob, handled by us, will not let them come to the front nor even give them a hearing; it is accustomed to listen to us only who pay it for obedience and attention. In this way we shall create a blind, mighty force which will never be in a position to move in any direction without the guidance of our agents set at its head by us as leaders of the mob. The people will submit to this regime because it will know that upon these leaders will depend its earnings, gratifications and the receipt of all kinds of benefits.

A scheme of government should come ready made from one brain, because it will never be clinched firmly if it is allowed to be split into fractional parts in the minds of many. It is allowable, therefore, for us to have cognizance of the scheme of action but not to discuss it lest we disturb its artfulness, the interdependence of its component parts, the practical force of the secret meaning of each clause. To discuss and make alterations in a labor of this kind by means of numerous votings is to impress upon it the stamp of all ratiocinations and misunderstandings which have failed to penetrate the depth and nexus of its plottings. We want our schemes to be forcible and suitably concocted. Therefore **WE OUGHT NOT TO FLING THE WORK OF GENIUS OF OUR GUIDE** to the fangs of the mob or even of a select company.

These schemes will not turn existing institutions upside down just yet. They will only affect changes in their economy and consequently in the whole combined movement of their progress, which will thus be directed along the paths laid down in our schemes.

Under various names there exists in all countries approximately one and the same thing. Representation, Ministry, Senate, State Council, Legislative and Executive Corps. I need not explain to you the mechanism of the relation of these institutions one to another, because you are aware of all that; only take note of the fact that each of the above-named institutions corresponds to some important function of the State, and I would beg you to remark that the word "important" I apply not to the institution but to the function, consequently it is not the institutions which are important but their functions. These institutions have divided up among themselves all the functions of government - administrative, legislative, executive, wherefore they have come to

{p. 320} operate as do the organs in the human body. If we injure one part in the machinery of the State, the State falls sick, like a human body, and ... will die.

When we introduced into the State organism the poison of Liberalism its whole political complexion underwent a change. States have been seized with a mortal illness - blood-poisoning. All that remains is to await the end of their death agony.

Liberalism produced Constitutional States, which took the place of what was the only safeguard of the *goyim*, namely, Despotism; and a constitution, as you well know, is nothing else but a school of discords, misunderstandings, quarrels, disagreements, fruitless party agitations, party whims - in a word, a school of everything that serves to destroy the personality of State activity. *The tribune of the "talkeries" has, no less effectively than the Press, condemned the rulers to inactivity and impotence*, and thereby rendered them useless and superfluous, for which reason indeed they have been in many countries deposed. *Then it was that the era of republics became possible of realization; and then it was that we replaced the ruler by a caricature of a government - by a president, taken from the mob, from the midst of our puppet creatures, our slaves.* This was the foundation of the mine which we have laid under the *goy* people. I should rather say, under the *goy* peoples.

In the near future we shall establish the responsibility of presidents.

By that time we shall be in a position to disregard forms in carrying through matters for which our impersonal puppet will be responsible. What do we care if the ranks of those striving for power should be thinned, if there should arise a deadlock from the impossibility of finding presidents, a deadlock which will finally disorganize the country? ...

In order that our scheme may produce this result we shall arrange elections in favour of such presidents as have in their past some dark, undiscovered stain, some "Panama" or other - then they will be trustworthy agents for the accomplishment of our plans out of fear of revelations and from the natural desire of everyone who has attained power, namely, the retention of the privileges, advantages and honour connected with the office of president. **The chamber of deputies will provide cover for, will protect, will elect presidents, but we shall take from it the right to propose new, or make changes in existing laws, for this right will be given by us to the responsible president, a puppet**

{p. 321} **in our hands.** Naturally, the authority of the president will then become a target for every possible form of attack, but we shall provide him with a means of self-defense in the right of an appeal to the people, for the decision of the people over the heads of their representatives, that is to say, an appeal to that same blind slave of ours - the majority of the mob. Independently of this we shall invest the president with the right of declaring a state of war. We shall justify this last right on the ground that the president as chief of the whole army of the country must have it at his disposal, in case of need for the defense of the new republican constitution, the right to defend which will belong to him as the responsible representative of this constitution.

It is easy to understand that in these conditions the key of the shrine will lie in our hands, and no one outside ourselves will any longer direct the force of legislation.

Besides this we shall, with the introduction of the new republican constitution, take from the Chamber the right of interpellation on government measures, on the pretext of preserving political secrecy, and, further, we shall by the new constitution reduce the number of representatives to a minimum, thereby proportionately reducing political passions and the passion for politics. If, however, they should, which is hardly to be expected, burst into flame, even in this minimum, we shall nullify them by a stirring appeal and a reference to a majority of the whole people ... **Upon the president will depend the appointment of presidents and vice-presidents of the Chamber and Senate. Instead of constant sessions of Parliament we shall reduce their sittings to a few months.** Moreover, the president, as chief of the executive power, will have the right to summon and dissolve Parliament, and, in the latter case, to prolong the time for the appointment of a new parliamentary assembly. But in order that the consequences of all these acts which in substance are illegal, should not, prematurely for our plans, fall upon the responsibility established by us of the president, *we shall instigate ministers and other officials of the higher administration about the president to evade his dispositions by taking measures of their own, for doing which they will be made the scapegoats in his place ...* This part we especially recommend to be given to be played by the Senate, the Council of State, or the Council of Ministers, but not to an individual official.

The president will, at our discretion, interpret the sense of such

{p. 322} of the existing laws as admit of various interpretation: he will further annul them when we indicate to him the necessity to do so, besides this, he will have the right to propose temporary laws, and even new departures in the government constitutional working, the pretext both for the one and the other being the requirements for the supreme welfare of the State.

By such measures we shall obtain little by little, step by step, all that at the outset when we enter on our rights, we are compelled to introduce into the constitutions of the States to prepare for the transition to an imperceptible abolition of every kind of constitution, and then the time is come to turn every form of government into our *despotism*.

The recognition of our despot may also come before the destruction of the constitution; the moment for this recognition will come when the peoples, utterly wearied by the irregularities and the incompetence - a matter which we shall arrange for - of their rulers, will clamour: "Away with them and give us one king over all the earth who will unite us and annihilate the cause of discords - frontiers, nationalities, religions, State debts - who will give us peace and quiet, which we cannot find under our rulers and representatives".

But you yourselves perfectly well know that *to produce the possibility of the expression of such wishes by all the nations it is indispensable to trouble in all countries the people's relations with their governments so as to utterly exhaust humanity with dissension, hatred, struggle, envy and even by the use of torture, by starvation, BY THE INOCULATION OF DISEASES, by want, so that the GOYIM see no other issue than to take refuge in our complete sovereignty in money and in all else.*

But if we give the nations of the world a breathing space the moment we long for is hardly likely ever to arrive.

PROTOCOL NO. 11

The State Council has been, as it were, the emphatic expression of the authority of the ruler: it will be, as the "show" part of the Legislative Corps, what may be called the editorial committee of the laws and decrees of the ruler.

This, then, is the programme of the new constitution. **We shall**

{p. 323} **make Law, Right and Justice** (1) in the guise of proposals to the Legislative Corps, (2) **by decrees of the president under the guise of** general regulations, of orders of the Senate and of resolutions of the State Councils in the guise of **ministerial orders**, (3) and in case a suitable occasion should arise - in the form of a revolution in the State.

Having established approximately the *modus agendi* we will occupy ourselves with details of those combinations by which we have still to complete the revolution in the course of the machinery of State in the direction already indicated. By these combinations I mean the freedom of the Press, the right of association, freedom of conscience, the voting principle, and many another that must disappear forever from the memory of man, or undergo a radical alteration the day after the promulgation of the new constitution. It is only at that moment that we shall be able at once to announce all our orders, for, afterwards, every noticeable alteration will be dangerous, for the following

reasons: if this alteration be brought in with harsh severity and in a sense of severity and limitations, it may lead to a feeling of despair caused by fear of new alterations in the same direction; if, on the other hand, it be brought in in a sense of further indulgences it will be said that we have recognised our own wrongdoing and this will destroy the prestige of the infallibility of our authority, or else it will be said that we have become alarmed and are compelled to show a yielding disposition, for which we shall get no thanks because it will be supposed to be compulsory ... Both the one and the other are injurious to the prestige of the new constitution. What we want is that from the first moment of its promulgation, while the peoples of the world are still stunned by the accomplished fact of the revolution, still in a condition of terror and uncertainty, they should recognize once for all that we are so strong, so inexpugnable, so superabundantly filled with power, that in no case shall we take any account of them, and so far from paying any attention to their opinions or wishes, we are ready and able to crush with irresistible power all expression or manifestation thereof at every moment and in every place, that we have seized at once everything we wanted and shall in no case divide our power with them ... Then in fear and trembling they will close their eyes to everything, and be content to await what will be the end of it all.

{p. 324} The *goyim* are a flock of sheep, and we are their wolves. And you know what happens when the wolves get hold of the flock?

There is another reason also why they will close their eyes: for we shall keep promising them to give back all the liberties we have taken away as soon as we have quelled the enemies of peace and tamed all parties...

It is not worth while to say anything about how long a time they will be kept waiting for this return of their liberties ...

For what purpose then have we invented this whole policy and insinuated it into the minds of the goys without giving them any chance to examine its underlying meaning? For what, indeed, if not in order to obtain in a roundabout way what is for our scattered tribe unattainable by the direct road? It is this which has served as the basis for our organization of SECRET MASONRY WHICH IS NOT KNOWN TO, AND AIMS WHICH ARE NOT EVEN SO MUCH AS SUSPECTED BY, THESE GOY CATTLE, ATTRACTED BY US INTO THE "SHOW" ARMY OF MASONIC LODGES IN ORDER TO THROW DUST IN THE EYES OF THEIR FELLOWS.

God has granted us, his Chosen People, the gift of the dispersion, and in this which appears in all eyes to be our weakness, has come forth all our strength, which has now brought us to the threshold of sovereignty over all the world.

There now remains not much more for us to build up upon the foundation we have laid.

PROTOCOL NO. 12

The word "freedom", which can be interpreted in various ways, is defined by us as follows:-

Freedom is the right to do that which the law allows. This interpretation of the word will at the proper time be of service to us, because all freedom will thus be in our hands, since the laws will abolish or create only that which is desirable for us according to the aforesaid programme.

We shall deal with the press in the following way: What is the part played by the press today? It serves to excite and inflame those passions which are needed for our purpose or else it serves selfish ends of parties. It is often vapid, unjust, mendacious, and the majority of

{p. 325} the public have not the slightest idea what ends the press really serves. We shall saddle and bridle it with a tight curb: we shall do the same also with all productions of the printing press, for **where would be the sense of getting rid of the attacks of the press if we remain targets for pamphlets and books?** The produce of publicity, which nowadays is a source of heavy expense owing to the necessity of censoring it, will be turned by us into a very lucrative source of income to our State: **we shall lay on it a special stamp tax and require deposits of caution-money before permitting the establishment of any organ of the press** or of printing offices; these will then have to guarantee our government against any kind of attack on the part of the press. For any attempt to attack us, if such still be possible, we shall inflict fines without mercy. Such measures as stamp tax, deposits, of caution money and fines secured by these deposits, will bring in a huge income to our government. It is true that **party organs might not spare money for the sake of publicity, but these we shall shut up at the second attack upon us.** No one shall with impunity lay a finger on **the aureole of our government infallibility.** The pretext of stopping any publication will be the alleged plea that it is agitating the public mind without occasion or justification. *I beg you to note that among those making attacks upon us will also be organs established by us, but they will attack exclusively points that we have pre-determined to alter.*

Not a single announcement will reach the public without our control. Even now this is already attained by us inasmuch as all news items are received by a few agencies, in whose offices they are focused from all parts of the world. These agencies will then be already entirely ours and will give publicity only to what we dictate to them.

If already now we have contrived to possess ourselves of the minds of the goy communities to such an extent that they all come near looking upon the events of the world through the coloured glasses of those spectacles we are setting astride their noses: if already now there is not a single State where there exist for us any barriers to admittance into what goy stupidity calls State secrets: what will our position be then, when we shall be acknowledged supreme lords of the world in the person of our king of all the world.

Let us turn again to the *future of the printing press.* Every one desirous of being a publisher, librarian, or printer, will be obliged to provide himself with the diploma instituted therefor, which, in case

{p. 326} of any fault, will be immediately impounded. With such measures *the instruments of thought will become an educative means in the hands of our government, which will no longer allow the mass of the nation to be led astray in by-ways and fantasies about the blessings of progress.* Is there any one of us who does not know that these phantom blessings are the direct roads to foolish imaginings which give birth to anarchical relations of men among themselves and towards authority, because progress, or rather the idea of progress, has introduced the conception of every kind of emancipation, but has failed to establish its limits ... All the so-called liberals are anarchists, if not in fact, at any rate in thought. Every one of them is hunting after phantoms of freedom, and falling exclusively into license, that is, into the anarchy of protest for the sake of protest.

We turn to the periodical press. We shall impose on it, as on all printed matter, stamp taxes per sheet and deposits of caution-money, and books of less than 30 sheets will pay double. We shall reckon them as pamphlets in order, on the one hand, to reduce the number of magazines, which are the worst form of printed poison, and, on the other, in order that this measure may force writers into such lengthy productions that they will be little read especially as they will be costly. At the same time what we shall publish ourselves to influence mental development in the direction laid down for our profit will be cheap and will be read voraciously. The tax will bring rapid literary ambitions within bounds and the liability to penalties will make literary men dependent upon us. And if there should be any found who are desirous of writing against us, they will not find any person eager to print their productions. Before accepting any production for publication in print the publisher or printer will have to apply to the authorities for permission to do so. Thus we shall know beforehand of all tricks preparing against us and shall nullify them by getting ahead with explanations on the subject treated of.

Literature and journalism are two of the most important educative forces, and therefore our government will become proprietor of the majority of the journals. This will neutralize the injurious influence of the privately-owned press and will put us in possession of the tremendous influence upon the public mind ... If we give permit for ten journals, we shall ourselves found thirty, and so on the same proportion. This, however, must in nowise be suspected by the public.

{p. 327} For which reason all journals published by us will be of the most opposite, in appearance, tendencies and opinions, thereby creating confidence in us and bringing over to us our quite unsuspecting opponents, who will thus fall into our trap and be rendered harmless.

In the front rank will stand organs of an official character. They will always stand guard over our interests, and therefore their influence will be comparatively insignificant.

In the second rank will be the semi-official organs, whose part it will be to attract the tepid and indifferent.

In the third rank we shall set up our own, to all appearance, opposition, which, in at least one of its organs, will present what looks like the very antipodes to us. Our real opponents at heart will accept this simulated opposition as their own and will show us their cards.

All our newspapers will be of all possible complexions - aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchical - for so long, of course, as the constitution exists ... **Like the Indian idol Vishnu they will have a hundred hands, and every one of them will have a finger on any one of the public opinions as required.** When a pulse quickens these hands will lead opinion in the direction of our aims, for an excited patient loses all power of judgment and easily yields to suggestion. Those fools who will think they are repeating the opinion of a newspaper of their own camp will be repeating our opinion or any opinion that seems desirable for us. In the vain belief that they are following the organ of their party they will in fact follow the flag which we hang out for them.

In order to direct our newspaper militia in this sense we must take especial and minute care in organizing this matter. Under the title of central department of the press we shall institute literary gatherings at which our agents will without attracting attention issue the orders and watchwords of the day. By discussing and controverting, but always superficially, without touching the essence of the matter, our organs will carry on a sham fight fusillade with the official newspapers solely for the purpose of giving occasion for us to express ourselves more fully than could well be done from the outset in official pronouncements, whenever, of course, that is to our advantage.

These attacks upon us will also serve another purpose, namely, that our subjects will be convinced of the existence of full freedom of speech and so give our agents an occasion to affirm that all organs

{p. 328} *which oppose us are empty babblers, since they are incapable of finding any substantial objections to our orders.*

Methods of organization like these, imperceptible to the public eye but absolutely sure, are the best calculated to succeed in bringing the attention and the confidence of the public to the side of our government. Thanks to such methods we shall be in a position as from time to time be required, to excite or to tranquillise the public mind on political questions, to persuade or to confuse, printing now truth, now lies, facts or their contradictions, according as they may be well or ill received, always very cautiously feeling our ground before stepping upon it ... *We shall have a sure triumph over our opponents since they will not have at their disposition organs of the press in which they can give full and final expression to their views* owing to the aforesaid methods of dealing with the press. We shall not even need to refute them except very superficially.

Trial shots like these, fired by us in the third rank of our press, in case of need, will be energetically refuted by us in our semi-official organs.

Even nowadays, already, to take only the French press, there are forms which reveal **masonic solidarity** in acting on the watchword: all organs of the press are **bound together by professional secrecy**; like the augurs of old, **not one of their numbers will give away the secret of his sources of information** unless it be resolved to make announcement of them. Not one journalist will venture to betray this secret, for not one of them is ever admitted to practise literature unless his whole past has some disgraceful sore or other ... These sores would be immediately revealed. So long as they remain the secret of a few the prestige of the journalist attracts the majority of the country - the mob follow after him with enthusiasm.

Our calculations are especially extended to the provinces. It is indispensable for us **to inflame there those hopes and impulses with which we could at any moment fall upon the capital**, and we shall represent to the capitals that these expressions are the independent hopes and impulses of the provinces. Naturally, **the source of them will be always one and the same - ours.** *What we need is that, until such time as we are in the plenitude of power, the capitals should find themselves stifled by the provincial opinion of the nation, i.e., of a majority arranged by our agentur.* What we need is that at the psycho-

{p. 329} logical moment the capitals should not be in a position to discuss an accomplished fact for the simple reason, if for no other, that it has been accepted by the public opinion of a majority in the provinces.

When we are in the period of the new regime transitional to that of our assumption of full sovereignty we must not admit any revelations by the press of any form of public dishonesty; it is necessary that the new regime should be thought to have so perfectly contented everybody that even criminality has disappeared. ... Cases of the manifestation of criminality should remain known only to their victims and to chance witnesses - no more.

PROTOCOL NO. 13

The need for daily bread forces the *goyim* to keep silence and be our humble servants. Agents taken on to our press from among the *goyim* will at our orders discuss anything which it is inconvenient for us to issue directly in official documents, and we meanwhile, quietly amid the din of the discussion so raised, shall simply take and carry through such measures as we wish and then offer them to the public as an accomplished fact. No one will dare to demand the abrogation of a matter once settled, all the more so since it will be presented as an improvement ... And immediately the press will distract the current of thought towards new questions (have we not trained people always to be seeking something new?). Into the discussions of these questions will throw themselves those of the brainless dispensers of fortunes who are not able even now to understand that they have not the remotest conception about the matters which they undertake to discuss. Questions of the political are unattainable for any save those who have guided it already for many ages, the creators.

From all this you will see that in securing the opinion of the mob we are only facilitating the working of our machinery, and you may remark that it is not for actions but for words issued by us on this or that question that we seem to seek approval. We are constantly making public declaration that we are guided in all our undertakings by the hope, joined to the conviction, that we are serving the common weal.

In order to distract people who may be too troublesome from discussions of questions of the political we are now putting forward

{p. 330} what we allege to be new questions of the political, namely, questions of industry. In this sphere let them discuss themselves silly! The masses are agreed to remain inactive, to take a rest from what they suppose to be political activity (which we trained them to in order to use them as a means of combating the *goy* governments) only on condition of being found new employments, in which we are prescribing them something that looks like the same political object. In order that the masses themselves may not guess what they are about we further distract them with amusements, games, pastimes, passions, people's palaces ... Soon we shall begin through the press to propose competitions in art, in sport of all kinds: these interests will finally distract their minds from questions in which we should find ourselves compelled to oppose them. Growing more and more disaccustomed to reflect and form any opinions of their own, people will begin to talk in the same tone as we, because we alone shall be offering them new directions for thought ... of course through such persons as will not be suspected of solidarity with us.

The part played by the liberals, utopian dreamers, will be finally played out when our government is acknowledged. Till such time they will continue to do us good service. Therefore we shall continue to direct their minds to all sorts of vain conceptions of fantastic theories, new and apparently progressive: for have we not with complete success turned the brainless heads of the *goyim* with progress, till there is not among the *goyim* one mind able to perceive that under this work lies a departure from truth in all cases where it is not a question of material inventions, for truth is one, and in it there is no place for progress. Progress, like a fallacious idea, serves to obscure truth so that none may know it except us, the Chosen of God, its guardians.

When we come into our kingdom our orators will expound great problems which have turned humanity upside down in order to bring it at the end under our beneficent rule.

Who will ever suspect then that ALL THESE PEOPLES WERE STAGE-MANAGED BY US ACCORDING TO A POLITICAL PLAN WHICH NO ONE HAS SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT IN THE COURSE OF MANY CENTURIES? ...

{p. 331} PROTOCOL NO. 14

When we come into our kingdom it will be undesirable for us that there should exist any other religion than ours of the One God with whom our destiny is bound up by our position as the Chosen People and through whom our same destiny is united with the destinies of the world. We must therefore sweep away all other forms of belief. If this gives birth to the atheists whom we see to-day, it will not, being only a transitional stage, interfere with our views, but will serve as a warning for those generations which will hearken to our preaching of the religion of Moses, that, by its stable and thoroughly elaborated system has brought all the peoples of the world into subjection to us. Therein we shall emphasize its mystical right, on which, as we shall say, all its educative power is based ... Then at every possible opportunity we shall publish articles in which we shall make comparisons between our beneficent rule and those of past ages. The blessings of tranquillity, though it be a tranquillity forcibly brought about by centuries of agitation, will throw into higher relief the benefits to which we shall point. The errors of the *goyim* governments will be depicted by us in the most vivid hues. We shall implant such an abhorrence of them that the peoples will prefer tranquillity in a state of serfdom to those rights of vaunted freedom which have tortured humanity and exhausted the very sources of human existence, sources which have been exploited by a mob of rascally adventurers who know not what they do ... *Useless changes of forms of government to which we instigated the GOYIM when we were undermining their state structures, will have so wearied the peoples by that time that they will prefer to suffer anything under us rather than run the risk of enduring again all the agitations and miseries they have gone through.*

At the same time we shall not omit to emphasize the historical mistakes of the *goy* governments which have tormented humanity for so many centuries by their lack of understanding of everything that constitutes the true good of humanity in their chase after fantastic schemes of social blessings, and have never noticed that these schemes kept on producing a worse and never a better state of the universal relations which are the basis of human life ...

{p. 332} The whole force of our principles and methods will lie in the fact that we shall present them and expound them as a splendid contrast to the dead and decomposed old order of things in social life.

Our philosophers will discuss all the shortcomings of the various beliefs of the *goyim*, BUT NO ONE WILL EVER BRING UNDER DISCUSSION OUR FAITH FROM ITS TRUE POINT OF VIEW SINCE THIS WILL BE FULLY LEARNED BY NONE SAVE OURS, WHO WILL NEVER DARE TO BETRAY ITS SECRETS.

*In countries known as progressive and enlightened we have created a senseless, filthy abominable literature. For some time after our entrance to power we shall continue to encourage its existence in order to provide a telling relief by contrast to the speeches, party programme, which will be distributed from exalted quarters of ours ... Our wise men, trained to become leaders of the *goyim*, will compose speeches, projects, memoirs, articles, which will be used by us to influence the minds of the *goyim*, directing them towards such understanding and forms of knowledge as have been determined by us.*

PROTOCOL NO. 15

When we at last definitely come into our kingdom by the aid of *coups d'etat* prepared everywhere for one and the same day, after the worthlessness of all existing forms of government has been definitely acknowledged (and not a little time will pass before that comes about, perhaps even a whole century) we shall make it our task to see that against us such things as plots shall no longer exist. With this purpose we shall slay without mercy all who take arms (in hand) to oppose our coming into our kingdom. Every kind of new institution of anything like a secret society will also be punished with death; those of them which are now in existence, are known to us, serve us and have served us, we shall disband and send into exile to continents far removed from Europe. *In this way we shall proceed with those GOY masons who know too much*; such of these as we may for some reason spare will be kept in constant fear of exile. We shall promulgate a law making all former members of secret societies liable to exile from Europe as the centre of our rule.

Resolutions of our government will be final, without appeal.

{p. 333} In the *goy* societies, in which we have planted and deeply rooted discord and protestantism, the only possible way of restoring order is to employ merciless measures that prove the direct force of authority: no regard must be paid to the victims who fall, they suffer for the well-being of the future. The attainment of that well-being, even at the expense of sacrifices, is the duty of any kind of government that acknowledges as justification for its existence not only its privileges but its obligations. The principal guarantee of stability of rule is to confirm the aureole of power, and this aureole is attained only by such a majestic inflexibility of might as shall carry on its face the emblems of inviolability from mystical causes - from the choice of God. *Such was, until recent times, the Russian autocracy, the one and only serious foe we had in the world, without counting the Papacy.* Bear in mind the example when **Italy, drenched with blood, never touched a hair of the head of Sulla who had poured forth that blood: Sully enjoyed an apotheosis for his might** in the eyes of the people, even though they had been torn in pieces by him, but his intrepid return to Italy ringed him round with inviolability. The people do not lay a finger on him who hypnotizes them by his daring and strength of mind.

Meantime, however, until we come into our kingdom, we shall act in the contrary way: we shall create and multiply free masonic lodges in all the countries of the world, absorb into them all who may become or who are prominent in public activity, for in these lodges we shall find our principal intelligence office and means of influence. All these lodges we shall bring under one central administration, known to us alone and to all others absolutely unknown, which will be composed of our learned elders. The lodges will have their representatives who will serve to screen the above-mentioned administration of *masonry* and from whom will issue the watchword and programme. In these lodges we shall tie together the knot which binds together all revolutionary and liberal elements. Their composition will be made up of all strata of society. The most secret political plots will be known to us and will fall under our guiding hands on the very day of their conception. *Among the members of these lodges will be al-*

* Some versions of the "Protocols" followed Joly's "Dialogues" so closely that Joly's mistaken spelling of Sulla's name as "Sylla" was also copied. In the translation of the "Protocols" here used, however, the mistake was rectified.-H. B.

{This assumes that the text originates with Joly; might Joly himself have plagiarised the text, from an original document which also mis-spelt this name?}

{p. 334} *most all the agents of international and national police* since their service is for us irreplaceable in the respect that the police is in a position not only to use its own particular measures with the insubordinate, but also to screen our activities and provide pretexts for discontents, *et cetera.*

The class of people who most willingly enter into secret societies are those who live by their wits, careerists, and in general people, mostly light-minded, with whom we shall have no difficulty in dealing and in using to wind up the mechanism of the machine devised by us. If this world grows agitated the meaning of that will be that we have had to stir it up in order to break up its too great solidarity. *But if there should arise in its midst a plot, then at the head of that plot there will be no other than one of our most trusted servants.* It is natural that we and no other should lead *masonic* activities, for we know whither we are leading, we know the final goal of every form of activity whereas the *goyim* have knowledge of nothing, not even of the immediate effect of action; they put before themselves, usually, the momentary reckoning of the satisfaction of their self-opinion in the accomplishment of their thought without even remarking that the very conception never belonged to their initiative but to our instigation of their thought.

The *goyim* enter the lodges out of curiosity or in the hope by their means to get a nibble at the public pie, and some of them in order to obtain a hearing before the public for their impracticable and groundless fantasies: they thirst for the emotion of success and applause, of which we are remarkably generous. And the reason why we give them this success is to make use of the high conceit of themselves to which it gives birth, for that insensibly disposes them to assimilate our suggestions without being on their guard against them in the fullness of their confidence that it is their own infallibility which is giving utterance to their own thoughts and that it is impossible for them to borrow those of others ... You cannot imagine to what extent the wisest of the *goyim* can be brought to a state of unconscious naivete in the presence of this condition of high conceit of themselves, and at the same time how easy it is to take the heart out of them by the slightest ill-success, though it be nothing more than the stoppage of the applause they had, and to reduce them to a slavish submission for the sake of winning a renewal of success ...

{p. 335} *By so much as ours disregard success if only they can carry through their plans, by so much the GOYIM are willing to sacrifice any plans only to have success.* This psychology of theirs materially facilitates for us the task of setting them in the required direction. **These tigers in appearance have the souls of sheep and the wind blows freely through their heads.** We have set them on the hobby-horse of an idea about the absorption of individuality by the symbolic unit of *collectivism*.

They have never yet and they never will have the sense to reflect that this hobby-horse is a manifest violation of the most important law of nature, which has established from the very creation of the world one unit unlike another and precisely for the purpose of instituting individuality.

And how far-seeing were our learned elders in ancient times when they said that to attain a serious end it behooves not to stop at any means or to count the victims sacrificed for the sake of that end... We have not counted the victims of the seed of the goy cattle, though we have sacrificed many of our own, but for that we have now already given them such a position on the earth as they could not even have dreamed of. The comparatively small numbers of the victims from the number of ours have preserved our nationality from destruction.

Death is the inevitable end for all. It is better to bring that end nearer to those who hinder our affairs than to ourselves, to the founders of this affair. *We execute masons in such wise that none save the brotherhood can ever have a suspicion of it, not even the victims themselves of our death sentence, they all die when required as if from a normal kind of illness.* Knowing this, even the brotherhood in its turn dare not protest. By such methods we have plucked out of the midst of *masonry* the very root of protest against our disposition. While preaching liberalism to the *goyim* we at the same time keep our own people and our agents in a state of unquestioning submission.

Under our influence the execution of the laws of the *goyim* has been reduced to a minimum. The prestige of the law has been exploded by the liberal interpretations introduced into this sphere. In

{p. 336} the most important and fundamental affairs and questions judges decide as we dictate to them, see matters in the light wherewith we unfold them for the administration of the *goyim*, of course, through persons who are our tools though we do not appear to have anything in common with them - by newspaper opinion or by other means ... Even senators and the higher administration accept our counsels. The purely brute mind of the *goyim* is incapable of use for analysis and observation, and still more for the foreseeing whither a certain matter of setting a question may tend.

In this difference in capacity for thought between the *goyim* and ourselves may be clearly discerned the seal of our position on the Chosen People and of our higher quality of humanness, in contradistinction of the brute mind of the *goyim*. Their eyes are open, but see nothing before them and do not invent (unless, perhaps, material things). From this it is plain that nature herself has destined us to guide and rule the world.

When comes the time of our overt rule, the time to manifest its blessings, we shall remake all legislations, all our laws will be brief, plain, stable, without any kind of interpretations, so that anyone will be in a position to know them perfectly. The main feature which will run tight through them is submission to orders, and this principle will be carried to a grandiose height. Every abuse will then disappear in consequence of the responsibility of all down to the lowest unit before the higher authority of the representative of power. Abuses of power subordinate to this last instance will be so mercilessly punished that none will be found anxious to try experiments with their own powers. We shall follow up jealously every action of the administration on which depends the smooth running of the machinery of the State, for slackness in this produces slackness everywhere; not a single case of illegality or abuse of power will be left without exemplary punishment.

Concealment of guilt, connivance between those in the service of the administration - all this kind of evil will disappear after the very first examples of severe punishment. The aureole of our power demands suitable, that is, cruel, punishments for the slightest infringement, for the sake of gain, of its supreme prestige. The sufferer, though his punishment may exceed his fault, will count as a soldier falling on the administrative field of battle in the interest of au-

{p. 337} thority, principle and law, which do not permit that any of those who hold the reins of the public coach should turn aside from the public highway to their own private paths. *For example: our judges will know that whenever they feel disposed to plume themselves on foolish clemency they are violating the law of justice which is instituted for the exemplary edification of men by penalties for lapses and not for display of the spiritual qualities of the judge ...* Such qualities it is proper to show in private life, but not in a public square which is the educationary basis of human life.

Our legal staff will serve not beyond the age of 55, firstly because old men more obstinately hold to prejudiced opinions, and are less capable of submitting to new directions, and secondly because this will give us the possibility by this measure of securing elasticity in the changing of staff, which will thus the more easily bend under our pressure: he who wishes to keep his place will have to give blind obedience to deserve it. In general, our judges will be elected by us only from among those who thoroughly understand that the part they have to play is to punish and apply laws and not to dream about the manifestations of liberalism at the expense of the educationary scheme of the State, as the *goyim* in these days imagine it to be ... This method of shuffling the staff will serve also to explode any collective solidarity of those in the same service and will bind all to the interests of the government upon which their fate will depend. The young generation of judges will be trained in certain views regarding the inadmissibility of any abuses that might disturb the established order of our subjects among themselves.

In these days the judges of the *goyim* create indulgences to every kind of crimes, not having a just understanding of their office, because the rulers of the present age in appointing judges to office take no care to inculcate in them a sense of duty and consciousness of the matter which is demanded of them. As a brute beast lets out its young in search of prey, so do the *goyim* give their subjects places of profit without thinking to make clear to them for what purpose such place was created. This is the reason why their governments are being ruined by their own forces through the arts of their own administration.

Let us borrow from the example of the results of those actions yet another lesson for our government.

We shall root out liberalism from all the important strategic posts

{p. 338} of our government on which depends the training of subordinates for our State structure. Such posts will fall exclusively to those who have been trained by us for administrative rule. To the possible objection that the retirement of old servants will cost the Treasury

heavily, I reply, firstly, that they will be provided with some private service in place of that which they lose, and, secondly, I have to remark that all the money in the world will be concentrated in our hands, consequently it is not our government that has to fear expense.

Our absolutism will in all things be logically consecutive and therefore in each one of its decrees our supreme will will be respected and unquestionably fulfilled: it will ignore all murmurs, all discontents of every kind and will destroy to the root every kind of manifestation of them in act by punishment of an exemplary character.

We shall abolish the right of cassation, which will be transferred exclusively to our disposal - to the cognizance of him who rules, for we must not allow the conception among the people of a thought that there could be such a thing as a decision that is not right of judges set up by us. If, however, anything like this should occur, we shall ourselves cassate the decision, but inflict therewith such exemplary punishment on the judge for lack of understanding of his duty and the purpose of his appointment as will prevent a repetition of such cases ... I repeat that it must be borne in mind that we shall know every step of our administration which only needs to be closely watched for the people to be content with us, for it has the right to demand from a good government a good official.

Our government will have the appearance of a patriarchal paternal guardianship on the part of the ruler. Our own nation and our subjects will discern in his person a father caring for their every need, their every act, their every inter-relation as subjects with another, as well as their relations to the ruler. They will then be so thoroughly imbued with the thought that it is impossible for them to dispense with this wardship and guidance, if they wish to live in peace and quiet, that they will acknowledge the autocracy of our ruler with a devotion bordering on APOTHEOSIS, especially when they are convinced that those whom we set up do not put their own in place of his authority, but only blindly execute his dictates. They will be rejoiced that we have regulated everything in their lives as is done by wise parents who desire to train their children in the cause of

{p. 339} *duty and submission. For the peoples of the world in regard to the secrets of our polity are ever through the ages only children under age, precisely as are also their governments.*

As you see, I found our despotism on right and duty: the right to compel the execution of duty is the direct obligation of a government which is a father for its subjects. It has the right of the strong that it may use it for the benefit of directing humanity towards that order which is defined by nature, namely, submission. Everything in the world is in a state of submission, if not to man, then to circumstances or its own inner character, in all cases, to what is stronger. And so shall we be this something stronger for the sake of good.

We are obliged without hesitation to sacrifice individuals, who commit a breach of established order, for in the exemplary punishment of evil lies a great educational problem.

When the King of Israel sets upon his sacred head the crown offered him by Europe he will become patriarch of the world. The indispensable victims offered by him in consequences of their suitability will never reach the number of victims offered in the course of centuries by the mania of magnificence, the emulation between the goy governments.

Our King will be in constant communion with the peoples, making to them from the tribune speeches which fame will in that same hour distribute over all the world.

PROTOCOL NO. 16

In order to effect the destruction of all collective forces except ours we shall emasculate the first stage of collectivism - the universities, by re-educating them in a new direction. *Their officials and professors will be prepared for their business by detailed secret programmes of action from which they will not with immunity diverge, not by one iota, and will be so placed as to be wholly dependent upon the Government.*

We shall exclude from the course of instruction State Law as also all that concerns the political question. These subjects will be taught to a few dozens of persons chosen for their pre-eminent capacities from among the number of the initiated. *The universities must no longer send out from their halls milksops concocting plans for a con-*

{p. 340} *stitution, like a comedy or a tragedy, busying themselves with questions of policy in which even their own fathers never had any power of thought.*

The ill-guided acquaintance of a large number of persons with questions of polity creates utopian dreamers and bad subjects, as you can see for yourselves from the example of the universal education in this direction of the goyim. We must introduce into their education all those principles which have so brilliantly broken up their order. But when we are in power we shall remove every kind of disturbing subject from the course of education and shall make out of the youth obedient children of authority, loving him who rules as the support and hope of peace and quiet.

Classicism, as also any form of study of ancient history, in which there are more bad than good examples, we shall replace with the study of the programme of the future. We shall erase from the memory of men all facts of previous centuries which are undesirable to us, and leave only those which depict all the errors of the governments of the goyim. The study of practical life, of the obligations of order, of the relations of people one to another, of avoiding bad and selfish examples which spread the infection of evil, and similar questions of an educative nature, will stand in the forefront of the teaching programme, which will be drawn up on a separate plan for each calling or state of life, in no wise generalising the teaching. This treatment of the question has special importance.

Each state of life must be trained within strict limits corresponding to its destination and work in life. *The occasional genius has always managed and always will manage to slip through into other states of life, but it is the most perfect folly for the sake of this rare occasional genius to let through into ranks foreign to them the untalented who thus rob of their places those who belong to those ranks by birth or employment. You know yourselves in what all this has ended for the goyim who followed this crying absurdity.*

In order that he who rules may be seated firmly in the hearts and minds of his subjects it is necessary for the time of his activity to instruct the whole nation in the schools and on the market places about his meaning and his acts and all his beneficent initiatives.

We shall abolish every kind of freedom of instruction. Learners of all ages will have the right to assemble together with their parents

{p. 341} in the educational establishments as it were in a club: during these assemblies, on holydays, teachers will read what will pass as free lectures on questions of human relations, of the laws of examples, of the limitations which are born of unconscious relations, and, finally, of the philosophy of new theories not yet declared to the world. These theories will be raised by us to the stage of a dogma of faith as a transitional stage towards our faith. On the completion of this exposition of our programme of action in the present and the future I will read to you the principles of these theories.

In a word, knowing by the experience of many centuries that people live and are guided by ideas, that these ideas are imbibed by people only by the aid of education provided with equal success for all ages of growth, but of course by varying methods, we shall swallow up and confiscate to our own use the last scintilla of independence of thought, which we have for long past been directing towards subjects and ideas useful for us. The system of bridling thought is already at work in the so-called system of teaching by *object lessons*, the purpose of which is to turn the *goyim* into unthinking submissive brutes waiting for things to be presented before their eyes in order to form an idea of them ... In France, one of the four best agents, Bourgeois, has already made public a new programme of teaching by object lessons.

PROTOCOL NO. 17

The practice of advocacy produces men cold, cruel, persistent, unprincipled, who in all cases take up an impersonal purely legal standpoint. They have the inveterate habit to refer everything to its value for the defence not to the public welfare of its results. They do not usually decline to undertake any defence whatever, they strive for an acquittal at all costs, cavilling over every petty crux of jurisprudence and thereby they demoralize justice. For this reason we shall set this profession into narrow frames which will keep it inside this sphere of executive public service. Advocates, equally with judges, will be deprived of the right of communication with litigants; they will receive business only from the court and will study it by notes off report and documents, defending their clients after they have been interrogated in court on facts that have appeared. They will receive an honorarium without regard to the quality of the defence.

{p. 342} This will render them mere reporters on law business in the interests of justice and as counterpoise to the proctor who will be the reporter in the interests of prosecution; this will shorten business before the courts. In this way will be established a practice of honest unprejudiced defence conducted not from personal interest but by conviction. This will also, by the way, remove the present practice of corrupt bargain between advocates to agree only to let that side win which pays most ...

We have long past taken care to discredit the priesthood of the goyim, and thereby to ruin their mission on earth which in these days might still be a great hindrance to us. Day by day its influence on the peoples of the world is falling lower. Freedom of conscience has been declared everywhere, so that now only years divide us from the moment of the complete wrecking of that Christian religion, as to other religions we shall have still less difficulty in dealing with them, but it would be premature to speak of this now. We shall set clericalism and clericals into such narrow frames as to make their influence move in retrogressive proportion to its former progress.

When the time comes finally to destroy the papal court the finger of an invisible hand will point the nations towards this court. When, however, the nations fling themselves upon it, we shall come forward in the guise of its defenders as if to save excessive bloodshed. By this diversion we shall penetrate to its very bowels and be sure we shall never come out again until we have gnawed through the entire strength of this place.

The King of the Jews will be the real Pope of the Universe, the patriarch of an international Church.

But, in the meantime, while we are re-educating youth in new traditional religions and afterwards in ours, we shall not overtly a finger on existing churches, but we shall fight against them by criticism calculated to produce schism.

In general, then, our contemporary press will continue to *convict* State affairs, religions, incapacities of the *goyim*, always using the most unprincipled expressions in order by every means to lower their prestige in the manner which can only be practiced by the genius of our gifted tribe.

Our kingdom will be an apologia of the divinity Vishnu, in whom

{p. 343} is found its personification - in our hundred hands will be, one in each, the springs of the machinery of social life. We shall see everything without the aid of official police which, in that scope of its rights which we elaborated for the use of the *goyim*, hinders governments from seeing. In our programme *one-third of our subjects will keep the rest under observation* from a sense of duty, on the principle of volunteer service to the State. It will then be no disgrace to be a spy and informer, but a merit: unfounded denunciations, however, will be cruelly punished that there may be no development of abuses of this right.

Our agents will be taken from the higher as well as the lower ranks of society, from among the administrative class who spend their time in amusements, editors, printers and publishers, booksellers, clerks, and salesmen, workmen, coachmen, lackeys, etcetera. This body, having no rights and not being empowered to take any action on their own account, and consequently a police without any power, will only witness and report: verification of their reports and arrests will depend upon a responsible group of controllers of police affairs, while the actual act of arrest will be performed by the gendarmerie and the municipal police. Any person not denouncing anything seen or heard concerning questions of polity will also be charged with and made responsible for concealment, if it be proved that he is guilty of this crime.

Just as nowadays our brethren are obliged at their own risk to denounce to the kabal apostates of their own family or members who have been noticed doing anything in opposition to the kabal, so in our kingdom over all the world it will be obligatory for all our subjects to observe the duty of service to the State in this direction.

Such an organization will extirpate abuses of authority, of force, of bribery, everything in fact which we by our counsels, by our theories of the superhuman rights of man, have introduced into the customs of the *goyim* ... But how else were we to procure that increase of causes

predisposing to disorders in the midst of their administration? ... Among the number of those methods one of the most important is - agents for the restoration of order, so placed as to have the opportunity in their disintegrating activity of developing and displaying their evil inclinations - obstinate self-conceit, irresponsible exercise of authority, and, first and foremost, venality.

{p. 344} PROTOCOL NO. 18

When it becomes necessary for us to strengthen the strict measures of secret defense (the most fatal question for the prestige of authority) we shall arrange a simulation of disorders or some manifestation of discontents finding expression through the co-operation of good speakers. Round these speakers will assemble all who are sympathetic to his utterances. This will give us the pretext for domiciliary perquisitions and surveillance on the part of our servants from among the number of the *goyim police* ...

As the majority of conspirators act out of love for the game, for the sake of talking, so, until they commit some overt act we shall not lay a finger on them but only introduce into their midst observation elements ... It must be remembered that the prestige of authority is lessened if it frequently discovers conspiracies against itself: this implies a presumption of consciousness of weakness, or, what is still worse, injustice. You are aware that we have broken the prestige of the *goy* kings by frequent attempts upon their lives through our agents, blind sheep of our flock, who are easily moved by a few liberal phrases to crimes provided only they be painted in political colours. We have compelled the rulers to acknowledge their weakness in advertising overt measures of secret defence and thereby we shall bring the promise of authority to destruction.

Our ruler will be secretly protected only by the most insignificant guard, because we shall not admit so much as a thought that there could exist against him any sedition with which he is not strong enough to contend and is compelled to hide from it.

If we should admit this thought, as the *goyim* have done and are doing, we should *ipso facto* be signing a death sentence, if not for our ruler, at any rate for his dynasty, at no distant date.

According to strictly enforced outward appearances our ruler will employ his power only for the advantage of the nation and in no wise for his own or dynastic profits. There, with the observance of this decorum, his authority will be respected and guarded by his subjects themselves, it will receive an apotheosis in the admission that with it is bound up the well-being of every citizen of the State, for upon it will depend all order in the common life of the pack.

{p. 345} *Overt defense of the kind argues weakness in the organization of his strength.*

Our ruler will always among the people be surrounded by a mob of apparently curious men and women, who will occupy the front ranks about him, to all appearance by chance, and will restrain the ranks of the rest out of respect as it will appear for good order. This will sow an example of restraint also in others. If a petitioner appears among the people trying to hand a petition and forcing his way through the ranks, the first ranks must receive the petition and before the eyes of the petitioner pass it to the ruler, so that all may know that what is handed in reaches its destination, that, consequently, there exists a control of the ruler himself. The aureole of power requires for its existence that the people may be able to say: "If the king knew of this", or "the king will hear of it".

With the establishment of official secret defense the mystical prestige of authority disappears: given a certain audacity, and everyone counts himself master of it, the sedition-monger is conscious of his strength, and when occasion serves watches for the moment to make an attempt upon authority ... For the *goyim* we have been preaching something else, but by that very fact we are enabled to see what measures of overt defense have brought them to ...

Criminals with us shall be arrested at the first more or less well-grounded suspicion; it cannot be allowed that out of fear of a possible mistake an opportunity should be given of escape to persons suspected of a political lapse or crime, for in these matters we shall be literally merciless. If it is still possible, by stretching a point, to admit a reconsideration of the motive causes in simple crimes, there is no possibility of excuse for persons occupying themselves with questions in which nobody except the government can understand anything ... And it is not all governments that understand true policy.

PROTOCOL NO. 19

If we do not permit any independent dabbling in the political we shall on the other hand encourage every kind of report or petition with proposals for the government to examine into all kinds of projects for the amelioration of the condition of the people; this will reveal to us the defects or else the fantasies of our subjects, to which

{p. 346} we shall respond either by accommodating them or by a wise rebutment to prove the short-sightedness of one who judges wrongly.

Sedition-mongering is nothing more than the yapping of a lap-dog at an elephant. For a government well organized, not from the police but from the public point of view, the lap-dog yaps at the elephant in entire unconsciousness of its strength and importance. It needs no more than to take a good example to show the relative importance of both and the lap-dogs will cease to yap and will wag their tails the moment they set eyes on an elephant.

In order to destroy the prestige of heroism for political crime we shall send it for trial in the category of thieving, murder, and every kind of abominable and filthy crime. Public opinion will then confuse in its conception this category of crime with the disgrace attaching to every other and will brand it with the same contempt.

We have done our best, and I hope we have succeeded, to obtain that the *goyim* should not arrive at this means of contending with sedition. It was for this reason that through the Press and in speeches, indirectly - in cleverly compiled schoolbooks on history, we have advertised the martyrdom alleged to have been accepted by sedition-mongers for the idea of the commonweal. This advertisement has increased the contingent of liberals and has brought thousands of *goyim* into the ranks of our livestock cattle.

PROTOCOL NO. 20

To-day we shall touch upon the financial programme, which I put off to the end of my report as being the most difficult, the crowning and the decisive point of our plans. Before entering upon it I will remind you that I have already spoken before by way of a hint when I said that the sum total of our actions is settled by the question of figures.

When we come into our kingdom our autocratic government will avoid, from a principle of self-preservation, sensibly burdening the masses of the people with taxes, remembering that it plays the part of father and protector. But as State organization costs dear it is necessary nevertheless to obtain the funds required for it. It will, therefore, elaborate with particular precaution the question of equilibrium in this matter.

{p. 347} Our rule, in which the king will enjoy the legal fiction that everything in his State belongs to him (which may easily be translated into fact), will be enabled to resort to the lawful confiscation of all sums of every kind for the regulation of their circulation in the State. From this follows that taxation will best be covered by a progressive tax on property. In this manner the dues will be paid without straitening or ruining anybody in the form of a percentage of the amount of property. The rich must be aware that it is their duty to place a part of their superfluities at the disposal of the State since the State guarantees them security of possession of the rest of their property and the right of honest gains. I say honest, for the control over property will do away with robbery on a legal basis.

This social reform must come from above, for the time is ripe for it - it is indispensable as a pledge of peace.

The tax upon the poor man is a seed of revolution and works to the detriment of the state which in hunting after the trifling is missing the big. Quite apart from this, a tax on capitalists diminishes the growth of wealth in private hands in which we have in these days concentrated it as a counterpoise to the government strength of the *goyim* - their state finances.

A tax increasing in a percentage ratio to capital will give a much larger venue than the present individual or property tax, which is useful to us now for the sole reason that it excites trouble or discontent among the *goyim*.

The force upon which our king will rest consists in the equilibrium and the guarantee of peace, for the sake of which things it is indispensable that the capitalists should yield up a portion of their incomes for the sake of the secure working of the machinery of the State. State needs must be paid by those who will not feel the burden and have enough to take from.

Such a measure will destroy the hatred of the poor man for the rich, in whom he will see a necessary financial support for the State, will see in him the organizer of peace and well-being since he will see that it is the rich man who is paying the necessary means to attain these things.

In order that payers of the educated classes should not too much distress themselves over the new payments they will have full accounts given them of the destination of those payments, with the exception

{p. 348} of such sums as will be appropriated for the needs of the throne and the administrative institutions.

He who reigns will not have any properties of his own once all in the State represents his patrimony, or else the one would be in contradiction to the other; the fact of holding private means would destroy the right of property in the common possessions of all.

Relatives of him who reigns, his heirs excepted, who will be maintained by the resources of the State, must enter the ranks of servants of the State or must work to obtain the right to property; the privilege of royal blood must not serve for the spoiling of the treasury.

Purchase, receipt of money or inheritance will be subject to the payment of a stamp progressive tax. Any transfer of property, whether money or other, without evidence of payment of this tax which will be strictly registered by names, will render the former holder liable to pay interest on the tax from the moment of transfer of these sums up to the discovery of his evasion of declaration of the transfer. Transfer documents must be presented weekly at the local treasury office with notifications of the name, surname and permanent place of residence of the former and the new holder of the property. This transfer with register of names must begin from a definite sum which exceeds the ordinary expenses of buying and selling of necessities, and these will be subject to payment only by a stamp impost of a definite percentage of the unit.

Just strike an estimate of how many times such taxes as these will cover the revenue of the *goyim* states.

The State exchequer will have to maintain a definite complement of reserve sums, and all that is collected above that complement must be returned into circulation. On these sums will be organised public works. The initiative in works of this kind, proceeding from State sources, will bind the working class firmly to the interests of the State and to those who reign. From these same sums also a part will be set aside as rewards of inventiveness and productiveness.

On no account should such as a single unit above the definite and freely estimated sums be retained in the State treasuries, for money exists to be circulated and any kind of stagnation of money acts ruinously on the running of the State machinery, for which it is the lubricant; a stagnation of the lubricant may stop the regular working of the mechanism.

{p. 349} The substitution of interest-bearing paper for a part of the token of exchange has produced exactly this stagnation. The consequences of this circumstance are already sufficiently noticeable.

A court of account will also be instituted by us and in it the ruler will find at any moment a full accounting for State income and expenditure, with the exception of the current monthly account, not yet made up, and that of the preceding month, which will not yet have been delivered.

The one and only person who will have no interest in robbing the State is its owner, the ruler. This is why his personal control will remove the possibility of leakages of extravagances.

The representative function of the ruler at receptions for the sake of etiquette, which absorbs so much invaluable time, will be abolished in order that the ruler may have time for control and consideration. His power will not then be split up into fractional parts among time-serving favourites who surround the throne for its pomp and splendour, and are interested only in their own and not in the common interests of the State.

Economic crises have been produced by us from the *goyim* by no other means than the withdrawal of money from circulation. Huge capitals have stagnated, withdrawing money from States, which were constantly obliged to apply to those same stagnant capitals for loans. These loans burdened the finances of the States with the payment of interest and made them the bond slaves of these capitals ... The concentration of industry in the hands of capitalists out of the hands of small masters has drained away all the juices of the peoples and with them also of the States.

The present issue of money in general does not correspond with the requirements per head, and cannot therefore satisfy all the needs of the workers. The issue of money ought to correspond with the growth of population and thereby children also must absolutely be reckoned as consumers of currency from the day of their birth. The revision of issue is a material question for the whole world.

You are aware that the gold standard has been the ruin of the States which adopted it, for it has not been able to satisfy the demands for money, the more so that we have removed gold from circulation as far as possible.

With us the standard that must be introduced is the cost of working-

{p. 350} **man power, whether it be reckoned in paper or in wood. We shall make the issue of money in accordance with the normal requirements of each subject, adding to the quantity with every birth and subtracting with every death.**

{i.e. money to be created not from Gold, but by fiat; and welfare payments made to all citizens}

The accounts will be managed by each department (the French administrative division), each circle.

In order that there may be no delays in paying out of money for State needs the sums and terms of such payments will be fixed by decree of the ruler; this will do away with the protection by a ministry of one institution to the detriment of others.

The budgets of income and expenditure will be carried out side by side that they may not be obscured by distance one to another.

The reforms projected by us in the financial institutions and principles of the *goyim* will be clothed by us in such forms as will alarm nobody. We shall point out the necessity of reforms in consequence of the disorderly darkness into which the *goyim* by their irregularities have plunged the finances. The first irregularity, as we shall point out, consists in their beginning with drawing up a single budget which year after year grows owing to the following cause: this budget is dragged out to half the year, then **they demand a budget to put things right, and this they expend in three months, after which they ask for a supplementary budget**, and all this ends with a liquidation budget. But, as the budget of the following year is drawn up in accordance with the sum of the total addition, the annual departure from the normal reaches as much as 50 percent in a year, and so the annual budget is trebled in ten years. Thanks to such methods, allowed by the carelessness of the *goy* States, their treasuries are empty. The period of loans supervenes, and that has swallowed up remainders and brought all the *goy* States to bankruptcy.

You understand perfectly that economic arrangements of this kind, which have been suggested to the *goyim* by us, cannot be carried on by us.

Every kind of loan proves infirmity in the State and a want of understanding of the rights of the State. Loans hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of rulers, who, instead of taking from their subjects by a temporary tax, come begging with outstretched palm of our bankers. Foreign loans are leeches which there is no possibility of removing from the body of the State until they fall

{p. 351} off of themselves or the State flings them off. But the *goy* States do not tear them off: they go on in persisting in putting more on to themselves so that they must inevitably perish, drained by voluntary blood-letting.

What also indeed is, in substance, a loan, especially a foreign loan? A loan is - an issue of government bills of exchange containing a percentage obligation commensurate to the sum of the loan capital. If the loan bears a charge of 5 per cent., then in twenty years the State vainly pays away in interest a sum equal to the loan borrowed, in forty years it is paying a double sum, in sixty - treble, and all the while the debt remains an unpaid debt.

From this calculation it is obvious that with any form of taxation per head the State is bailing out the last coppers of the poor taxpayers in order to settle accounts with wealthy foreigners, from whom it has borrowed money instead of collecting these coppers for its own needs without the additional interest.

So long as loans were internal the *goyim* only shuffled money from the pockets of the poor to those of the rich, but when we bought up the necessary person in order to transfer loans into the external sphere all the wealth of States flowed into our cash-boxes and all the *goyim* began to pay us the tribute of subjects.

If the superficiality of *goy* kings on their thrones in regard to State affairs and the venality of ministers or the want of understanding of financial matters on the part of other ruling persons have made their countries debtors to our treasuries to amounts quite impossible to pay it has not been accomplished without on our part heavy expenditure of trouble and money.

Stagnation of money will not be allowed by us and therefore there will be no State-interest bearing paper, except a one-per-cent series, so that there will be no payment of interest to leeches that suck all the strength out of the State. The right to issue interest-bearing paper will be given exclusively to industrial companies who will find no difficulty in paying interest out of profits, whereas the State does not make interest on borrowed money like these companies, for the State borrows to spend and not to use in operations.

Industrial papers will be bought also by the government which from being as now a payer of tribute by loan operations will be transformed into a lender of money at a profit. This measure will stop the

{p. 352} stagnation of money, parasitic profits and idleness, all of which were useful for us among the *goyim* as long as they were independent but are not desirable under our rule.

How clear is the undeveloped power of thought of the purely brute brains of the *goyim*, as expressed in the fact that they have been borrowing from us the payment of interest without ever thinking that all the same these very moneys plus an addition for payment of interest must be got by them from their own State pockets in order to settle up with us. What could have been simpler than to take the money they wanted from their own people?

But it is a proof of the genius of our chosen mind that we have contrived to present the matter of loans to them in such a light that they have even seen in them an advantage for themselves.

Our accounts, which we shall present when the time comes, in the light of centuries of experience gained by experiments made by us on the *goy* States, will be distinguished by clearness and definiteness and will show at a glance to all men the advantage of our innovations. They will put an end to those abuses to which we owe our mastery over the *goyim*, but which cannot be allowed in our kingdom.

We shall so hedge about our system of accounting that neither the ruler nor the most insignificant public servant will be in a position to divert even the smallest sum from its destination without detection or to direct it in another direction except that which will be once fixed in a definite plan of action.

And without a definite plan it is impossible to rule. Marching along an undetermined road and with undetermined resources brings to ruin by the way heroes and demi-gods.

The *goy* rulers, whom we once upon a time advised should be distracted from State operations by representatives receptions, observations of etiquette, entertainments, were only screens for our rule. The accounts of favourite courtiers who replaced them in the sphere of affairs were drawn up for them by our agents, and every time gave satisfaction to short-sighted minds by promises that in the future economies and improvements were foreseen ... Economies from what? From new taxes? - were questions that might have been but were not asked by those who read our accounts and projects ...

You know to what they have been brought by this carelessness, **to**

{p. 353} what a pitch of financial disorder they have arrived, notwithstanding the astonishing industry of their peoples ...

PROTOCOL NO. 21

To what I reported to you at the last meeting I shall now add a detailed explanation of internal loans. Of foreign loans I shall say nothing more, because they have fed us with the national moneys of the *goyim*, but for our State there will be no foreigners, that is, nothing external.

We have taken advantage of the venality of administrators and the slackness of rulers to get our moneys twice, thrice and more times over, by lending to the *goy* governments moneys which were not at all needed by the States. Could anyone do the like in regard to us? ... Therefore, I shall only deal with the details of internal loans.

States announce that such a loan is to be concluded and open subscriptions for their own bills of exchange, that is, for their interest-bearing paper. That they may be within the reach of all the price is determined at from a hundred to a thousand; and a discount is made for the earliest subscribers. Next day by artificial means the price of them goes up, the alleged reason being that everyone is rushing to buy them. In a few days the treasury safes are as they say overflowing and there's more money than they can do with (why then take it?). The subscription, it is alleged, covers many times over the issue total of the loan: in this lies the whole stage effect - look you, they say, what confidence is shown in the government's bills of exchange.

But when the comedy is played out there emerges the fact that a debit and an exceedingly burdensome debit has been created. For its payment of interest it becomes necessary to have resort to new loans, which do not swallow up but only add to the capital debt. And when this credit is exhausted, it becomes necessary by new taxes to cover, not the loan, but only the interest on it. These taxes are a debit employed to cover a debit.

Later comes the time for conversions, but they diminish the payment of interest without covering the debt, and besides they cannot be made

{p. 354} without the consent of the leaders: on announcing a conversion a proposal is made to return the money to those who are not willing to convert their paper. If everybody expressed his unwillingness and demanded his money back, the government would be hooked on their own flies and would be found insolvent and unable to pay the proposed sums. By good luck the subjects of the *goy* governments, knowing nothing about financial affairs, have always preferred losses on exchange and diminution of interest to the risk of new investments of their moneys, and have thereby many a time enabled these governments to throw off their shoulders a debit of several millions.

Nowadays, with external loans, these tricks cannot be played by the *goyim* for they know that we shall demand all our moneys back.

In this way an acknowledged bankruptcy will best prove to the various countries the absence of any means between the interest of the peoples and of those who rule them.

I beg you to concentrate your particular attention upon this point, and upon the following: nowadays all internal loans are consolidated by so-called flying loans, that is, such as have terms of payment more or less near. These debts consist of moneys paid into the savings banks and reserve funds. If left for long at the disposition of a government these funds evaporate in the payment of interest on foreign loans, and are replaced by the deposit of an equivalent amount of *rentes*.

And these last it is which patch up all the leaks in the State treasuries of the *goyim*.

When we ascend the throne of the world all these financial and similar shifts, as being not in accord with our interests, will be swept away so as not to leave a trace, as will also be destroyed all money markets, since we shall not allow the prestige of our power to be shaken by fluctuations of prices set upon our values, which we shall announce by law at the price which represents their full worth without any possibility of lowering or raising. (Raising gives the pretext for lowering, which indeed where we made a beginning in relation to the values of the *goyim*.)

We shall replace the money markets by grandiose government credit institutions, the object of which will be to fix the price of industrial values in accordance with government views. These institutions will be in a position to fling upon the market five hundred millions of industrial paper in one day, or to buy up for the same amount. In this

{p. 355} way all industrial undertakings will come into dependence upon us. You may imagine for yourselves what immense power we shall thereby secure for ourselves.

PROTOCOL NO. 22

In all that has so far been reported by me to you, I have endeavoured to depict with care the secret of what is coming, of what is past, and of what is going on now, rushing into the flood of great events coming already in the near future, the secret of our relations to the *goyim* and of financial operations. On this subject there remains still a little for me to add.

In our hands is the greatest power of the day - gold: in two days we can procure from our storehouses any quantity we may please.

Surely there is no need to seek further proof that our rule is predestined by God? Surely we shall not fail with such wealth to prove that all that evil which for so many centuries we have had to commit has served at the end of ends the cause of true well-being - the bringing of everything into order? Though it be even by the exercise of some violence, yet all the same it will be established. We shall contrive to prove that we are benefactors who have restored to the rend and mangled earth the true good and also freedom of the person, and therewith we shall enable it to be enjoyed in peace and quiet, with proper dignity of relations, on the condition, of course, of strict observance of the laws established by us. We shall make plain therewith that freedom does not consist in dissipation and in the right of unbridled licence any more than the dignity and force of a man do not consist in the right for everyone to promulgate destructive principles in the nature of freedom of conscience, equality and the like, that freedom of the person in no wise consists in the right to agitate oneself and others by abominable speeches before disorderly mobs, and that true freedom consists in the inviolability of the person who honourably and strictly observes all the laws of life in common, that human dignity is wrapped up in consciousness of the rights and also the absence of rights of each, and not wholly and solely in fantastic imaginings about the subject of one's ego.

Our authority will be glorious because it will be all-powerful, will rule and guide, and not muddle along after leaders and orators shriek-

{p. 356} ing themselves hoarse with senseless words which they call great principles and which are nothing else, to speak honestly, but utopian ... Our authority will be the crown of order, and in that is included the whole happiness of man. The aureole of this authority will inspire a mystical bowing of the knee before it and a reverent fear before it of all the peoples. True force makes no terms with any right, not even with that of God: none dare come near to it so as to take so much as a span from it away.

PROTOCOL NO. 23

That the peoples may become accustomed to obedience it is necessary to inculcate lessons of humility and therefore to reduce the production of articles of luxury. We shall re-establish small master production which will mean laying a mine under the private capital of manufacturers. This is indispensable also for the reason that manufacturers on the grand scale often move, though not always consciously, the thoughts of the masses in directions against the government. A people of small masters knows nothing of unemployment and this binds him closely with existing order, and consequently with the firmness of authority. Unemployment is a most perilous thing for a government. For us its part will have been played out the moment authority is transferred into our hands. Drunkenness also will be prohibited by law and punishable as a crime against the humanness of man who is turned into a brute under the influence of alcohol.

Subjects, I repeat once more, give blind obedience only to the strong hand which is absolutely independent of them, for in it they feel the sword for defense and support against social scourges ... What do they want with an angelic spirit in a king? What they have to see in him is the personification of force and power.

The supreme lord who will replace all now existing rulers, dragging on their existence among societies among societies demoralized by us, societies that have denied even the authority of God, from whose midst breaks out on all sides the fire of anarchy, must first of all proceed to quench this all-devouring flame. Therefore he will be obliged to kill off those existing societies, though he should drench them with his own blood,

{p. 357} that he may resurrect them again in the form of regularly organized troops fighting consciously with every kind of infection that may cover the body of the State with sores.

This Chosen one of God is chosen from above to demolish the senseless forces moved by instinct and not reason, by brutishness and not humanness. These forces now triumph in manifestations of robbery and every kind of violence under the mask of principles of freedom and rights. They have overthrown all forms of social order to erect on the ruins the throne of the King of the Jews; but their part will be played out the moment he enters into his kingdom. Then it will be necessary to sweep them away from his path, on which must be left no knot, no splinter.

Then will it be possible for us to say to the peoples of the world: "Give thanks to God and bow the knee before him who bears on his front the seal of the predestination of man, to which God himself has led his star that none other but Him might free us from all the before-mentioned forces and evils".

PROTOCOL NO. 24

I pass now to the method of confirming the dynastic roots of King David to the last strata of the earth.

This confirmation will first and foremost be included in that in which to this day has rested the force of conservatism by our learned elders of the conduct of all the affairs of the world, in the directing of the education of thought of all humanity.

Certain members of the seed of David will prepare the kings and their heirs, selecting not by right of heritage but by eminent capacities, inducting them into the most secret mysteries of the political, into schemes of government, but providing always that none may come to knowledge of the secrets. The object of this mode of action is that all may know that government cannot be entrusted to those who have not been inducted into the secret places of its art ...

To these persons only will be taught the practical application of the aforementioned plans by comparison of the experiences of many centuries, all the observations on the politico-economic moves and social sciences - in a word, all the spirit of laws which have been unshakeably

{p. 358} established by nature herself for the regulation of the relations of humanity.

Direct heirs will often be set aside from ascending the throne if in their time of training they exhibit frivolity, softness and other qualities that are the ruin of authority, which render them incapable of governing and in themselves dangerous for kingly office.

Only those who are unconditionally capable for firm, even if it be to cruelty, direct rule will receive the reins of rule from our learned elders.

In case of falling sick with weakness of will or other form of incapacity, kings must by law hand over the reins of rule to new and capable hands.

The king's plans of action for the current moment, and all the more so for the future, will be unknown, even to those who are called his closest counsellors.

Only the king and the three who stood sponsor for him will know what is coming.

In the person of the king who with unbending will is master of himself and of humanity all will discern as it were fate with its mysterious ways. None will know what the king wishes to attain by his dispositions, and therefore none will dare to stand across an unknown path.

It is understood that the brain reservoir of the king must correspond in capacity to the plan of government it has to contain. It is for this reason that he will ascend the throne not otherwise than after examination of his mind by the aforesaid learned elders.

That the people may know and love their king it is indispensable for him to converse in the market-places with his people. This ensures the necessary clinching of the two forces which are now divided one from another by us by the terror.

This terror was indispensable for us till the time comes for both these forces separately to fall under our influence,

The King of the Jews must not be at the mercy of his passions, and especially of sensuality: on no side of his character must he give brute instinct power over his mind. Sensuality worse than all else disorganizes the capacities of the mind and clearness of views, distracting the thoughts to the worst and most brutal side of human activity.

{p. 359} The prop of humanity in the person of the supreme lord of all the world of the holy seed of David must sacrifice to his people all personal inclinations.

Our supreme lord must be of an exemplary irreproachability. {end of the Protocols}

{p. 360} NILUS AND THE PROTOCOLS

Translation of an article by Count A. M. du Chayla, a Frenchman by birth, who lived many years in Russia and who knew Sergius Nilus intimately. The article appeared in Paris, in 1921.

NILUS AND THE PROTOCOLS

Towards the end of January, 1909, in my eagerness for religious research, I followed the advice of the late Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, Monseigneur Anthony, and betook myself to the renowned monastery "Optina Pustina."

This monastery is situated about six versts from the town Kozelsk, in the district of Kaluga, between a large pine forest and the left bank of the river Jizdra. Near the monastery were a number of villas in which resided laymen who desired to lead a monastic life. At that time the community comprised about 400 monks who busied themselves with agricultural labors and led a life of religious contemplation under the spiritual guidance of three Elders. In those days, the monastery at Optina was the source of a remarkable influence on Russian thought. It was frequently visited by the great Russian writers, such as Gogol, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevski, the latter of whom took one of the Elders of the Monastery as a model for one of the characters in his "Brothers Karamazoff."

The day following my arrival, **the head of the monastery, Archimandrite Xenophon, proposed to introduce me to Mr. S. A. Nilus, a religious writer living near the monastery.** In Petersburg I had already heard of Nilus from Mr. W. A. Ternawtseff, in charge of special missions for the Procurator General of the Holy Synod and a member of the Society of Religious Philosophy. He had told me that **Nilus was an interesting man, though very eccentric.**

After dinner I was introduced to Nilus in the rooms of the Archi-

{p. 361} mandrite. He was a man of about 45, of the true Russian type, big and broad, with a gray beard and **deep blue eyes, which, however, seemed to be veiled with a troubled shadow.** He wore boots and a Russian blouse, girdled with an embroidered ribbon.

S. A. Nilus **spoke French very well**, which was very useful to me. We were both very glad to make one another's acquaintance, and I did not hesitate to accept his invitation to visit him. He lived in a large villa of about ten rooms where formerly lived pensioned priests. Nilus and his family, in all three people, occupied only four rooms. **The other rooms formed a sort of asylum paid for by a pension which the minister of the court had granted to Nilus' wife. This asylum sheltered all sorts of degenerates, idiots and lunatics, awaiting miraculous cures.**

The ancestors of Nilus were Swiss emigres who had come to Russia during the reign of Peter I. Nilus assured me that he was a direct descendant of Maliouta Skouratoff, a special executioner under Ivan the Terrible. **Nilus himself was a ruined proprietor from the district of Orel. His brother Dimitry Alexandrovitch Nilus was a judge in Moscow. The two brothers were enemies.** Sergej Alexandrovitch regarded his brother as an atheist, while the latter looked upon Sergej as a madman.

Nilus was undoubtedly **a man of excellent education.** He had successfully graduated from the courses of law at the Moscow University. He knew perfectly French, German, and English, and was well acquainted with contemporary European literature. But, as I later learned, **Nilus could not get along with anyone.** His tumultuous character and capricious temperament had forced him to give up his post at the Ministry of Justice which had appointed him judge in Trans-Caucasia on the Persian frontier. **He was a great admirer of Nietzsche's philosophy with its theoretical anarchism** and radical negation of actual civilization.

With such a temperament Nilus found it impossible to stay in Russia. **He went abroad with a certain Madame K.** and lived a long time in France and especially in **Biarritz**, until he was informed that his property in Orel had become worthless. It was then, about 1900, that Nilus **underwent a spiritual crisis which moved him to mysticism.**

Nilus presented me to his wife, Helena Alexandrovna Ozerov, a former lady-in-waiting at the court of the Queen Alexandra Fiodorovna.

{p. 362} She was the daughter of Ozerov, former Russian minister to Athens. Mme. Nilus was a good-natured and submissive woman subordinate to her husband in every respect. So submissive was she in fact that **she was in good relations with the former friend of Nilus, Mme. K. who, also ruined, had been given shelter in their house.**

My friendly relations with Nilus lasted during the nine months of my stay at Optina until November 10th, 1909. When I later returned to Russia I again called on Nilus but his intolerance forced me to break off relations with him.

In 1918, Nilus lived in Kiev at the convent known as Protection of the Holy Virgin. I later learned that **in the winter of 1918-1919 after the fall of Hetman (Skoropadsky) he escaped to Germany and lived in Berlin.** This information was confirmed by Mme. Kartzeva, a nurse at the hospital of the White Cross in Crimea.

From the very beginning, my relations with Nilus were marked with **endless discussions on religious questions**, in which he made all efforts to convert me to his point of view. On the third or fourth day after our acquaintance, during a discussion on the relationship between civilization and Christianity, Nilus **asked me if I was acquainted with the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion which he was editing.** I replied that I knew nothing about them.

Nilus picked up a book and began to translate in French the most remarkable passages of the text and his commentaries on them. At the same time he was watching the expression on my face, imagining that I would be thunderstruck by his revelations. He was very much troubled when **I declared that I could see nothing in the document that differed greatly from the pamphlets of Edouard Drumont and the mystifications of Leo Taxil.** Nilus objected to this, saying that my knowledge of the Protocols was of a superficial and fragmentary character and that the verbal translation tends to weaken the effect. He said that it would be easy for me to acquaint myself with the Protocols inasmuch as the original was written in French.

Later I learned that **the portfolio containing the Protocols was kept until January, 1909, at the home of the monk, Daniel Bolotoff**, a portrait painter well known in Petersburg. **Nilus did not keep the manuscript of the Protocols with him fearing that the Jews would steal it.** I remember my amusement and his fear when a Jewish drug-

{p. 363} gist from Kozelsk had wandered in Nilus' garden in the course of a walk through the forest near the monastery. Nilus was for a long time convinced that this Jewish druggist was a spy sent to watch on his movements.

A few days after our first conversation concerning the Protocols, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I received a note in which Nilus asked me to call at once about important business. I found Nilus alone in his study. His wife and Mme. K. had gone to attend vespers. I noticed on his desk a large envelope of a black material with a large three-branched cross with the inscription "By this sign thou shalt conquer." A small ikon of the Archangel Michael was placed on the envelope. The whole thing bore the character of exorcism.

Nilus, after some signs before a large ikon, opened the envelope and took out a note-book bound in leather. I later learned that both the envelope and the leather binding had been prepared in the monastery under the personal supervision of Nilus. The cross and the other symbols had been executed by Mme. Nilus under the direction of her husband.

"This," said Nilus, "is the map of the Kingdom of the Antichrist."

He opened the note book. On the first page I noticed a large blue spot as if some one had over-turned an inkwell and that the ink had been removed to some extent. The paper was thick and yellowish. **The text was written in French in several handwritings and, it seemed to me, even with different inks.**

"The reason for this," said Nilus, "is that **at the sessions of the Kahal different persons filled each time the duties of secretary.** This accounts for the different handwritings."

Apparently Nilus regarded this detail as a proof that the manuscript was an original text. Yet I remember that he told me another time that the manuscript was only a copy.

After having shown me the manuscript, Nilus placed it before me on the desk, opened the first page and said "Now, read!" In reading the manuscript I was struck by certain peculiarities of the text. There were **many mistakes in spelling and especially idioms that were not French. There was no doubt that the manuscript had not been prepared by a Frenchman.** I read for two hours and one half. When I had finished, Nilus took the note book, replaced it in its envelope, and locked it in a drawer of his desk.

While I was reading Mme.

{p. 364} Nilus and Mme. K. returned from church. I did not know whether Mme. K. was a party to the secret of the manuscript. I therefore said nothing about it. Nilus, however, was eager to know my opinion and seeing my discomfiture, guessed exactly the cause of my silence.

"Come, you doubting Thomas," he said laughingly, "do you believe now after you have touched, seen, and read the Protocols? Tell us what you think of them. There are no strangers here. My wife knows all about them and **as far as Mme. K. is concerned, it is thanks to her that the schemes of the enemies of Christ have been discovered.**"

I was greatly interested. Could it be that Nilus obtained the Protocols through Mme. K.? I was wondering how a woman so obese as to be almost immobile and who, moreover, suffered from disease, could have penetrated the "Secret Kahal of the Wise Men of Zion."

"Yes," said Nilus, "Mme. K. lived abroad for a long time. In Paris, she received from the hands of a Russian General this manuscript which she transmitted to me. This General had removed the manuscript from the archives of the Freemasons."

I asked Nilus whether the name of this General was a secret.

"Not at all," replied Nilus, "it is **General Ratchkovsky**, a very brave and active man who has done much in his day to counteract the activities of the enemies of Christ."

I recalled that while in France, when I was taking lessons in Russian from a student called Ezopoff, the latter had told me that **the Russian political police did not leave Russian political offenders in peace even when the latter had escaped to France.** He said that General Ratchkovsky was at the head of this police. **I asked Nilus if this General Ratchkovsky was not the head of the Russian political police in France. My question seemed to surprise and displease Nilus. He replied in a vague manner that Ratchkovsky fought against Freemasonry and Satanic sects.**

Nilus was anxious to know the impression left on me by the Protocols. I told him plainly that I adhered to my former statement that the Protocols belong to **the class of cheap mystifications** such as "The Devil Unmasked" and "The Devil During the 19th Century," etc. Nilus' face clouded.

"You are indeed under the influence of the Devil," he said. "The greatest trick of the Devil is that he can make people deny not only his influence on human events but even his very existence. **What will**

{p. 365} **you say when I show you how everything contained in the Protocols has come true** and how the mysterious sign of the Antichrist appears everywhere as an announcement of his approaching reign?"

Nilus arose and we all followed him into his study. He picked up his book and brought in from his own room a small chest which I later called the museum of the Antichrist. He began to read further in the text and the commentaries which he was preparing for the edition. He then passed on to the "evidence." He opened the chest and I saw amidst indescribable disorder a number of objects made of rubber, some household utensils, insignia of technical schools, even the cipher of the Queen Alexandra Fiodorovna and the cross of the Legion of Honor. On each of these objects his hallucination showed him the "seal of the Antichrist" in the guise of a triangle or a pair of crossed triangles. It was enough for any object to bear on it a figure resembling somewhat a triangle for his inflamed imagination to see in it the sign of the Antichrist and the seal of the Wise Men of Zion. **All these observations entered into the edition of the Protocols, published in 1911.**

With increasing restlessness under the influence of a sort of mystic terror Nilus explained to me that the sign of the "Son of Iniquity" has contaminated everything, and that it flourishes even amidst the designs and ornaments of churches and in the decorations of the holy ikons. It was midnight. The appearance, the voice, and the weird gestures of Nilus showed that his mind was on the brink of a precipice, and that his reason would at any moment dissolve into madness.

I tried to calm Nilus and to show him that even in the Protocols nothing is said of sinister signs. I did my best to convince him that he had discovered nothing new, since the mystic sign of which he spoke has been noted in every work on occultism from those of Hermes Triamegistus and Paracelsus, who surely were not Wise Men of Zion, down to our contemporaries, Papus, Stanislas de Guaita etc., who surely are not Jews. Nilus noted carefully my arguments, but instead of calming him, as I hoped they would, they only aggravated to their utmost limit his morbid sensations.

A few days later, he sent to the bookseller Gauthier at Moscow a large order for all the books on the hermetic sciences which I had mentioned to him. In the third edition of the Protocols which appeared two years later, in 1911, he inserted many extracts and illustrations

{p. 366} which he had borrowed from the books which I had mentioned to him.

A little later when General Ratchkovsky was involved in some political scandal I asked Nilus, **"Don't you believe that your General Ratchkovsky has been duped by some one and that in taking his Protocols as gospel truth you are following a false trail?"**

"You know," replied Nilus, "my favorite citation from St. Paul is 'The will of God is accomplished through human weakness.' Let us admit that the Protocols are false, but is it not possible that God should make use of them in order to expose the iniquity which is approaching? Did not the ass of Balaam utter prophecy? Cannot God transform the bones of a dog into sacred miracles? If He can do these things, He can also make the announcement of truth come from the mouth of a liar."

Before exposing the circumstances which brought Nilus into possession of the Protocols, **I wish to call to the attention of the reader a peculiarity in the 1917 edition of the Protocols.** I refer to the statement by Nilus that **the manuscript of the Protocols had been transmitted to him by a nobleman named Alexey Nikolaievitch Soukhotin.** This statement is a direct contradiction of what Nilus had previously told me, namely, that the manuscript had been given to him by Mme. K., who had obtained it from General Ratchkovsky.

Being well acquainted with the intimate life of Nilus **I can readily understand why, in a public document, he could not speak of Mme. K.** ... I am convinced that this A. N. Soukhotin is not a mythical person but, in all probability, **the intermediary between Mme. K., who was then in Paris, and Nilus who was in Russia.** For intimate reasons **Soukhotin thus became the veil, hiding from the reader the mysterious lady, Mme. K.**

The translation of the document took place under the following circumstances:

In 1900 Nilus returned to Russia and wandered in poverty from monastery to monastery. It was then that he wrote "Notes of an Orthodox, or the Great and the Little," a small volume in which he described the **conversion of an intellectual atheist to religious mysticism.** This booklet elicited some very warm reviews in the Russian religious periodicals which eventually reached the Grand Duchess Elizabeta Fiodorovna who thus became interested in Nilus.

{p. 367} The Grand Duchess had always fought against the adventurers who surrounded the Czar and especially a certain Philipp of Lyons. She was greatly dissatisfied with the confessor of the royal family, Archpriest Yamyscheff, whose duty it was to preserve the Czar from malign influences. The Grand Duchess thought that Nilus, a Russian mystic and orthodox, would exert a favorable influence on the Czar.

Major General Michael Petrovitch Stepanoff was greatly attached to the Grand Duchess, and it was through him that Nilus was sent to Tsarskoye Sielo and there introduced to Helena Alexandrovna Ozerov, who was later to become his wife. This took place in 1901.

When Nilus left France, there remained in Paris a person very dear to him, namely, **Mme. K.** This woman, who **had lost her entire fortune and who was greatly saddened by her separation from Nilus, became interested in mysticism and frequented all the occult circles in Paris. It was thus that she encountered Ratchkovsky** who moved in the same circles, **and received from him the manuscript of the Protocols** of the Wise Men of Zion **which she transmitted to Nilus.** It is quite possible that Ratchkovsky, who was then intent on removing the influence of Philipp on the Czar, wished to make use of the Protocols in order to gain the good will of Nilus, who he thought would be the successor of Philipp.

Nilus produced a very good impression on Helena Ozerov and the rest of the Court who were opposed to Philipp. **Thanks to the aid of these persons, he was enabled to publish in 1902 the first edition of the Protocols** with an appendix on his own religious experiences. The book was entitled **"The Great in the Little and the Antichrist as a Near Political Possibility."** **A copy of it was presented to the Czar and Czarina.** At the same time the adversaries of Philipp arranged the marriage between Nilus and Mlle. Ozerov and the ordination of Nilus into the priesthood. Arrangements were also being made to establish Nilus as the confessor of the Czar. Things looked so promising that Nilus had already ordered priestly garments.

However, Philipp and his followers trumped up a canonical prohibition against the induction of Nilus into the priesthood. As soon as this prohibition was called to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities, Nilus fell into disgrace and was forced to leave Tsarskoye Sielo. Again penniless except for the meagre honorarium which he received from the Feulletts de la Trinite, he again wandered from

{p. 368} monastery to monastery. Marriage was impossible, for Mlle. Ozerov possessed nothing beyond the pension which she was receiving while at Court and which would have been withdrawn had she married Nilus.

In 1905, however, Philipp had ceased to exert any influence on the Czar. The friends of Nilus obtained the Imperial consent to grant Mlle. Ozerov her pension even if she married. It was also through the influence of Mlle. Ozerov that Nilus was enabled to **publish a second edition of the Protocols** with new material concerning St. Seraphin de Saroff. I remember that this edition bore a title different from the first and was published in Tsarskoye Selo **under the auspices of the Red Cross.**

Nilus married Mlle. Ozerov but the canonical prohibition still held good and it was impossible for him to enter the priesthood or to exert any spiritual influence on the Czar.

The first two editions of the Protocols passed almost unnoticed in Russia. In fact, only one newspaper reviewed the books. The theological reviews did not even mention them, and it is doubtful whether they knew of their existence since **the edition was a small one and was bought by very few people.** Most of the **authorities** of the Russian Church with whom I spoke concerning Nilus and his work had a **very poor opinion of Nilus** whom they regarded as a crazed fanatic. In 1911, Nilus addressed a letter to the patriarchs of the Orient, to the Holy Synod, and to the Pope, **asking them to call together the 8th Oecumenical Council in order to take measures to protect Christianity against the coming of the Antichrist.** At the same time Nilus preached this doctrine of preparedness to the monks at Optina. The monastic peace was so troubled by Nilus that **the authorities asked him never again to appear at the cloister.**

The first indications of public interest in the Protocols became apparent in 1918. A new edition of the Protocols was published by Ismailoff, a Moscow lawyer. **The Sentinel, a publication marked for its constant pogrom agitation, was advertising the new edition. In February, 1919, however, the Diet of the Don ordered the suppression of this publication.** The center of anti-Semitic propaganda was then transferred to Rostoff, the seat of the Department of Propaganda for the army of General Denikine. **From Rostoff the Protocols were sent out in great numbers and distributed among the units of the volunteers**

{p. 369} **and among the Cossack troops at Kouban.** They served as fuel to a violent agitation in favor of pogroms and brought lurid and pernicious results. **This propaganda demoralized the troops and gave them a justification for the pillages which were a cause of their eventual defeat.** A circular against this propaganda was sent to all the chaplains at the front by Archpriest George Schavelsky, head of the military clergy, but the effects of this circular were paralyzed by the attitude of the commanding officers.

During the summer of 1918 Malakhoff, formerly a professor at the Moscow Academy, arrived at Rostoff and began a violent anti-Semitic agitation based on the Protocols. **The Protocols were of special importance in the pogroms in the Ukraine.** One of my friends, Colonel Dzougaeff, told me this characteristic anecdote: He was in Kiev during the fighting between the Hetman Skoropadsky and Petlioura. He escaped in disguise but was later arrested by the soldiers of Petlioura who mistook him for a Jew and wished to shoot him. One of the chiefs whom he asked the reason for this said, "You wish to give us a king with a head of gold. So it was stated at the sessions of your Wise Men of Zion." ...

Crimea, during the regime of General Wrangel, was especially noted for anti-Semitic propaganda based on the Protocols. Professor Malakhoff, the priest Vostokoff and some journalists subsidized by the government, announced at the top of their voices the danger of the Protocols and the universal Judeo-Masonic plot.

{p. 371} EXHIBIT H
THE DIALOGUES AND THE PROTOCOLS IN PARALLEL PAGES

The following selections from Joly's "Dialogues in Hell" (1864) and the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" (1895-1905), in parallel pages, prove beyond any doubt whatever that the "Protocols" were plagiarized from the "Dialogues." The similarity is all the more striking when we bear in mind the fact that both documents are here presented in translation - the "Dialogues" from the original French and the "Protocols" from the Russian, **after having passed through the plagiarism of the German novelist Goedsche.** The close resemblance of the ideas and phrases in these documents constitutes incontrovertible proof of the falsification. Only a few of the selections showing the striking similarity of the two documents are reproduced here.

The fabricators of the "Protocols" **based their entire cynical political structure upon that of Machiavelli in the "Dialogues."** In several instances they **even paraphrased Montesquieu to suit their needs.** Most of the ideas in the first part of Joly's "Dialogues" are lifted entirely with but slight modifications, sometimes reproduced almost word for word and sentence for sentence. The only differences lie in the substitution of an alleged Jewish dislike for Gentiles, for Machiavelli's distrust and contempt for humanity as a whole, and in the substitution of a mythical Jewish organization for the imperial government of Napoleon III.

Since Joly's last dialogues develop into a lengthy discussion of the financial activities and transactions of the French imperial government, the fabricators of the "Protocols" departed somewhat from their textbook toward the end, retaining fewer passages. Because the "Protocols" were intended to be a form of prophecy and a plan for the future, fewer allusions to transitory questions were appropriated from the original "Dialogues."

{p. 372} Dialogues

The evil instinct in man is more powerful than the good. Man leans more toward the evil than the good; fear and power have more control over him than reason. ... All men seek power, and there is none who would not be an oppressor if he could; all, or nearly all, are ready to sacrifice the rights of others to their own interests.

What restrains these ravenous animals that we call men? In the beginnings of society, it is brute force, without control; later, it is law, that is, force again, ruled by certain forms. You have consulted all the sources of history; everywhere force appears before justice.

Political liberty is only a relative idea. ...

Dialogues

States, once constituted, have two kinds of enemies; the **enemies within and the enemies without**. What arms shall they employ in war against the foreigners? Will the two enemy generals communicate to one another their campaign plans in order that each shall be able to defend himself? Will they forbid themselves night attacks, snares, ambuscades, battles in which the number of troops are unequal? Without doubt, they will not. And such fighters would make one laugh. And these snares, these artifices, all this strategy indispensable to warfare, you don't want them to be employed against the enemies within, against the disturbers of peace? ... Is it possible to conduct by pure reason violent masses which are moved only by sentiment, passion and prejudice?

Dtalogues

Has politics anything to do with morals?

Dialogues

This word "justice" itself, by the way, do you not see that it is infinitely vague?

{p. 373} Protocols

It must be noted that **men with bad instincts are more in number than the good**, and therefore the best results in governing them are attained by violence and terrorisation, and not by academic discussions. Every man aims at power, **everyone would like to become a dictator if only he could**, and rare indeed are the men who would not be willing to sacrifice the welfare of all for the sake of securing their own welfare.

What has restrained the beasts of prey who are called men? What has served for their guidance hitherto?

In the beginnings of the structure of society they were subjected to brute and blind force; afterwards - to Law, which is the same force, only disguised. I draw the conclusion that by the law of nature right lies in force.

Political freedom is an idea but not a fact.

Protocols

If every State has two foes and if in regard to the external foe it is allowed and not considered immoral to use every manner and art of conflict, as for example to keep the enemy in ignorance of plans of attack and defence, to attack him by night or in superior numbers, then in what way can the same means in regard to a worse foe, the destroyer of the structure of society and the commonweal, be called immoral and not permissible?

Is it possible for any sound logical mind to hope with any success to guide crowds by the aid of reasonable counsels and arguments, when any objection or contradiction, senseless though it may be, can be made and when such objection may find more favour with the people, whose powers of reasoning are superficial?

Protocols

The political has nothing in common with the moral.

Protocols

The word "right" is an abstract thought and proved by nothing.

{p. 374} Dialogues **{Machiavelli}**

Where does it begin, where does it end? When will justice exist, when will it not exist? I take examples. Here is a State: bad organization of public powers, turbulence of democracy, impotence of laws to control, discontented, disorder which reigns everywhere, will all precipitate it into ruin. A strong man thrusts himself from the ranks of the aristocracy or from the heart of the people; he breaks through all constituted power; he puts his hand on the laws, he alters all the institutions, and he gives twenty years of peace to his country. Did he have the right to do what he has done?

Dialogues

I am less preoccupied by what is good and moral than by what is useful and necessary.

Dialogues **{Montesquieu}**

... you have in your mouth but two words: force and cunning. If your system reduces itself to the declaration that force plays a great role in human affairs, that cleverness is a necessary qualification for a statesman, you understand well that this is a truth that need not be proved; but, if you elevate violence to a principle, cunning to a maxim of government, if you do not take into consideration in your calculations any of the laws of humanity, the code of tyranny is naught but the code of the brute. ...

Your principle is that good can come from evil, and that it is permissible to do evil when it will result in good. Thus, you do not say: It is good in itself to go back on one's word; it is good to use corruption, violence and murder. But you do say: One can deceive when it is useful to do so, kill when that is necessary, take the property of others when that is advantageous.

Dialogues

I spoke to you of wars just now: they rage always, I know; but, the first progress is that today they **no longer give the conquerors the property of the vanquished states. A law that you hardly know, international law, today guides the relations between the nations**, just as civil law guides the relations of the subjects of every country.

{p. 375} Protocols

Where does right begin? Where does it end?

In any State in which there is a bad organisation of authority, an impersonality of laws and of the rulers who have lost their personality amid the flood of rights ever multiplying out of liberalism, I find I new right - to attack by the right of the strong, and to scatter to the winds all existing forces of order and regulation, to reconstruct all institutions and to become the sovereign lord of those who have left to us the rights of their power by laying them down voluntarily in their liberalism.

Protocols

Let us, however, in our plans, direct our attention not so much to what is good and moral as to what is necessary and useful.

Protocols

Our countersign is - Force and Make-believe. Only force conquers in political affairs, especially if it be concealed in the talents essential to statesmen. Violence must be the principle, and cunning and mak-ebelieve the rule for governments which do not want to lay down their crowns at the feet of agents of some new power. This evil is the one and only means to attain the end, the good. Therefore we must not stop at bribery, deceit and treachery when they should serve towards the attainment of our end. In politics one must know how to seize the property of others without hesitation if by it we secure submission and sovereignty.

Protocols

It is indispensable for our purpose that wars, so far as possible, should not result in territorial gains: war will thus be brought on to the economic grounds, where the nations will not fail to perceive in the assistance we give the strength of our predominance, and this state of things will put both sides at the mercy of our international agentur;

{p. 376} Dialogues

In reality, you would have begun **a struggle between all the opposing forces**, roused all enterprises, given arms to all parties. You would have given strength to the assault of all ambitions, and made of the state an arena in which all factions would be unchained. In little time, there would be disorder everywhere; inexhaustible rhetoricians would transform the deliberating assemblies into oratorical jousts; audacious journalists, unbridled pamphleteers, would each day attack the person of the sovereign, would discredit the government, the ministers, the men of position. ...

There are tremendous populations riveted to labor by poverty, as they were in other times by slavery. What difference, I ask you, do your parliamentary fictions make to their happiness? Your great political movement has after all only ended in the triumph of a minority privileged by chance as the ancient nobility was by birth. What difference does it make to the proletariat bent over its labor, weighted down by the heaviness of its destiny, that some orators have the right to speak, that some journalists have the right to write? You have created rights which will be purely academic for the mass of the people, since it cannot make use of them. These rights, of which the law permits him the ideal enjoyment and necessity refuses him the actual exercise, are for the people only a bitter irony of destiny.

{p. 377} which possesses millions of eyes ever on the watch and unhampered by any limitations whatsoever. Our international rights will then wipe out national rights, in the proper sense of right, and will rule the nations precisely as the civil law of States rules the relations of their subjects among themselves.

Protocols

In order to incite seekers after power to a misuse of power **we have set all forces in opposition one to another**, breaking up their liberal tendencies towards independence. To this end we have stirred up every form of enterprise, we have armed all parties, we have set up authority as a target for every ambition. Of States we have made gladiatorial arenas where a host of confused issues contend... A little more, and disorders and bankruptcy will be universal. ...

Babblers inexhaustible have turned into oratorical contests the sittings of Parliament and Administrative Boards. Bold journalists and unscrupulous pamphleteers daily fall upon executive officials. Abuses of power will put the final touch in preparing all institutions for their overthrow and everything will fly skyward under the blows of the maddened mob.

All people are chained to heavy toil by poverty more firmly than ever they were chained by slavery and serfdom; from these, one way and another, they might free themselves, these could be settled with, but from what they will never get away. We have included in the constitution such rights as to the masses appear fictitious and not actual rights. **All these so-called "People's Rights" can exist only in idea**, an idea which can never be realized in practical life. What is it to the proletariat labourer, bowed double over his heavy toil, crushed by his lot in life, if talkers get the right to babble, if journalists get the right to scribble any nonsense side by side with good stuff, once the proletariat has no other profit out of the constitution save only those pitiful crumbs which we fling them from our table in return for their voting in favour of what we dictate, in favour of the men we place in power, the servants of our agentur. ... Republican rights for a poor man are no more than a bitter piece of irony. ...

{p. 378} Dialogues

... you do not know the **unfathomable cowardice of humanity ... servile in the face of force, pitiless in the face of weakness**, implacable before blunders, indulgent before crimes, incapable of supporting the contrarities of a liberal regime, and patient to the point of martyrdom before all the violences of bold despotism, upsetting thrones in its moments of anger, and giving itself rulers whom it pardons for actions the least of which would have caused it to decapitate twenty constitutional kings.

Dialogues

... the principle of popular sovereignty is destructive of all stability ... it indefinitely perpetuates the right to revolution. It puts nations into open war against all human powers and even against God; it is the very incarnation of violence. It makes of the people a ferocious brute which sleeps when it is satiated with blood, and which is enchained.

Dialogues

From the weariness of ideas and the shock of revolutions have come cold and disillusioned societies which have achieved indifference in politics as in religion, which have no other stimulant than material satisfactions, which live only in their own interest, which have no other cult than that of gold. ... Do you believe that it is for love of liberty in itself that the inferior classes are trying to rise to the assault on power? It is by hatred of those who possess....

Dialogues

What forms of government would you apply to societies in which corruption has stolen everywhere, in which morality has no guarantee

{p. 379} Protocols

It is the **bottomless rascality of the goyim peoples, who crawl on their bellies to force**, but are **merciless towards weakness**, unsparing to faults and indulgent to crimes, unwilling to bear the contradictions of a free social system but patient unto martyrdom under the violence of a bold despotism - it is those qualities which are aiding us to independence. From the premier-dictators of the present day the goyim peoples suffer patiently and bear such abuses as for the least of them they would have beheaded twenty kings.

Protocols

Thanks to this State of things **the people are destroying every kind of stability and creating disorders at every step.**

The word "freedom" brings out the communities of men to fight against every kind of force, against every kind of authority, even against God and the laws of nature. For this reason we, **when we come into our kingdom, shall have to erase this word from the lexicon** of life as implying a principle of brute force which turns mobs into bloodthirsty beasts.

These beasts, it is true, fall asleep again every time when they have drunk their fill of blood, and at such times can easily be riveted into their chains.

Protocols

The intensified struggle for superiority and shocks delivered to economic life will create, nay, have already created, cold and heartless communities. Such communities will foster a strong aversion towards the higher political and towards religion. Their only guide is gain, that is Gold, which they will erect into a veritable cult, for the sake of those material delights which it can give. **Then will the hour strike when**, not for the sake of attaining the good, not even to win wealth, but solely out of hatred towards the privileged, **the lower classes of the goyim will follow our lead against our rivals for power, the intellectuals of the goyim.**

Protocols

What form of administrative rule can be given to communities in which corruption has penetrated everywhere, communities where riches

{p. 380} save in repressive laws, in which the sentiment of patriotism itself is extinguished by I know not what universal cosmopolitanism? I see no salvation in these societies ... except in the institution of an extreme centralization, which puts all public force at the disposition of those who govern; ... which rules mechanically all the movements of individuals; in a vast system of legislation which takes up in detail all the liberties that have been imprudently bestowed...

Dialogues

MACHIAVELLI: ... Who makes the sovereigns?

MONTESQUIEU: The people. MACHIAVELLI: It is written: Per Me reges regnant. Which means literally: God makes kings. [Through Me kings reign.]

MONTESQUIEU: That is a translation in the manner of the Prince, O Machiavelli ... but it is not from the Holy Scripture.

Dialogues

Today it is less a question of doing men violence than of disarming them, less of suppressing their political passions than of wiping them out, less of combating their instincts than of deceiving them, less of prohibiting their ideas than of changing them by appropriating them to oneself... The principal secret of government consists in enfeebling the public spirit to the point of disinteresting it entirely in the ideas and the principles with which revolutions are made nowadays. In all times, people, like individuals, have been paid in words. Appearances nearly always are sufficient for them; they demand no more. One can, then, establish artificial institutions which correspond to a language and to ideas equally artificial; it is necessary to have the talent to strip the parties of that liberal phraseology with which they arm themselves against the government. It is necessary to satiate the people with it until they are weary, until they are disgusted. One speaks often today of the power of public opinion, I shall show you that it is made to express whatever one wants when one knows well the hidden resources of power. But before thinking of directing it, one

{p. 381} are attained only by the clever surprise tactics of semi-swindling tricks; where looseness reigns: where morality is maintained by penal measures and harsh laws but not by voluntarily accepted principles: where the feelings towards faith and country are obliterated by cosmopolitan convictions? What form of rule is to be given to these communities if not that despotism which I shall describe to you later? We shall create an intensified centralisation of government in order to grip in our hands all the forces of the community. We shall regulate mechanically all the actions of the political life of our subjects by new laws. These laws will withdraw one by one all the indulgences and liberties which have been permitted by the goyim. ...

Protocols

Per Me reges regnant. "It is through Me that Kings reign." And it was said by the prophets that we were chosen by God Himself to rule over the whole earth.

Protocols

Nowadays it is more important to disarm the peoples than to lead them into war: more important to use for our advantage the passions which have burst into flames than to quench their fire: more important to catch up and interpret the ideas of others to suit ourselves than to eradicate them. The principal object of our directorate consists in this: to debilitate the public mind by criticism; to lead it away from serious reflections calculated to arouse resistance; to distract the forces of the mind towards a sham fight of empty eloquence.

In all ages the peoples of the world, equally with individuals, have accepted words for deeds, for they are content with a show and rarely pause to note, in the public arena, whether promises are followed by performance. Therefore we shall establish show institutions which will give eloquent proof of their benefit to progress.

We shall assume to ourselves the liberal physiognomy of all parties, of all directions, and we shall give that physiognomy a voice in orators who will speak so much that they will exhaust the patience of their hearers and produce an abhorrence of oratory.

{p. 382} must benumb it, strike it with uncertainty by astounding contradictions, work on it with incessant diversions, dazzle it with all sorts of different actions, mislead it imperceptibly in its pathways.

Dialogues

I would institute ... huge financial monopolies, reservoirs of the public wealth, on which depends so closely the fate of all the private fortunes that they would be swallowed up with the credit of the State the day after any political catastrophe. You are an economist, Montesquieu, weigh the value of this combination. Head of the government, all my edicts, all my ordinances would constantly tend toward the same goal: to annihilate collective and individual forces; to develop excessively the preponderance of the State, to make of it the sovereign protector, promoter and remunerator. ... In modern times, the aristocracy, as a political force, has disappeared; but the landed bourgeoisie is still an element of dangerous resistance to governments, because it is independent in itself; it may be necessary to impoverish it or even to ruin it completely. It is enough, for this, to increase the charges which weigh on landed property, to maintain agriculture in a state of relative inferiority, to favor commerce and industry excessively, but speculation principally....

Dialogues

It is useless to add that the perpetual upkeep of a large army continually exercised by foreign wars must be the indispensable complement of this system; it is necessary to arrive at the existence in the state only of proletarians, several millionaires, and soldiers.

... Outside, it is necessary to incite, from one end of Europe to the other, the revolutionary fermentation that is curbed at home. Two considerable advantages would result from that; the liberal agitation outside makes possible the repression within. Moreover, in this way one

{p. 383} In order to put public opinion into our hands we must bring it into a state of bewilderment by giving expression from all sides to so many contradictory opinions and for such length of time as will suffice to make the Goyim lose their heads in the labyrinth and come to see that the best thing is to have no opinion of any kind in matters political. ...

Protocols

We shall soon begin to establish huge monopolies, reservoirs of colossal riches, upon which even large fortunes of the goyim will depend to such an extent that they will go to the bottom together with the credit of the States on the day after the political smash....

You gentlemen here present who are economists, just strike an estimate of the significance of this combination! ...

In every possible way we must develop the significance of our Super-Government by representing it as the Protector and Benefactor of all those who voluntarily submit to us.

The aristocracy of the goyim as a political force, is dead - we need not take it into account; but as landed proprietors they can still be harmful to us from the fact that they are self-sufficing in the resources upon which they live. It is essential therefore for us at whatever cost to deprive them of their land. This object will be best attained by increasing the burdens upon landed property - in loading lands with debts. These measures will check land-holding and keep it in a state of humble and unconditional submission.

... At the same time we must intensively patronise trade and industry, but, first and foremost, speculation, the part played by which is to provide a counterpoise to industry. ...

Protocols

The intensification of armaments, the increase of police forces - are all essential for the completion of the aforementioned plans. What we have to get at is that there should be in all the States of the world, besides ourselves, only the masses of the proletariat, a few millionaires devoted to our interests, police and soldiers. Throughout all Europe, and by means of relations with Europe, in other continents also, we must create ferments, discords and hostility. Therein we gain a double advantage. In the first place we keep in

{p. 384} controls all the powers, among which one can create order or disorder at will. The important point is to entangle by cabinet intrigues all the threads of European politics in such a way as to play one against the other the powers with whom one treats.... Alexander VI practised only deception in his diplomatic negotiations and yet he always succeeded, so well did he know the science of cunning.... But for what you call today the official language, a striking contrast is necessary, and there one cannot affect too much the spirit of loyalty and conciliation; the people, who see only the outward appearance of things, will manufacture a reputation of wisdom for the ruler who can conduct his affairs in this way.

To all internal agitation, he must be able to respond with a foreign war; to any imminent revolution, with a general war; but since in politics words must never be in accord with deeds, it is necessary that, in these various crises, the prince be able enough to disguise his real designs under contrary design; he must always give the impression of acceding to public opinion while he does what his hands have secretly prepared.

Dialogues

... what is essential is the use against one's enemies of all the arms they could employ against you. Not content with relying on the violent force of democracy, I would borrow of the subtleties of justice their most learned resources. When one takes decisions that could seem unjust or rash, it is essential to know how to express them in fine terms, to give them the highest reasons of morality and justice.

The power of which I dream, far, as you see, from having barbarian customs, must draw to itself all the forces and all the talents of the civilisation in the heart of which it lives. It must surround itself with publicists, lawyers, jurisconsults, practical men and administrators, men who know thoroughly all the secrets, all the strength of social life, who speak all languages, who have studied man in all circles. They must be taken from everywhere, no matter from whence, for these men give surprising service through the ingenious procedures they apply to politics. With that, a whole world of economists is necessary, of bankers, of industrialists, of capitalists, of men of vision, of men with

{p. 385} check all countries, for they well know that **we have the power whenever we like to create disorders or to restore order**. All these countries are accustomed to see in us an indispensable force of coercion. In the second place, by our intrigues we shall tangle up all the threads which we have stretched into the cabinets of all States by means of politics, by economic treaties, or loan obligations. In order to succeed in this we must use great cunning and penetration during negotiations and agreements, but, as regards what is called the "official language," we shall keep to the opposite tactics and assume the mask of honesty and compliancy. In this way the peoples and governments of the goyim, whom we have taught to look only at the outside of whatever we present to their notice, will still continue to accept us as the benefactors and saviours of the human race.

We must be in a position to respond to every act of opposition by war with the neighbors of that country which dares to oppose us: but if these neighbors should also venture to stand collectively together against us, then we must offer resistance by a universal war.

The principal factor of success in the political is the secrecy of its undertakings: the word should not agree with the deeds of the diplomat.

Protocols

We must arm ourselves with all the weapons which our opponents might employ against us. We must search out in the very finest shades of expression and the knotty points of the lexicon of law justification for those cases where we shall have to pronounce judgments that might appear abnormally audacious and unjust, for it is important that these resolutions should be set forth in expressions that shall seem to be the most exalted moral principles cast into legal form. Our directorate must surround itself with all these forces of civilisation among which it will have to work. It will surround itself with publicists, practical jurists, administrators, diplomats and, finally, with persons prepared by **a special super-educational training in our special schools**. These persons will have cognisance of all the secrets of the social structure, they will know all the languages that can be made up by political alphabets and words; they will be made acquainted with the whole underside of human nature, with all its sensitive chords on which they will have to play. ...

{p. 386} millions, for all fundamentally resolves itself into a question of figures. As for the principal dignities, the principal dismemberment of power, one must so arrange as to give them to men whose antecedents and character place a gulf between them and other men, every one of whom has only to expect death or exile in case of a change in government and is in need of defending until his last breath all that exists.

Dialogues

... in politics that is a rule the details of which I will follow scrupulously; if you will call to mind the principles to which you hold the most, you will see that I am not as embarrassed by them as you seem to think.... You would not fail, no doubt, to speak to me of the principle of the separation of powers, of liberty of speech and of the press, religious liberty, individual liberty, the right to congregate, equality before the law, the inviolability of property and of the home, the right of petition, free consent to taxation, proportionality of punishment, the non-retroactivity of the laws.... I have told you that I would proclaim these principles, but I have not said I would inscribe them or even that I would expressly designate them.... I will in no way sum up; I will take care to declare to the people that recognize and confirm the great principles of modern justice.... If I expressly enumerated these rights, my freedom of action will be chained to those I have mentioned; that is what I do not want. In not naming them, I seem to accord all and I do not specially accord any; this permits me to set aside later, by means of exception, those that I may judge dangerous.

Look, the nations have I know not what secret love for the vigorous genius of force. Of all violent actions marked by the talent of artifice, you will hear said with an admiration that overcomes all blame: This is not good, so be it, but it is clever, it is well done, it is strong! ...

MONTESQUIEU: You expect, then, to associate the nation with the new fundamental work that you are preparing?

{p. 387} **We shall surround our government with a whole world of economists.** That is the reason why economic sciences form the principal subject of the teaching given to the Jews. **Around us again will be a whole constellation of bankers, industrialists, capitalists and - the main thing - millionaires,** because in substance everything will be settled by the question of figures.

For a time, until there will no longer be any risk in entrusting responsible posts in our States to our brother-Jews, we shall put them in the hands of persons whose past and reputation are such that between them and the people lies an abyss, persons who, in case of disobedience to our instructions, must face criminal charges or disappear - this in order to make them defend our interests to their last gasp.

Protocols

For our policy it is of the greatest importance to take cognisance of this detail; it will be of assistance to us when we come to consider the division of authority, freedom of speech, of the press, of religion (faith), of the law of association, of equality before the law, of the inviolability of property, of the dwelling, of taxation (the idea of concealed taxes), of the reflex force of the laws. All these questions are such as ought not to be touched upon directly and openly before the people. In cases where it is indispensable to touch upon them they must not be categorically named, it must merely be declared without detailed exposition that the principles of contemporary law are acknowledged by us. The reason of keeping silence in this respect is that by not naming a principle we leave ourselves freedom of action, to drop this or that out of it without attracting notice; if they were all categorically named they would all appear to have been already given.

The mob cherishes a special affection and respect for the geniuses of political power and accepts all their deeds of violence with the admiring response: "Rascally, well, yes, it is rascally, but it's clever! ... a trick, if you like, but how craftily played, how magnificently done, what impudent audacity!" ...

We count upon attracting all nations to the task of erecting the new fundamental structure, the project for which has been drawn up by us.
...

When we have accomplished our coup d'etat we shall say then to

{p. 388} MACHIAVELLI: Yes, no doubt. That surprises you? I will do much better; I will first have ratified by a popular vote the coup that I have carried against the state; I will say to the people, in suitable terms: All was going wrong; I have smashed everything, I have saved you, do you want me? You are free to condemn me or to absolve me by your vote.

Dialogues

... in the majority of the parliamentary nations, the press has the faculty of making itself hated, since it is at the service only of violent, selfish, and exclusive passions, since it disparages through prejudice, since it is mercenary, since it is unjust, since it is without generosity and without patriotism; and, last but not least, since you will never be able to make the masses of the people understand of what value it may be.

... it isn't only journalism that I intend to repress.

... it would hardly be worth while escaping from the attacks of journalism if one had to remain exposed to those of books.

I would decree that in the future no newspaper could be founded except by authorization of the government; right there you have the danger arrested in its development; for, as you can easily understand, the newspapers which would be authorized would be only those organs devoted to the government.

I would reach all newspapers, present or future, by fiscal measures which would check when needed all publicity enterprises; I would subject political journals to what you call nowadays the stamp and security. The business of the press would soon become so unremunerative, thanks to the raising of these taxes, that no one would go into it unknowingly.

MONTESQUIEU: The remedy is insufficient, because political parties spare no expense.

MACHIAVELLI: ... I have something with which to close their mouths: here come the repressive measures. ... Two convictions in one year will automatically bring about the suppression of the paper. I would not rely on that alone, I would say to the newspapers, in a decree or a law: "Reduced to the greatest caution in matters that concern you, do not expect to arouse opinion by commentaries on the debates in my chambers. ..."

{p. 389} the various peoples: "Everything has gone terribly badly, all have been worn out with sufferings. **We are destroying the causes of your torment - nationalities, frontiers, differences of coinages.** You are at liberty, of course, to pronounce sentence upon us...."

Protocols

What is the part played by the press to-day? It serves to excite and inflame those passions which are needed for our purpose or else it serves selfish ends of parties. It is often vapid, unjust, mendacious, and the majority of the public have not the slightest idea what ends the press really serves. We shall saddle and bridle it with a tight curb: we shall do the same also with all productions of the printing press, for where would be the sense of getting rid of the attacks of the press if we remain targets for pamphlets and books? The produce of publicity, which nowadays is a source of heavy expense owing to the necessity of censoring it, will be turned by us into a very lucrative source of income to our State: **we shall lay on it a special stamp tax and require deposits of caution-money before permitting the establishment of any organ of the press or of printing offices;** these will then have to guarantee our government against any kind of attack on the part of the press. For any attempt to attack us, if such still be possible, we shall inflict fines without mercy. Such measures as stamp tax, deposit of caution-money and fines secured by these deposits, will bring in a huge income to the government. It is true that party organs might not spare money for the sake of publicity, but these we shall shut up at the second attack upon us. **No one shall with impunity lay a finger on the aureole of our government infallibility.** The pretext for stopping any publication will be the alleged plea that it is agitating the public mind without occasion for justification. I beg you to note that among those making attacks upon us will also be organs established by us, but they will attack exclusively points that we have pre-determined to alter.

Not a single announcement will reach the public without our control. Even now this is already being attained by us inasmuch as all news items are received by a few agencies, in whose offices they are focused from all parts of the world. These agencies will then be

{p. 390} I do not want my kingdom to be disturbed by noises from abroad. How could foreign news arrive? By a few agencies which centralize the news which is transmitted to them from the four quarters of the globe. Well, I suppose these agencies could be paid, and then they would give out no news except by order of the government.

MONTESQUIEU: ... now you may go on to the regulation of books.

MACHIAVELLI: ... In the first place, I shall oblige those who wish to exercise the profession of printer, editor or librarian to secure a seal, that is, an authorization which the government may always withdraw, either directly or by decisions of the court.

MONTESQUIEU: But, in that case ... the instruments of thought will become the instruments of power!

MACHIAVELLI: ... I will return to fiscal measures; I will extend to books the stamp which affects the newspapers, or rather I shall impose the burden of a stamp on those books which have not a certain number of pages. A book, for instance, which has not two or three hundred pages will not be a book, it will be only a brochure. I believe that you readily grasp the advantage of this scheme: on one hand I reduce, by this tax, the swarm of little writings which are like the appendages of journalism; on the other hand, I force those who wish to escape the tax to write long and costly compositions which will scarcely sell or which will barely be read in this form. Nowadays there are hardly any but a few poor devils who have the conscience to write books; they will give it up. The economic question will discourage literary vanity and penal law will disarm printing itself, for I shall make the publisher and the printer criminally responsible for the contents of the books. If there are writers daring enough to write books against the government, they must not be able to find anyone to publish them. The effects of this wholesome intimidation will indirectly re-establish a censor that the government itself could not exercise because of the disrepute into which this preventive measure has fallen. Before publishing new works, the printers and the publishers will consult one another, they will be informed; they will produce books which are in demand, and in this manner the government will always be usefully informed of the publications which are being prepared against it; it will bring about a preliminary attachment when it deems necessary and will report the authors to the courts.

... Since journalism is such a great force, do you know what my

{p. 391} already entirely ours, and will give publicity only to what we dictate to them.

... Let us turn again to the future of the printing press. Every one desirous of being a publisher, librarian, or printer, will be obliged to provide himself with the diploma issued therefore, which, in case of any fault, will be immediately impounded. With such measures the instrument of thought will become an educative means in the hands of our government....

We turn to the periodical press. **We shall impose on it, as on all printed matter, stamp taxes per sheet and deposits of caution-money, and books of less than 30 sheets will pay double.** We shall reckon them as pamphlets in order, on the one hand, to reduce the number of magazines, which are the worst form of printed poison, and, on the other, in order that this measure may force writers into such lengthy productions that they will be little read, especially as they will be costly. At the same time what we shall publish ourselves to influence mental development in the direction laid down for our profit will be cheap and will be read voraciously. The tax will bring vapid literary ambitions within bounds and the liability to penalties will make literary men dependent upon us. And if there should be any found who are desirous of writing against us, they will not find any person eager to print their productions. Before accepting any production for publication in print the publisher or printer will have to apply to the authorities for permission to do so. Thus we shall know beforehand of all tricks preparing against us and shall nullify them by getting ahead with explanations of the subject treated of.

Literature and journalism are two of the most important educative forces, and therefore our government will become proprietor of the majority of the journals. This will neutralise the injurious influence upon the public mind... If we give permits for ten journals, we shall ourselves found thirty, and so on in the same proportion. This, however, must in no wise be suspected by the public. For which reason all journals published by us will be of the most opposite, in appearance, tendencies and opinions, thereby creating confidence in us and bringing over to us our quite unsuspecting opponents, who will thus fall into our trap and be rendered harmless.

In the front rank will stand organs of an official character. They

{p. 392} government would do? It would turn journalist, it would become journalism incarnate.... I shall count the number of newspapers which represent what you call the opposition. If there are ten for the opposition, I shall have twenty for the government; if there are twenty, I shall have forty; if there are forty, I shall have eighty. You can readily understand now to what use I will put the faculty which I reserved for myself to authorize the creation of new political papers.

... the masses must have no suspicion of these tactics; the scheme would lose its point, public opinion would shy at newspapers which openly defended my policies.

I shall divide into three or four categories the papers devoted to my power. In first rank I shall put a certain number of newspapers whose tone will be frankly official and which, at any encounter, will defend my deeds to the death. I tell you right from the start, these will not be the ones which will have the greatest influence on public opinion. In the second rank I shall place another series of newspapers the character of which will be no more than officious and the purposes of which will be to rally to my power that mass of luke-warm and indifferent persons who accept without scruple what is established but who do not go beyond that in their political faith.

It is in the newspaper categories which follow that will be found the most powerful supporters of my power. Here, the official or officious tone is completely dropped, in appearance, that is, for the newspapers of which I am going to speak will all be attached by the same chain to my government, a chain visible for some, invisible for others. I shall not attempt to tell you how many of them there will be, for I shall count on a devoted organ in each opinion, in each party; I shall have an aristocratic organ in the aristocratic party, a republican organ in the republican party, a revolutionary organ in the revolutionary party, an anarchist organ, if necessary, in the anarchist party. Like the god Vishnu, my press will have a hundred arms, and these arms will stretch out their hands to all the possible shades of opinion over the whole surface of the country. Everyone will be of my party whether he knows it or not. Those who think they are speaking their own language will be speaking mine, those who think they are agitating their own party will be agitating mine, those who think they are marching under their own flag will be marching under mine.

MONTESQUIEU: I am only wondering how you will be able to direct

{p. 393} will always stand guard over our interests, and therefore their influence will be comparatively insignificant.

In the second rank will be the semi-official organs, whose part it will be to attract the tepid and indifferent.

In the third rank we shall set up our own, to all appearance, opposition, which in at least one of its organs, will present what looks like the very antipodes to us. Our real opponents at heart will accept this simulated opposition as their own and will show us their cards.

All our newspapers will be of all possible complexions - aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchical - for so long, of course, as the constitution exists. ... Like the Indian idol Vishnu they will have a hundred hands and every one of them will have a finger on any one of the public opinions as required. When a pulse quickens these hands will lead opinion in the direction of our aims, for an excited patient loses all power of judgment and easily yields to suggestion. Those fools who will think they are repeating the opinion of a newspaper of their own camp will be repeating our opinion or any opinion that seems desirable for us. In the vain belief that they are following the organ of their party they will in fact follow the flag which we hang out for them.

In order to direct our newspaper militia in this sense we must take especial and minute care in organising this matter. Under the title of central department of the press we shall institute literary gatherings at which our agents will without attracting attention **issue the orders and watchwords of the day**. By discussing and controverting, but always superficially, **without touching the essence of the matter**, our organs will carry on a sham fight fusillade with the official newspapers solely for the purpose of giving occasion for us to express ourselves more fully than could well be done from the outset in official announcements, whenever, of course, that is to our advantage.

These attacks upon us will also serve another purpose, namely, that our subjects will be convinced of the existence of full freedom of speech and so give our agents an occasion to affirm that all organs which oppose us are empty babblers, since they are incapable of finding any substantial objections to our orders.

Methods of organisation like these, imperceptible to the public eye but absolutely sure, are the best calculated to succeed in bringing to the attention and the confidence of the public to the side of our

{p. 394} and rally all these military forces of publicity secretly hired by your government.

MACEIIAVELLI: That is only a question of organization, you must understand; I shall institute, for instance, under the title of division of printing and the press, a center of operation to which one will come for orders. So, for those who will be only half in on the secret of this scheme, it will be a strange spectacle: they will see sheets, devoted to my government, which will attack me, which will shout, which will stir up a turmoil of confusion.

... you will notice that **the foundation and the principles of my government will never be attacked** by the newspapers of which I am speaking; they will never go in for anything more than a polemic skirmish, a dynastic opposition within the narrowest limits.

... The result, considerable enough, will be to make the greatest number say: "But you see, one is free, one may speak under this regime, it is unjustly attacked; instead of repressing, as it might do, it tolerates these things!" Another result, not less important, will be to provoke, for instance, such observations as these: "You see to what point the foundations and principles of this government commands the respect of all; here are newspapers which allow themselves the greatest freedom of speech; well, they never attack the established institutions. They must be above the injustices of human passions, since the very enemies of the government cannot help rendering homage to them."

... With the aid of the secret loyalty of these public papers, I may say that I can direct at will the general opinion in all questions of internal or external policies. I arouse or lull the minds, I reassure or disturb them, I plead for and against, true and false. I have a fact announced and I have it refuted, according to the circumstances; in this way I plumb public thought, I gather the impression produced. I try combinations, projects, sudden decisions; in other words I send out what you call in France feelers. I fight my enemies as I please without ever compromising my power, since, after having the papers make certain statements, I may, when necessary, deny them most energetically; I solicit opinion on certain resolutions, I urge it on or I hold it back, I always have my finger on its pulse; it reflects, without knowing it, my personal impressions, and it occasionally is astonished at being so constantly in accord with its sovereign.

{p. 395} government. Thanks to such methods we shall be in a position as from time to time may be required, to excite or to tranquillise the public mind on political questions, to persuade or to confuse, printing now truth, now lies, facts or their contradictions as they may be well or ill received, always very cautiously feeling our ground before stepping upon it. We shall have a sure triumph over our opponents since they will not have at their disposition organs of the press in which they can give full and final expression of their views owing to the aforesaid methods of dealing with the press. **We shall not even need to refute them except very superficially.**

Trial shots like these, fired by us in the third rank of our press, in case of need, will be energetically refuted by us in our semi-official organs.

Even nowadays, already, to take only the French press, there are forms which reveal **masonic solidarity in acting on the watchword**: all organs of the press are bound together by professional secrecy; like the augurs of old, not one of their numbers will give away the secret of his sources of information unless it be resolved to make announcement of them. Not one journalist will venture to betray this secret, for not one of them is ever admitted to practise literature unless his whole past has some disgraceful sore or other. ... These sores would be immediately revealed.

{p. 396} ... You must know that journalism is a sort of free-masonry; those who live in it are all more or less attached to one another by the bonds of professional discretion; like the ancient soothsayers, they do not readily divulge the secret of their oracles. They would gain nothing by betraying one another, for the majority of them have some more or less shameful secrets.

Dialogues {Montesquieu, p. 209 in Joly}

How are loans made? By the issue of bonds containing an obligation on the part of the government to pay a yearly interest proportionate to the capital which has been deposited. **If the loan is at 5 per cent, for instance, the state, at the end of twenty years, has paid a sum equal to the capital borrowed; at the end of forty years, a double amount; at the end of sixty years, a triple amount, and yet it always remains debtor for the total of the same capital.**

{p. 397} Protocols {Protocol 20}

A loan is - an issue of government bills of exchange containing a percentage obligation commensurate to the sum of the loan capital. If the loan bears a charge of 5 per cent, then in twenty years the State vainly pays away in interest a sum equal to the loan borrowed, in forty years it is paying a double sum, in sixty-treble, and all the while the debt remains an unpaid debt.

{end}

Bernstein's Exhibit A, Maurice Joly's book *Dialogues in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, is excluded here, but is at <http://mailstar.net/joly.zip>

For Cohn's detailed arguments in *Warrant For Genocide*, see <http://mailstar.net/cohn.html>

For arguments that the Bernstein / Cohn "forgery" hypothesis is flawed, see *The Protocols of Zion Toolkit* at <http://mailstar.net/toolkit.html>

Herman Bernstein's book *THE TRUTH ABOUT "THE PROTOCOLS OF ZION": A Complete Exposure* is out of print, but occasionally available second-hand (at a high price) at <http://dogbert.abebooks.com/abe/BookSearch?an=herman+bernstein>

EXTRA Parallels (Peter M., not in Bernstein's Parallels)

Dialogues p. 214

MACHIARELLI. I am afraid that **you are somewhat prejudiced against loans; they are valuable for more than one reason: they attach families to the government; they are excellent investments for private people**, and modern economists today expressly recognize that, **far from impoverishing the state, public debts enrich it**. Will you allow me to explain how? ...

p. 215 MACHIARELLI.: **Nowadays one no longer borrows of bankers.**

MONTESQUIEU. Of whom, then?

MACHIARELLI. Instead of striking bargains with capitalists who come to an agreement amongst themselves to frustrate any bidding and whose limited number destroys all competition, **one appeals to all his subjects: to the rich, to the poor, to the artisans, to the business men**, to whomever has a cent to dispose of; one opens what is called a **public subscription, and so that each one can buy shares**, it is divided into coupons of very small sums. They sell for from five to ten francs a share to 100,000, a million francs' worth of shares. The day after their issue the value of these shares is rising, is at a premium, as they say: everyone knows it, and they rush from all sides to buy; one would think them delirious. **In several days the chests of the treasury are crammed**; so much money is received that one hardly knows where to put it; however, arrangements are made to accept it, because if the subscription exceeds the capital of the stock issued, a great effect can be made upon public opinion. ...

MACHIARELLI. I would have even more than you think, because among the modern nations, **there are great banking institutions which are able to lend directly to the state one or two hundred millions at the usual rate of interest**; the large cities may also

{p. 216} lend. Among these same nations there are other institutions which are called savings institutions: these are savings banks, sick funds, pensions. The state is accustomed to demand that their capital, which is immense, sometimes as much as five or six hundred millions, must be deposited in the public treasury where it operates with the common stock, allowing a small interest for those who deposit it. **Besides, governments may procure funds just as bankers do**. They make out sight drafts on their treasury for the sum of two or three hundred millions, **a sort of letter of exchange upon which they draw** before they have entered into circulation.

MONTESQUIEU. Permit me to stop you: you speak of nothing but borrowing or of drawing on letters of exchange; are you never interested in paying something?

MACHIARELLI. It is well to let you know that, in case of need, **the domains of the state may be sold**. ...

MACHIARELLI. I use this expression because I consider it absolutely exact. **It is not always possible to liquidate a debt, but it is always possible to meet it**; the word is, in fact, very energetic, for a debt is a formidable enemy.

MONTESQUIEU. Well, how shall you meet it?

MACHIARELLI. There are various methods: **first of all is taxes**. ...

{p. 217} MONTESQUIEU. You will soon have wiped them out, I imagine.

MACHIAVELLI. There are other ways: there is what is called **conversion**.

MONTESQUIEU. Ah!

MACHIAVELLI. This has to do with the debt which is called **consolidated**, that is, the one which accrues from the issue of loans. One says to the stockholders of the state, for instance: **up till now I have paid you five percent on your money; that was the rate of interest on your shares. From now on I expect to pay no more than four or four and one-half percent.** Agree to this reduction or be reimbursed for the capital which you loaned me.

{p. 218} MACHIAVELLI. **I would have gigantic establishments of credit**

{p. 219} **instituted apparently for the purpose of lending money to industry, but whose real function would be to uphold the stock. Capable of placing 400 or 500 millions of shares on the market,** or of rarefying the market in the same proportions, these financial monopolies would always be masters of the Exchange. What do you think of this scheme?

... **TWENTY-SECOND DIALOGUE**

MONTESQUIEU.... **You hold in your hands the greatest power of modern times, money.** You are able to procure practically as much of it as you wish. With such prodigious resources you will undoubtedly do great things; here is finally an opportunity of showing that good may come from evil.

... {p. 220} MACHIAVELLI. The greatest of my good deeds will be, first of all, that of **having given domestic peace to my people. Under my reign the wicked passions are restrained, the good people are reassured and the bad ones tremble.** I render liberty, dignity, strength to a country torn by factions before my time.

MONTESQUIEU. After having changed so many things, will you not end by changing the meaning of words?

MACHIAVELLI. **Liberty does not consist in license,** no more than dignity and strength consist in insurrection and disorder. **My empire, peaceful at home, will be glorious abroad.**

... {p. 223} MACHIAVELLI. Ah! you look upon the miseries of the people so cold-bloodedly! The principles of my government are far different; I bear in my heart the suffering human beings, the little ones. **I am indignant when I see the wealthy ones procure pleasures inaccessible to the majority. I shall do all that I can to improve the material condition of the workers,** the laborers, those who bow beneath the weight of social necessity.

... {p. 227} MACHIAVELLI. ... **The question of building** which seems slight is in reality, as you see, **a colossal one.** ...

{p. 228} **I shall institute a fund of public works** which I shall endow with several hundred millions by the aid of which I shall invite constructions over the entire surface of my kingdom. You have guessed my aim: **I shall support the rising of the working classes** ... **The worker who builds for me** at the same time builds the necessary means of defense against himself. Without knowing it, he drives himself from the great centers where his presence would disturb me; he **makes forever impossible the success of revolutions which are made in the street.**

... {p. 234} MONTESQUIEU. You are powerful in the face of your people because you are holding them under your feet, but if you deceive the States with whom you have relations the way you deceive your subjects, **you will soon be strangled in the arms of a coalition.**

MACHIAVELLI. You force me to leave my subject, for **I am interested here only in my interior policies;** but if you wish to know one of the principal means by the aid of which I would keep in check the coalition of foreign hatred, here it is: I reign over a powerful kingdom, I have told you; well! I would seek among the surrounding States some great nation now decayed and attempting to recover itself; **I would help it recover entirely by means of some general war, as has been done in Sweden, in Prussia, and as could be done from one day to another in Germany or in Italy;** and this nation, which would only exist through me, which would be nothing but the work of my existence, would give me, as long as I am in power, three hundred thousand more men against an armed Europe. ...

{p. 235} You have been able to see in my institutions and my acts what attention I have always given to **the creating of appearances; words are as necessary as actions.** The height of cleverness is to create a belief in franchise, when one has a Punic faith. Not only will my aims be impenetrable, but **my words will nearly always signify the opposite of what they will seem to indicate.** Only the initiated will be able to penetrate the sense of the characteristic phrases that I will drop from the heights of my throne: **when I will say: My reign means peace, it means there will be war;** when I will say that I call upon moral means, it means I will use methods of force. Do you hear me? ...

{p. 237} It is true that, **to arrive at sovereign power, it was necessary to spill blood and to violate many rights;** but, I repeat, everything will be forgotten.

... {p. 241} **TWENTY-FIFTH DIALOGUE**

MACHIAVELLI. **I will reign for ten years under these conditions,** without changing anything in my legislation; this is the only price of definite success. **Nothing, absolutely nothing, must make me change** during this period; the lid of the boiler must be

of iron and lead; it is during this time that the phenomena of destruction of the dissatisfied spirit are elaborated. You think perhaps that the people will be unhappy, that they will complain. Ah! I would be inexcusable if that were so; but **when the springs have been the most violently tensed**, when I will weigh with the most terrible heaviness upon the chest of my people, this is what they will say: **We have only what we deserve, let us suffer.**

... {p. 247} ... When the unhappy is oppressed, he says: **If the king but knew**; when someone desires revenge, **when he hopes for help, he says, The king will know.**