

OUTLINE OF NORMAN COHN'S *WARRANT FOR GENOCIDE*

Cohn, Norman. *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. 1967; reprint edition, London: Serif, 1996. 314 pages with forward, eight illustrations, four appendices, bibliographical note, and index.

Chapter One: The Origins of the Myth (25-45)

—Hellenistic and Byzantine cultures linked the Jews with Anti-Christ and “the son of perdition.”
+This identification combined apocalyptic, messianic, and millennial strains of thought.
+Key examples, derived from St. Paul and Revelation, were Chrysostom and Augustine.

—Medieval demonological traditions perpetuated this anti-Jewish tradition in changed religious, political, and economic contexts.

+Societal upheavals—i.e., the Crusades, the Black Death, the rise and fall of Islam, the evolving economy—poisoned the wells of any possible goodwill toward Jews as they became scapegoats for social ills, and consequently demonized.

+Talk of a “secret Jewish government” with a council of leaders in Moslem Spain appealed to the passions and superstitions of the masses and their fear of “an underground war against Christendom” by means of sorcery [but Cohn does not give his source(s) for this development].

+The restrictions placed on Jews and their ghettoization during the Middle Ages advanced popular beliefs about Jews as “a wholly alien people,” “strange creatures,” and “demons in human form” (their otherness).

—The myth of Jewish world-conspiracy marked a “modern adaptation” of the classical, Byzantine, and Medieval demonological tradition.

+Important aspects of this Jewish conspiracy included:

-a secret Jewish government

-a world-wide network of hidden agencies and organizations

-wide range of control of political parties, governments, the press, public opinion, banks, economic developments

-a long history in its evolution

-the aim of world domination

-near its desired goal, i.e., the idea of imminence (hence, compatible with apocalyptic, messianic, and millennial thought)

+The evolved focus of anti-Jewish sentiments sought to quell the terror of typically modern anxieties and resentments.

-the dynamic restlessness and innovation of urban civilization

-the rise of new social classes, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat

-the threat to the old order by democracy, liberalism, and secularism

—“A long, bitter struggle began 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. These changes, which affected European society as a whole, brought both new opportunities and the new perils to Europe’s Jews” (27).

+Jews gained some legal freedom.

+But Jews still appeared to be an “exclusive community” and as such displayed a “mysterious quality” (an ancient concept) which ironically became, to the old order, a symbol of modernity.

-Jews lived predominately in the cities, they were town-dwellers.

-Jews sided generally with liberal and democratic forces, i.e., champions of liberty.

-Jews, who were typically denied access to many traditional occupations, looked for new ways to make a living, and thereby some grew rich.

-Jews proved to be open to experiment and innovation.

—By 1870, a new type of antisemitism developed—the new political form of antisemitism.

+Leftist antisemitism joined contempt for Jewish religion with the resented power of Jewish bankers, i.e., socialist antisemitism.

+The landed aristocracy and the clergy demonized the Jews as responsible for the upheavals experienced by nineteenth century European society, i.e., elitist antisemitism.

+Contra the progressives, ultra-conservative politicians and publicists charged Jews of orchestrating a world-wide conspiracy with a secret Jewish government.

—At the heart of this myth of Jewish world-conspiracy was the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

+Conspiracy theories that preceded this notable forgery are legion.

-by the French cleric, Abbe Barruel (1797)

He impugned secret societies for the decline of morality and true religion in France.

He indicted the Order of Templars, the secret literary academy of the Enlightenment, the Jacobins, the Bavarian Illuminati, etc.

-by the Scottish mathematician, John Robison (1798)

-the letter to Barruel from a Florentine army officer, J. B. Simonini

Simonini placed blame on “the Judaic sect.”

He offered “insider” information about Jewish pretense to become “masters of the world” (with one serious obstacle, the House of Bourbon).

This letter, according to Cohn, contained “in embryo . . . the whole myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” (33).

-the action of Napoleon (1806)

Napoleon’s assembly of “the Great Sanhedrin” in Paris confirmed the suspicions of believers in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

This was denounced by French emigres in London and by the Holy Synod of Orthodoxy in Moscow.

-by the time of Barruel’s death (1820)

The French cleric had revised his conspiracy thesis—traceable from Mani to the medieval Templars to the Freemasons (influenced by the Jews).

- # A supreme council (partly Jewish), under the guidance of a Grand Master (who cannot be disobeyed on penalty of death), controlled a network of Masonic lodges in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.
- # “Clearly the supreme council, even though only partly Jewish, already possessed that superhuman capacity for organizing vast and invisible manoeuvres that later generations were to attribute to the Elders of Zion” (36).
- +But during the first half of the nineteenth century, the myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy attracted little attention, even among antisemites.
- +Around 1850, the myth reappeared in Germany as “a weapon of the extreme right in its struggle against the growing forces of nationalism, liberalism, democracy, and secularism” (37).
 - from “a Berlin Freemason” in the *Historisch-politische Blaetter*, a Catholic periodical in Munich
 - from Hermann Goedsche’s *Biarritz* (1868), a novel with a chapter called “In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague”
 - # A cast of celebrated Jewish religious figures in a setting of highly charged Jewish religious images provided the framework for “a secret nocturnal meeting” whereby Jewish leaders plotted to overthrow the Christian Church with free thought, scepticism, and anti-clericalism (see 39-41).
 - # The antisemitism of the *Biarritz* represented conservative backlash against partial emancipation of the Jews in Germany.
 - # The *Biarritz* gave birth to numerous descendants.
 - ~a pamphlet in St. Petersburg (1872)
 - ~*In the Jewish Cemetery in Czech Prague (the Jews sovereigns of the world)* published in Moscow (1876)
 - ~pamphlets in Odessa and Prague
 - ~in *Le Contemporain* in France (July 1881)
 - ~in Francois Bournand’s *Les Juifs et nos contemporains* (1896) [*The Rabbi’s Speech*]
 - ~in Theodor Fritsch’s “catechism” for antisemitic agitators (1887), later printed as *Handbook of the Jewish Question* which sold 100,000 copies by 1933
 - ~in the antisemitic anthology *La Russie juive* (1891)
 - ~in the Austrian paper *Deutschsoziale Blaetter* (1893)
 - ~in Prague as *Speech of a Rabbi about the Goyim* (Czech, 1901)
 - ~in Viennese newspapers—*Michel wach auf* and *Wiener deutsche Zeitung* (1901?)
 - ~in the Odessa newspaper *Novorossiysky Telegraf* (1891)
 - ~to provoke riots and pogroms at Kishinev in Bessarabia by P. A. Krushevan in his newspaper *Znamya* (1903)
 - ~as a pamphlet in Kharkov (1903)
 - ~in Wuerttemberg (Germany) as part of *What is the Jewish Spirit?* (1919)

~in Berlin as part of *the Secret of Jewish World-Domination, from a work of the last century, which was bought up by Jews and so disappeared from circulation* (date?)

Goedsche's work contributed to the fantasies of antisemitic propaganda during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. "In the vast mass of Germany antisemitic writing, the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy and the secret Jewish government became one of the more important themes" (45).

Chapter Two: Against Satan and the Alliance Israelite Universelle (46-65)

—Gougenot des Mousseaux's *Le Juif, le judaisme et la judaisation des peuples chretiens* (1869?) argued for a conspiracy theory of world dominion by "kabbalistic Jews"—a mysterious group of Satanists.

+Gougenot revived the catastrophic language of apocalypticism, with all its emphasis on antimessianism, fanatical zeal of the masses, and a central sinister figure.

+He also modernized these tendencies.

-emphasis on gold and the press

-establishment of a world-state by Anti-Christ

-an international order with the political unity of all peoples and an abundance of material goods, i.e., a millennial utopia

+The immediate context of *Le Juif* pitted French Freemasonry in heated battle with the Roman Catholic Church.

-The progressive freemasons hated the *ancien regime*.

-Catholics viewed the reactionaries as agents of Satan.

—In *Les Francs-Maçons et les juifs: Sixieme Age de l'Eglise d'apres l'Apocalypse* (1881) and *Les Juifs nos maitres* (1882), Abbe Chabauty set forth the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy as a prelude to the coming of the Jewish Anti-Christ and world domination by the Jews, both satanically inspired.

+The latter work included two letters of significance for the history of antisemitism—*The Letter of the Jews of Arles* and *The Reply of the Jews of Constantinople*.

+These documents convinced Chabauty of the existence of a single, secret Jewish government throughout the Diaspora, its aim at world-domination, its demand for total Jewish allegiance, and its pervasive influence in governments of the western world.

+Chabauty's work found imitators in Italy, France, and Germany.

-The Jesuits of *La civiltà cattolica* discredited Freemasonry by association with Jewish world-conspiracy (1880s and 1890s).

-One of Leo Taxil's hoaxes (1893) persuaded the French clergy of an American Freemason telephone system manned by devils.

-Mgr Meurin's *Synagogue de Satan* (1893) defined Freemasonry as "fundamentally Jewish, passionately Jewish, from the beginning to the end. Some day history will tell how all the revolutions of recent centuries originated in the Masonic sect under the supreme command of the Jews" (54). He also assumed the mystery of the 33rd degree, a branch which specialized in symbolism and philanthropy. Further, he concluded with

apocalyptic language and an exhortation to exclude Jews from social spheres of influence, i.e., banking, commerce, journalism, teaching, medicine.

-The French *L'Anti-Smitique* was published in Montdidier in the Somme where no Jews lived. "What the Jew symbolized for this public was the mysterious and sinister power of Paris, where most Jews lived. Here again one sees how the latter-day revival of antisemitism expressed above all the protest of traditional, rural society against the forces of modernity" (56).

-Edouard Drumont's *La France juive* (1886) popularized the work of Gougenot des Mousseaux.

—In Russia, the Jewish population reached about five million or fully one-third of the world Jewry and about five percent of the total Russian population.

—Russia, still largely medieval in outlook, had a superstitious populace with deep religious beliefs in the last absolute monarchy of Europe.

—In contrast to the assimilated Jews of Western Europe, Russian Jews formed a closed, distinct, and separate minority.

+Restricted and persecuted (especially after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881), many chose to emigrate, especially to the United States.

+Russians who hated the autocracy, especially the anarchists, assailed the Jews as conspirators in terrorist opposition to the Tsar.

-In some measure, among Jews who broke away from the traditional Jewish community, this was true of a small minority of Jews who joined revolutionary movements.

-But generally such distinctions were ignored by the police, who sought out Jews as perpetrators of revolution and governmental overthrow.

—In Russia, world-conspiracy propaganda came from official sources, especially as a routine activity of the political police.

+Jacob Brafmann, a Jewish convert to Orthodoxy and a police spy, maligned the Hebrew word *kahal* (community) in his *The Book of the Kahal* (1869) with charges of unscrupulous economic takeover of towns by ousting and despoiling Christian competitors.

+The same author's *Jewish Fraternities, local and universal* (1869, reprinted 1888) mimicked Goedsche and Gougenot and attacked the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

-International aspects of the Alliance relief efforts drew criticism about "the net of the Jewish world-alliance . . . spread over the whole globe" (61).

-Authorities shut down the work of the Alliance in Russia and restricted the activities of the Society for the Dissemination of Education (Jewish).

+Antisemitic propagandist Hippolytus Lutostansky, a defrocked Polish Catholic priest, joined Orthodoxy and wrote *The Talmud and the Jews* (1879/80).

-He unscrupulously combined the Judeo-Masonic myth with Brafmann's attacks on the Alliance.

-He justified his entire argument by reprinting *The Rabbi's Speech*.

+An international crook (of Jewish origin!) named Millinger, but called Osman-Bey or Kibridli-Zade, made his living as a door-to-door type propagandist of antisemitism.

-His *World Conquest by the Jews* denounced the Alliance as the source of all evil—"an invisible and intangible power, casting an unnoticeable net of gold and steel around the world, while creeping in darkness with a dagger in one hand and dynamite in the other" (63).

-The Alliance had aligned with William Pitt and his Jewish agitators to instigate the French Revolution and was now dominating France.

-The Alliance had created Russian terrorists, orchestrated the assassination of Alexander II ["smuggled the assassin out of Russia and brought him to Karl Marx in Berlin"!!!], and, as in France, sought with the nihilists to overthrow the regime and set up a constitution ["in Paris [Osman-Bey] visited the headquarters of the Alliance and at once noticed 'a strong nihilistic smell'"!!!].

-In spite of his lunacy and paranoia, Osman-Bey's *World Conquest* reached its seventh edition in 1875. [This says something about its readership!]

-In a later work, *Revelations Concerning the Assassination of Alexander II* (1886), he further developed the insidious destructiveness caused by Jews. In his solution, he anticipated Hitler with talk of expulsion and extermination—"The Alliance Israelite Universelle can be destroyed only through the complete extermination of the Jewish race" (65).

Chapter Three: The *Protocols* and the *Dialogue aux Enfers* (66-83)

—The *Protocols*, or lectures, numbered twenty-four, a small book of about one hundred pages, and used tortuous logic and turgid style.

+Three main themes predominated the *Protocols*.

-a critique of liberalism

-an analysis of methods to be used to achieve world-domination

-a summary of characteristics of the new world order or world-state

+Certain ideologies and institutions were criticized.

-liberalism and its promotion of chaos

-the aristocracy and its tradition of archaisms

-existing gentile states and their international alliances

-gentile morality and its stabilizing effect

+Certain means were promoted.

-the underground railways

-the common people and uprisings

-plutocracy or the rule of gold

-control of education and politicians

+The goal was certain.

-the Messianic Age with a unified world

-a utopian existence under one sovereign, the House of David

- Under the guise of the Elders of Zion, the *Protocols* first appeared in Russia between 1903 and 1907.
 - +Krushevan's edition in *Znamya* bore the title *Programme for World Conquest by the Jews* and had been translated from a French document called *Minutes of the Meeting of the World Union of Freemasons and Elders of Zion*.
 - +A short two years later, the same version came out in a booklet, *The Root of our Troubles* (subtitled *Where the root is of the present disorder of society in Europe and especially in Russia. Extracts from the ancient and modern Protocols of the World Union of Freemasons*), possibly edited by G. P. Butmi, an associate of Krushevan and like him a Bessarabian.
 - +Butmi and Krushevan sought to build up and engage the Union of the Russian People or the Black Hundreds in extreme and violent anti-radical and anti-Jewish activities.
 - They published a new edition of *The Root of our Troubles* (1906).
 - They also published *The Enemies of the Human Race* (also 1906, subtitled *Protocols extracted from the secret archives of the Central Chancellery of Zion (where the root is of the present disorder of society in Europe in general and of Russia in particular)*).
 - +Unlike the Union's pamphlets, which were intended for mass distribution, was mystical writer Sergey Nilus' *The Great in the Small: Antichrist considered as an imminent political possibility* (1901, 1903).
 - The *Protocols* were included in the third edition (1905).
 - This edition was intended as a product for the imperial court and to influence Tsar Nicholas II.
 - # This version of the *Protocols* found its way into a sermon by the Metropolitan of Moscow, read in all Moscow churches and published in the right-wing newspaper *Moscovskia Vedomosti*.
 - # Nilus's version that most influenced international sentiment against the Jews came in 1917—*He is Near, At the Door . . . Here Comes Antichrist and the Reign of the Devil on Earth*.
- The origin and early transmission of the *Protocols* was very confusing with variations of possibilities.
 - +from the Central Chancellery of Zion, in France
 - +from a whole book of protocols in the secret archives of the Central Chancellery of Zion, in France
 - +from Theodor Herzl, "the Prince of the Exile," through the Council of Elders, at the time of the first Zionist Congress, in Basel, Switzerland
 - +from members of the first Zionist Congress, in Basel, Switzerland
 - +stolen by Russian police from an unspecified Jewish house, written in Hebrew
 - +stolen by the wife or fiancée of the leader of the Freemasons from a cupboard in a town in Alsace
 - +taken from the flat of Theodor Herzl, in Vienna, Austria, written in Polish
 - +authored in Hebrew by Ascher Ginzberg under the pseudonym Achad Ha-am, through a secret gathering of initiates at Odessa in 1890, then sent in French translation to the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, and then in 1897 to the first Zionist Congress in Basel (and translated into German?)

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—On the basis of a dispatch from Philip Graves in Constantinople to *The Times* (16, 17, and 18 August 1921) and subsequent research in the British Museum by *The Times*' staff, Cohn attributes the origin of the *Protocols* to a work by French lawyer Maurice Joly, *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel*, first published in Brussels in 1864.

- +The forger of the *Protocols* shamelessly plagiarized Joly's work.
- +The forger borrowed actual wording, ideas, and the ordering of material from Joly's text.
- +The forger used the two conflicting arguments of the *Dialogue*—of Machiavelli in favor of despotism and of Montesquieu in favor of liberalism.
- +But important differences existed.
 - an existent state of affairs versus a prophecy for the future
 - democracy as camouflage for despotic tyranny versus democracy as a mask for tyranny
 - liberalism championed by intellectuals versus liberalism invented by Jews
 - clear distinctions versus rambling diatribes
 - challenging debate versus non-discursive attacks on liberalism and aristocracy

Chapter Four: Secret Police and Occultists (84-117)

—Under the leadership of Pyotr Ivanovich Rachkovsky, the tsarist secret police, the Okhrana, probably contributed to forging the *Protocols*.

- +Professor Sergey Svatikov and journalist Vladimir Burtsev testified about Henri Bint, a Frenchman of Alsace, who said Rachkovsky was instrumental in forging the *Protocols*.
- +A prototype of the *Protocols* from the hand of Rachkovsky, the *Anarchie et nihilisme*, published in Paris (1892) by the pseudonymous Jehan-Preval, talked about the Jews becoming “absolute master(s)” of Europe and the need to form a Franco-Russian league to thwart the “mysterious, occult, irresponsible power” of the Jews in their attempt to overthrow one last obstacle to their world-dominion—“the Muscovite fortress” (88-89).
- +Also, Rachkovsky's proclivity toward deception and forgery, as well as his militant antisemitism, supported his involvement.

—Also, spiritualists Yuliana Dmitrievna Glinka, daughter of a Russian diplomat and lady-in-waiting to Empress Maria Alexandrovna, and Filip Petrovich Stepanov, a procurator of the ecclesiastical synod of Moscow, court chamberlain, and privy councillor, could have been involved in the first publication of the *Protocols* (received in 1895 and published in 1897).

—“All in all it is practically certain that the *Protocols* were fabricated some time between 1894 and 1899 and highly probable that it was in 1897 or 1898. The country was undoubtedly France, as is shown by the many references to French affairs. One may assume that the place was Paris and one may even be rather more precise: one of the copies of Joly's book in the Bibliotheque Nationale bears markings which correspond strikingly with the borrowings in the *Protocols*. So the job was done in the midst of the Dreyfus affair—somewhere between the arrest of Alfred Dreyfus in 1894 and his pardon in 1899, and probably at the very height of the great debate which so bitterly divided France. Nevertheless the forgery

is clearly the work of a Russian and oriented towards the Russian right wing. Can one, then, be certain that it was done at the behest of the head of Okhrana in Paris, the sinister Rachkovsky?" (113).

- +as a weapon of protest against the reforms of Sergey Witte, the powerful Minister of Finance
- +in conjunction with or subsequent to *Tayna Yevreystva* (*The Secret of Jewry*, February 1895)
 - postulated a secret religion based upon beliefs and practices of the Essenes
 - warned about the secret Jewish government and its attempt to convert Russia from an agrarian, semi-feudal country into a modern capitalistic state with a liberal middle class
 - issued, like the *Protocols*, an attack on the gold standard
 - read and used, like the *Protocols*, by people in imperial circles

—Boris Nicolaevsky and Henri Rollin suggested the complicity of eminent physiologist and political journalist Ilya Tsiou or Elie de Cyon. But such, Cohn remarks, is completely out of character for Tsiou.

- +The better fit, according to Cohn, is Rachkovsky, who had de Cyon's villa in Switzerland burglarized and large quantities of papers removed (1897), among which could have been an adaptation of Joly's book.
- +Cohn also notes that "in Russia de Cyon was called Tsiou—the same word as Zion—the title of the *Protocols* takes on an added meaning as a malicious private joke. All this would be very much in Rachkovsky's style" (116).
- +Yet, the matter is ambiguous, uncertain, with many riddles and puzzles (117).

Chapter Five: The *Protocols* in Russia (118-137)

—Professional instigators of pogroms or *pogromshchiki* used the *Protocols* to agitate and legitimize concerted, organized attacks against the Jews.

- +This was the case in Kishinev in Bessarabia in the 1880s.
 - But the peasants refused to attack Jews, who generally lived in peace with their Orthodox neighbors.
 - By Easter 1902, journalists, civil servants, and other professionals castigated the Jews in Krushevan's paper, *Znamya*, and incited pogroms. They also circulated copies of *The Rabbi's Speech* with its doctrine of a Jewish world-conspiracy.
- +Liberal efforts to modernize the faltering Russian political regime met with an intense backlash.
 - Right-wing elements, such as the Union of the Russian People, quickly moved on their new freedom of association to fight liberalization of Russia by portraying it as a Jewish plot to gain control of the country.
 - The national assembly, the Duma, became the target of Black Hundred propaganda which discredited it as a tool of Jews in their quest for world hegemony.
- +Sensible thinkers, like Sergei Witte, regarded these extremists as "beyond the pale" (121). Cohn notes that groups like the Black Hundreds represented "an important stage in the transition from reactionary politics as they were understood in the nineteenth century to the right-wing totalitarianism of the Nazis" (122).
 - They pretended that Jews formed a capitalist-revolutionary conspiracy.
 - They anticipated the Nazis in their Jewish solution, i.e., physical annihilation.

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+While not accepted in “decent society,” these extremists, who employed criminals to commit political murders and lead pogroms, received considerable support from both church and state.

-the Lamsdorf Memorandum, a good example

-the Tsar himself, another good example

+But until after the Great War, the *Protocols* met with mixed reaction, some believing blindly, others not taking them seriously at all.

—After the overthrow of the Tsar, the failure of the Provisional Government, and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, a civil war racked the country (1917-1918). The situation changed dramatically.

+Above all else, the murder of the imperial family at Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) in July 1918 established a volatile and vengeful context for the *Protocols* which unfortunately implicated the Jews in revolutionary events.

+Mysticism and irrationality played an important role in associating the Tsaritsa’s copy of Nilus’s *The Great in the Small* with her good luck swastikas (found at the house of Ipatyev) and symbolic ideology that was derogatory to the Jews.

-a holy testament from the Empress and the imperial family—vessels of the divine will

-the beginning of the reign of Anti-Christ

-the Bolshevik Revolution—a satanic assault by forces of darkness, i.e., Jews

—During this upheaval in Russia, the *Protocols* illustrated the power of propaganda to incite the zealous and the misguided to acts of terror and murder.

+Cheap, easily distributed editions (one by Ismailov, a Moscow lawyer, and Rodionov, a lieutenant-colonel) were produced for army members in the Don region, the Crimea, and at Khabarovsk, Omsk, and Vladivostok in Siberia, and also in Japan.

+The preface set forth a clear interpretation of the *Zionist Protocols, Plan for World Conquest by the Judeo-Masons*—“a programme . . . for the conquest of the world by the Jews . . . the greater part already realized . . . the key to our first, unsuccessful revolution (1905), but also to our second revolution (1917), in which the Jews have played such a disastrous role . . . this document . . . reveals the means employed by the enemies of Christianity to subjugate us” (129).

+New forgeries supplemented and updated the *Protocols*, the most notable taken from Zunder, a Jewish Bolshevik Red Army commander.

-attributed the Bolshevik revolution to the Jews, something planned and in fulfillment of the long history of Jewish struggle

-became an obsession with many of the White Russians, and later an article of faith in Nazi circles

+The Soviet Government set about to eradicate Judaism through secularization, i.e., convert synagogues into workers’ clubs, disbanded Jewish institutions (cultural, philanthropic, religious), banned Hebrew books.

-Bolsheviks, already pretty much secularized, distanced themselves from religious Jews, i.e., Trotsky—“Go home to your Jews and tell them I’m not a Jew and don’t care about the Jews or what happens to them” (132).

-Many of Jewish descent provided a disproportionate number of leaders to the two Marxist parties, especially the Mensheviks.

Many Jews who abandoned their ancestral religion were nonetheless discriminated and persecuted by the tsarist autocracy, and this pushed them to align with leftist parties.

Jews who were former university students (of high quality due to the *numerus clausus*) were qualified for party leadership, even though they usually suffered due to idealism and poor political savvy (but there were exceptions).

—In Russia (and elsewhere later), “the myth of the Judeo-Communist conspiracy was to prove even more potent than the myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy” (133).

Chapter Six: The *Protocols* Reach Germany

—Two Russian fanatics, Pyotr Nicolaevich Shabelsky-Bork and Fyodor Viktorovich Vinberg, brought the *Protocols* to Berlin (late 1919).

+Vinberg worked through Ludwig Mueller, alias Mueller von Hausen with the pen-name Gottfried zur Beek, who produced the first German translation.

+Their yearbook, *Luch Sveta* (*A Ray of Light*, 3rd edition, 1920), contained the complete text of the 1911 edition of Nilus and promoted the Judeo-Masonic-Bolshevik conspiracy.

+Vinberg’s *Krestny Put* (*Via dolorosa*, 1922) identified Germany’s two archenemies, England and France, as the stronghold of the Elders.

—Other German publications anticipated the Jewish world-domination conspiracy of the *Protocols* with the objective—“to convince the reader that it is not we Germans who are to blame for all the horrible bloodshed but the Judea-Masonic world-conspiracy, the invisible master of all peoples and states” (145)..

+*Deutschlands Erneuerung* (*Germany’s Renewal*)

+*Auf Vorposten* (*On Outpost Duty*)

+*Judas Schuldbuch, eine deutsche Abrechnung* (*Accounts to be Settled by Germany with the Jews*)

+*Weltfreimaurerei, Weltrevolution, Weltrepublik, eine Untersuchung uber Ursprung und Endziele des Weltkrieges* (*World Freemasonry, World Revolution, World Republic, and investigation into the origin and final aims of the World War*)

—The first German edition of the *Protocols* went through several printings with over 120,000 sales by the end of 1920.

+The publication, *Die Geheimnisse der Weisen von Zion* (*The Secrets of the Elders of Zion*), received heavy subsidies from the upper house of the Prussian Diet.

+The acceptance of the message of the *Protocols* into highest levels of government revealed a certain naivete if not cunning duplicity, i.e., General Ludendorff, Kaiser Wilhelm, and Count Reventlow (see Cohn’s discussion of Pentha-Tull’s *The Victorious World-view (Neo-Machiavellianism) and We Jews* (154-155)).

+The *Protocols* affected mainly middle-class professionals, i.e., military and technical officers, especially those who gravitated to racist and *voelkisch* ideologies.

-By 1933, thirty-three editions of zur Beek's translation had been published.

-A popular Theodor Fritsch edition (Leipzig, 1920) sold nearly 100,000 copies.

-Henry Ford's *The International Jew* (in German) went through six editions between 1920 and 1922.

-Alfred Rosenberg's *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die juedische Weltpolitik* (*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and Jewish World Policy*) went through three editions its first year.

—The *Protocols* did much to inspire two political assassinations which occurred in Berlin in 1922—the attempted one on historian and leader of the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), Pavel Nikolaevich Milyukov, and the successful one on the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Walther Rathenau.

+The assassination of Rathenau forebode the “lunatic era” of government sanction of the *Protocols*, even though it temporarily shocked the Duma into action against promoters of the forgery.

+But after 1924, the situation in Germany changed with the lessening of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and right-wing extremism tapered off but not for long.

Chapter Seven: The *Protocols* Circle the World

—After the Great War, *Protocols* circulated widely in England and the United States, although not as influential as in Germany.

+In England, works about Jewish conspiracies set the stage for the reception of the *Protocols*.

-The work *England under the Heel of the Jew* (1918), with translated extracts from the writings of German sociologist Werner Sombart, decried international finance control by the Ashkenazi-German or Ashkenazi-Hun alliance (in addition to the Ashkenazi-Bolshevik alliance).

-Robert Wilton's *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1920) proclaimed that “the Bolsheviks were simply Jewish agents of the Germans and the revolution nothing but a Jewish-German invasion of Russia” (166).

+As for the *Protocols* themselves, they appeared to be authorized by Her Majesty's Government under the title *The Jewish Peril* (1920, printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd).

+But *The Times* led the way in proving the *Protocols* a forgery based on the *Dialogue aux Enfers* with a series of articles called “The End of the Protocols” (August 1921).

+In the United States, the *Protocols* had “a limited but lasting vogue” (172), i.e., *Praemonitus Praemunitus*, *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* (New York, 1920), *The Protocols and World Revolution: including a translation and analysis of the 'Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom'* (Boston, 1920).

+Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, with a circulation of about 300,000, gave the *Protocols* their greatest boost, i.e., the book rendition, *The International Jew: the world's foremost problem* (1920).

- Half a million copies circulated in the United States alone.
- The book was translated into German, Russian, and Spanish.
- Nazi propagandists used an abbreviated version for wider circulation.
- The International Jew* gave the *Protocols* an international notoriety.
- +Strangely, *The International Jew* adopted the German interpretation of the *Protocols*.
 - the influence of Dr. August Mueller, a friend of Dr. Edward A. Rumely
 - in essence, more of a Russo-German product than an American product
- +American diplomat Hermann Bernstein's *The History of a Lie* (1921) exposed the *Protocols* as a forgery.
 - He sued for libel against Ford and forced him to recant (by 1927).
 - But the harm had been done already, as *The International Jew* was translated into sixteen languages. "The political antisemites in Germany refused to take the book out of circulation even when Ford asked them to, and were still distributing and advertising it at the outbreak of the Second World War" (178).

—"After Germany, Britain, and the United States, the countries which gave the *Protocols* the warmest welcome and did most to make them a force in world affairs were Poland and France" (180).

Chapter Eight: Germanic Racism, Hitler and the *Protocols*

—The *Protocols* assumed a new significance when they were integrated into the ideological world of *voelkisch* Germanic thinking.

- +This *weltanschauung* longed for "an archaic world of Germanic peasants" with a distinct romantic outlook.
 - It looked to the past, to the ideal state beyond altar and throne, to a mythical world.
 - It despised that "age-old antagonist" of the German peasant—the Jew.
 - It believed historic Christianity rested upon Jewish designs to destroy the archaic Germanic world.
 - It held that "the Jew's world" equaled the modern age of capitalism, democracy, liberalism, and socialism.
- +Proponents utilized pseudo-scientific racial ideology to legitimize a mystical world of their own devising in contradistinction to Jewish modernity.
 - Paul Boetticher, known better as Paul de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften* (1878), voiced disappointment with the newly unified Germany.
 - # Jewish religion, the heart of modernity, threatened the vitality of the *Volk*.
 - # Nothing but physical extermination of the Jews, like bacilli, would remove the problem.
 - Wilhelm Marr, *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum* (1873), invented the word "antisemitism."
 - Eugen Duehring, *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Kulturfrage* (1881) shifted the source of Jewish depravity, their "irremediable" evilness, from religion to race—"in their very blood" (189).

-Theodor Fritsch lauded the “scientifically-proven” superiority of the German “race” over that of the Jews.

-Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899), produced the “bible” of the *voelkisch*-racist movement.

In Hegelian fashion, he pitted the spirituality of the German “race” against the materialism of the Jewish “race”—the only two pure races—in the long, conflictive human struggle.

“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” (190).

+Those who were relatively secure in their self-esteem in German society—the nobility, the industrialists, and workers of the Social-Democratic movement—felt little attraction to *voelkisch* racism. But certain of the middle class—artisans, merchants and retailers, and university students—gravitated to this alluring world-view and joined the lower classes in their resentment of the Jews.

-for a certain measure of financial success, i.e., in Berlin and Hamburg

-for appointments in liberal professions, i.e., as a result of university training

-for significant reforms in banking and industry, i.e., the clothing trade

-for their exclusivity and their differences, i.e., as a distinct minority

+”Excluded not only from political influence but from all contact with politics, accustomed to dealing with abstractions but not with real people in real situations, wounded in their self-esteem and seething with resentment, many [of the German middle class] consoled themselves with constructing vast philosophies of history. The *voelkisch*-racist view of the world was one of these philosophies” (193).

-With little impact on politics before the Great War, this *weltanschauung* penetrated politics and society in general afterwards.

from the humiliation and sufferings of defeat

from the deadening blow upon German vitality effected by the peace treaties, i.e., Versailles, St. Germain

from the disorientation and immobilization of the economic collapse and subsequent financial ruin

-Political organizations, such as the German National People’s party (DNVP) and the Defensive and Offensive Alliance, used Jewish world-conspiracy ideology as well as racist thinking to further their political agendas during the 1920s.

—The mix of Germanic racism and Jewish world-conspiracy of the *Protocols* produced a quasi-religious apocalyptic vision that the Nazis, in their goal to rid Europe and the world of all Jews, imposed on history, politics, and all human existence.

+This was the world-view of most Nazi leaders.

+This was the view of Adolf Hitler.

-Dietrich Eckart's booklet, *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin: a dialogue between Adolf Hitler and myself* (1924; published later in 1961 in England as *Hitler's Second Book*, and in the United States as *Hitler's Secret Book*), revealed Hitler's thoughts on Jewish world-conspiracy.

The booklet gleaned from important antisemitic works: the *Protocols*, Ford's *International Jew*, Gougenot des Mousseaux, Fritsch's *Handbook of the Jewish Question*, etc.

The lengthy history of human degeneration came from the Jewish spirit—an eternal war of Judaism against all other peoples in the world. Throughout the ages, they have aimed to conquer those who were dominant, those pure-blooded elites that nature has established as the governing class. To accomplish this purpose, they raised up revolutionaries (i.e., the lower class masses of impure blood) to foment instability and political upheaval.

-Pseudo-biology provided an important set of terms for the negative labeling of this undesirable Jewish spirit, i.e., images of disease, infection, pestilence.

-Quasi-anthropology (the idea of Jews as *untermenschen*) and quasi-religion (the idea of Jews as eternal) became the creed of the SS and the Nazi warlords, as Hitler prophesied the downfall of bolshevism and the annihilation of the Jewish race as a prelude to his Germanic millennium.

-This view cannot be dismissed by regarding Hitler as some sort of super-Machiavellian, since fantasies about Jewish world-conspiracy haunted and obsessed him.

—Cohn ends this chapter on two salient points. First, “the Nazis started with the fiction of a conspiracy and modelled themselves, more or less consciously, after the secret society of the Elders of Zion” (Hannah Arendt). Second, “the Nazi leaders began by drugging themselves with sensational sub-literature of the type of the *Protocols* and ended by translating these morbid fantasies into a reality terrible beyond imagining” (from Leon Poliakov). To conclude, Cohn reasons, “The ruthless struggle of a band of conspirators to achieve world-domination—a world-empire based on a small but highly organized and regimented people—utter contempt for humanity at large—a glorying in destruction and mass misery—all these things are to be found in the *Protocols*, and they were of the very essence of the Nazi regime. . . . In this preposterous fabrication from the days of the Russian pogroms Hitler heard the call of a kindred spirit, and he responded to it with all his being” (213).

Chapter Nine: The Myth in Nazi Propaganda

—The Nazis exploited the myth of Jewish world-conspiracy:

- +to help the party to consolidate power
- +to justify their type of government through terror and violence
- +to excuse a failure of diplomacy and the initiation of war
- +to perpetrate genocide
- +to postpone surrender to the Allies

—Chief architects of propaganda included:

- +Alfred Rosenberg (who probably believed it)
- +Josef Goebbels (who fabricated deliberate lies)
- +Adolf Hitler (a charismatically driven leader, inclined to moments of apocalyptic prophecy)
- +Julius Streicher (in his *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the weekly *Der Stuermer*)
- +Minister of Education (who prescribed the *Protocols* as a school textbook)
- +Robert Ley (the German Labor Front party leader)

—But not everyone in Germany bought into the “frenzy of antisemitism, hypnotized by the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy and thirsting for the blood of the Jews” (219).

- +While the most popular edition of the *Protocols* sold about 100,000 copies in a dozen years, Erich Remarque’s leftist, anti-war *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) sold one-quarter million copies in just one year.
- +Even avowed Nazis, like sociologist Theodore Abel, could say, “Their statements about the Jews I could not swallow” (219). But he was an American.

—What did Nazi’s achieve by their propaganda about a Jewish world-conspiracy?

- +the gradual dissociation of the German population from the Jews
 - While many protested the government’s euthanasia experiments on non-Jewish German citizens, hardly any voiced concern about the atrocities against the Jews.
 - Few were willing to risk any action viewed as complicity with the Jews, as this could lead to ostracization and physical violence, even deportation and death. Therefore, “a mood of passive compliance became general” (234).
- +the total allegiance of the administrative, legal, and military apparatus that was necessary for the “technicians of genocide” to plan and execute their grim business
- +ultimately, persecution, emigration, and eradication of many Jews

Chapter Ten: Forgery Pushers on Trial

—Globally, the Nazis used the myth of Jewish world-conspiracy to thwart resistance to their own quest for world domination.

- +In this, they relied on a triad of “scriptures”—*Mein Kampf*, Rosenberg’s *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, and the *Protocols* (which Cohn defines as exported propaganda).
 - The German World Service, the *Weltdienst*, aggressively exported and defended the *Protocols*.
 - Such vigorous action outside Germany sparked two trials that drew international attention—one in Grahamstown, South Africa and the other in Berne, Switzerland.
- +This gave “the Jewish community of Berne and the united Jewish communities of Switzerland . . . the opportunity to demonstrate in court the spuriousness of the *Protocols*” (243).

—Judge Meyer, in the Berne trial (May 1935), concluded that the *Protocols* plagiarized Joly’s book and should be regarded as indecent literature and ridiculous nonsense.

+Consequently, the Court of Appeal overturned the sentence (November 1937) on the grounds that the *Protocols* were not salacious and therefore not under the purview of the law concerning indecent literature.

+Predictably, this trial—both proceedings and outcomes—did not alter the sinister designs of the Nazis and their accomplices.

Chapter Eleven: The Antisemitic International

—In the United States, two antisemites wielded sizeable influence—Father Charles E. Coughlin (the National Union for Social Justice and the Christian Front) and Rev. Gerald B. Winrod (the Defenders of the Christian Front).

+Coughlin’s paper, *Social Justice*, was not at all typical of Roman Catholicism in the United States.

+Winrod’s books, *The Hidden Hand*, *The Protocols and the Coming Super Man*, and *The Anti-Christ and the Tribe of Dan*, circulated widely and even in the Latin world, but they smacked of characteristic fundamentalist millennial-babble that appealed to the unlearned who were highly susceptible to beliefs in liberal Jewish plots against biblical Americanism (see Cohn’s description, 261).

—On the eve of World War II, the *Protocols* had antisemitic promoters in Argentina, Spain, Japan, China, France, Italy, and Hungary.

+Different motives compelled those who joined the cause against the Jews.

-a chance of holding power and gaining prestige

-the desire to despoil those who were punished or killed

-a sadistic proclivity, i.e., the pleasure in pursuit, torture, and killing

+Behind all, however, lay a blind fanaticism inspired largely by the *Protocols* and its myth of Jewish world-conspiracy.

-“Again and again one comes across the same weird, apocalyptic atmosphere, hints of some gigantic final battle in which the demonic hosts will be eliminated, the world released from the strangling octopus, a new age brought to birth” (277).

-This symbolic apocalyptic language of imminent millennial resolve of some cataclysmic crisis permeated the political and religious speeches and writings of that period.

-In the hands of the Nazis, these rumblings generated in large measure by the *Protocols* became a warrant for genocide.

Appendix One: *The Rabbi's Speech*, A Synopsis of the Exhortation (279-284)

—Power and authority of the elect over all the earth and all Israel, religious legitimation of their position and their ultimate goal, provision for continuity, i.e., centennial gathering

—Statement of conflict in terms of power, between Abraham and the Cross, a quasi-religious, religious / political battle [possibly, theocratic?] to inherit the whole earth

—Conflict stated in quasi-religious / economic terms, strength of Israel depends on Aaron's Golden Calf, a universal deity, with a profound symbolic significance

—The real power stated plainly, i.e., to possess all the gold in the world, with a quasi-religious significance, i.e., to fulfill the promises made to Abraham

—The power in gold revealed as dominance over the fears and cravings of humans, the only mystery, the true reason behind the spirit that rules the world, the *raison d'être* of the future

—The present century as the opportune time for a shift in power, from Israel's enemies to the people of Israel

—Restatement of initial legitimation, its source and location, and the current agenda, i.e., to convert the sins of the Christians to an advantage or an opportunity to realize the goal

—The confidence of the new Sanhedrin in the nineteenth century, i.e., so much gold, so much power, expectation of realizing the goal (of world dominion)

—The benefit of progress of civilization under Christianity, i.e., a shield for the people of Israel to hide and act behind

—Statement of economic hegemony of Jews in European capitals, in cities and towns, they are the financial masters, they control the currency, they directly influence the material condition of Europe

—The debt of all rulers to the Jews, they master the stock exchanges, they regulate all values, they exploits all resources and technologies

—The need to divide and conquer, i.e., large estates, to acquire more land quicker and easier and thus control the wealth produced by agriculture

—The rationale of helping the proletariat as a pretext, i.e., to bankrupt the great landed proprietors through heavy taxation and thus despoil them of their lands

—The need to champion free thought, scepticism, schism in order to diminish the influence of "one of our most dangerous enemies" (the Christian Church)

—The need to maliciously ridicule and slander the clergy

—The need to promote revolution—religious or political

—The need to strictly control trade and speculation and thus maintain control of profits, this includes the government of these economic processes located in the seats of administration, legislation, finance, and education, in this way the laws of sinners and infidels—Goyim—will be abrogated, and the laws of Abraham and the truly faithful ones can be established

—How emancipation and political equality helped, but the need to push for more lenient bankruptcy laws as a means to attain more gold

—The need to control commercial, financial, and industrial operations through prudence and tact, and to avoid getting caught in legal battles in the courts

—The need for involvement in the arts and sciences, in literature, in medicine, law, and politics, since all vocations are “inseparable from speculation” and depend upon involvement and mastery, i.e., music, medicine

—The need to intermarry with Christians and thereby secure alliances with “Christian families of some influence and power”

—The desire to replace clerical authority with civil authority in the realm of marriage, in order to gain control over gentile women

—The primacy of gold as the first power in the world, but the press as the second greatest power, so the need to become newspaper editors—“our possession of gold, our skill in devising means of exploiting mercenary instincts, will make us the arbiters of public opinion and enable us to dominate the masses”

—The masses seen as docile and ignorant, the family viewed as a major obstacle, both to be mastered, the masses by control of the press, the family, by its disintegration

—The need for comradeship among “co-religionists” and mutual aid and assistance

—Restatement of the people of Israel’s identity as “conservative, faithful to the religious ceremonies and the customs bequeathed to us by our ancestors” (a strictly religious identity, which is repeated through standard terminology, etc. at times throughout the rabbi’s speech)

—A need to “make a show” of support for socialism and labor reform, but in reality to use these movements as stepping-stones for conquest

—The use of “the blindness of the masses” to give popular legitimacy to the Jewish quest and to provide for its funding through extraction of usury via credit

—The need to dominate the proletariat—the masses—through effective communication and to bring it into subjection through control of the economic means, so that the masses can be stirred toward revolution and the sole aim of world-domination, which was promised to Abraham, can be fully realized

Chronology of the Editions of the *Protocols* (302-306)

The languages include Russian, German, English, French, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, Czech, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, Norwegian, Latvian, and Brazilian. Cohn's bibliography is roughly chronological, which is instructive as to the dissemination of the *Protocols*.

What language(s) are noticeably missing? Especially if this purports to be a document which originated with Jewish religious leaders?