We will have no difficulty in finding as much eloquence among our people for the expression of false sentiments as Christians find in their sincerity and enthusiasm.

So far as possible we must talk to the proletariat, bring it into subjection to those who have the control of money. By this means we will be able to make the masses rise when we wish. We will drive them to upheavals, to revolutions; and each of these catastrophes marks a big step forward for our particular interests and brings us rapidly nearer to our sole aim—world domination as was promised to our father Abraham.

NOTE

1. "The Rabbi's Speech" is from a novel **Biarritz** (1868) by Hermann Goedsche (1816–1878), published under the pseudonym of Sir John Retcliffe. In a chapter entitled "In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague," Goedsche purports to describe a secret nocturnal meeting among thirteen Jews (representing the twelve tribes of Israel and the Jews of the Exile) who report on their activities during the century that has elapsed since their last meeting and who vow to have conquered all of their enemies by the time of the next meeting. This fanciful fictional episode was soon treated as an authentic record, appearing as a pamphlet first in Russia (1872) and later in Paris and Prague. In 1887 Theodor Fritsch published the "Speech" together with his "Dialogue" (see document 25 in this chapter), and it received a wide circulation in a number of antisemitic publications, enjoying its greatest vogue in post-World War I Germany. The "Speech" was constantly invoked as proof of the authenticity of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion (see the following document).

### 29. PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION (c. 1902)\(^1\)

**Protocol Number 1**: Let us put aside phraseology and discuss the inner meaning of every thought; by comparisons and deductions let us illuminate the situation. In this way I will describe our system, both from our own point of view and from that of the Goys....

Political freedom is not a fact but an idea. One must know how to employ this idea when it becomes necessary to attract popular forces to one's party by mental allurement if it plans to crush the party in power. The task is made easier if the opponent himself has contradicted the idea of freedom, by embracing liberalism, and thereby yielding his power. It is precisely here that the triumph of our theory becomes apparent; the relinquished reins of power are, according to the laws of nature, immediately seized by a new hand because the blind force of the people cannot remain without a leader even for one day, and the new power merely replaces the old, weakened by liberalism.

In our day the power of gold has replaced liberal rulers. There was a time when faith ruled. The idea of freedom cannot be realized because no one knows how to make reasonable use of it. Give the people self-government for a short time and it will become corrupted. From that very moment strife begins and soon develops into social struggles, as a result of which states are set aflame and their authority is reduced to ashes.

Whether the state is exhausted by internal convulsions, or whether civil wars deliver it into the hands

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of external enemies, in either case it can be regarded as hopelessly lost: it is in our power. The despotism of capital, which is entirely in our hands, holds out to it a straw which the state must grasp, although against its will, or otherwise fall into the abyss....

Politics have nothing in common with morals. The ruler guided by morality is not a skilled politician, and consequently he is not firm on his throne. He who desires to rule must resort to cunning and hypocrisy. The great popular qualities—honesty and frankness—become vices in politics, as they dethrone more surely and more certainly than the most powerful enemy. These qualities must be the attributes of Goy countries; but we by no means should be guided by them.

Our right lies in might. The word right is an abstract idea, unsusceptible of proof. This word means nothing more than: Give me what I desire so that I may have evidence that I am stronger than you.

Where does right begin? Where does it end?... In laying our plans we must turn our attention not so much to the good and moral as to the necessary and useful. Before us lies a plan in which a strategic line is shown, from which we must not deviate on pain of risking the collapse of many centuries of work.

In working out an expedient plan of action it is necessary to take into consideration the meanness, vacillation, changeability of the mob, its inability to appreciate and respect the conditions of its own existence and of its own well-being. It is necessary to realize that the power of the masses is blind, unreasoning, and void of discrimination, prone to listen to right and left. The blind man cannot guide the blind without bringing them to the abyss; consequently, members of the crowd, upstarts from the people, even were they men of genius but incompetent in politics, cannot step forward as leaders of the mob without ruining the entire nation.... Our motto is Power and Hypocrisy. Only power can conquer in politics, especially if it is concealed in talents which are necessary to statesmen. Violence must be the principle; hypocrisy and cunning the rule of those governments which do not wish to lay down their crowns at the feet of the agents of some new power. This evil is the sole means of attaining the good. For this reason we must not hesitate at bribery, fraud and treason when these can help us to reach our end. In politics it is necessary to seize the property of others without hesitation if in so doing we attain submission and power.

Our government, following the line of peaceful conquest, has the right to substitute for the horrors of war less noticeable and more efficient executions, these being necessary to keep up terror, which induces blind submission. A just but inexorable strictness is the greatest factor of governmental power. We must follow a program of violence and hypocrisy, not only for the sake of profit but also as a duty and for the sake of victory.

A doctrine based on calculation is as potent as the means employed by it. That is why not only by these very means, but by the severity of our doctrines, we shall triumph and shall enslave all governments under our super-government.

Even in olden times we shouted among the people the words Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These words have been repeated so many times since by unconscious parrots, which, flocking from all sides to the bait, have ruined the prosperity of the world and true individual freedom, formerly so well protected from the pressure of the mob. The would-be clever and intelligent Goy did not discern the symbolism of the uttered words; did not notice the contradiction in the meaning and the connection between them; did not notice that there is no equality in nature; that there can be no liberty, since nature herself has established inequality of mind, character, and ability, as well as subjection to her laws. They did not reason that the power of the mob is blind; that the upstarts selected for government are just as blind in politics as is the mob itself, whereas the initiated man, even though a fool, is capable of ruling, while the uninitiated, although a genius, will understand nothing of politics. All this has been overlooked by the Goy... .

In all parts of the world the words Liberty, Equality and Fraternity have brought whole legions into our ranks through our blind agents, carrying our banners with delight. Meanwhile these words were worms which ruined the prosperity of the Goy, everywhere destroying peace, quiet and solidarity, undermining all the foundations of their states. You will see subsequently that this aided our triumph, for it also gave us, among other things, the opportunity to grasp the trump card, the abolition of privileges; in other words, the very essence of the aristocracy of the Goy, which was the only protection of peoples and countries against us.

On the ruins of natural and hereditary aristocracy we have established this new aristocracy on the
qualification of wealth, which is dependent upon us, and also upon science which is promoted by our wise men...

Protocol Number 2: It is necessary for us that wars, whenever possible, should bring no territorial advantages; this will shift war to an economic basis and force nations to realize the strength of our predominance; such a situation will put both sides at the mercy of our million-eyed international agency, which will be unhampered by any frontiers. Then our international rights will do away with national rights, in a limited sense, and will rule the peoples in the same way as the civil power of each state regulates the relation of its subjects among themselves.

The administrators chosen by us from among the people in accordance with their capacity for servility will not be experienced in the art of government, and consequently they will easily become pawns in our game, in the hands of our scientists and wise counselors, specialists trained from early childhood for governing the world. As you are aware, these specialists have obtained the knowledge necessary for government from our political plans, from the study of history, and from the observation of every passing event. The Goys are not guided by the practice of impartial historical observation, but by theoretical routine without any critical regard for its results. Therefore, we need give them no consideration. Until the time comes let them amuse themselves, or live in the hope of new amusements or in the memories of those past. Let that play the most important part for them which we have induced them to regard as the laws of science (theory). For this purpose, by means of our press, we increase their blind faith in these laws. Intelligent Goys will boast of their knowledge, and verifying it logically they will put into practice all scientific information compiled by our agents for the purpose of educating their minds in the direction which we require.

Do not think that our assertions are without foundation: note the successes of Darwinism, Marxism and Nietzscheanism, engineered by us. The demoralizing effects of these doctrines upon the minds of the Goys should be already obvious to us...

There is one great force in the hands of modern states which arouses thought movements among the people. That is the press. The role of the press is to indicate necessary demands, to register complaints of the people, and to express and foment dissatisfaction. The triumph of free babbling is incarnated in the press, but governments were unable to profit by this power and it has fallen into our hands. Through it we have attained influence, while remaining in the background. Thanks to the press, we have gathered gold in our hands, although we had to take it from rivers of blood and tears.

But it cost us the sacrifice of many of our own people. Every sacrifice on our part is worth a thousand Goys before God.

Protocol Number 3: To-day I can tell you that our goal is close at hand. Only a small distance remains, and the cycle of the Symbolic Serpent—the symbol of our people—will be complete. When this circle is completed, then all the European states will be enclosed in it as in strong claws....

To induce the lovers of authority to abuse their power, we have placed all the forces in opposition to each other, having developed their liberal tendencies towards independence. We have excited different forms of initiative in that direction; we have armed all the parties; we have made authority the target of all ambitions. We have opened the arenas in different states, where revolts are now occurring, and disorders and bankruptcy will shortly appear everywhere.

Unrestrained babblers have converted parliamentary sessions and administrative meetings into oratorical contests. Daring journalists, impudent pamphleteers, make daily attacks on the administrative personnel. The abuse of power is definitely preparing the downfall of all institutions and everything will be overturned by the blows of the infuriated mobs.

The people are shackled by poverty to heavy labor more surely than they were by slavery and servitude. They could liberate themselves from those in one way or another, whereas they cannot free themselves from misery. We have included in constitutions rights which for the people are fictitious and are not actual rights. All the so-called rights of the people can exist only in the abstract and can never be realized in practice. What difference does it make to the toiling proletarian, bent double by heavy toil, oppressed by his fate, that the babblers receive the right to talk, journalists the right to mix nonsense with reason in their writings, if the proletariat has no other gain from the constitution than the miserable crumbs which we throw from our table in return for his vote to elect our agents? Republican rights are bitter irony to the poor
man, for the necessity of almost daily labor prevents him from using them, and at the same time deprives him of his guarantee of a permanent and certain livelihood by making him dependent upon strikes, organized either by his masters or by his comrades.

Under our guidance the people have exterminated aristocracy, which was their natural protector and guardian, for its own interests are inseparably connected with the well-being of the people. Now, however, with the destruction of this aristocracy the masses have fallen under the power of the profiteers and cunning upstarts, who have settled on the workers as a merciless burden.

We will present ourselves in the guise of saviors of the workers from this oppression when we suggest that they enter our army of Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, to whom we always extend our help, under the guise of the rule of brotherhood demanded by the human solidarity of our social masonry. The aristocracy which benefited by the labor of the people by right was interested that the workers should be well-fed, healthy, and strong.

We, on the contrary, are concerned in the opposite—in the degeneration of the Goys. Our power lies in the chronic malnutrition and in the weakness of the worker, because through this he falls under our power and is unable to find either strength or energy to combat it.

Hunger gives to capital greater power over the worker than the legal authority of the sovereign ever gave to the aristocracy. Through misery and the resulting jealous hatred we manipulate the mob and crush those who stand in our way... This hatred will be still more accentuated by the economic crisis, which will stop financial transactions and all industrial life. Having organized a general economic crisis by all possible underhanded means, and with the help of gold which is all in our hands, we will throw great crowds of workmen into the street, simultaneously, in all countries of Europe. These crowds will gladly shed the blood of those of whom they, in the simplicity of their ignorance, have been jealous since childhood and whose property they will then be able to loot.

_They will not harm our people because we will know of the time of the attack and we will take measures to protect them_.

Remember the French Revolution, which we have called "great"; the secrets of its preparation were well known to us, for it was the work of our hands. Since then we have carried the masses from one disappointment to another, so that they will renounce even us in favor of a despot sovereign of Zionist blood, whom we are preparing for the world....

**NOTE**

1. The protocols of secret meetings of an international conference of "the learned elders of Zion" is an antisemitic literary hoax aimed at showing the existence of an international Jewish conspiracy bent on world dominance. As part of this plot the Jews are said to be behind all the egregious forces of modernity: liberalism, parliamentary democracy, finance capitalism, Marxism, anarchism, the press. The term _elders of Zion_ is apparently an allusion to the First Zionist Congress, which was held at the time the Protocols were written. The Protocols were almost certainly concocted in Paris in the last decade of the nineteenth century by an unknown author working for the Russian secret police; in all probability this volume was intended to influence the policy of Czar Nicholas II toward the interests of the secret police. For his purposes the anonymous author adapted a political satire written in 1864 by Maurice Joly (d. 1879). It is ironic that Joly's work—which has nothing to do with the Jews and which seeks to illuminate the tensions of modern society that led to the authoritarian regime of Napoleon III—is a defense of liberalism. Although first published in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Protocols enjoyed wide readership only when they were translated into numerous languages after World War I. In the United States they were distributed principally by Henry Ford under the title _The Jewish Peril_. See chapter 9, document 48.