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SPECIAL ISSUE

ANTI-SEMITISM: THEN AND NOW

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- Caricature posted on Arab News.Com, Saudi English Language Daily,
November 9, 2001; words written on Star of David Pistol: "Western Media"

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE



It is tragic and bizarre that 60 years after the Holocaust we must still deal with anti-Semitism. We had hoped that by now this shameful blot on human history would be a vanishing phenomenon in the memory of mankind, but not only is it still alive, it continues to flourish around the world.

Anti-Semitism does not start in the sick minds of fringe groups. It has been rooted, and unfortunately still exists, in the fabric of most societies. It can no longer be blamed on any particular country or particular part of the world. To some extent it is part of the social, political, economic and cultural climate of most countries in the civilized world, though it manifests itself in various ways in different societies. The Holocaust is being openly denied. It is called a fiction, an artificial fabrication, a political plot, a Jewish hoax. Worse, the world has become immune to it and reacts only in extreme cases, acting upon the cynical definition of anti-Semitism - hating the Jews more than necessary.

It does not start with the skinheads and the hooligans. Just as wars do not start on the battlefield, pogroms against Jews did not start on the streets of Kishinev. As the charter of UNESCO states: "wars start in the minds of men", and these men have a purpose, they have an end in mind, they have a plan and words are their weapon. They speak and they write and they publish, and thus they poison the minds of the hooligans, who do their dirty work. This has been proven again and again, and we do not learn the lesson.

We hold trials in our courts and jail a few primitive misled loudmouths. We let the Farachans in America, the Faurisons in France, the Irvings in England and the Ahmed Rahmis in Sweden continue to spread their poison. We allow the politicians who manipulate them, and the publishers who invade the world with the virus of hatred, to distribute their merchandise undisturbed, under the umbrella of democracy and freedoms which they do not respect, which they plan to abolish but which they use, or rather misuse, for their unholy aims.

Anti-semitism has always relied on lies and on libels and in the wake of the libels the violence has come. For an entire century one such lie and libel has been published and disseminated in almost every language known to men in civilized countries. Time and again, for many decades, it has been challenged and exposed by honest journalists, learned historians, politicians and diplomats, religious leaders and former police agents, and most of all by courageous, responsible and unimpeachable judges in democratic countries. It has also been disproved by the horrible history of the 20th century.

The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* alleges a worldwide criminal conspiracy of "International Jewry" to dominate the world. The various introductions to the *Protocols* describe in detail how this Satanic plan is actually being implemented.

The *Protocols* were fabricated by officials of the Russian Secret Police more than a hundred years ago, and although this book is an undisputed fabrication one can still find it in Church bookstores and on outdoor bookstands in major Russian cities where they also sell Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

In its June 2002 issue the prestigious journal *New Times*, which appears in Moscow in English, carried a five-page article entitled *THE FRAUD OF THE CENTURY, OR A BOOK BORN IN HELL*.

The journal was proud to note that the first exposure of the falsity of the *Protocols* had been published by the *New Times*, (*Novoye Vremia*), which appeared previously as a daily.

The article reveals that in as early as 1902, even before their first publication in a book, the *Protocols* were being distributed in Russia in the form of a small booklet, and a renowned essayist, M. Menshikow, had exposed the lie in an article entitled *A Conspiracy Against Mankind*, in which he categorised the authors and disseminators of the *Protocols* as "people with brain fever".

Yet, the “Orthodox St. Petersburg Society” has recently instituted a literary prize in the name of Sergei Nilus. The statute of the prize states the principal merit of the author as follows: “He is known to Orthodox Russia above all as the publisher of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*”.

On 7 November, 2002 the Communist party in Russia together with other leftist parties, rallied in Moscow to celebrate the 85th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution and once again the rally featured anti-Semitic slogans and publications. One of them read: “If you take away the money of the 50 richest Jewish families, wars and revolutions would stop.” The police did not interfere.

The *Coffee Table Book* accompanying the 1990 British Museum exhibition named “Fake?” comments: “In the museum of literary fraud few works have deserved greater notoriety than the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*”.

Marking a full century since the creation of this preposterous fabrication, we are justified in noting that no other proven political forgery has survived with such immunity, enjoyed such world-wide distribution, been so cynically used for sinister purposes and done so much damage as these *Protocols*, which were condemned by courts of law in many countries as a dangerous fabrication.

Of all the libels which have served, and still serve, as a means of incitement against Jews and as intellectual justification for anti-Semitism, the myth of this so-called “Jewish conspiracy” is probably the most devious and, in the long run, the most dangerous.

Yet new editions of the *Protocols* appear around the world. It seems that the well known Goebbels tactic of “the big lie” has been adopted by anti-Semites everywhere and is still proving very effective. What had previously reached a limited public is now accessible to millions through international television channels and through the Internet.

Although the *Protocols* are a European fabrication, they were embraced very early by the Arab world. One of the first to note this fact was Father Sachetti, who had been engaged in working with orphans in Palestine since 1913. In a letter written on 30 November, 1926, he warned that the *Protocols* had been translated into Arabic and were being widely circulated in Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

Since then the *Protocols* have infiltrated into the main stream of Arab and Moslem propaganda.

In the second half of the 20th century the *Protocols* have taken on new meaning, by their transformation into an anti-Zionist weapon, used by the Arab world not only to demonize Jews but also to delegitimize Zionism and describe the establishment of the State of Israel as a phase in the implementation of the Jewish plan to dominate the world.

To this day excerpts from the *Protocols* are printed periodically in the Arab press, occasionally accompanied by cartoons copied from the Nazi *Stuerner*, and appear not only in Iran, but even in a country like Egypt which has made peace with Israel and in the Palestinian press. The *Protocols* are specifically mentioned in the 1988 Covenant of the *Hamas*, and they are known to be an incentive for suicide bombers, used to convince them that by saving the world from these dangerous Jews they secure their place in Paradise.

Over time the use of the *Protocols* has become increasingly bold: it is not enough that the *Protocols* are published and sold in bookstores, they are taught in schools, serialized in official newspapers accompanied by *Stuerner*-style cartoons, quoted on numerous sites on the Internet, and as a special feature they are now aired on television during the month of *Ramadan*, presented as the main theme of a 41 episode television series *Knight Without A Horse* created in Egypt and shown in most Moslem countries.

Millions of viewers are now exposed to this lie, and past experience shows that such damage is irreversible. History teaches us that, in the words of Norman Cohn, this is a “Warrant for Genocide”, first used in Czarist Russia to incite pogroms, and then again in Nazi Germany to legitimize the extermination of the Jews.

In adopting this anti-Semitic strategy the present promoters of the *Protocols* easily find

themselves in the company of Nazi teachers. Hitler and Goebbels used the *Protocols* as a major theme in their anti-Jewish propaganda, as did their disciples. In a pamphlet composed by Karl Baumboeck, entitled *The Jews in World Politics*, which was adopted by the Nazi Party and approved for use in Party education, he wrote: "The insane goal of world Jewry remains ruling all the nations by controlling their government organs, their territory, their money and their goods".

Even the linkage of the *Protocols* to Zionism was not invented by the Arabs. The Nazis created this connection earlier, long before the establishment of the State of Israel. In April 1936, Arno Schickedanz explained in *Der Schulungsbrief* in an article entitled *Zionism*, that Zionism was a part of the general Jewish plot to control the world.

It is by now an undisputed historical fact that the *Protocols* have served for a whole century as a powerful weapon used not only to delegitimize but also to murder Jews.

The stage was set a hundred years ago and had we been vigilant enough we would have perceived where it was leading.

In 2003 we shall mark the anniversary of the famous Kishinev pogrom, in which hundreds of Jews were slaughtered. That same year, in 1903, the *Protocols* appeared for the first time in a series published by the *Black Hundreds* in Russia in their newspaper *Znamia* [The Flag], and were used to incite the Kishinev *pogromchiks*. Other pogroms followed and the *Protocols* were always at the forefront of the anti-Jewish propaganda, as proof that Jews were endangering Russia.

There are those who maintain that it is wrong to ban a fallacy when it is put between two covers and labeled "a book", but publishers have a choice. If they choose to publish a proven forgery they cannot hide behind the First Amendment.

There are those who argue that a lie like this should be confronted in the "marketplace of ideas". The history of the *Protocols* proves them wrong. A deliberate lie is not an "idea". It may easily become a dangerous weapon. Those who exploit it do not belong in a genuine "marketplace of ideas". This lie should be banned in the same way as other weapons that possess the potential to cause mass murder and destruction. Lies and libels which set up a group of people as scapegoats, hate targets, potential victims of murder and extermination should not be protected as "Free Speech".

If we do not eradicate and delegitimize old libels, hate-mongers will get bolder and they will be encouraged to create new libels. One such horrible lie has been spreading around the world in the aftermath of September 11, and is firing people's imagination. The story, originating in Arab countries, but reaching into Western public discourse, blames the Jews for the disaster of September 11, offering as proof the invented "fact" that 4,000 Jews (or Israelis) had been warned in advance not to come to work on that day in the Twin Towers.

Bizarre? Unbelievable? But we are told by responsible researchers that millions do believe it.

It is time we realize that if the world does not wake up we may face a disaster. The ongoing brainwashing of the masses against Jews and setting up of Jews as targets, coupled with the possession of ready weapons, including weapons of mass destruction, poses a great threat not only to Jews and to the Jewish State, but to the entire world.

Hadassa Ben - 3/16

ANTI-SEMITISM: THEN AND NOW

At the conclusion of the year 2002, anti-Semitism in the Western world, as well as in the Muslim world, remains uncontained and is even spreading.

Accumulating reports from various countries indicate that undisguised anti-Semitism continues to be nurtured both by secular and religious bodies. Media outlets make little or no effort to restrain themselves when it comes to publishing columns, features and editorial cartoons. Apologies are few. Combatting anti-Semitism has not yet become an acknowledged assignment of the Western media.

Against this background, one cannot escape the conclusion that parallels should be drawn between past experience and the current situation. In fulfilling its mission to battle anti-Semitism, by refusing to let the bitter lessons of the past be forgotten and by exposing the resurgence of this phenomenon, *JUSTICE* dedicates this entire final issue of 2002 to a single theme: ANTI-SEMITISM: THEN AND NOW, from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* forged at the beginning of the last century to its current revival on Egyptian state television; from the Nazi era, to the familiar demonizing-the-Jew images in the Arab media, and to the blaming of the Jews for instigating the terrorist attacks on 11 September, 2001 in New York.

This attempt to expose the persistent phenomenon of anti-Semitism is aimed at supporting the ongoing efforts to combat it, unequivocally.



Rising European anti-Semitism is typified by the attack on the memorial to the victims of Nazi death marches in Belower Woods, Germany. The memorial was defaced and the nearby museum fire bombed on the eve of the Jewish High Holidays

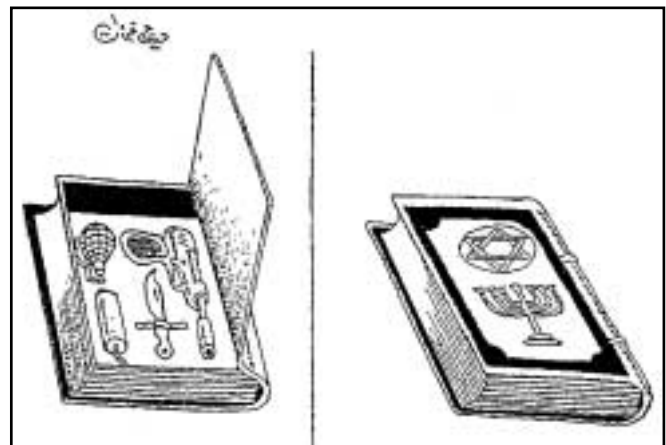
The Editor-in-Chief



Spanish edition of the *Protocols*, 1963



French edition of the *Protocols*, 1934



Judaism, according to *Saut al-Kuwait* [The Voice of Kuwait], 16 April, 1992

Combatting Anti-Semitism Now and in the Past

Per Ahlmark

Why do so many survivors of the *Shoah* sense the emergence of anti-Semitism long before the rest of us? It is their past which teaches them how apparently “innocent” insinuations about Jews quickly develop into accusations, which, if left unanswered or if not efficiently resisted, are transformed into discriminatory legislation. The path from the separation of people to murder and annihilation is short.

Holocaust survivors remind us of this terrible process and by so doing have sought to help us avoid the fate that destroys not only a people but humanity itself.

Elie Wiesel, a great mentor of mine and of millions of others, is a survivor of Auschwitz and Buchenwald. At our first meeting in the 1970s he told me: “The deniers of the Holocaust are trying to kill the Jews a second time”. “Rehabilitate the murderers”, he warned, “and they can murder again”. On a different occasion he said: “Let us remember the heroes of Warsaw, the martyrs of Treblinka, the children of Auschwitz. They fought alone, they suffered alone, they lived alone, but they did not die alone for something in all of us died with them”.



It seems to me that what Elie Wiesel was referring to was the demise of the belief that there are limits to human cruelty. We know now that *there are no limits*. The Holocaust proved that evil ideology, built on hateful fantasies, combined with total power and met only by a policy of appeasement will bring our societies to atrocities never seen before.

Survivors have often sounded the alarm because they know what is at stake and in so doing they have strengthened democracy in a way no others could. We listen to the survivors in order to survive.

Two other messages have been taught to us by the survivors of the Holocaust. First,

anti-Semitism always *starts* with Jews, it never *ends* with them. Jew-hatred, if not contained, almost always develops into assaults on other minorities, ultimately leading to the destabilization of democratic institutions and the rule of law. Thus, Jews and non-Jews must join hands in the struggle against anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is a prejudice among non-Jews - therefore we non-Jews have a duty to resist it. But Jews, as the primary victims of this non-Jewish disease, usually know much more about it than non-Jews, and consequently it is their obligation to combat anti-Semitism in order to defend themselves and our societies.

Secondly, believe the anti-Semites that they are convinced of what they preach! The catastrophic mistake of the 20th century was that tens of millions of people did not think that Hitler actually meant what he wrote and said. We must acknowledge that the Jew-haters of the 21st century are not pretending. The non-Jewish world must accept that anti-Jewish charters formulated by individuals, organizations and countries are documents that have to be studied and confronted.

These documents may well be more than mere rhetoric - or even if only rhetoric now, they have the potential, when circumstances permit, to explode and become a blueprint for action.

Per Ahlmark, writer and author. Former Leader of the Swedish Liberal Party and Deputy Prime Minister of Sweden. Founder of The Swedish Committee Against Antisemitism. European Co-Chairman of the UN Watch (Geneva). Columnist in *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm). Honorary Doctor of the Hebrew University, 2002. Ahlmark has published a number of books on politics, ideology, international conflicts, and poetry. This article was adapted from his presentation at the conference on “*The Legacy of Holocaust Survivors*” held at *Yad Vashem* in April 2002.

We must give voice to the astonishing facet of anti-Semitism - its *flexibility and adaptability*. Israel's former Deputy Foreign Minister, Rabbi Michael Melchior, did so in a blistering address to the UN Human Rights Commission in March 2002. This commission - purporting to have as its goal the strengthening of human rights - has recently had elected to it such liberal and freedom-loving countries as Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Syria, Cuba and China. On the other hand, the United States of America, the most important democracy in the world, was kicked out.

Deputy Foreign Minister Melchior's point to this assembly was that anti-Semitism cannot change its goal: to attack the Jews. But it can change its face, its strategy, its rationalization and part of its vocabulary.

Anti-Semites of different centuries throughout the world have sought to destroy the centers of Jewish existence. In the past, Judaism was the target. When Judaism refused to surrender Jews were expelled or killed. In the 19th century, as racism gained popularity, the Jews were attacked for being an evil race; propaganda which peaked with the Nazis. Today, a new twist has developed. As the Jewish state has become the center of identity and source of pride and protection for most Jews, it is Zionism which has become the target and object of slander as a racist ideology.

Of course, criticism of Israel is not anti-Semitism. It is as legitimate to oppose certain Israeli policies and decisions as it is to scrutinize those of any other nation. But anti-Zionism today has become very similar to anti-Semitism. Anti-Zionists acknowledge the right of other peoples to have national feelings and a state, as well as to defend that state. Yet, they reject the right of the *Jewish* people to a national consciousness expressed in the State of Israel and the right to defend that state. They do not judge Israel with the same values as they use to judge other countries. The term for such discrimination against Jews is "anti-Semitism".

These people also often exploit anti-Semitic stereotypes when condemning the Jewish state. Anti-Israeli incitement with anti-Jewish connotations is repeatedly expressed in the mosques, press, TV, radio and textbooks of the Arab world. Islamists have creatively borrowed images from the Middle East conflict and given them a new spin when illustrating why Jews can never be trusted. Their message is that Jews seek world or regional power. The Jews conspire, deceive other people and are cruel when it comes to both ends and means. Jews are strong in the art of bluffing and weak when it comes to character and truthfulness. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* prove the truth about Jewish strategy.

Holocaust denial has become routine, as have parallels between Israel and the Third Reich. One Syrian paper screamed: "We

have to confront the new Nazi plague which is nesting in Israel". Palestinian television routinely portrays Israeli soldiers as rapists and cold-blooded murderers. The Mufti of Jerusalem declared that "it's not my fault that Hitler hated the Jews, they hate them just about everywhere". A Friday sermon broadcast on Palestinian television instructed Muslims "to have no mercy on the Jews, no matter where you are.... kill them.... and those Americans who are like them".

These declarations must be taken seriously. When new generations of Arabs and Muslims are contaminated with this hatred, the possibility of attaining peace, trust and cooperation between Israel and its neighbours becomes increasingly difficult.

Anti-Zionists, explicitly or implicitly, question the entire existence of Israel. Consequently, they espouse battle against and probably the death of millions of Israeli Jews. Deliberately suggesting the mass murder of Jews - openly or in vague formulas - has always been the most extreme form of anti-Semitism. Thus, those anti-Zionists who advocate the destruction of the Jewish state should be put in a similar category.

Sometimes anti-Zionists claim that they are not against Jews but "only" against the Jewish state. Yet no one would take seriously a person who said: "I am only against the existence of Great Britain but I am not anti-British!" Or "I love Swedes, but Sweden should be abolished". It is hard to love or respect a people and hate their state.

Durban illustrated this phenomenon at its worst! The agenda of the Durban conference 2001 was to battle racism. Yet several of the draft statements preparing this UN meeting were in fact part of an ideological pogrom against Israel. The statements suggested that the Jews were not primarily victims of the Holocaust but perpetrators of another holocaust, one being conducted against the Palestinians. The definition of "anti-Semitism" was not hostility against Jews but "Zionist practices against semitism". These declarations may sound ludicrous but they were voiced as part of a serious agenda set by the enemies of Jews and Israel. Durban was an anti-Semitic festival and it was only the diplomatic campaign passionately inspired by Deputy Minister Melchior which turned the tables on what would have been the final, anti-Zionist official Durban declaration.

In spite of the shameless demagoguery of these drafts, they were received with very little opposition by most democracies. How was it that no nation but Israel, the United States and perhaps Canada, realized what was going on? There is a paradox here: today there are more democracies in the world than ever before. An increasing number of UN members have freely elected governments. The Communist empire no longer exists. Europe is democratic from West to East. Latin America has experienced surprising victories for freedom as have parts of Africa and East

Asia. The United States is the only remaining superpower. These facts suggest that the free countries could quite easily resist Arab and Muslim anti-Jewish verbal aggression in the international arena.

Yet, the Durban humiliations *did* occur. In several United Nations agencies, Israel-bashing has become a political ritual. This phenomenon has been monitored in detail by, for example, the UN Watch, an independent institution in Geneva, which has proved that the demonization of the only democracy in the Middle East is a central part of the new anti-Jewishness. Israel is branded by the dictatorships as a systematic violator of all sorts of human rights.

Analysing this situation, law professor and member of the Canadian Parliament Irwin Cotler has explained: when Israel is described “as the enemy of all good and the repository of all that is evil”, it becomes a “teaching of contempt” within the UN. This is parallel in his view to the medieval indictment of the Jew as the “poisoner of the wells”. Portraying Israel as a leper state makes it the “poisoner of the international wells”. Likewise, Professor Robert Wistrich has concluded that “the accumulation of anti-Israeli resolutions (at the UN) is liable to cause the complete delegitimization of the Jewish state”.

Constantly singling out Israel as the enemy of humanity is part of the campaign directed against the Jewish people. Many anti-Jewish outbursts world-wide have been rooted in condemnations of Israel that have exploited anti-Semitic terminology. Attacks on synagogues have been triggered by defamatory language about the conflict in the Middle East.

Words lead to action. Propaganda used by Muslim radicals has been supported and repeated by both right and left-wing extremists in the Western world. Yet the media in the West, and especially in Europe, are reluctant to link violence and terrorist acts to their ideological inspirations, including anti-Semitic obsession. The last reported words of the journalist Daniel Pearl were: “I am a Jew, my mother is a Jew”. Then they cut his throat.

Such acts of murderous barbarity should not cause us to forget the vulgarization of language in quarters assumed to be civilized. Often, in the 20th century, people who regarded themselves as “intellectuals” became fellow travellers of Fascism or Communism without being members of political parties based on those ideologies. Now, in the 21st century, we often encounter persons, usually belonging to influential minorities and linked to the mass media, politics, government administration or universities, who condemn Israel with an excitement that reminds us of anti-democratic movements.

The French Ambassador to Britain, at a dinner party in London recently, described Israel as “that shitty little country”. He has many allies among the European elites. The columnist Andrew

Sullivan was right when he said that Israel has become “the object of hate that dare not speak its name”.

We, however, do dare speak its name: it is “anti-Semitism”. Not only do we dare, we have an obligation to do so. We must not keep silent about the daily attacks in France now being perpetrated against Jews and synagogues. It is to the shame of all of Europe that so many French Jews today cannot send their children to school without profound anxiety about their security. Many Christians in various countries are still influenced by the legacy of anti-Jewish theology. They must be exposed and resisted when they, for religious reasons, express their hostility against Israel! When the Radical Left in Britain reacts to anti-Semitic statements in British mosques by *not* reacting, we have to tell the ugly truth and refute these people as we do other anti-Zionists. As Martin Luther King Jr. put it: “When people criticize Zionism, they mean Jews - make no mistake about it”.

Finally, we should not hesitate to describe the fanatic and determined danger to democracy that comes with totalitarian Muslim fundamentalism. Professor Yehuda Bauer has called it “the greatest anti-Semitic threat of the start of the 21st century”. His conclusion is that it does not resemble “old” Arab anti-Semitism; it is closer to Communism and Nazism as it longs for a global rule and the destruction of the old value system, the civilization of “the Jews and infidels” as they call it. According to Bauer, this fundamentalist Muslim ideology “uses the unmistakable language of genocide, of annihilation”.

Considering all these factors, we have many very good reasons for supporting Rabbi Melchior’s idea of creating the International Commission to Combat Antisemitism (ICCA). That body should learn from the survivors of the *Shoah* how to sound the necessary wake-up calls. I hope this organization will be clear in defining the increasing threat of the old/new anti-Semitism. Compared to most of the previous anti-Jewish outbreaks this one is often not directed against individual Jews. It attacks primarily the collective Jew - the State of Israel. Such attacks then start a chain reaction of assaults on individual Jews and Jewish institutions.

We certainly could say that in the past the most dangerous anti-Semites were those who wanted to make the world *Judenrein*, free of Jews. Today the most dangerous anti-Semites may be those who want to make the world *Judenstaatrein*, free of a Jewish state.

Anti-Semitism in the West: Perilous Times

Kenneth Jacobson

Few of us believed that 55 years after the Holocaust we would be focusing once again on anti-Semitism around the world.

After all, the murder of 6 million, the greatest crime against humanity, made anti-Semitism, at least in its extreme and blatant manifestations, highly unrespectable.

Now we are talking again about the burning of synagogues, the “Big Lie”, the spread of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. The obvious question: are we heading back to the 1930’s and 1940’s?

Leon Wiesltier, writing in the *New Republic*, appropriately warned against glib analogies to that horrible time. Indeed, we must be careful to identify what the problem is and what it is not, where the great dangers lie and where they do not, when something is truly anti-Semitism and when it is not.

Arabs and the Islamic World

The one area where looking back at the experience during the Nazi period makes sense concerns trends in the Arab and Islamic worlds. The Holocaust was a product of many factors coming together, most particularly the fact that a group with an ideology to destroy the Jewish people took control of a government, that that government became the greatest military power in Europe, and with these two factors came the complicity, active or passive, by other parties with this regime’s horrendous program for the Jewish people.

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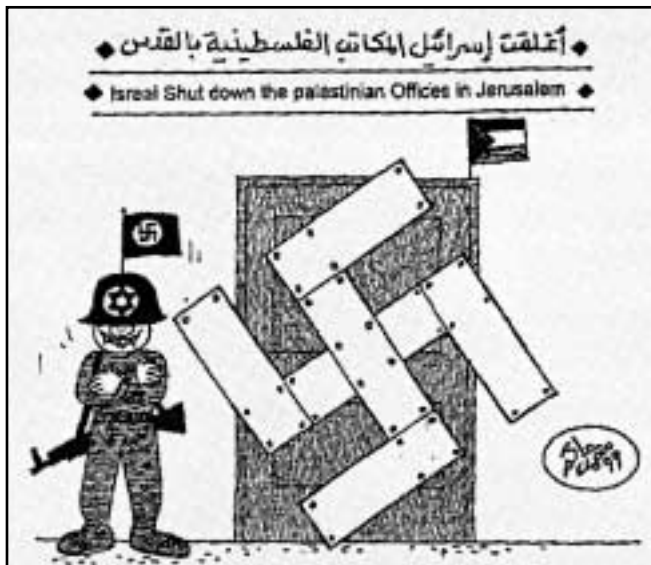


In a different way, what is going on in the Islamic world today holds within it the potential threat to the Jewish people. The ideological factor is present and growing by the day. Just look at three areas of attitudes towards Jews in the Middle East.

First, is the “Big Lie” technique. Remember how Joseph Goebbels used this to influence German opinion. Daniel Goldhagen was probably overstating German anti-Semitism before the Nazi period; after all, if you would ask a Jew in Europe in the 1910’s who were the greatest enemies of the Jews, he would

probably say the Russians, not the Germans. Still, anti-Semitism was strong and Goebbels understood this. What he accomplished through the “Big Lie” technique - the repetition over and over again of something outrageous - was to translate existing antipathy into convincing many Germans that they were the victims of the powerful and poisonous Jew and that they needed to protect themselves in any way against this peril. The Nazi-produced films in which rats are circulating through Germany accompanied by the voice describing the Jew as that rat, shown over and over again, became common fare among the German people.

The equivalent to this in the Islamic world is how repetition has produced the belief of 60 percent of the people in nine Arab and Islamic countries (according to a Gallup Poll) that Jews, not Osama Bin Laden, were responsible for the 11th September attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. As in Germany in the 30’s, such a “Big Lie” could not have taken hold without susceptibility among the public. Extreme anti-Israel and anti-Jewish propaganda have, of course, been part of Middle East life for many decades. Now it has been transformed into



This cartoon likening "Israel" to the Nazis was distributed by the Arab Lawyers Union at the World Conference on Racism's NGO Forum in Durban, South Africa, in August 2001

blaming Jews as the conspirators behind the greatest terrorist event. It started with a broadcast by *al-Manar*, a Lebanese satellite television station, 6 days after 11th September. It claimed that 4,000 Israelis were working at the World Trade Center, but none showed up for work that tragic day. The message was clear and spread like wildfire. It is today the conventional wisdom in significant segments of the Islamic world.

If the "Big Lie" technique is alive and well, it is accompanied by other manifestations of ideological anti-Semitism. The way the Arab world views the Holocaust is a prime example. For decades the main approach of the Arabs was to recognize that the Holocaust happened, that it was a horrendous tragedy, but, they argued, why should we Arabs pay the price - the "illegitimate" State of Israel imposed on the Middle East - for what the Europeans did to the Jews.

Of course, world Jewry strongly disagreed with the assumptions of this analysis, that Israel is merely a product of the Holocaust and is illegitimate, but at least the Arabs had acknowledged the reality of the murder of 6,000,000. Today, use of the Holocaust has taken a different road. Now, it is said in many contexts, the Holocaust never really happened or was greatly exaggerated, all part of Jewish propaganda to win support for Israel. In other words, the Arab world has become the leading progenitors of Holocaust denial. Once again we see a Jewish conspiracy theory increasingly dominating the thinking of the Arab and Islamic worlds.

Completely compatible with the growth of the "Big Lie" and Holocaust denial is the third key of the triangle of anti-Semitic ideology that is poisoning the region: the revitalization of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. This infamous forgery that played a role in the tragedy of European Jews in the 20th century has been circulating in the Arab world for years. It is no accident, however, that in the deteriorating environment in the region, the *Protocols* have taken on a new life with the Egyptian television 41-part dramatic series *Knight Without A Horse*. Despite efforts by Egyptian leaders, including President Hosni Mubarak, to deny the anti-Semitism of the series, it is a story about the Jewish effort to conceal the fact that the *Protocols* are the real secret conspiracy plans of the Jews to take over Palestine and beyond. An expensive and emotional presentation, the series was broadcast throughout the Arab world during *Ramadan*, undoubtedly reinforcing the image of the Jews as all-powerful, conspiratorial, deceptive and a threat to the entire Islamic world.

The conclusion that must be drawn from all these pervasive manifestations of ideological anti-Semitism is that the demonization of the Jew, the first stage for their destruction, is making great strides throughout the Islamic world.

Together with this are rising military capabilities, not like the Nazis who created a powerful military machine, but through the combined factors of terror networks, the use of suicide techniques, and the development and distribution of weapons of mass destruction. The threat is different and maybe more in the potential than actual stage, but this combination of ideological anti-Semitism and the willingness and means to murder Jews, whether in the Middle East, Europe, South America or the United States is the nearest thing to the dangers Jews experienced in the 1930's and 1940's.

The other element that makes the rising tide of anti-Semitism in the Islamic world so dangerous is the complicity of so many parties around the world. It starts, of course, with Arab governments. Some are active purveyors of anti-Semitism. The Syrian Defence Minister Mustafa Tlass wrote a book, *Matzah of Zion*, which reviewed the medieval blood libel ritual against the Jewish people. In December 2002, the Saudi Interior Minister Prince Niaf Abu Abd Al-Aziz, spread the "Big Lie" when, in an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper, *Al Siyasa*, he claimed that "Zionists are behind these events" of 11 September.

Others like Egypt, either question the utterance or underplay the significance of anti-Semitism. President Mubarak has done it

in two ways, either, as in the case of *Knight Without A Horse*, by denying its anti-Semitic content, or by simply suggesting that the media in Egypt have freedom which he cannot control. Both reactions are disingenuous and speak to the government's role in these activities.

The Role of Europe

While the main source of resurgent anti-Semitism and dangers to the Jewish people stems from the Arab and Islamic world, the roles of Europe and the organized international community add to rather than subtract from the peril. The lessons of the Holocaust have focused on the fact that while evil will always exist, it is what good people will do in the face of such evil that determines the extent of the problem.

As hatred spreads against Jews through the Arab and Islamic world, Europeans, on the whole, have done little to combat it and have contributed their own share to the increasing perception of Jews that anti-Semitism is once again legitimate. This has taken several forms.

First, there is the explosion of anti-Semitic incidents throughout Western Europe, but most particularly in France. Leading up to the national election in France in May 2002, there were over 400 serious attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions. Ten synagogues were burned, including two in Lyon and Marsailles, which were destroyed. Individuals were attacked, schools targeted; Jews found themselves avoiding certain neighbourhoods. Most of the incidents were committed by Moslems who now make up 10 percent of France's population and rising percentages of other West European countries. Individuals in Moslem communities exposed to the hatred against Israel and Jews from Arab media and the Internet felt increasingly free to attack Jews and Jewish institutions.

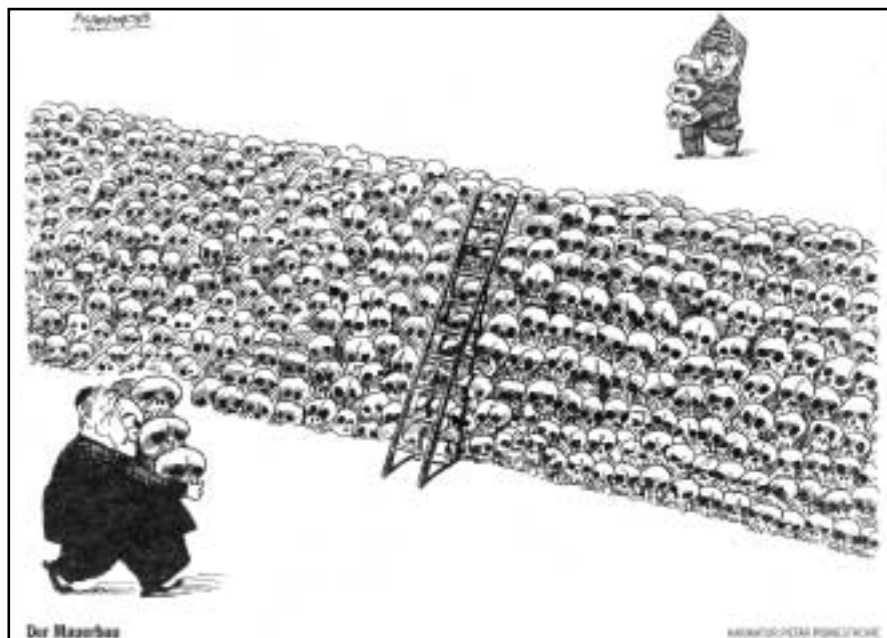
The environment in which these incidents occur, however, is a product not only of Arab propaganda but of European society itself. This is manifest in the reaction of governments to anti-Semitic incidents, in the overwhelming anti-Israel bias in significant parts of the media and the intellectual left, and in the slowness to

recognize that Jews are feeling under siege.

French leaders for months, in the face of anti-Semitic incidents, refused to acknowledge that there was a serious problem. Comments were made speaking of emotions of the Middle East coming to France and the problems of immigrants living in suburban communities. Direct statements condemning the rise of anti-Semitism and committing to prosecute the perpetrators were too slow in coming.

Added to this was the barrage in left-wing intellectual circles, the media, universities and unions against Israel. Proposals for boycotts of Israelis and Israeli products abounded throughout Western Europe. For Jews to be seen as defending or identifying with Israelis became problematic in certain sectors.

Besides the impact of the anti-Israel bias, less nuanced anti-Semitism surfaced as well. *La Stampa*, the Italian newspaper, published a cartoon of a Palestinian baby, clearly the Baby Jesus, with the line, "they're doing it to me all over again." Jose Saramago, Portugese Nobel Laureate for Literature, came back from a Middle East visit and compared what was happening in Ramallah to Auschwitz. And the Anti-Defamation League found in a survey of 10 countries' attitudes toward Jews in Western Europe that more than 50 percent of the people in those countries believe that their Jewish citizens are more loyal to Israel than to their own country.



A cartoon, entitled "Wall Building", by Petar Pismestrovic in *Kleinezeitung*, Austria, 25 June 2002

The perils of the situation in Europe today must be seen in proper perspective. This is not the Europe of the 1930's. There is no state with an ideology to destroy Jews. Indeed, these are democratic states, with laws to provide equality for all citizens, and which place human rights issues at the top of their agendas.

What is real is a climate in which the taboos against anti-Semitism stemming from the Holocaust have been weakened. Whatever the reasons - the politics of appeasing large Moslem communities, the impact of oil, a certain anti-Americanism which translates to criticisms of Israel and Jews and a resentment against Jews for forcing Europeans to face their roles in the Holocaust - Jews are more exposed in Europe today than in decades.

More significantly, the totality of Europe's attitude towards Jewish issues today fails to delegitimize and even gives sustenance to the mounting Islamic and Arab campaign. One cannot help but think of Hitler's noting that other nations were not willing to accept Jews from Germany. How Europe's behaviour regarding Israel and anti-Semitism will have an impact on the thinking of

those in the Islamic world who want to target Jews is a matter of concern and further investigation.

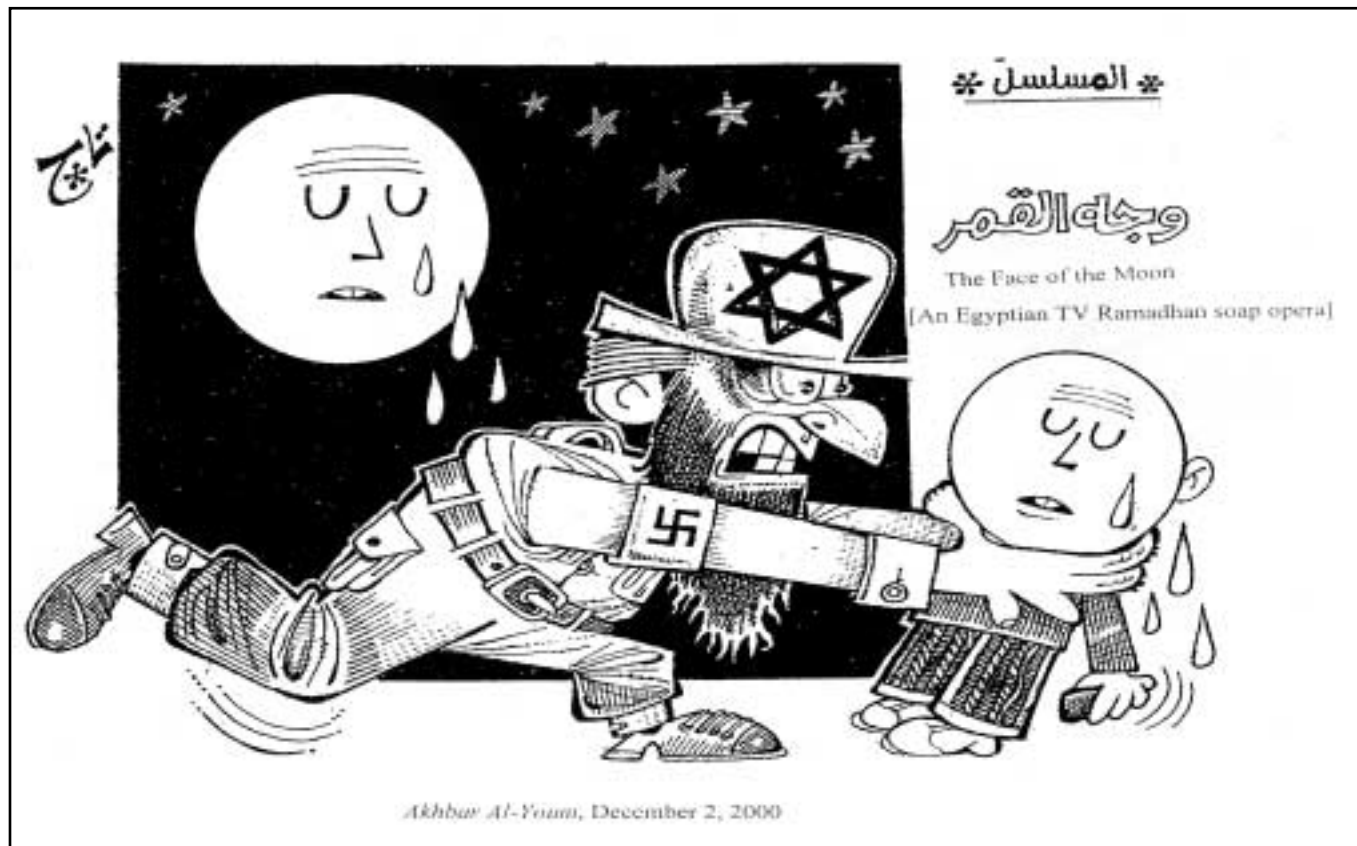
The Rise of Anti-Semitism in America

The United States has not been immune from the upsurge of global anti-Semitism, although manifestations have been in no way comparable to the Arab world or Europe.

On the attitudinal level, the Anti-Defamation League found in a national survey in the spring of 2002 that 17 percent of Americans harbor anti-Semitic attitudes, an increase from 12 percent in the last such survey in 1998.

Some of that increase may be attributable to the greater pessimism of the public from 1998 with the economy down and the events of 11th September still alive, as well as the large Hispanic immigration (Hispanic immigrants according to the survey, harbor anti-Semitic attitudes way beyond the norm).

Similarly, during the first six months of 2002 there was an 11 percent increase in anti-Semitic incidents, an increase partially attributed to the spillover of the Middle East conflict.



Increased Concern on Campuses

The area where American Jews and anti-Zionists are most concerned about anti-Semitism is on the campus. It must be stated that on the vast majority of campuses around the country, Jewish students feel secure, life is normal, and anti-Israel activity is limited.

On a number of campuses, however, anti-Israel activity is intense, well-organized and even moves into anti-Semitism, most notably at San Francisco State where there was a near pogrom. Efforts by pro-Palestinian groups to get universities to divest from any company doing business with Israel have been rejected by a number of presidents, including those of Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and Penn. While the divestment campaign does not look threatening in terms of its goal being realized, the effort further insulates Jewish students and creates an atmosphere on some campuses that Jews are under attack. In this regard, the address by Lawrence Summers, President of Harvard, calling attention to and condemning anti-Semitism on campuses, bolstered the attitudes of Jewish students at Harvard and elsewhere. Similarly, counter-divestment campaigns by professors, and activities by Jewish organizations in providing information, speakers, and advice for campus activists have proved effective.

Of particular relevance to the situation on campuses is the fact that ADL found in its poll of 2002 that university professors, unlike the rest of the American public, have more sympathy - 29 percent - 16 percent - for the Palestinians than the Israelis, figures comparable to European attitudes but diametrically opposed to American attitudes as a whole.

Jews are not Helpless

Any assessment of the state of anti-Semitism today must take into account what is different from the past. We have noted that there is no anti-Semitic ideology governing a European state. In addition, the teachings of the Vatican about Jews and Israel over the decades have ameliorated some of the most significant bases for anti-Semitic attitudes and policies.

Of most importance, Jews today, unlike in the 1930's, are not helpless. In particular, three elements change the equation: the existence of the State of Israel, the fact that the United States is the leader in the world and the activity of a self-confident American Jewish community. None of these elements was present in the 30's and 40's and as a result the Jews of Europe were doomed in the face of the Nazi machine. Israel as a haven for Jews did not exist. America was isolationist until Pearl Harbor; its entrance

into World War Two saved the world from Hitler but in the end it was too late for the six million and American Jews in the 30s were weak and insecure with little impact on American policy.

Today, and indeed, over many decades, these elements have worked together not only to strengthen Israel but to free Soviet Jews, Ethiopian Jews and Syrian Jews. Today, while Israel is a focal point of the new anti-Semitism - a rejection less of the individual Jew than the collective expression of Jewish identity - Israel stands in the forefront of the efforts to counter anti-Semitism.

For the Anti-Defamation League and other activists in the American Jewish community, it is the role of America that can and will make a significant difference. This is so on many levels. When it became clear that Egyptian television was planning to run its dramatization about the *Protocols*, it was the U.S. Ambassador in Egypt and the State Department which exposed and pressured the Egyptian government. While the show ran, the U.S. role exposed the failings of Egyptian leaders in not recognizing the nature of the program and its impact.

When anti-Semitism was spreading in Europe, a joint Congressional Committee met to assess the situation and since has conducted several joint sessions with EU representatives to find ways to address the upsurge in anti-Semitism.

When the international community at Durban turned a UN Conference on racism into an anti-Israel and anti-Semitic celebration, the U.S. Secretary of State refused to attend.

When Amiri Baraka, Poet Laureate of New Jersey, published a poem in which he restated the "Big Lie" that 4,000 Jews did not show up at the World Trade Center on 11th September and that Israel knew in advance of the event, he was widely denounced across America.

America itself, of course, is not free of the anti-Semitic upsurge.

Here, however, leaders in government, national and local, as well as in cultural life speak out, making such activity unacceptable to the mainstream.

These are perilous times. American Jews feel that three parts of their identity - as Americans, as Jews and as Zionists - are under attack from international terrorism, global anti-Semitism and the assault on Israel's good name. We know, however, that we can make a difference by working with our government, the State of Israel, and good people everywhere to make sure that this time Jews will be protected.

Deepening the Dichotomy between Islam and Judaism

Meir Litvak

Islamist or fundamentalist Moslem anti-Semitism is not a new phenomenon. Anti-Jewish themes may be discerned in classical Islamic tradition, including parts of the *Qur'an*. Nonetheless, while subject to legal discrimination and occasional harassment the Jews enjoyed greater tolerance under Muslim rule than in Christian Europe. Unlike the Christian church, Muslim clerics never regarded Judaism as a theological threat. When Muslims felt confident in their civilization, they could afford to be generous towards Jews and Christians, provided the latter did not challenge Islam's superiority and accepted their status as protected and dominated minorities. Anti-Semitic publications appeared in the Arab world in the middle of the 19th century, especially after the 1840 blood libel case in Damascus; its content was European and its carriers were mostly Christian Arabs.

During the 20th century, Arab anti-Semitism underwent a process of Islamization, with increasing emphasis on the evil characteristics of Jews and Judaism mentioned in classical Islamist literature. The rise of hostility toward the Jews was influenced largely by the mounting sense of insecurity, threat and subsequent humiliation felt by Middle Eastern Muslims in the face of increasing encroachment from the West. Muslims began to associate local Christians and Jews with the West, particularly as many increasingly prosperous members of these two communities were benefiting from the Western economic presence in the region. It was a short step for Arabs to see Zionism, particularly following the Balfour Declaration and its endorsement by the League of Nations in 1921, as an offshoot of Western imperialism.

Dr. Litvak is a senior research fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University. This article was adapted from his presentation at the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism symposium on "The Jewish Question" in Islamist and Arab Discourse held in Jerusalem, December 2002.

Arab anti-Semitism from the 1950s onward was primarily a political instrument used in the struggle against Israel. It came from governments and literary elites, rather than as a social movement as had been the case in many European countries. It was aimed first and foremost against Israel as a state, and only secondarily against world Jewry. It attacked Jewish culture and history, rather than the "Jewish race". It borrowed most of its themes from Western culture and had relatively little original content. In hindsight, it is not anti-Semitism that led to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Rather, the conflict created anti-Semitism. This type of anti-Semitism from above is dangerous - it can turn the Arab masses into anti-Semites, even if they were not so before.

The main goal of official Arab anti-Semitism was to justify the destruction of the State of Israel. Since the international community would not accept the annihilation of an existing state, it had to be justified by extreme reasoning. Arab anti-Semitism began by presenting the establishment of Israel as an act of gross injustice, the theft of a land from its original rightful inhabitants. According to this version of anti-Semitism, only a people with inherently evil cultural and historical roots could perpetrate such an injustice. In addition, the destruction of Israel required the removal of any sense of mercy toward its inhabitants;



anti-Semitism was designed to toughen the hearts and minds of Arab soldiers and civilians alike. This type of anti-Semitism also helped to justify Arab military and technological inferiority *vis-à-vis* Israel. Rather than face their own weakness and defeat, Arab regimes preferred to describe the Jews as an all-powerful group that controls or manipulates international organizations and foreign powers. State-sponsored anti-Semitism subsided somewhat as Arab countries modified their attitudes and policies toward Israel. Yet, most Arab states still tolerated the dissemination of hate literature by non-governmental organizations.

In the mid-1970s, a new type of anti-Semitism came to the fore following the increased socio-economic influence of Islamist movements in a number of Arab countries. These Islamist movements became the vanguard of the new anti-Semitism. Unlike its state-sponsored predecessor, Islamist anti-Semitism



The PLO's view of US-Israel relations, from E. Shehadeh's book, *David and Goliath*, English edition, published by The PLO Center of Palestinian Study, Beirut, 1970

emerged from below rather than from above. As such, it appears to be more deeply rooted than the simple manipulation by a state in accordance with its changing political interests.

Islamist anti-Semitism is a function of the Arab-Israeli conflict but has also been greatly shaped by the ideology of the Islamist movements. Islamists saw the conflict as the culmination of a thousand-year struggle between Islam and Western civilization as well as a religious battle between Islam and Judaism. According to this interpretation, the clash is irreconcilable and the destruction of Israel is not only predetermined by the *Qur'an* (the word of God) but is also imperative in order to save humanity and civilization. The fact that Jews, who are destined to be inferior and subordinated to Muslims, dared challenge the rule of Islam, forcibly seized Muslim lands and became rulers over them, appeared to the Islamists to contradict the correct course of history and cosmic order. Consequently, the struggle against them and the eradication of Israel became a religious duty.

Also shaping Islamist anti-Semitism was the quest for authenticity or the redefinition of Muslim identity. This process intensified the uncritical and totalistic reading of earlier Islamic history. Such a reading led to the reopening of various so-called "historical accounts" between Islam and other religions and ideologies. This approach revived medieval polemics with non-Muslims, with special emphasis on the evils the Jews had committed against Muslims since the early days of Islam, particularly their fight and treachery against the Prophet Muhammad. It also revived the old image of Judaism as a harsh and excessively restrictive religion compared to the more tolerant and humane Islam.

Almost all Islamist movements in the Middle East share the same anti-Semitic attitude, but the centrality of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the lives of the Palestinians has caused anti-Semitism to play an even more important role in the teaching of the *Hamas* organization. In addition, none of the Islamist movements distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. Zionism is regarded as the modern incarnation of traditional Judaism or as political Judaism.

The religious essence of the conflict means that it pits the true and paramount religion (Islam) against the false and abrogated faith (Judaism). Therefore, the struggle is between Islam and Judaism and between Muslims and Jews, rather than between Palestinians and Israelis or Zionists. More important, the Islamist movements regard the fight against Israel and the Jews as part of a broader religious war between the Islamic and Western



"You still have something to say in our negotiations... about the Al-Aqsa Mosque?", in *Al-Ahali*, Cairo daily, Egypt, 4 October 2000

civilizations. It is the latest and most fateful phase of the relentless onslaught waged by Western imperialism and culture against Islam. Iran and the *Shi'ite Hizballah* organization in Lebanon have gone even further describing it as a fight between "World Arrogance", led by the United States, and the "downtrodden of the earth", represented mainly by the Muslims and the *Shi'ites*.

The fundamentally religious orientation of the Islamist movements cause them to see an unbridgeable gap "between truth and falsehood" and between "good" personified by the Muslims - who represent the party of God - against "evil incarnated" or "the party of Satan" - represented by the Jews. As such, it is an "existential battle and not just a question of borders".

The Islamist movements apply demonic terms to Jews in order to deepen the dichotomy between Islam and Judaism. They explain that one of their major aims is to inform the world of the true nature of the Jews and their "corruption on earth". This hostility draws inspiration from anti-Jewish passages in the *Qur'an* as well as from Western anti-Semitic literature. For example, the image of Jews and Judaism in the *Hamas Charter* is based on, if not directly taken from, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Article 22 of the Charter describes how Jewish money controls the global media. It adds that the Jews have established secret organizations throughout the world, such as the Freemasons and Rotary Club, "for the destruction of societies and the fulfillment of the goals of Zionism". Furthermore, the Jews have "caused revolutions all over the world in order to fulfill their goal" and "with their money,

they seized control of the imperialist powers and pushed them to subdue many countries in order to squeeze their resources and spread their corruption". The Charter also claims that the Jews were responsible for the outbreak of wars, especially the First World War - a disaster that caused not just the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and Caliphate but also led to the Balfour Declaration.

Hizballah describes Jews in similar terms. This organization calls Jews "the enemy of the entire human race", because the *Torah* "inspires the Jews to kill". It adds that Zionism "dictates the world and dominates it", and accordingly, the Jews "use funds to dominate the Egyptian media and infect its society with

AIDS". *Hizballah's* spiritual leader, Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah explains that the "Jews want to be a world superpower... and to take vengeance on the whole world for their history of persecution and humiliation".

In their publications, Islamists frequently use derogatory descriptions of the Jews, invoking terms from the *Qur'an*, like "blood suckers", "brothers of apes", "killers of the prophets", "human pigs", and "butchers". The Jews do not recognize honour and generosity outside their group, as "deceit and usury are stamped in their nature". Equally important, Islamist movements, such as *Hamas* and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Jordan, make extensive use of *Qur'anic* exegesis to demonstrate the depravity of the Jews and the roots of their enmity to Islam. These explanations are also intended to show that the present conflict is the direct continuation of the Jewish opposition to the Prophet Muhammad from the moment he arrived in Medina. The Islamists remind the public that in a desperate effort to prevent the spread of Islam, the Jews rejected Muhammad's generous offers and distorted his message.

Ibrahim Quqa, one of *Hamas'* founders, explains Israel's conduct toward the Palestinians in the occupied territories as revenge for Muhammad's victories over the Jewish tribes in Medina. He adds that God has gathered the Jews in Palestine, "not in order that it would be a home and land for them, but to serve as their graveyard, so that he would free the whole world from this pest. Just as pilgrims atone for their sins by offering a sacrifice in Mecca, so would the Jews be sacrificed in al-Aqsa mosque by hands pure as those of the pilgrims".

The Islamists do not see any significant difference between Jews and Zionists. Judaism is described as a religion “whose literature is filled with racism, aggression against others, and sedition to usurp Palestine under the slogan of the land allegedly promised by God”. Hence, Zionism is simply a racist entity responsible for translating this aggressive Jewish idea into a belligerent reality.

Muslims have always held Islam to be superior to Judaism, but historically they did not consider Judaism a heresy that required eradication, provided that the Jews did not defy the rule of Islam. Muslims regarded Christianity as a greater challenge than Judaism and therefore devoted greater attention to it in their polemic literature. The conflict with Zionism, however, has resulted in Judaism eclipsing Christianity as the prime target for Islamist organizations.

Ironically, despite the negative role attributed to Judaism, the Islamist movements see what they regard as an enviable development among the Jews that is missing in the modern Muslim world, namely, an increasing devotion to religion. Whereas the Arab regimes have persecuted Islamist movements, the religious trend in Israel is strengthening.

The Islamist movements frequently equate Jews and Nazis, arguing that Israel’s actions exceed those of the Nazis. For them, “the Jews represent Nazism in its most criminal form”. (*Hamas Charter*, Article 20). This theme has also become very common in the mainstream Arab media. The Egyptian press made numerous comparisons between former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Hitler, depicting Netanyahu as “the Hitler of the next century” who was “promoting hatred” and “preparing crematoria”. Syrian newspapers compared Israel’s arrogant treatment of European delegations to that of Nazi Germany; Radio Damascus stated on April 20, 1999 that “Hitler was no more radical or aggressive than Netanyahu”.

The use of Nazi-era imagery has led to the incorporation of Holocaust denial in some quarters of the Arab world. Holocaust denial tries to undermine the victim’s claims and thus reinforce the logic behind the delegitimization of Israel and Zionism. One manifestation of this was the warm reception given to *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, written by Roger Garaudy, a former French Communist who converted to Islam. This book describes, among other issues, the Holocaust as a Zionist myth. It was translated into Arabic, and several other books appeared containing compilations of his lectures, newspaper articles, and commentaries on his writings. In addition, Garaudy visited the Middle East in 1996 and received an enthusiastic welcome from

Arab intellectuals and journalists in Beirut, Cairo, Amman and Damascus.

On the one hand, the danger posed by the spread of Islamist anti-Semitism is limited because it does not wield the apparatus of the state. On the other hand, this form of anti-Semitism is more dangerous in many respects because of its ideological force; it stems from deeper conviction and is less sensitive to political shifts. Therefore, even if Arab governments change their policy towards Israel, the Islamist movements will adhere to anti-Semitism. Secondly, the fact that Islamist anti-Semitism draws many of its themes from the Muslim faith gives it a powerful voice and makes it more difficult for non-Muslims to challenge its claims, in view of Islam’s power in Arab culture.

A recent development in Islamist anti-Semitism has been the convergence of anti-globalization with anti-Semitism. Many Arab and Islamist writers fear globalization as a Western threat to Arab culture and identity. These writers subsequently connect globalization with Jewish conspiracies to take over their economies and political systems. Equating globalization to Jewish machinations makes it easier to grasp anonymous economic processes and explain Arab economic, technological, and scientific backwardness.

The start of the peace process has seen the emergence of some Arab intellectuals who are willing to challenge the premise of Arab anti-Semitism. Several of these intellectuals, particularly those residing in the West and hence more exposed to liberal attitudes, express more understanding of the Holocaust. They are unhappy that the Arabs associate themselves with persons like Garaudy and other Holocaust deniers. These moderate Arab intellectuals argue that, by this association, the Arabs undermine their own historic and moral case. Others believe that the Arabs are ignoring their own weaknesses by creating a false and inflated image of Jewish power. A few of the supporters of peace with Israel insist that Arabs must acknowledge the Holocaust in order to understand its impact on the mind and conduct of Israelis. Unfortunately, this group is still a very small minority. The real challenge to Arab anti-Semitism can only come from within; the Arab world must understand that anti-Semitism is not only morally wrong, but also fundamentally harmful to the Arabs themselves. Such a task will be long and arduous.

September 11: Blaming the Jews

The first anniversary of the Arab terrorist attack on New York and Washington, on 11 September, 2001, was used by media outlets in some Arab and Muslim countries to foment anti-American and anti Jewish hate; many of the statements by political and religious leaders were accompanied by vicious cartoons.

According to the Anti-Defamation League which monitors Arabic language media, the media suggested that Jews either profited from or instigated and orchestrated the September 11 attacks.

“This is another extension of the ‘Big Lie’ that is widely accepted as the truth in the Arab world”, said Abraham Foxman, the National Director of the ADL. “These images in the official Muslim and Arab press should serve as a warning to all Western nations of the dangers that still exist in the region that produced the September 11 Arab hijackers. Anti-American and anti-Jewish messages have great resonance in the Middle East and pose a significant danger to a world still challenged by terrorism”.



Al-Quds, 9/11/2002 (Palestinian Authority)



Al-Watan, 9/9/2002 (Oman)

On the top, in Arabic: "September 11". On the left side, representing the cash flow - "political and financial gains".



Al-Watan, 9/11/2002 (Oman)

The Arabic reads: "The American September 11"



Al-Ahmed, 9/9/2002 (UAE)

The cartoon's headline: "the September 11th results".

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: **A Chronology of Falsehood**

For more than a century the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were published in millions of copies, in almost every language and distributed around the world.

Jews mostly ignored them, referring to their distributors as “fringe groups”. “Who would believe such nonsense”, they said, “it is a well established fact that the *Protocols* are a forgery”. Many maintained that protesting would only bring this false document to the attention of a larger public.

When *Amazon* began promoting the sale of the *Protocols* on the Internet, there were feeble protests from Jewish quarters, but some others were satisfied when *Amazon* “solved” the problem by adding a short disclaimer.

During the month of *Ramadan* Egyptian television showed daily episodes of a well-publicized series *Knight Without a Horse*, based on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In spite of the numerous protests pouring in from many quarters, the Egyptian authorities refused to interfere, maintaining that this was not anti-Semitism.

JUSTICE believes that it is not enough to confront this onslaught on Jews by calling the *Protocols* a lie. As lawyers, we deal with facts, and we have therefore decided to dedicate a large part of this issue to the facts behind this hundred-year-old fabrication. Unfortunately the full facts cannot be told in the limited space at our disposal and the choices we have made here must be arbitrary.

Hadassa Ben-Itto has researched the history of the *Protocols* for six years, and her book *THE LIE THAT WOULDN'T DIE - a hundred years of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* has been published in 7 languages - Hebrew, German, Russian, Dutch, Hungarian, Rumanian and Bulgarian, but not yet in English. In the following pages we are publishing summaries and excerpts from her book, prepared for *JUSTICE* by the author.

The illustrations and photos appear in this section by courtesy of Zmora Bitan Publishing House, the publishers of the Hebrew edition of Judge Hadassa Ben-Itto's book *The Lie That Wouldn't Die*.



Cover of the French edition of the *Protocols*, 1934, distributed by a shop selling Islamic books in London

The Lie That Wouldn't Die

Hadassa Ben-Itto

On 28 July, 1918, Tsar Nikolai II, his wife, Tsaritsa Alexandra Fedorovna, and their children, were murdered by the Bolsheviks in Ekaterinburg. When an examining magistrate was preparing the inventory of the house of Ipatiev, where the royal family had been held captive prior to their murder, he noticed three books in the room of the Empress: the Holy Bible, *War and Peace*, and the fourth edition of a book by Sergei Nilus, *The Great In The Small*, which contained the full text of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. On 20 March, four months before her execution, Empress Alexandra had confided in a letter to her closest friend, Anna Vyrubova, that she was reading Nilus' book with interest. On her window, it was said, the Tsarina had drawn the sign of the swastika. To fanatical Russians this was an omen, the true testament of the dead Empress.

It was Sergei Nilus who had first published the full text of the *Protocols*, as an appendix to the second edition of his book *The Great in the Small*. Translations of the *Protocols*, in every language, quote Nilus as their source. Actually the *Protocols* had been circulated before, in various forms, but never in a book. It was therefore Nilus who could rightly boast that he had been instrumental in launching the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on their grand world tour.

Since first publishing the *Protocols* in 1905, when Russia was in the grip of the first Bolshevik Revolution, Nilus kept warning his fellow Russians that the Revolution was part of the Jewish conspiracy. A deeply religious fanatic, he interpreted all political events in religious terms. Before the establishment of the Kingdom of Truth, through the second advent of Christ, the Antichrist had to come hailed as Messiah by the Jews and as sovereign of the globe by the world. According to secret Jewish documents, Nilus asserted, the Wise King Solomon, who had resided in the citadel of Zion in Jerusalem, together with other Jewish Wise Men, had drawn up a scheme, as early as the year 929 BC, to bloodlessly conquer the world for the Jewish nation. As historical events developed, this plan was revised by successors and was finally

completed at secret meetings of the *Jewish Elders*. The authentic protocols of these meetings, stolen from secret Jewish archives, and first published by him, was a warning to his countrymen of the approaching danger. In each of his new editions of the *Protocols*, published between 1905 and 1917, Nilus' message became more and more urgent. The symbolic serpent, which had been used for centuries to represent the Antichrist, was gnawing and eating away all non-Jewish political forces in various countries and was nearing its last stage, when it would accomplish its circular course and enclose all of Europe, and then the whole world, in its circumference.

On the fly leaf of the fourth edition of his book, published in 1917, on the eve of the Revolution, Nilus warned his readers: "It is near, at the door, concerning something people do not wish to believe and which is so near".

The most reliable information about Nilus and his obsession with the *Protocols* was published by Graf Armand Du Chayla in five articles from May 12, 1921 in the Paris newspaper, *Dernieres Nouvelles*, under the title *S.A. Nilus and the 'Zionist Protocols'*.

Du Chayla was a Frenchman who had left France when he abandoned the Catholic faith to embrace Russian Orthodoxy which he researched for many years. His research brought him to the famous monastery Optyna Pustyn where he met Serrgei Nilus and the members of his household.

Like others who fled the Russian Revolution, Du Chayla settled in France and in 1921 he noticed the very first publication of the *Protocols* in French.

The publisher was Msgr. Jouin, whose long introduction Du Chayla read with growing astonishment. It dealt with the "history" of the document and discussed the character of "the famous Russian" who had first revealed and published it.

He was upset by the fact that what to his knowledge was a pure fabrication was being published in France as an authentic document. This would not only harm the Jews, Du Chayla thought, it would also expose Russia to ridicule. As a proud Frenchman and as a lover of Russia, he decided it was his duty to share with the public the information which he hoped would discredit this publication.

Judge Hadassa Ben-Itto is the President of the IAJLJ

His articles described in detail the monastery, Optyna Pustyn, which was at that time a center of spiritual and intellectual life in Russia, the Nilus household and his conversations with Nilus concerning the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

From their first meeting, they had disagreed on almost every subject. They were both deeply religious, but each of them regarded religion from a vastly different viewpoint. Nilus, dedicated to his anarchistic ideals, preached the negation of all modern culture, opposed all scientific methods of research, adopting and promoting instead the most primitive *moujik* interpretation of orthodox religion. Modern culture, to him, was a desecration of everything that was holy, a harbinger of the coming of the Antichrist. Du Chayla's methods of research were repugnant to him.

On one of his visits Nilus presented Du Chayla with a copy of the *Protocols*, exclaiming: "Here it is, the Magna Carta of the Kingdom of Antichrist"!

Du Chayla recalled how upset Nilus had become when he had said that he did not believe in the existence of Elders of Zion. It all stemmed, he had observed, from the same "kitchen" of cooked up tales dealing with the unmasking of the Devil and other mystic prognostications let loose on the public around the end of the century.

Nilus's face had darkened. "You are directly under Satanic orders", he had thundered. "The greatest strength of Satan lies in the fact that he not only uses people to influence world events, but also makes them deny his very existence. What will you say when I show you that this Satanic plan is being implemented before our very eyes?"

Their last meeting took place on yet another of Du Chayla's visits to Optina Pustyn.

Nilus was bent over his desk, where the latest edition of the newspaper *Znamia* was spread out alongside a map of Europe. The Young Turks' revolution had just broken out and the army of Mahmud-Scheche-Pasha had marched from Saloniki against Constantinople. On the map of Europe Du Chayla noticed the drawing of a frightful snake worming its way through most of the European countries. Various dates of conquests were marked, the most recent in Constantinople, on the route to Jerusalem. A very disturbed Nilus murmured that the snake was nearing its final goal.

Du Chayla had thought that the episode of Nilus was a closed chapter in his life. The man had remained in his memory as a curious relic of the old regime, who even in his own day had not been taken seriously except by those who had exploited him

for their own ulterior motives. Was it possible that this man had almost single-handedly, succeeded in letting loose on the world this bizarre fabrication called *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*? Was it possible that he was being presented in the West as a genuine Russian authority?



An Austrian view of Jews, entitled "The greatest guzzling monster in the world, dealing with usury", from *Kikriki*, a popular humoristic periodical, Vienna, 1898

He felt it was his duty to reveal the truth, so he wrote the articles and later testified at the famous Bern Trial.

In the Palace of the Governor of Moscow

In order to expose a forgery, one must follow it patiently step by step.

As the truth about the fabrication of the *Protocols* was discovered and revealed more than 20 years after their first appearance, the story cannot be told in chronological order.

Actually, the history of the *Protocols* in Russia does not begin with Nilus.

The first Russian version of the document that later became known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, (or sometimes *The Learned Elders of Zion*), was delivered in 1897 to the Governor of Moscow, Grand Prince Sergei Alexandrovich, by Philip Petrovich Stepanov, a friend of the Governor's wife, Grand Princess Elizaveta Fedorovna, the Tsarina Alexandra's sister.

It was a manuscript containing 24 *Protocols*, entitled *Subjugation of the World by Jews*. Stepanov explained that these were minutes of meetings of a secret Jewish government, held on unknown dates at undisclosed venues.

Years later the facsimile of a handwritten affidavit made by Stepanov was published in a book by Leslie Fry, who was one of the most outstanding promoters of the *Protocols*. This document is of crucial importance because Stepanov testified under oath that he had received the manuscript from his neighbour Sukhotin in 1895, two years before he had approached Grand Prince Sergei Alexandrovich and had the document properly printed.

The distributors of the *Protocols* have maintained for many years, even in courts of law, that these were authentic minutes of clandestine meetings held behind the scenes of the First Zionist Congress convened in Basle at the end of 1897. Here was definite proof that the manuscript had been brought from France to Russia two years before the Zionist Congress ever took place.

The affidavit read:

"In 1895 my neighbouring estate owner in the province Tula, retired Major Aleksei Nikolaevich 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 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 printed somewhere, without mentioning the time, the city and the printer; I was helped in this by Arcadii Ippolitovich Kelepkovskii, who at that time was Privy Councillor with Grand Prince Sergey Alexandrovich; 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.

Signed:

"Philip Petrovich 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 in the Moscow-Kursk Railway (in Orel).

This is the signature of a member of the colony of Russian refugees at Stary and Novy Futog.

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

Chairman of the Administration of the Colony,
Prince Vladimir Galitsin".

It is clear why Stepanov decided to entrust this document to the Governor-General of Moscow. Since his appointment in 1891 Sergei Alexandrovich had become famous for his reactionary crusades. One of his first acts as governor was to expel the Jews who had gradually made their way into Moscow, roughly driving them back into ghettos in the Western Provinces. His wife, Elizaveta, who later became instrumental in the publication of the *Protocols*, shared Sergei's uncompromising reactionary views and his unrelenting anti-Semitism.

Leafing through the document Sergei immediately realized that this was not just another libel against Jews. This was a political document, surprising in its volume and its precision. Here was a speaker, one of the so-called "Elders", who had set forth in concise form a comprehensive program for the annihilation of all Christian states, proposing practical methods for achieving world domination by the Jews. International Jewry was described as a Satanic sect, united in purpose, acting under the leadership of a group of Elders who lacked any moral consideration. Each *Protocol* dealt with a more or less distinct part of one complete subject, and as a whole the 24 *Protocols* elaborately described the means by which universal domination of the world was to be achieved. All governments were to be subjugated to the Jewish super-government, which would be an autocracy with a Jewish sovereign at its head.

In spite of the poor print, Sergei immediately recognized the potential of such a document in his constant persecution of the Jews. This was an opportunity not to be missed! Without any attempt to verify the story or the document, the head of his household was immediately summoned and ordered to assist Stepanov in the printing of the manuscript. They soon reproduced the first known printed brochure of *The Ancient and Modern Protocols of the Meetings of the Elders of Zion*. Stepanov saw to it that the pamphlet appeared on the desks of various officials in the government administration in St. Petersburg, who, to his chagrin, completely ignored it. Most people took it to be another example of anti-Jewish propaganda periodically distributed by the Secret Police.

In the Palace of the Tsar of All Russia

For the next eight years the publication of the *Protocols* in print was prevented due to the veto of Tsar Nikolai II. He was known for his extreme anti-Jewish policies, and was fascinated by the *Protocols* when he first read them. As was his custom, he scribbled enthusiastic remarks on the margin of the copy delivered to him, marveling at the great precision of the program, convinced that “everywhere one can recognize the directing and destroying hand of Judaism”. This document would serve as his handbook for politics, he exclaimed. It was his Minister of the Interior, Stolypin, who made him change his mind. Approached by the *Union of the Russian People*, which needed his authorization to mount a major anti-Semitic campaign using the theme of the *Protocols*, Stolypin, who had his doubts, assigned two officers of the corps of Gendarmes to conduct a secret inquiry. He was soon able to report to the Tsar that they were dealing with a forgery. In a rare gesture, the Tsar ordered in another marginal note “Drop the *Protocols*. One cannot defend a pure cause by dirty methods”.

In spite of the Tsar’s veto, the anti-Semitic organizations never gave up their attempts to publish the *Protocols*. This document was needed not only to justify the pogroms against Jews, but also as proof that Jews were behind all the subversive elements conspiring to overthrow the Tsar’s regime. What better than the Jewish conspiracy to overtake and rule the whole world?

To avoid the confirmation of the censorship committee, which was needed for the publication of a book, the *Black Hundreds* published the document in a series from 28 August till 7 September 1903, in their official newspaper *Znamia* [the Banner], edited by their leader Pavel Krushevan. This was the organization which used the slogan “Beat the Jews and Save Russia”, an organization that was behind the pogroms in which thousands of Jews were murdered.

But newspapers are a perishable and fleeting commodity. To obtain a more lasting effect, it was necessary to lend to the document the respectability of a printed book. It was time for full and lasting public exposure. This would probably not have succeeded had not a lady in waiting of the Tsarina, Elena Ozerova, with the help of Princess Elizaveta, obtained the permission of the censorship committee to publish the second edition of a book by Sergei Nilus, which contained in an appendix the full text of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It is this book, published in 1905, that became the source of all publications of the *Protocols*, in every language.

The publication of the *Protocols* was made possible by a chain of events that concerned intrigues and behind the scenes manipulations in and around the royal palace in St. Petersburg.

The Grand Princess Elizaveta was very worried about her sister, Tsarina Alexandra, who had surrounded herself with fanatical women, to the exclusion of all the rest of St. Petersburg society, and had fallen under the spell of unscrupulous magicians, who were using her to gain and wield power in the royal palace, and even influence the Tsar in his policies.

In her attempt to save her sister, Elizaveta conceived the idea of installing Sergei Nilus in the Royal Court as the official religious adviser and confessor to the Tsar. She had just read the book of this religious fanatic, *The Great In The Small*, which had been published the previous year. It touched upon her deep religious convictions. Acting as matchmaker, she introduced Nilus to Ozerova, whom she had helped install in the palace as a maid of honor to the Empress.

Nilus the Man and the Fanatic

Nilus came from a respectable background, but as he became more and more fanatical, he became estranged from his family, and completely severed relations with his brother Dmitrii, who served as President of the Moscow District Court. Nilus called him an atheist. Dmitrii considered his brother a lunatic.

A staunch supporter of total uncompromising autocracy, Nilus was vehement in his opposition not only to the revolutionary winds blowing in the country, but also to any suggestions of liberalism or constitutional reform. Russia’s Minister of Finance, Witte, was considered an enemy, because he had borrowed money from Jewish banks abroad to finance his financial, industrial and economic reforms, and the Jews were denounced as revolutionary murderers, disciples of the devil. Not only did he oppose any liberalization of the anti-Jewish laws, but he was a staunch supporter of the *Union of the Russian People* and of the anti-Jewish practices of the *Black Hundreds*. His extreme religious fanaticism went hand in hand with his right-wing political convictions. They both became a major theme in his writings.

This was the man whom Grand Princess Elizaveta had tried to install in the palace as the Tsar’s confessor. She would have succeeded had it not been for the fact that the Church hierarchy refused to ordain him as a priest, because of his unorthodox love life. His marriage to Ozerova, which was part of the plan, was not enough to lend him the respectability of a married man. His union with another woman, Nataliia Komarovskaia, whom he refused to abandon, and his illegitimate son, were obstacles the clergy refused to overlook.

Disappointed, Nilus settled with his wife in the famous monastery Optina Pustyn, taking in his former lover, who was

now crippled and ill and had nowhere else to go. It became a classic *menage-à-trois*.

It was there that his encounters with Du Chayla took place. In their conversations it became clear that Nilus had not copied the *Protocols* from the existing Russian versions circulated by the *Black Hundreds*. To his utter surprise Du Chayla realized that Nilus was in the possession of the original handwritten manuscript of the *Protocols*, which was written in French and not in Russian.

He also learned from Nilus that this document had been sent to him from France by the well-known agent of the Russian Secret Police, Piotr Rachkovskii, who was operating in Paris.

Asked who had delivered the document to him, Nilus replied: "Madam K. had lived abroad for many years, mainly in France, where she received the *Protocols* from a Russian general and, in turn, entrusted them to me. This general had succeeded in removing the *Protocols* from the Masonic archive". Asked whether the name of the general was secret he replied, "No, it was General Rachkovskii, a good man, who has contributed much to undermine the plans of the enemies of Christ".

Nilus used to refer to his lover, Natalia Komarovskaia, as "Madam K".

One of their meetings took place at the time marked by court proceedings against the former Director of the Police Department, Lopukhin, when many of the tactics of the Secret Police of the old regime were being publicly revealed and widely discussed. Du Chayla recalled asking Nilus if he would now agree that the *Protocols* were probably another one of Rachkovskii's forgeries. Still wrapped up in his bizarre fantasies, Nilus responded by reminding him of a quotation from St. Paul:

"The power of God works through human weakness". God had his own ways of speaking to men, Nilus declared. Even if the *Protocols* were a forgery, he said, "is it not possible that God has chosen to reveal the truth to us mortals through this document? Has he not chosen Bala'am's ass to deliver prophecies? And may he not have chosen a liar to deliver a message of truth"?

The full facts about the creation of the *Protocols* that were revealed much later, confirmed many details reported by Armand Du Chayla.

The Scapegoat Jews

Indeed, the forgers of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* could not have planned for them to be published at a better time. A scapegoat was urgently needed, on whom all misfortunes could be blamed. What better scenario than a secret government of the hated Jews convening in a foreign land, to plan the destruction of the Christian world. The autocratic regime paled in comparison

to what awaited them in the future when the Jewish king would mount his throne and enslave them all. Participating in pogroms, the Russians were told, they were not murdering defenseless victims, they were fighting the ultimate enemy which had to be totally destroyed.

This was a document fabricated to serve local Russian needs, and none of the many editions published before the Revolution were "exported" to another country.

It was only after the Revolution and after World War I, that Russian refugees, mostly former officers of the White Army, brought copies of the *Protocols* with them to other countries, in an attempt to blame the Jews for the downfall of the Tsarist regime.

They could not have dreamt that they were delivering to the world a tool that would be used to blame the Jews for every calamity befalling mankind.

In the early 1920s Jews began to realize what was happening and started to react.

As early as 1921 Herman Bernstein published a book entitled *The History of a Lie - The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*.

In the foreword to his book he called the *Protocols* "a cruel and terrible lie... an old weapon exhumed from the scrapheap of Russian autocracy... for the purpose of defaming the whole Jewish people". Describing, three years after World War I, the political background that lent prominence to this false document, he wrote:

In the war's aftermath the Jews are being blamed by the minions of autocracy and reaction for all the ills that have befallen mankind. Some blame them for the war, and others for the peace. Some attack them for the defeat of the German military machine, and others for the victory of the allies. In Germany they are attacked by Junkers for having opposed the submarine warfare and thus assured Germany's defeat; while in some of the allied countries the Jews are denounced for constituting 'the brains of Germany'. All the revolutionary leaders of Germany are credited to the Jews, and Bolshevism, which has as little in common with Judaism as it has with Christianity, is branded as a Jewish movement; and there are Jew-baiters who in their blind madness have gone so far as to declare that ex-Kaiser Wilhelm was not only influenced by the Jews but is himself of Jewish descent, and for this reason did not defend Germany as loyally as he should have done. He conspired against the Hohenzollern dynasty and undermined it. He destroyed his own throne because he was serving the secret Jewish world organization.

On such absurdities have people been fed since the armistice, in civilized countries, by anti-Semitic agitators and their dupes, while Jews have been slaughtered in the Ukraine, in Poland and in Hungary."

The Origin of the *Protocols*

To attempt to find out why, when, where, and by whom, the *Protocols* were fabricated, one must acquaint oneself with a Russian agent who operated in Paris and who was known as “a super spy and a master forger”.

Pieter Ivanovich Rachiovskii

On August 13, 1879, Piotr Ivanovich Rachkovskii, aged 28, was arrested by the Russian Secret Police.

The Special Police Card No. 2739, which is still in the official archives, reveals the nature of the accusation: “Political unreliability”.

The recommendation: “Preventive punishment: Keep under arrest”.

The police file contains a detailed report of the items found in Rachkovskii’s apartment, including various articles about Jews and Jewish customs, some poetry about Jerusalem, and manuscripts of articles intended for the magazine *Russian Jew*.

The evidence was insufficient and he was released from custody after one month, on September 10, with the recommendation to “continue surveillance”.

But Rachkovskii had had enough. He walked out of prison with a firm resolve never to risk arrest again. Looking back at the ugly gray building he promised himself that the next time he passed its portals he would be sitting on the other side of the table in the interrogation room. It was well known that the police were eager to recruit agents from the ranks of the revolutionaries, a tactic which made it dangerous to trust even the closest of friends, and Rachkovskii had no moral qualms about changing sides. Lies, pretense and betrayal were to become his stock in trade.

His interrogators would have been surprised had they realized that this young man, still under a certain cloud of suspicion, who was starting out as an anonymous agent, would be appointed, after only five years, Chief of all Operations of the Secret Police in Europe.

It was only on May 24, 1912, almost two years after Rachkovskii’s death, that the newspaper *Birzhevye Vedomosti* [Stock-exchange News] investigated and published until then unknown details about him, in an article entitled “Generals Novitskii and Rachkovskii”. The article reminded the readers of

Rachkovskii’s connection with such dark pages of Okhranka’s activity as the establishment of a publishing house to promote pogroms against Jews, and his involvement in the famous case of the spy Azef. But it was only after his death that they came to learn new facts. The man Rachkovskii, they wrote, who had been registered “on paper” as a second-rate official in the Ministry of Home Affairs, had in reality been one of the key-figures in both the internal and foreign policies of Russia. Only now, after his death, could it be revealed that for a long period of time Rachkovskii had served, as Head of the Political Police not only in France but all over Europe.

Rachkovskii’s function, as defined by his superiors, was to investigate and report on the activities of Russian revolutionaries and terrorists.

From his headquarters in Paris he organized an impressive network of agents, covering all European capitals. They were all hand picked by him, ready to perform any role assigned to them. They were all as devoid of morals as their boss, ready to participate in intrigues, even in crimes, planned by him. They were all adventurers by nature, enjoying life in Europe’s capitals, well paid for the risks they were taking, and basking in the glory of the chief, who was a favorite of the authorities in the Russian capital. They knew that Rachkovskii could, if necessary, reach all the way into the royal palace.

The Jews were high on Rachkovskii’s agenda

On 6 June 1891, he wrote to his superiors, describing the indignation of the French public at the Tsar’s anti-Jewish policies. Anti-Russian agitation, he wrote, was caused in great measure by Western European Jews. This process, he warned, was funnelling large sums of money to support revolutionary groups throughout Europe. The press in London and in Paris was strongly influenced by the Jews and they might expect strong support from those quarters. In order to turn the tide, he argued, he would have to collaborate with French anti-Jewish circles to devise ways to show the French public “what the Jews were really like”.

Sergei Svatikov

Of all the descriptions of the activities of Rachkovskii in Paris,

the most compelling is probably the testimony of Sergei Svatikov, delivered under oath in 1935 at the famous Bern Trial. Svatikov was presented to the court as a professor of law and philosophy, from the universities of St. Petersburg and Heidelberg, now living in Paris, where he was well known in the circles of Russian emigrants.

After the abdication of Tsar Nikolai II, on March 15, 1917, the leader of the Kadet Party and of the Progressive block, Paul Miliukov, was appointed Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government.

One of the first decisions of the new government was to dissolve the organs of the Secret Police abroad. In the beginning of May 1917, the then 37 year-old Sergei Svatikov, member of the Social Democratic Party, was chosen for this delicate project. He had served during the February revolutionary uprising as Deputy and Special Civil Adviser to the Prefect of Police in Petrograd and was highly recommended after only three months in that position.

He was dispatched to Europe with the title of "Police Commissioner of the Provisionary Russian Government", entrusted with the job of liquidating the Secret Police of Tsarist Russia, and inspecting all its former activities in various countries. He was also instructed to verify the involvement of some of Russia's representatives in counter-espionage. The Minister of Justice appointed him Special Investigating Judge of the highest available rank, with full judicial authority.

His best informer was the oldest surviving Russian agent in Europe, Henri Bint. Bint had served many masters in his 37 years' service in the Secret Police, but the greatest master of them all had been Rachkovskii, in whom Svatikov was particularly interested.

Henri Bint

Bint spoke at length of Rachkovskii's forgeries. Forgeries, he explained, were a routine way by which Rachkovskii and his agents implicated revolutionaries. Usually Rachkovskii would write the original fabricated text in his own hand, and would then give it to one of his trusted agents. They would print it on hectograph, and deliver the carefully counted copies to Rachkovskii. They were all sworn to secrecy as to Rachkovskii's part in the forgeries.

Actually, the forgeries were not Rachkovskii's invention, Bint stated. They were part of the program and in line with the overall tactical plan initiated by the Head of the Secret Police, Seudeikin, when the so called "Special Branch" was created in 1882. On July 15 of that same year an article appeared in the 417th issue of the

Russian foreign publication *Free Speech*, informing its readers of the establishment of the Special Branch. The functions of this department, according to Seudeikin, would be "discreditation of active workers in revolutionary parties by distribution of forged records, forged manifests etc."

Rachkovskii, a former secretary of Seudeikin, had learned well and immediately on his appointment abroad he started putting into practice the teachings of his former boss.

The hectograph was in constant use. Daily provocations were freely composed, implicating and incriminating large numbers of people at Rachkovskii's will. There was nobody to stop him and he was constantly praised by his superiors for a system that was running so smoothly. The forgeries were so effective that French journalists complained that they no longer knew what they should believe and what was worth publishing.

Bint was so convincing that in his official report Svatikov stated that the forgeries, which were perpetrated by Rachkovskii over the span of many years, were now an undisputed fact. Their aim was the creation of confusion in the Socialist camp, the diminution of Socialist leaders in the public mind and the delegitimitization of the Socialist movement.

Describing his years under Rachkovskii, and in particular Rachkovskii's provocations and forgeries, Bint added: "I would like to draw your attention to the most outstanding forgery prepared by Rachkovskii's agents at the end of the last century, the so called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*".

Svatikov had heard of the *Protocols* but had never read them. He remembered vaguely leafing through some chapters in a book published in 1905, but in those days there were more exciting items on his agenda. He now asked Bint what these *Protocols* were all about. "They describe how the Jews conspire to rule the whole world and how they actually succeed in doing so", answered Bint. "But, of course", he exclaimed, "it is all utter nonsense, these are fantasies in the style of Edouard Drumont". Drumont was the most outstanding champion of anti-Semitism in France in the second half of the 20th century. His book *La France Juive*, was a household item in most French homes. It was published in more than 200 editions

Asked whether Rachkovskii had composed the *Protocols* himself, Bint replied:

"Oh no, he had special agents to do his dirty work. The actual work was done in this instance by the agent Golowinskii".

Matvei Golowinskii

Reading from his notes Svatikoff quoted the exact words of Bint: “Golowinskii served under Rachkovskii since 1892. You must understand that I was familiar with all the agents and with their particular assignments as I was Rachkovskii’s paymaster. I paid their salaries and their expenses, all on the orders of our Chef, and mind you”, he added, “all payments were in private and in cash”.

“Are you sure that it was Golowinskii who forged the *Protocols*?” Svatikov persisted.

“Absolutely sure”, Bint immediately replied, “Rachkovskii had two expert forgers, Kogan and Golowinskii. The latter was working on the *Protocols* in the National Library, and used to present Rachkovskii with each chapter as it was composed. I should know, because I was there and I knew exactly what was going on”.

Golowinskii’s part in the fabrication of the *Protocols* was confirmed by a close friend of his, Princess Katerina Radziwil.

She had been a member of a small circle that met with Golowinskii in Paris, when he used to boast of his activities as a secret agent.

After the Revolution the Princess made her home in New-York, and on realizing that the *Protocols* were being distributed as an authentic document, she decided to publish her first-hand information on the subject.

In an interview published on February 25, 1921 in the Jewish newspaper *The American Hebrew*, she revealed fascinating and until then unknown facts about the activities of the Secret Police in Russia, with whose chief she had had a very close and intimate relationship.

This was what she had to say about Matvei Golowinskii:

She had become his friend innocently enough. His mother had been a large land-owner in the Ufa River region in the southern Ural Mountains, where she had also possessed property at that time. Thus, when he called on her one day in Paris, she received him socially as an emissary of his mother, not yet aware of his service in the Russian Secret Police. A close relationship developed.

One day stood out distinctly in her memory. She and her friend Henriette Hurblut, were part of a small intimate group having tea in his apartment. Putting on his most clandestine expression, Golowinskii made them swear to absolute secrecy. He then ceremoniously unlocked a drawer and proceeded to remove a simple notebook of the kind commonly used by students. She



“Jewish Terror’ in *Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich-Berlin, 1944

immediately noticed that it had a blue ink stain on its cover page, and wondered who had been so sloppy and what could possibly be the importance of such a stained, shabby specimen. The inside pages, which she remembered very clearly, were yellow-tinged and covered with written text. What surprised her most was the fact that the writing had obviously been done by various hands. It also puzzled her why a Russian agent would show them a manuscript drafted in the French language.

This strange, crudely drafted, document, together with the secretive behavior of their host, had aroused their curiosity immensely. With great drama, Golowinskii boasted, a mischievous smile washing over his face, that this fabricated manuscript which he and his colleagues were forging on behalf of Rachkovskii, would implicate the Jews in an international conspiracy and would one day revolutionize the world. It was to be called the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This was but the first measure to fight this conspiracy, he proclaimed, the objective being the wholesale expulsion of the Jews from Russia.

Henriette Hurblut was by that time also living in America. She was an admitted anti-Semite, but when the editors of the *American Hebrew* found her, she reluctantly agreed to publish her own version.

Three weeks after the publication of the interview with Princess Radziwil, on March 15, 1921, *The American Hebrew* published an interview with Henrietta Hurlblut, in which she confirmed the facts disclosed by Princess Radziwil. She clearly recalled the image of the Russian Secret Service agent, proudly parading about in the homes of the nobility as the hero of a cleverly devised plot, one calculated to deceive his Emperor and destroy the Jews.

“Golowskii was very proud of his ‘work’”, she reflected, “he never hesitated to boast about it. He would come to the home of Mme. Radziwil in the Champs Elysee, from the Bibliotheque Nationale, where the compilation was made, carrying the sheets of the document with him”.

“I remember when he showed us the completed document. It was written in French, but in different handwritings. It was on a yellowish paper and bound with a white ribbon. There was a big blue ink-spot on the first page”.

“I am anti-Semitic, you know”, she declared. “When I heard and read about the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* I got a copy at the time. I had not connected this book with my friend in Paris. But the minute I opened the book, ‘Ha, ha!’ I said, ‘here is my old friend Golowskii’. There is no doubt about the identity of the Golowskii document and the *Protocols*”.

“We, Katerina Radziwil and myself”, she added, “we know that the so called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are nothing but a crude forgery. We know that they were fabricated for the sole purpose of inciting feelings against the Jews. We never doubted that this ‘outstanding document’ had been invented by the functionaries of the Russian *Okhranka* with full cooperation of the “pogrom-provocateurs”. So, Princess Radziwil and myself were not surprised and not astounded... we were familiar with the ways of the *Okhranka*”.

The description of the notebook, including the blue ink stain on the cover and the different handwritings, described by Radziwil and by Hurlblut, was identical to the description reported by Armand Du Chayla who has seen the manuscript in the hands of Sergei Nilus.

Though ignorant of all this information Svatikov formed a definite impression that Bint was telling the truth.

“Could you let me have a copy of these so called *Protocols*?” he demanded.

“Unfortunately this is impossible”, apologized Bint, “this was a strictly confidential job. We in the inner circle were aware of the work being done, but there were no copies to go around. It was to be presented as a document discovered from Jewish sources, there were to be no copies, or the whole project might be jeopardized”.

The 1920s

It was after the October Revolution that Svatikov was again reminded of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He had thought they had vanished forever when he suddenly realized that the Jews were being blamed for the Revolution. At that time he was staying in the south of Russia, the Provisional Government having failed and the civil war was raging throughout the country. The White Army had organized an information agency called “OSWAG”, which was soon infiltrated by embittered *Black Hundred* supporters, who blamed the Jews for all their woes: both the February and the October Revolutions, Bolshevism, the farmers who had taken over the lands of the gentry, in a word: for everything.

It was at this time that he became aware of the fact that primitive reprints of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were being circulated *en mass* in army units and actual new editions of the *Protocols* were appearing in various districts. Yet, until he fled from Russia, Svatikov was not aware of the fact that the *Protocols* had crossed the Russian border and were being published and promoted in other countries.

In another meeting with Bint, this time in a private rather than an official capacity, he discovered that Bint was eager to supply any additional information and even suggested selling the documents in his private archive.

When the conversation touched on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Bint became cynical. “Would you believe it”, he exclaimed, “this proven forgery is now being published in many languages. Rachkovskii must be laughing in his grave”. Nobody was interested in the truth, he said, although here was a living witness who had personally remunerated the forgers.

On 20 September, 1921, Svatikov published in the Parisian Russian newspaper *Obtchee delo* in Paris an article entitled *The End of the Zion Protocols*.

He was convinced that this fabrication was on its way to the scrapheap, and ended his article with these words: “Everything will pass, only the truth will survive”.

When he realized that the Nazis were making full use of the *Protocols* in their anti-Jewish propaganda, he agreed to testify at the Bern Trial.

Svatikov would have been surprised to learn that the *Protocols* are still selling in Russia. In June 2002 the prestigious journal *New Times* published in Moscow dedicated five pages to an article the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* entitled “THE FRAUD OF THE CENTURY, OR A BOOK BORN IN HELL”.

The Plagiarism: Dialogues in Hell

By the beginning of the 1920s, the *Protocols* were being published around the world as an authentic document.

It is of particular interest to follow the path of the *Protocols* in England and in the United States.

The “Red Scare”

The *Protocols* were brought to England and translated into English by Victor Marsden, formerly the Russian correspondent of *The London Morning Post*.

In his introduction, Marsden referred to Sergei Nilus as “Professor Nilus”, and quoted Henry Ford, who had said in an interview published in *the New York World* on February 17th, 1921:

“The only statement I care to make about the *Protocols* is that they fit in with what is going on. They are sixteen years old, and they have fitted the world situation up to this time. They fit it now”.

He also maintained that there was a strong presumption and ample proof that the *Protocols* were issued at the First Zionist Congress held at Basle in 1897 under the presidency of the Father of Modern Zionism, the late Theodore Herzl.

Britain was gripped by a “red scare” in the wake of the Russian Revolution. Although the vast majority of the Jewish community in England was completely unsympathetic to Bolshevism, it was enough to mention some prominent names of Jews who were supporters of the Russian Revolution, to give credence in the eyes of the public to the fantastic allegation that the Revolution was part of the Jewish conspiracy and that the Jews were therefore a threat to British society.

But, fantastic though it may seem, the Jews were also accused of collaborating with the Germans, and as early as 1918 rumors of a German-Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy were being circulated in England, emanating from an anonymous booklet entitled *England under the heel of the Jew*. It promoted the idea that Jews and Germans were behind the Bolshevik Revolution, and were collaborating in gaining domination of international finance, banking and business. Anti-German feelings, which were still strong in the wake of the war, combined with the fear of Bolshevism, turned out to be a potent tool fully exploited not only by anti-Semites but also by diplomats and even by the responsible press.

In the summer of 1920 the *Morning Post* published a series of

17 articles based on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. They repeated the theory that all political unrest was artificial, the product of the Hidden Hand, of a formidable sect, the Jews, those ancient enemies of the human race, who throughout their world-wide dispersion had secretly preserved their old political organization and were still using it with deadly persistency to overturn the established Christian order of things and to found in its place a universal Jewish dominion under the scepter of a Sovereign of the House of David.

There is ample proof that the editors of the *Morning Post* knowingly ignored expert opinions stating that the *Protocols* were a forgery. Doubting its authenticity, the editor had sent it for evaluation to various people, among them the poet Rudyard Kipling, Sir Basil Thompson, Head of the Special Branch of Scotland Yard, and Leon Maxse, a right wing political journalist.

In spite of his anti-Semitic views, Rudyard Kipling indicated that the document was a forgery. “The typed stuff is some sort of fake”, he wrote, “a concoction of German philosophy twenty years ago”. Sir Basil Thompson considered the document mere “moonshine”. Leon Maxse was emphatic in maintaining that it was “a hoax” and advised against publication, warning that serious consequences might arise should it be published.

From correspondence now made public it is clear that the decision to publish the *Protocols* was motivated by greed. When the articles on the *Protocols* were published the daily circulation of the paper increased by 10,000 copies. But this was not enough. The 17 articles were followed, in August 1920, by a pamphlet called *The Cause of World Unrest*, to which most journalists of the *Morning Post* contributed.

Like the *Morning Post*, the *Times* also had a right wing special correspondent in Russia. Robert Wilton, who had been brought up in Russia, declared in a book published in 1920 that the Bolsheviks were Jewish agents of the Germans.

An article published in the *Times* on 8 May 1920, dealt with the *Protocols* and ended with this passage:

“The trouble is that all this fosters indiscriminate anti-Semitism. That the latter is rampant in Eastern Europe ... that its propaganda in France, England, and America, is growing, is also a fact. Do we want and can we afford to add exacerbated race hatred to all our political, social and economic troubles? If not, the question of the *Jewish Peril* should be taken up and dealt with. It is far too interesting, the hypothesis it presents is far too ingenious,

attractive and sensational, not to attract the attention of our not too happy and not too contented public. The average man thinks that there is something very fundamentally wrong with the world he lives in. He will eagerly grasp at a plausible working hypothesis. Have we been struggling these tragic years to blow up and extirpate the secret organization of German dominion only to find beneath it another more dangerous because more secret? Have we, by straining every fiber of our national body, escaped a *Pax Germanica* only to fall into a *Pax Judaica*?

The Elders of Zion as represented in their *Protocols* are by no means kinder taskmasters than Wilhelm II and his henchmen would have been An impartial investigation of these would-be documents and of their history is most desirable...They appear to have been written for Jews by Jews. If so, in what circumstances were they produced and to cope with what inter-Jewish emergency, or are we to dismiss the whole matter without inquiring and to let the influence of such a book as this work unchecked?"

To the credit of the *Times*, they were later the first to reveal the full truth about the *Protocols*. For the first time it was revealed that more than half the text of the *Protocols* was copied verbatim from a book which had nothing to do with Jews. It was a brilliant allegory by a French lawyer aimed to discredit Napoleon III, written in the form of a dialogue in heaven between Machiavelli and Montesque.

It was the *Times* correspondent in Istanbul who learned from a Russian refugee, Raslovlev, that the *Protocols* were not completely composed by the Russian agents, they were in fact plagiarized from a French book by Maurice Joly, which Raslovlev had brought with him from Russia. In need of money, Raslovlev lent this book to the *Times* for a period of five years. The contract between the two sides can still be found in the *Times* archive.

On 16, 17, and 18 August, the *Times* published three articles by Robert Graves under the title *TRUTH ABOUT THE 'PROTOCOLS' - A LITERARY FORGERY*. In the preface to the first article the *Times* wrote:

"...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".

In the third article Graves dealt with Nilus, "the first publisher of the *Protocols*", and the various versions of the origin of the *Protocols*, which, to his mind, proved the forgery. "One is struck", he wrote, "by the absence of any effort on the part of the plagiarist to conceal his plagiarisms. The paraphrasing has been very careless; parts of sentences, whole phrases at times, are identical; the development of the thought is the same. There has been no attempt worth mentioning to alter the order of the Geneva Dialogues".

In conclusion, Graves wrote

"So much for the *Protocols*. They have done harm not so much, in the writer's opinion, by arousing anti-Jewish feeling, which is older than the *Protocols* and will persist in all countries where there is a Jewish problem until that problem is solved; rather, they have done harm by persuading all sorts of mostly well-to-do people that every recent manifestation of discontent on the part of the poor is an unnatural phenomenon, a fictitious agitation caused by a secret society of Jews".

Concurrent with Graves' third article, on 18 August, the *Times* published an editorial, which stated: "The fact of the plagiarism has now been conclusively established, and the legend may be allowed to pass into oblivion..".

The *Times* published the articles of Robert Graves in a booklet which was sold around the world for many years. They stopped selling the booklet when the Nazis threatened relatives of Philip Graves who lived in Germany.



Brazilian edition of the *Protocols*, 1937

Henry Ford's Private War against the Jews

There is no doubt that Henry Ford was one of the most influential promoters and distributors of the *Protocols* not only in the United States but around the world, where his book *The International Jew* was published in 17 languages.

The anti-Jewish tirade in Ford's newspaper *The Dearborn Independent* began on 22 May 1920, and continued throughout 91 issues of the weekly. The first article proclaimed the message in clear terms:

"There is a race, a part of humanity, which has never yet been received as a welcome part, and which has succeeded in raising itself to a power that the proudest Gentile race has never claimed - not even Rome in the days of her proudest power".

When the first article was still at the printer, and the editor of the newspaper, Pipp, realized that he was powerless to stop it, he submitted his resignation.

He had helped Ford buy *The Dearborn Independent* and had high hopes for its future, but he was devastated by Ford's anti-Semitic attitudes. He decided to start his own newspaper and never again allow himself to be subordinated to another owner. The responsibility would be his and the paper would carry his name, *Pipp's Weekly*.

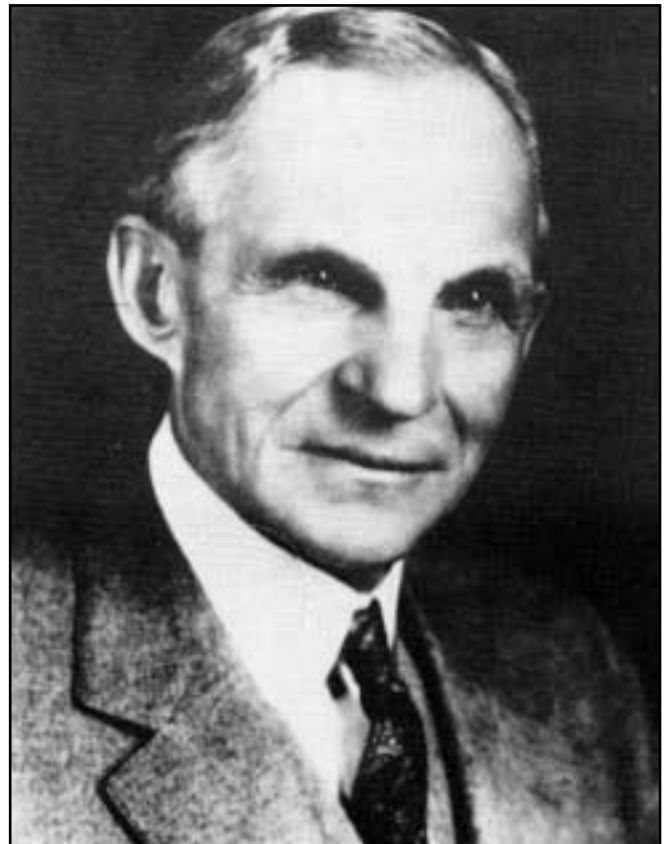
Pipp reacted to the "Jew" articles in *The Dearborn Independent* by publishing a series of "Open Letters" to Henry Ford. He was sure that if he wrote personal letters, they would not even reach Ford's desk, he explained.

In these open letters, Pipp explained how Ford's newspaper had adopted the theme of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, never bothering to substantiate it with any real proof. He wrote bitterly:

"They assert an international conspiracy and, asked for proof, rail out against the movies. They would have us fear the downfall of our nation as a result of Jewish domination of international affairs and, asked for proof, talk about the 'oriental' mind. They say they are not anti-Semitic and hire detectives to hunt the country over for anything they can run down against any Jew or Jews, individually and collectively, and find that an owner of a show play once sold theater tickets on the streets of New York. They charge an international conspiracy and, asked for proof, assert that Irvin S. Cobb got his start in life through the financial help of a Jew in Paducah, Kentucky...".

At that time, the prevailing thought was that the *Protocols* were a co-production of the Russians and the Germans, as they were so widely distributed in Germany. The true facts about the origin of the document were to be revealed a few months later. Pipp declared that he had no prejudice against Germany, being himself of German origin on both sides of his family. But facts are facts, he wrote:

"The Germans were and are a great nation for propaganda. During the war their printing presses were as busy as their guns. Since the war Germany has turned many of those presses toward the Jew. The Jew is denounced and reviled much after the same fashion that he is being assailed here, only they have gone further in Germany...".



Henry Ford

Explaining in his paper why he had resigned from *The Dearborn Independent*, he wrote: "The stuff against the Jews was being written. It was being read, passed around, re-read, re-written and read again.... the Jews are being blamed for everything. If the wind blew the smoke in the window from the west that was the fault of the Jews; and if the wind blew the dust in from the east that, too, was the fault of the Jews...". No honest sane man could live with this, he declared.

In the meantime the articles and editorials in Ford's weekly continued. They accused Jewish leaders, such as Louis Marshall and Louis Brandeis, of using Presidents Taft and Wilson as their puppets. Other prominent Jews were accused of instigating World War I for the benefit of Jewish bankers, and of fomenting the Russian Revolution to promote racial imperialism. The paper denounced the "*Jewish Conspiracy*" for corruption on Wall Street, in labor, and on the ball-field. Jews were also allegedly responsible for the Civil War and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. What Jews could not achieve by money, media or manipulation, they would achieve by pandering to the sexual perversions of the powerful and prominent, the paper warned, claiming their facts came from the plans of the Jewish secret government set out in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

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

"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 existence for unity and brotherhood, deplores 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 12 November, and again on 10 December 1920, the Jewish journal, *The American Hebrew*, challenged Ford, suggesting that they present him with fifty names of American leaders from whom he was invited to pick a jury of 12. They invited Ford to present to this jury his proof of a Jewish world conspiracy. Should the findings of the jury fail to substantiate his charges, he would be

bound to publicly admit that he was mistaken and to reveal the influences brought to bear upon him to print the articles in his publication. The decision of the jury was to be published in as many dailies in the United States as the jury might select.

Ford could have saved himself much embarrassment, and the Jews much aggravation, had he responded to the challenge, but he kept silent.

On 16 January 1921, a protest was issued. It was prepared through the initiative of the eminent American author, John Spargo, and signed by one hundred and nineteen distinguished Americans, led by Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, William Cardinal O'Connell and others, who protested "the introduction into American national life of a new and dangerous spirit". They condemned the anti-Semitic campaign as subversive of American ideals and as "un-American and un-Christian". They said that American citizenship and American democracy were challenged and menaced.

Ford's only answer was a statement that he was not attempting to engender race hatred, but to awaken the "boob Gentiles" against the alleged "machinations of the Jews".

When the truth about the forgery of the *Protocols* surfaced, the editor of *The Dearborn Independent* took care not to vouch explicitly for their authenticity. Instead they devised a tactic of comparing the document with actual events, thus leading the public to draw the desired conclusion, a tactic which later became known as "the Ford tactic".

Surprisingly, two Jews undertook to sue Henry Ford for libel. One was Aaron Sapiro who was something of a hero to fruit growers in the farm belt of California. In 1919, he had devised a plan to refine business and marketing procedures of cooperatives so that farmers could control the market. By 1925, the "Sapiro Plan" had been adopted by ninety associations in thirty two states, as well as in Canada, with a total membership of 890,000 farmers. The value of farm products handled amounted to some 600 million dollars annually. Back in 1924, Sapiro became the target of anti-Semitic attacks in *The Dearborn Independent*, which cried, "A band of Jewish bankers, lawyers, moneylenders, advertising agencies, fruit pickers, produce buyers, professional office managers, and bookkeeping experts... is on the back of the American farmer".

The other complainant was Herman Bernstein, an American journalist, special correspondent of *The New York Times* and *The New York Sun*, a recognized authority on Russia and Russian literature as well as on Jewish matters. He had translated and

introduced in America some of the most important works of Lev Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky and Anton Chekhov. He had participated in the famous voyage of the Peace Ship "Oscar II", organized by Ford. Ford later maintained that it was during this voyage that Bernstein had handed him the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, drawing his attention to the book.

As early as February 1921, Herman Bernstein published a book entitled *The History of a Lie - The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, in which he presented the known facts and documents proving that the *Protocols* were completely false.

Bernstein sued Henry Ford seeking \$200,000 in compensation.

The trials were pending for some years, but in the end, in order to avoid perjuring himself in court, Ford instructed his lawyers to settle both cases.

On 30 June 1927, Ford personally signed a letter of apology and retraction, and on 7 July 1927, he released to the press his long and detailed apology and pleaded for forgiveness for the wrongs he had done to the Jewish people. It contained the following passage:

"I deem it to be my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to Jews as fellow-men 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. Needless to say that the pamphlets which have been distributed throughout the country and in foreign lands will be withdrawn from circulation, that in every way possible I will make it known that they have my unqualified disapproval, and that henceforth *The Dearborn Independent* will be concluded under such auspices that articles reflecting upon the Jews will never again appear in its columns".

Ford also directed that five truckloads of *The International Jew* be burned, and he ordered overseas publishers to cease publications of his book, revoking their rights. But it was too late. The Ford books had been widely distributed all around Europe and it proved impossible to destroy them let alone prevent their publication and sale. Ford's letters to publishers and distributors in other countries were mostly ignored. One of these letters was addressed to Theodor Fritsch in Leipzig, the German translator of the book and owner of the *Hammer Verlag* which had published the German translation. The letter revoked and terminated any rights to publish *The International Jew* in any language, forbidding its publication anywhere under the name of Henry Ford. Fritsch ignored Ford's instructions, claiming that his signature had been

forged. No action was taken when the book was later distributed in every school and public institution in Germany, bearing the photographs of Ford and of Hitler, side by side, or when it was distributed, free of charge, in kiosks in Switzerland.

Hitler used Ford's book throughout his reign of terror, and kept Ford's photograph on his desk. He once told an American reporter: "I regard Heinrich Ford as my inspiration". Passages from Ford's book, *The International Jew*, were actually incorporated in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and served as the credo of the Nazis. There is no evidence that Ford tried to intervene, even when Germany was still accessible to Americans.



"The Jewish Messiah's Thoughts", the cover of a brochure published by a Nazi publishing house in Erfurt, Germany, 1925

Public Exposure of the *Protocols*

Courts of law in various countries have dealt with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It is worth noting that before the Nazi era each trial initiated by Jews against distributors of the *Protocols* ended in a settlement which contained an injunction against publication of the *Protocols*, an apology by the defendants, and often payment of compensation. The Nazi regime changed this attitude dramatically. Hitler made the *Protocols* his political manifest and decided to use them in the Nazi propaganda. Nazi organizations around the world were instructed to refuse any settlement in trials concerning the *Protocols*. Although it was obvious that they could never win in a court of law, as they had no proof of the authenticity of the *Protocols*, they decided that as court proceedings were protected from libel suits, a courtroom was the best forum to spread their poison against the Jews with impunity.

The most important trial was held in Bern, Switzerland, in 1934-1935, covered by media from around the world. The Jewish Community sued the publishers and the distributors of the *Protocols*, which were being sold in Switzerland and had been handed out at a public rally organized by the local Nazi organization. The Jewish Community was represented by a brilliant and courageous young lawyer, George Brunschvig, who was joined by his non-Jewish law teacher, a prestigious scholar, Professor Matti.

In a city court in Bern, Judge Meyer conducted a trial of historical dimensions in which witnesses gave first hand evidence attesting to the fact that the *Protocols* were an impudent and dangerous forgery. Many of the witnesses were important Russian personages who had been prominent in pre-revolution Russia, and had personal information which they felt it was their duty to present to the Bern Court.

The proceedings in Bern also revealed to what lengths the Nazis were ready to go and what tactics they were willing to use. After the trial some Swiss Nazis were criminally indicted and the police confiscated their archives. They found ample proof that the proceedings in the Bern Trial had been manipulated by Nazi headquarters in Munich, and the defence was officially conducted by the *Weltdienst* in Ehrfurt, which had the task of spreading Nazi propaganda around the world. Their director, Ulrich Fleischhauer,

was the expert appointed by the defendants. He admitted that he was no authority on the *Protocols*, but in his words, he was an expert on Jews.

It is hard to choose excerpts from the testimony in the Bern Trial. The verbatim record of this trial should be carefully examined by all those who seek to confront racial incitement in courts of law. As the Bern Court appointed a non-Jewish independent expert, we choose to concentrate on his opinion and testimony.

Carl Albert Loosli came from a Swiss anti-Semitic family, in a village where there was only one Jewish family. It was only much later, in his student years, that he encountered any other persons of Jewish origin. In those years Loosli had already developed a mind of his own, unwilling to accept without question the prejudices prevailing in the society in which he lived. His intellectual curiosity and his inborn honesty made him take a second, unbiased look at his Jewish fellow students, and later, at the Jews he was dealing with as an art dealer and critic who had made a name for himself as a serious historian.

One day, in 1924, a friend handed him the German edition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, published in Germany by Alfred Rosenberg. He was immediately convinced that it was crude and vulgar nonsense, no more than an idiotic joke.

When he realized that *The International Jew* by Henry Ford was being distributed in kiosks in Bern, free of charge, he was astounded that Ford had actually accepted without challenge the contents of the *Protocols* and was promoting their publication around the world.

For a long time Loosli had been a great admirer of Henry Ford. He was intrigued by the American fairy tale, in which a poor mechanic had succeeded in becoming the world's most famous multi-millionaire. He had considered Henry Ford a man of vision, a model for young people everywhere, the embodiment of everything good this century had to offer. On reading Ford's book his disillusionment was therefore devastating. How could such a man be so blind, so misled; how could he subscribe to facts which even a mediocre high school student could disprove!

He decided then and there to write a book about the Jews, about Judaism and about the evil of anti-Semitism. His book *Die Schlimmen Juden?* [The Bad Jews?] was published in 1927. Like

other non-Jews before and after him, and indeed many Jews, Loosli believed he could confront the issue of anti-Semitism armed with facts and figures. He wrongly thought that he could expose anti-Semites like Henry Ford for what they were. He was naively sure that once the readers saw how wrong and unfounded Ford's allegations were, they would laugh him out of all the kiosks and bookstores.

When he realized, in 1934, what the Nazis were doing across the border, he accepted Judge Meyer's appointment as expert witness at the Bern Trial. He knew now from bitter experience that it was fruitless to confront the anti-Semites in the so-called "marketplace of ideas". This was not about ideas, he said, this was about prejudice.

In his opening remarks Loosli suggested that they all remove themselves from the choking anti-Semitic fog which had permeated the courtroom from the Nazi expert's testimony, and re-enter the clear atmosphere of sanity, wisdom and human understanding. He was most outspoken, giving vent to his conviction that the trial was being manipulated by Germans. That is why he allowed himself to speak in a Swiss courtroom of German imperialism, he said, having heard from childhood "*Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles*".

He had studied all available documents obtained from Russian archives and he could vouch that not one document pointed to the authenticity of the *Protocols*.

For the last 15 years, he said, the anti-Semites had maintained that the *Protocols* had been prepared during the Zionist Congress in 1897. Other than quoting each other they had never presented even a shadow of proof to substantiate this allegation. They might as well maintain that the *Protocols* had been prepared at a meeting of the Swiss chimney cleaners, he exclaimed.

He assured the court that he had personally compared the texts of the *Protocols* with the book of Maurice Joly, and had found 176 passages that had been copied from the *Dialogues* into the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Wherever the text described the government and politics of Napoleon III, the forgers had substituted the Jews, without any serious attempt at disguise.

He dedicated a special chapter in his opinion to the publishers of the *Protocols*. Like Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, and like Fleischhauer in his testimony, they all used the old trick of inferring the truth of the *Protocols* from the very fact of their existence. To protect themselves, publishers of the *Protocols* were sometimes careful and did not vouch for their authenticity. How clever, he said. In this fashion one could publicly say of any organization, without

proof, that its members were criminals and sub-humans. When challenged, all the publisher had to do was say that he was willing to let the victim defend himself.

The publishers of the *Protocols* had refined a system, he said, which they were repeatedly using. They even forged the forgery, for each publisher had taken liberties with the text. They wrote introductions and quoted each other as sources. They misquoted and quoted out of context Hebrew sources and systematically ignored scientific proof refuting their theories.

"Would we let Hitler dictate Swiss policy towards our Jewish citizens", he asked, quoting passages from *Mein Kampf*, "Are we too blind to realize that Hitler has adopted the so-called Jewish plan and is in fact practicing that of which he accuses the Jews?"

"If there is a world conspiracy, it is headed by the German National Socialists and it threatens all of us", he warned.

He concluded his testimony with these words:

"The *Protocols* are the most despicable and dangerous obscene literature, liable to incite people to criminal acts".

"How have the *Protocols* helped the Jews", he asked. "Who are those Jews who have dominated the world so far? Are they Bernheim, Hirschl and Levy with whom we have shared a classroom? With whom we have done military service? With whom we fought and argued, lending each other assistance, when necessary? What science is it that teaches us that each Sternickel, Haarman, Denke, Julius Streicher possesses purer nord-Aryan blood, than Jews, Freemasons, Socialists, Free thinkers, Democrats".

"If this were true", he cried, "I have no wish to live in this world one moment longer".

In his long judgment Judge Meyer decided that the *Protocols* were obscene literature. The defendants maintained, he wrote, that somewhere, at some time, some Jews had connived to dominate the world, all this without a shred of real proof. On the other hand the plaintiffs had proved conclusively that it was a plagiarism and a forgery.

Then came the final passage, which would be quoted in every language for years to come.

"I hope that a time will come when nobody will understand how in the year 1935 almost a dozen sane and reasonable men could for fourteen days torment their brains before a Bern court over the authenticity of these so-called *Protocols*, these *Protocols* which, despite the harm they have caused and may yet cause, are nothing more than ridiculous nonsense".

In 1937 the Court of Appeal, which disagreed with Judge Meyer on the interpretation of the law, made a point of confirming his views on the *Protocols*.

“This scurrilous work contains unheard-of and unjustified attacks against the Jews and must without reservation be judged to be immoral literature”.

Ordering that the defendants pay all court costs in both instances, the Appeal Judges said:

“Whoever disseminates libelous and insulting writings of the greatest possible coarseness, runs the risk of being summoned before the courts and must take the consequences”.

Concurrent with the Bern Trial, another trial was conducted in Grahamstown in South Africa. The leaders of a Nazi organization called the *Grey Shirts* were sued for libel by a Jewish Rabbi, after they had distributed a false document in which the Rabbi had allegedly prepared a plan for Jewish domination of South Africa, based on the international conspiracy presented in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Finding in favor of Rabbi Levi the court stated that “the existence of a so-called World Plot organized by the Jews, with the object of destroying the Christian Church and religion generally and Judaizing the civilized world”, had not been established, the defendants having failed to produce a vestige of proof in that direction.

But this was not the end in South Africa. A few months after the conclusion of the civil proceedings the leader of the *Grey Shirts*, Harry Victor Inch, was convicted by a jury of uttering a forged document and committing perjury at the first trial. The foreman of the jury asked the judge’s permission to make a statement, in which he said that the jury considered the crimes committed by Inch to be racial and political.

To general surprise the court sentenced Harry Victor Inch to 6 years and 3 months imprisonment with hard labor.

Looking straight at the defendant Judge Pittman, who presided over the criminal trial, announced the reasons for this surprisingly harsh sentence:

“I am bound to say that I regard your offenses in a very serious light. Your conduct in hatching this plot was one that was calculated, I think, to work disaster of the most serious character on the community. You launched your plot with extreme recklessness as to the consequences, and in your furtherance of it you have been guilty of what I can only regard as a most flagrant attempt in this

court to pervert the course of justice... I cannot shut my eyes to the harm you might have brought to a community, and which in some measure you actually did bring about. Other persons who may be disposed to follow in your footsteps... must be warned by the sentence I impose upon you that any such indulgence on their part will meet with the severest retribution”.

On 29 October all three Natal newspapers devoted a large amount of space to report on a statement issued by the Minister of the Interior, Mr. J.H. Hofmeyer:

“Unhappily, there is no lie so foolish but some witless folk will be found believing it, and no libel so cruel but eager zealots will give it wider currency once they hear it. People talk about the sacred rights of freedom being in peril, but the sacred right of freedom should not carry with it the license to propagate mass attacks upon communities or sections of a community, or any title to put into circulation statements that can only result in setting race against race, creed against creed or faith against faith. Unhappily it proves too often that those who talk loudest about civil freedom... are those least fitted to enjoy the rights they speak about... it is the business of the government to see at all times that negligible minorities are not permitted to go outside the bounds of legitimate propaganda and let loose such doctrines as are bound to breed counter-activities among people as earnest as they, with the inevitable result that the peace of the land is temporarily endangered”.

In 1964, the Senate of the United States set up a special committee to study the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Concerned with the danger of Communism, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate had become aware of the fact that the fight against Communism was being subverted by those who claimed that the real danger to the U.S. did not come from International Communism, and that it was the International Plot of the Jews that was endangering America. This absurd allegation made such an impact that it was decided to set up a special subcommittee to investigate the matter.

On 6 August 1964, the Committee on the Judiciary resolved that the report of the subcommittee, entitled *Protocols of the Elders of Zion - A Fabricated ‘Historic’ Document*, be approved as a report of the Internal Security Subcommittee to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Acting on the recommendation of the subcommittee, the Committee resolved that the report be printed and published.

The report, unanimously adopted by the 9 members of the sub-committee, was signed by its chairman, Senator James O. Eastland from Mississippi, and by its vice chairman, Senator

Thomas J. Dodd from Connecticut.

In the introduction the senators stated:

“Every age and country has had its share of fabricated ‘historic’ documents which have been foisted on an unsuspecting public for some malign purpose...One of the most notorious and most durable of these is the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*”.

“According to the *Protocols*”, the Committee stated, “International Communism is simply a manifestation of a world Jewish conspiracy which seeks to subjugate all non-Jewish peoples of the world”. The real enemy, therefore according to the *Protocols*, was not “International Communism” but “International Jewry”. On the other hand, books published in the Soviet Union, which bore a remarkable resemblance to the *Protocols*, tended to equate “International Jewry” with “International Capitalism”.

Although the *Protocols* had been repeatedly and authoritatively exposed as a vicious hoax, the report said, “they continue to be circulated by the unscrupulous and accepted by the unthinking. It is impossible not to be concerned over the cynical way in which some groups in the name of anti-communism continue to use the *Protocols*, to promote prejudice and hostility among Americans, and thus to weaken this country’s efforts in the real fight against Communism.”

Using surprisingly strong language, the subcommittee said that the *Protocols* were written in “a rambling, incoherent and turgid style”, that they were “absurd, contradictory, childish”, that they were “obviously gibberish”, that they dealt in “psychological warfare”, that they were “the greatest forgery of the century... one of the stupidest forgeries in all literary history... one of the classics of anti-Semitism... a fictional product of a warped mind”.

“The peddlers of the *Protocols*, use the Hitler technique of the ‘big lie’. They play upon the well-founded concern of the American people over Communist advances to exploit groundless prejudices. They offer a key - their key - to understand the hodgepodge that is the *Protocols*. What the fabricators of the *Protocols* didn’t say, the modern-day peddler does - in sensational style.

In the subcommittee’s judgment, those who would mislead the American people by continuing to peddle this crude and vicious nonsense, impede and prejudice the Nation’s fight against the Communist menace. The subcommittee believes that the peddlers of the *Protocols* are peddlers of un-American prejudice who spread hate and dissension among the American people. Falsely using the guise of fighting Communism, they, like the Communists who set class against class, would set religion against religion. Both would subvert the American system”.

New editions of the *Protocols* have appeared since then all over the United States, more than 30 editions since 1990. In 1993 a new edition of *The International Jew* of Henry Ford was published. The theory of the Jewish Conspiracy has been adopted by Christian Fundamentalists, right wing militia groups, Holocaust deniers, and to a large extent by African American activists. The *Protocols* are available in black nationalist bookstores, they are quoted by African American leaders and they were distributed free of charge to participants at a New York rally held in October 1996 by the Nation of Islam and in the well publicized *Million Men March* in Washington D.C. in October 1995.

The “Common Law Courts” movement, run by military members of the armed militias, plans to defy the legitimate institutions of government, especially their judicial and law enforcement arms, by replacing them with a parallel structure of their own creation. They often use the *Protocols* to prove Jewish complicity in the evil scheme of the federal government to strip Americans of their constitutional rights and impose a tyrannical ‘New World Order’.

An ad in a local newspaper, which announced the sale of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* for \$1, explained that this was a translation by Victor E. Marsden, from the Russian of Professor Nilus, “the most diabolical plot in world history, proof that Communism is a Jewish world plot to enslave the Gentiles by creating wars and revolutions, and to seize power during the resulting chaos and to rule with their claimed superior intelligence as chosen people. Fulfillment steadily progresses while the Gentiles as predicted by the *Protocols*, sit supinely by from one event to another, unaware of the overall plan which is fast encircling them”.

In an article entitled *Fakes That Have Skewed History*, published on 16 May 1983, the *Times* of London stated that “In Europe and South America, wherever there are fringe resurgences of Nazism or Fascism, the *Protocols* seem sure to follow. Given the tragedies they have abetted and their poisonous potential for more, the *Protocols* may be the most successful and insidious forgery in history”.

The Moslem Version

The Egyptian television series *Knight Without a Horse* surprised only those who have not followed the path of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Arab and Moslem countries.

In October 1976 Professor Bernard Lewis of the University of Princeton, one of the foremost experts on Islam, stated in an article published in the *Journal of Foreign Affairs*, that the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were being universally cited in Arabic literature on Jewish matters, and noted that to his knowledge, its authenticity had never been refuted, or even called into question, by an Arab writer.

In a letter to the editor of the same journal, published in April 1977, Dr. Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, Assistant Professor of English and American Poetry at the Ain Shams University of Cairo, begged to differ. He wrote that the Research Center of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut, which "is among the leading institutions which publish literature on 'Jewish matters', had never made reference to the *Protocols*, except perhaps in derogatory terms". He added that: "Dr. Razzuk's study on *Talmud* and Zionism vigorously opposed the 'conspiratorial view' of the Jews and Zionists".

He then mentioned Arab writers who had questioned the authenticity of the *Protocols*, like Dr. A. Al-Attiyeh, Director of the Palestine Research Center in Baghdad (on Iraqi television in the spring of 1974), Abdelwahab El-Kayyali, a leading figure in the PLO in Damascus. He himself had worked for four years as Director of the "Zionist Ideology Department" of the *al-Ahram* publishing house in Cairo and had published an article in *al-Ahram* in February 1974, entitled *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

"In it I traced the 'history' of the pamphlet and specifically pointed out that it is believed to be a forgery", he wrote, "furthermore, the article in question noted that the diversity of the historical experience of the Jewish communities in the world disproves the simplistic theory of a 'grand conspiracy' or 'a world government' by the Jews".

"All this is to underscore the fact that almost all the Arab institutes engaged in Palestinian, Jewish or Zionist studies, hold a negative view of the *Protocols* and classify them as among the more objectionable anti-Semitic literature", he concluded.

Why did Elmessiri use phrases like "of questionable authenticity" or "believed to be a forgery", Professor Lewis replied, why not say outright that the book is an anti-Jewish fake?

18 years later, after Israel had made peace with Egypt, in June 1995, the same publishing house, *al-Ahram*, published an Arabic translation of *A New Middle East*, by Shimon Peres, "as a service to the reader", part of a series entitled "Know Your Enemy".

In his book, Peres, who had won the Nobel Peace Prize for his part in initiating the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, described his vision of a Middle East which would flourish when peace was finally attained. He must have been very surprised to read in the preface to his book the following passage:



The cover of an Egyptian edition of the *Protocols*, 1986

“When the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were discovered 200 years ago and translated into various languages, including Arabic, the International Zionist Organization tried to deny the existence of the conspiracy and maintained that it was a forgery. The Zionists even tried to purchase all the existing copies in order to prevent people from reading them. But now Shimon Peres supplies definite proof that the *Protocols* are indeed authentic and absolutely true. His book is another step in the realization of this dangerous plot”.

The writer of the article had ignored some undisputed facts: the *Protocols* had not been “discovered” 200 years ago, and 200 years ago there was no Zionist organization!

In fact, the Arab and Moslem countries have adopted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as part of their anti-Zionist ideology, including its anti-Semitic connotations. The *Protocols*, originally fabricated as an alleged Jewish plot against Christendom, long ago donned an anti-Arabic disguise. The Jews still mean to dominate the world, but the first stage of their agenda is the domination of Israel’s neighbouring countries in the Middle East. Was the conspiracy not shaped at the First Zionist Congress in Basel? The establishment of the State of Israel and its victories over the Arab countries, supported by foreign states whose leaders have always been manipulated by the Jews, serves as solid proof of the inner truth of the *Protocols* and of their authenticity. Unlike other countries, where new publications of the *Protocols* have mostly been published, quoted and distributed by racist and anti-Semitic groups, in major Arab countries they are part of the mainstream literary world, published by the most prestigious publishing houses and widely quoted by official and semi-official newspapers. They are also distributed in Moslem communities in Western countries, and among Moslem and third world students in Western universities.

In his 1987 book, *Semites and anti-Semites*, Bernard Lewis noted that:

“The demonization of Jews in Arabic writings goes further than it had ever done in Western literature, with the exception of Germany during the period of Nazi rule. In Western countries anti-Semitic divagations on Jewish history, religion, and literature are more than offset by a great body of genuine scholarship... in modern Arabic writing there are few such countervailing elements”.

Abas Mahmud Al’arad, one of the most famous Egyptian writers, wrote an introduction to the first Egyptian publication of the *Protocols* in 1951. By that time 10 Arabic editions had appeared in other countries.

It was strange, Al’arad wrote, that this wondrous book, the

Protocols of the Elders of Zion, had only now appeared in Egypt in its full text, although the Arab countries should have been made aware of this document, as they had experienced the crimes of the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of the Jewish State in the land of Palestine.

He noted that none of the publishers of the *Protocols*, in any languages, had acted for profit. They had only acted for ideological reasons and every publication of the *Protocols* had been sold out within one week.

The translator wrote a lengthy introduction, in which he revealed to his Arab readers that the Jews had decided on their secret plan to dominate the world and establish the Kingdom of David at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, in 1897. According to his information, the “300 Jewish Elders” had all participated in this fateful congress.

As to the argument that the *Protocols* were a forgery, the writer declared: “The truth is that the facts speak for themselves”.

In Syria economic domination was persistently described by the Arab press as part of the Jewish plot. In November 1985 the Syrian paper *Al Aktazad* published an article by Ali Hag’ Bakhri, maintaining that the Jews and the Zionists had been attempting for hundreds of years to dominate the world’s economy, as recorded in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. These *Protocols* were considered by the Jews to be a message from their prophets, as binding as any tenet of the *Torah* or the *Talmud*. The writer quoted passages from the *Protocols* to show how important gold was to Jews as a source of power. The “Hidden Hand” of the Jews was at work, in their ongoing effort to take over banks, media and businesses. In time the importance of “yellow gold” had diminished, and the “black gold” had increased Arab influence. That was why the Zionists were now conspiring to dominate the oil fields of the world. Again they were using the well-tried plan of the *Protocols*, trying to create international crisis both in the economic and the political sense. Confronted with this Jewish cabal, the Arabs were helpless and inexperienced, he maintained.

To convince his readers, Bakhri drew heavily from well tried “historical data”: Napoleon’s Minister of Finance had been a Jew, and he had made the Emperor attack the Holy Land; the Jewish Prime Minister D’Israeli had been behind the acquisition by Britain of the Suez Canal shares; the Jews had brought about the downfall of the Ottoman Sultan Abd-el-Hamid through a group of Jews who had pretended to convert to Islam; in 1968 this “Hidden Hand” had succeeded in creating a financial crisis in France, as punishment for De Gaul’s support of the Arabs. Again

this was done by a group of Jews who had pretended to convert to Christianity. Even the Egyptian policy of making peace with Israel had been manipulated by the Jews. Between 1938 and 1948, the article said, 1200 Jewish families had converted to Islam, as foreseen by President Benjamin Franklin in 1879, thus succeeding in seizing positions of power, disproportionate to their numbers in Egypt.

But it is not only countries such as Syria, which is still officially at war with Israel, which use the *Protocols* as a tool in their anti-Zionist propaganda. Surprisingly, the *Protocols* are sold in major book stores in countries which have signed peace treaties with Israel, namely, Egypt and Jordan. There, they continue to be used in programs of education and constantly referred to in the official and semi-official press.

In the middle of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, officially supported by Egypt, an Egyptian edition of the *Protocols* appeared with an introduction arguing that the *Protocols* are true and the Jewish plot is alive.

On 8 September, 1993, the semi-official Egyptian magazine *October* published lengthy extracts from the *Protocols*, stating that they are a true record of secret meetings held behind the scenes of the First Zionist Congress.

The Jews were quoted as saying:

“The Goyim are sheep and we are wolves”; “War is a necessity to increase confusion which creates blind submission”; “We are Kings of the Universe and all the others are our slaves”; “We are the only ones who were created in the image of God, the others are like beasts”.

Again, the “300 elders” were all present.

Nilus was described as a “Russian scientist”. He had foreseen the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, the downfall of all the monarchies in Europe and both World Wars, in which the Jews would triumph. It all happened as he had predicted. Herzl had announced that the *Protocols* had been stolen and the Jews said they had been forged. But the *Protocols* only repeated what was said in the *Talmud* and “they are materializing before our very eyes”.

After quoting extensively from the *Protocols*, the article quoted Hitler, who had realized that the Jews were defrauding the whole world. He had said that the Jews would not settle for one state, they were out to dominate the whole world.

They ended by crying: “Will the world never learn?!”

The article also included specific accusations, reminiscent of

the blood libels. This time the Jews would not settle on murdering a single Christian child. The Zionists were actually distributing illicit drugs and narcotics and luring Egyptian youth into a Satanic cult; they were flooding Egypt with fruits and vegetables laced with poison, they were even exporting to Egypt chewing gum intended to make Arab women promiscuous. Massacre, murder and genocide, were described by Mustafa Mahmud in *al-Ahram*, as “central tenets of the Jewish religion”.

On 23 January 1997, the Egyptian *al-Ahram* accused Israel of spreading the AIDS virus among 305 Palestinian youths in Gaza and the West Bank. In spite of the fact that the newspaper retracted the information on its front page four days later, in the face of loud protests, the same accusation was made on 11 March, 1997, by Mr. Ramlawi, the delegate of the Palestine Authority, at a session of the U.N. Commission of Human Rights in Geneva. This was only a repetition of a similar accusation made by the Chairman of the PLO in a letter of April 4, 1983, addressed to the U.N. Secretary General, accusing Israel of genocidal intent and poisoning 300 Palestinian children.

In January 1997 the *Egyptian Gazette* published an article quoting the *Protocols* in support of its thesis that the Zionists were taking over Egypt’s economy, as part of their overall plan to dominate the world.

When the Anti Defamation League complained that a government-owned newspaper was promoting so-called “scientific studies with blatant anti-Semitic motivations”, the *Gazette* published a response quoting the *Zionist Wisemen of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, “a book acknowledged by many world institutions to be telling the secret motivations of the Zionists’ intentions and plots”.

On 1 August 1994, the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which reports to the Commission on Human Rights, convened in Geneva for its 46th session.

In an address delivered on 3 August by David Littman, representative of “ifor” (International Fellowship of Reconciliation), he warned that sixty years after the apocalyptic events of the 1930s, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were still being widely disseminated, having been reprinted over the former decade in many countries, including Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland and Russia. “But it is in the Arab-Islamic world”, he said, “that the *Protocols* remain repulsive best-sellers of hatred”. He stated that Saudi Arabia was the largest producer and exporter of this document, which



The cover of a Swedish edition of the *Protocols*, 1924

was also to be found in the centers of the Middle East and the Maghreb. He presented details of how the Islamic Republic of Iran was providing the needs of the Iranian market, spilling over into European languages for Western consumption. The journal *Imam*, published by the press and information department of the Iranian Embassy in London, had reproduced parts of the *Protocols* in a series of articles from February to May 1984, stating that the key to all contemporary events was clear. "The invisible hand of Zionism seems to have been at work for centuries everywhere, perpetrating crimes of unbelievable magnitude against human societies and values". Only by studying the *Protocols*, they said, could one "rediscover some horrifying realities of the corrupted Human Society as trademarks of Zionism".

"Zionism is a plague which must be destroyed", they said.

This was a clear directive, soon adopted by terrorist groups.

Like in the days of the *Black Hundreds* in Russia and of the Nazi regime in Germany, the message was clear: The Jews were plotting to dominate the world; they were actually implementing their plan; they had to be destroyed.

Not surprisingly, the August 1988 Covenant of the Palestinian *Hamas* movement, which openly takes responsibility for a large number of vicious terrorist attacks in Israel, states that Muslims are under an obligation, by order of their Prophet, to fight Jews and kill them wherever they can find them. The Jews had taken over the world media and financial centers, the Covenant said, by fomenting revolutions, wars and such movements as the Free Masons, Communism, Capitalism and Zionism, Rotary, Lyons, *B'nai B'rith* etc. They were subverting human society as a whole, in order to bring about its destruction, propagate their own viciousness and corruption, and take over the world *via* such of their pet institutions as the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the Security Council.

Their schemes were detailed in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The *Protocols*, which had helped brainwash and incite the *pogromchiks* in Tsarist Russia, and Hitler's butchers in Nazi Germany, were now cynically used to convince Arab suicide bombers that in sacrificing their lives to kill Jews they would be saving their country from Zionist domination, thus securing for themselves a place in heaven as *shahids*. Copies of the *Protocols* are often carried by terrorists, for good luck, just as one would carry the Holy Bible to give one courage on a dangerous mission.

On one occasion, after Arab terrorists, who had stabbed to death Israeli soldiers peacefully sleeping in their tents, were apprehended, copies of the *Protocols* together with the stolen arms, were found in a cave which served as their hiding place.

On 11 November 1994, 21 year old Hisham Ismail Hamad strapped explosives around his waist and drove his bicycle into an Israeli army checkpoint near Gaza, obliterating himself and three Israeli soldiers.

Six days earlier he had participated in a semi-clandestine meeting of a group of activists who claimed allegiance to the *Islamic Jihad*, one of the deadliest terrorist movement in the Middle East. Also at the meeting was Kenneth Timmerman, a journalist, whose report was published in the *Jerusalem Post* (on 25.11.94), and in the *Los Angeles Times*, after the terrorist attack.

According to Timmerman's report, one of the participants in the meeting, Mahmoud Ahmed, had declared: "*Islamic Jihad* considers that Israel, Nazi U.S., Britain, France and others are a

cancer that must be removed. This is one of our central ideas. We would like to remind them that the Argentina bomb is only one of the actions of the *Islamic Jihad*. We will continue this type of action. In fact, it is our main strategy”.

Hisham Ismail, the future suicide bomber, had added in a soft voice:

“Hani Abed (one of the former suicide bombers), peace be upon him, is blessed today in heaven. He is not dead. No, he is happy. That is why the women are utulating: they are happy because he has given himself to Allah”.

They had then explained the plot of the Jews to dominate the world. The Jews had stated their devious intentions in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

“They want to destroy the whole world... we Islamists can never accept such a state...our rejection is not just words...”

Six days later Hisham drove his bicycle into the Israeli checkpoint. His family believes he has joined God in martyrdom.

The Palestinian Authority, that had agreed in the Oslo Accords to stop incitement against Israel, has never ceased using the *Protocols* as the reason for the creation of the state of Israel.

Excerpts from Palestinian publications in recent years

The depiction of the infamous libel as a true Jewish conspiracy is not new to the residents of the Palestinian Authority [PA], to whom the *Protocols* have been presented as the reason for the creation of the State of Israel and the guide for Israeli policy. The Egyptian production likewise depicts the *Protocols* as the Zionist guide creating the State of Israel, as a stage in ruling the world.

The production describes how an Arab fighting the British discovered the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and realizes “that the true enemy is not the British. Zionist groups in Egypt learn that the book is in his possession and attempt to murder him in order to retrieve the book and prevent its distribution.”

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, 1 November, 2002]

The following are examples of the use of the *Protocols* in PA media and education over recent years. It should be noted that Palestinians, including academics, present the forgery as a truthful plot upon which Zionism is based. The final article below is from this week’s official PA daily presenting its views about the TV series and the historical truth of the *Protocols*.

1. The official PA daily in its “Political National Education” page, quotes precisely from Protocols 2 and 12 to explain Israeli policy:

“Morale and psychological manipulation have a significant place in the minds of Jews, and form a very important source of strength in the “Hebrew State”... Disinformation has been one of the bases of morale and psychological manipulation among the Israelis... The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* did not ignore the importance of using propaganda to promote the Zionist goals.

“The second protocol reads: “Through the newspapers we will have the means to propel and to influence”.

“In the twelfth protocol: “Our governments will hold the reins of most of the newspapers, and through this plan we will possess the primary power to turn to public opinion.”

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, 25 January, 2001]

2. In this article as well the *Protocols* are presented as the Jews’ road map in building Israel:

“Remember the history, oh Arabs!

“...I focused on important dates in the world of the Zionism and the Arabs:

“1. In 1897 the First Zionist Congress was held in Basel...

“2. In 1907 the actual immigration operation began...

“3. In 1917 the woeful Declaration of Balfour was made...

“9. In 1977 the visit which shocked the Arab Nation occurred, the President of Egypt visited Israel...

“Every ten years, a vital aim is achieved. These are the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, of a century, from 1897 till 1997. They have planned and accomplished. Every ten years, another aim was achieved, proving their continuity and their power.”

[*Al Quds*, 10 July, 2001]

3. In this article in the official PA daily, America as well is following the dictates of the *Protocols*

“The hero of this movie, which concluded last Saturday, was the former American President Bill Clinton, and the theater of events, as we said, was the entire world including the Middle East ... out of prejudice in favor of a racist state that is foreign to it, that is the State of Israel, which, from the outset, could not have held its own if not for the continuous American efforts which incessantly implemented the *Protocols of Zion* ...”

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, 18 February, 2001]

4. Israeli military action is defined as following the script of the *Protocols*

“The purpose of the military policy is to impose this situation on the residents and force them to leave their homes, and this is done in the framework of the *Protocols of Zion*...”

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, 18 November, 2001]

5. The Jews changed the Bible, wrote the *Talmud* and concluded with the *Protocols*:

Sheikh Attiyeh Sahar, Chairman of the Department of Islamic Research in the Al-Zahar University:

“It must be known that this nation, the Jews, are willing of mind and soul to alter their religion in order to attain their demands. This is rooted deep in their history.

We know that after our master, Moses, delivered them from the hands of Pharaoh and took them through the sea; then they found a nation of idol-worshippers, and they said to Moses: “make us a God like theirs”. They alienated the God that saved them and willed to worship idols... These things show us that these people, in order to attain their goals, are willing to turn away from their God and His Singularity, which was introduced to the world by their prophets. We also know that they changed the Bible and replaced it, because It does not serve their purposes, and they drafted the *Talmud*, as it is known, and came up, finally, with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.”

[Palestinian Authority TV, 10 September, 2000]

6. PA academics and historians refer to the *Protocols* as a truthful Jewish plot on PA educational television.

Dr. Issam Sissalem, History Professor at the Islamic University and host of an history program on PA Educational TV:

A viewer, Dr. Attallah Abu Al-Farah, calling in: “Can there be, in practice, co-existence on Palestinian land between ourselves and the Jews, in light of their mentality which stems from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Dr. Issam?”

Sissalem: “This question comes from My Beloved Friend. I say: Dr. Attallah, who is a learned expert...”

[Palestinian Authority TV, 14 May, 1999]

7. The following is the recent article in the PA press referring to the circumstances of the discovery of the *Protocols* and the new Egyptian TV series.

“The Egyptian actor said to the *France Press* news agency that the series does not answer the question of truth or lie in the book *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and said “What Israel is doing on the land of Palestine is more severe than the book.” There are contradictory claims as to the truth of the book *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the widespread supposition is that in 1870 Russian intelligence uncovered a book of Jewish elders’ plots to take control of the world. In Jewish circles, however, this is vehemently denied and they accuse the security apparatus of Czar Alexander II of having written the book in order to inflame anti-Semitism, which was prominent then in Russia...

“Subhi [main actor] added: “I attach no importance to all that was said and will be said by the Americans and the Israelis, nor to the accusations directed at the series, and I am proud of the Egyptian government whose Minister of Information, Saffwat Al-Sharif, defends the freedom of artistic expression and thought.”

“Subhi said that the Minister of Information stressed that our society does not attack other religions. He clarified that the Egyptian Censorship Committee previewed the series and found nothing that counters our values or other religions.

“He added: “We know that the book around which this storm rages was prohibited for a hundred years, because they were operating under cover, and now they are operating openly. However, we do not pass judgment on this book; whether it is truth or forgery. We direct our interest at the Zionist movement, which cast its net to rob a land from its people...”

“Baghdadi [the writer] summarizes his position saying: “we have no problem with the Jews, but we are against the Racism of the Zionists...”

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, 1 November, 2002]

This collection of excerpts appears on the website of “Palestine Media Watch”
<http://www.pmw.org.il>

Council of Europe Grants Consultative Status to the IAJLJ

The Council of Europe decided upon the recommendation of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe to grant the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists Consultative Status as an NGO with the Council of Europe. The Secretary General wrote as follows:

“The International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists is a well known organization working to protect human rights and in the fight against

racism and intolerance. It is well represented at European level and works in fields shared by the Council of Europe, indeed it has already co-operated effectively with the Organization”.

Mr. Joseph Roubache (France) and Mr. Daniel Lack (Switzerland) will represent the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

IAJLJ Observers at the Trial of Marwan Barghouti

Marwan Barghouti, head of the *Tanzim* and the *El Aqsa* Armed Brigades, is currently being tried before the Tel Aviv District Court. Joseph Roubache, President of the French Committee of our Association, Nathalie Cohen Gunther, Esq. and Patrick Atlan, Esq., members of the Paris Bar Association, have taken the initiative of attending these proceedings as observers.

Marwan Barghouti is accused of having initiated and, directly or indirectly, participated in several attacks committed in Israel which resulted in the deaths or injuries of a number of civilians.

The public hearings are also being attended by members of Marwan Barghouti's family and his friends, including a group comprising French

lawyers and European Members of Parliament; his defence is being conducted by legal counsel of his own choosing.

A report has been submitted to the President of the Paris Bar Association that this trial is “a fair trial”, in accordance with Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Faced with the distress of the victims, who also deserve justice, M. Roubache and his colleagues have decided to form a “Committee of European Lawyers” to support them. They therefore appeal to all European lawyers and jurists to send their memberships to the French Committee and join them in attending the upcoming hearings, the dates of which shall be notified in due course.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR:

Two International Conferences in 2003

The International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists is planning to hold two international conferences in 2003.

- **10-15 September 2003:** An international conference in Paris, hosted by the French Section of the Association

- **The last week of December, 2003:** The Twelfth International Triennial Congress to be held in Israel.

Details to follow in due course.

New IAJLJ Representative at the UN

The Association is pleased to advise that Mr. Roy S. Schondorf has been appointed as the Permanent Representative of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists to the United Nations in New York.

In Memoriam

HER HONOUR JUDGE MYRELLA COHEN
QC, HON LLD, FRSA

1927-2002

Judge Myrella Cohen, QC, died in London on 25 October, 2002 at the age of 74. A woman who made historic strides in the legal profession in her country, Judge Cohen was strongly committed to Israel, the Orthodox community and the international legal community. She was the first woman barrister in Newcastle, England in 1953 and in 1970 was the second Jewish woman to become a QC. In 1972 she became the third woman judge in England when she was appointed a North East circuit judge and a High Court family division deputy judge. At 44, she was the youngest judge of the time.



Myrella was committed to restoring fairness and justice to the process of Jewish divorce and worked tirelessly on behalf of *agunot*. In the early 1980s she was invited to participate in a small committee convened by the late Lord Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, to try to find solutions to the problem of blackmail in the religious divorce, what she called “disgraceful horse-trading as the price of the *Get*.” She was a member of the *Get* and *Agunah* Working Party of “Women in the Jewish Community” study convened

by Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sachs in 1992 and wrote most of the 300 page report with eleven recommendations for improvement of the Jewish divorce process. She participated in the drafting of the pre-nuptial agreement, which is used widely today by Jewish couples marrying in London. Perhaps her greatest contribution was the drafting of the Jakobovits amendment to the Family Law Act 1996 which was recently incorporated in the Divorce (Religious Marriages) Act 2002, tying civil divorce to agreement on religious divorce.

Myrella served as Chairman of the English Chapter of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists and Deputy President of the IAJLJ for many years.

On a personal level, Myrella was an energetic, enthusiastic, thoughtful advisor and loving friend and supporter. She has left all Jewish lawyers with a major legacy of bringing Jewish values to our legal system and doing so with the utmost grace, warmth, and intelligence. She is a model for the “Woman of Valor” of our tradition.

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