

INTRODUCTION

Every age and country has had its share of fabricated documents. The public is constantly being misled by the unscrupulous and the dishonest. The "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" is a classic example of this. It is a document which has been used for many years to incite hatred against the Jews. It is a document which has been used to justify the persecution of the Jews. It is a document which has been used to justify the Holocaust. It is a document which has been used to justify the current persecution of the Jews. It is a document which has been used to justify the current persecution of the Jews.

PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

A Fabricated "Historic" Document

A Report Prepared by the

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

TO THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE**



Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi, *Chairman*

OLIN D. JOHNSTON, South Carolina	EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Illinois
JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas	ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr., North Carolina	KENNETH B. KEATING, New York
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut	HIRAM L. FONG, Hawaii
PHILIP A. HART, Michigan	HUGH SCOTT, Pennsylvania
EDWARD V. LONG, Missouri	
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Massachusetts	
BIRCH E. BAYH, Indiana	
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, North Dakota	

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi, *Chairman*

THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut, *Vice Chairman*

OLIN D. JOHNSTON, South Carolina	ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas	EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Illinois
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr., North Carolina	KENNETH B. KEATING, New York
	HUGH SCOTT, Pennsylvania

J. G. SOURWINE, *Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the attached document 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 and that it be printed.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Chairman.

THOMAS J. DODD,

Vice Chairman.

OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
JOHN L. McCLELLAN,
SAM J. ERVIN,
ROMAN L. HRUSKA,
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN,
KENNETH B. KEATING,
HUGH SCOTT,

Approved August 6, 1964.

INTRODUCTION

Every age and country has had its share of fabricated "historic" documents which have been foisted on an unsuspecting public for some malign purpose. In the United States such forgeries crop up periodically in the underworld of subpolitics. One of the most notorious and most durable of these is the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

According to the "Protocols," international communism is simply a manifestation of a world Jewish conspiracy which seeks to subjugate all the non-Jewish peoples of the world. The real enemy, therefore, according to the "Protocols," is not international communism but "international Jewry."

The "Protocols" are one of a number of fraudulent documents that peddle the myth of an "international Jewish conspiracy." In recent years, for example, documents that bear a remarkable resemblance to the "Protocols" have been printed in the Soviet Union as part of the unrelenting campaign against the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union. The one difference is that the documents circulated in the Soviet Union tend to equate "international Jewry" with "international capitalism."

Although the "Protocols" have been repeatedly and authoritatively exposed as a vicious hoax, they continue to be circulated by the unscrupulous and accepted by the unthinking. The Subcommittee on Internal Security not only receives inquiries from time to time about the "Protocols" from sincere but misguided people, but on occasion is even exhorted to advert to this "document" as a source of information concerning Communist machinations.

It is impossible not to be concerned over the cynical way in which some groups in the name of anticommunism 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. The undersigned Senators have, therefore, recommended the publication of the following analysis by the subcommittee in order to lay to rest any honest question concerning the nature, origin, and significance of this ancient canard.

Essentially, this study is a compendium of a number of separate analyses by authorities in several countries who have had occasion to investigate the origins and circulation of the "Protocols." Among the authorities quoted in this study are Father Pierre Charles, S.J., professor of theology at the Jesuit College in Louvain, France; Mr. Richard Helms, Assistant Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency; Prof. John P. Curtiss, of Columbia University; and Dr. Hugo Valentin, of the University of Upsala, Sweden.

THOMAS J. DODD.
KENNETH B. KEATING.

A REPORT ON A FORGERY: THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

The so-called "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" are offered for sale under various names: "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," and "The Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom." Cheaply printed in pamphlet form, they are sold at prices ranging from 50 cents to \$1 by a number of organizations in the United States and by many more around the world.

What do the "Protocols" really say? Because of the rambling, incoherent, and turgid style of the "Protocols," it is difficult to make any sense of them. For example, "Protocol 24" reads in part:

1. I pass now to the method of confirming the dynastic roots of King David to the last strata of the earth.

2. This confirmation will first and foremost be included in that in which to this day has rested the force of conservatism by our learned elders of the conduct of the affairs of the world, in the directing of the education of thought of all humanity.

3. Certain members of the seed of David will prepare the kings and their heirs, selecting not by right of heritage but by eminent capacities, inducting them into the most secret mysteries of the political, into schemes of government, but providing always that none may come to knowledge of the secrets. The object of this mode of action is that all may know that government cannot be entrusted to those who have not been inducted into the secret places of its art. * * *

A summary description of the "program" of the "Protocols" is ventured by the Encyclopedia Britannica (1950 edition), volume 2, page 78A:

* * * The "Protocols" are supposed to be a report of a series of 24 (in other versions, 27) meetings held in Basle in 1897, at the time of the First Zionist Congress. There plans were said to have been worked out whereby Jews, together with Freemasons, were to disrupt the entire Christian civilization, and on the ruins of Christendom erect a world state ruled over by Jews and Freemasons. Various devices are described which the Jews planned to use; among these the use of liquor to befuddle the leaders of European opinion, the corruption of European womanhood, the stirring up of economic distress, and plans to blow up the various capitals of Europe. * * *

Father Pierre Charles, S.J., a professor of theology at the Jesuit College in Louvain, France, in 1938, published a study of the "Protocols," which was later translated into English and reprinted in *The Bridge*, volume I, page 159 (1955), by Seton Hall University Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies. He said:

The more one examines the "Protocols," the more they show themselves to be absurd, contradictory, childish. * * *

* * * I defy anyone to draw from these pages, which claim to be a program, the merest shadow of a sketch of a program (p. 173).

The continued circulation of the "Protocols" cannot be explained on the basis of their contents, which are obviously gibberish, but rather on the techniques employed by the peddlers of the "Protocols." They 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.

One recent edition of the “Protocols” exhorts its readers to “be sure” to read the appendix which speaks of the “deadly parallel * * * of the protocol plans, with their actual fulfillments * * * under the Roosevelt Jewish-Radical regime,” and “deadly ‘parallel’ No. 2 exposing the Jewish capitalistic cause of Jewish revolutionary communism. * * *”

The “Protocols” are also advertised for sale in a circular entitled “The Coming Red Dictatorship,” which is replete with references to the “Protocols” and contains the statement that “the Jews are carrying the plot out to the letter.”

These claims continue to be made by the peddlers of the “Protocols” in spite of their manifest deceitfulness and in face of many authoritative refutations. For example, the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, writes in his “Masters of Deceit” (p. 237):

The Communist propaganda machine, with its tactics of infiltration and division has long fostered the false claim of widespread influence in the Jewish communities of America. One of the most malicious myths that has developed in the United States is that persons of the Jewish faith and Communists have something in common. The people who gave the world the concept of our monotheistic God and the Ten Commandments cannot remain Jews and follow the atheism of Karl Marx and the deceit of the Communist movement.

In testimony before this subcommittee on June 2, 1961, on “Communist Forgeries,” Richard Helms, Assistant Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, speaking of the “Protocols,” declared (p. 5):

The Russians have a long tradition in the art of forgery. More than 60 years ago the czarist intelligence service concocted and peddled a confection called the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion.” As late as 1958, this item was still being pushed by psychological warfare organizations specializing in anti-Semitism. In the 1930’s and 1940’s Hitler’s propagandists “borrowed” it and added it to some counterfeiting of their own. Long before 1957 the Communists were as skillful as the Nazis in the production and exploitation of forgeries.

The CIA judgment has been the universal appraisal of the “Protocols” ever since their spurious character was first disclosed by a London Times correspondent in a series of articles in August 1921.

Father Charles, in his exposé, concluded:

It has been proved that these “Protocols” are a fraud, a clumsy plagiarism * * * made for the purpose of rendering the Jews odious, and exciting against them the blind and heedless passions of the crowd (p. 187).

In 1948 John S. Curtiss, professor of history at Columbia University, published a most thorough and authoritative analysis of the “Protocols” under the title “An Appraisal of the Protocols of Zion.” His study, sponsored and endorsed by a committee of leading American historians, concluded that the “Protocols” have no claim to authenticity. Professor Curtiss’ findings were abstracted in 1948 by the Library of Congress and the subcommittee feels it would be useful to reprint those findings in this report:

1. The “Protocols” are an anonymous document. No evidence has ever been presented that the “Protocols” were the product of Jewish leaders.

2. It was alleged by their publisher, Nilus, that the documents were stolen by a woman and were given to Russians, who first published them. No one has ever personally identified the woman.

3. The Russians, who first published the "Protocols," admitted that they did not see the original manuscript, but came into possession only of copies of the original.

4. The first publisher in book form, Nilus, a Russian, admitted that he could not prove the authenticity of the document.

5. Internal evidence discloses that references and language used in the "Protocols," supposed to have been done in 1897, are inconsistent with that date.

6. Those who uphold the "Protocols" as authentic contend that they were designed by very able but scheming Jews who, on the other hand, were extremely stupid in reducing their design to writing. This does not make sense.

7. It was clearly demonstrated by a British journalist (non-Jewish) that large portions of the "Protocols" were plagiarized from a book written to discredit the government of Napoleon III. Moreover, the French volume, it has been shown, was once the property of the Russian political police; and there is other evidence to indicate that the "Protocols" originated with and were used by the Russian political police.

8. Christian theologians have branded the "Protocols" as forgeries.

9. At a recent trial in Bern, Switzerland, the court declared the "Protocols" to be forgeries.

In his *Anti-Semitism, Historically and Critically Examined* (1936) Hugo Valentin, lecturer in history at the University of Upsala in Sweden characterizes the "Protocols" as "The Greatest Forgery of the Century" (p. 165) and adds:

One need not be a specialist in historical research or have any extensive knowledge of matters Jewish to see through the fraudulent nature of the "Protocols" after a cursory glance * * * (p. 173).

In his foreword to the Valentin work, Herbert L. Willett, professor emeritus in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literature, University of Chicago, calls the "Protocols" "one of the stupidest forgeries of all literary history".

More recently, in an article entitled "The Subliterature of Hate in America," *Southwest Review* (vol. XXXVII, No. 3, summer 1952), published by Southern Methodist University Press, the author, Margaret L. Hartley, writes as follows of the "Protocols" and another well-known forgery the so-called "Benjamin Franklin Prophecy" (p. 188):

Two "authorities" often cited (by anti-Semitic writers) the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" and the "Benjamin Franklin Prophecy," hold their place in the subliterate in spite of the fact that again and again they have been proved bogus. These false authorities might be called the classics of anti-Semitism. References to the "Protocols" may be found in almost any item of hate literature examined * * *.

It is impossible for a fairminded person of any commonsense not to see that the "Protocols" are the fictional product of a warped mind and that for years they have been and still are the chief staple of the anti-Jewish pamphleteer.

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.

INDEX

(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the names of an individual or an organization in this index.)

	Page
"An Appraisal of the Protocols of Zion" (publication)-----	2
Anti-Semitism, Historically and Critically Examined (publication)-----	3
"Benjamin Franklin Prophecy"-----	3
The Bridge (publication)-----	1
Charles, Father Pierre, S.J.-----	III, 1, 2
The Coming Red Dictatorship (publication)-----	2
Communist Forgeries (publication)-----	2
Curtiss, Prof. John P-----	III, 2
Encyclopedia Britannica-----	1
Hartley, Margaret L-----	3
Helms, Richard-----	III, 2
Hoover, J. Edgar-----	2
Library of Congress-----	2
London Times-----	2
Marx, Karl-----	2
Masters of Deceit (book)-----	2
"Protocols of the Elders of Zion"-----	1-3
"Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion"-----	1, 2, 3
"Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom"-----	1
"Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion"-----	1
Southwest Review (publication)-----	3
Valentin, Dr. Hugo-----	III, 3
Willett, Herbert L-----	3