# **EXESpecialReport**

# Anti-Semitism on the rise again in Russia

by Mark Burdman

In the bookstalls of Moscow, the face of anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi author Lev Korneyev leers out from the covers of various of his books and tracts. Writing for a mass-circulation audience, Korneyev claims that the Final Solution of the Nazis against the Jews was "exaggerated by two to three times" by the Jews themselves. He writes that Jews are behind a complex of American military-industrial "death concerns" threatening the security of Mother Russia. Echoing his Nazi-International counterpart in Switzerland, François Genoud, the keeper of the Hitler and Goebbels families' trusts, Korneyev asserts that Adolf Eichmann was the "victim of Zionist terrorists."

Everything Korneyev writes is sponsored by the highest levels of the state and military. Lev Korneyev is a member in good standing of Yevgenii Primakov's Moscow Orientology Institute, the institution through which Moscow deploys ex-Nazi Abwehr and Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) assets throughout the Middle East. Korneyev is the chief propagandist for the Kremlin-backed "Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee," through which channel he reportedly has funneled substantial sums of money to former Abwehr agent and Genoud protegé Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and other Nazi anti-Semitic figures.

Korneyev's propaganda has been so crude that some people in the U.S.S.R. have found it hard to stomach. In an open letter to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Soviet scholar Ivan P. Martynov called on his colleagues to "condemn mercilessly and to expel from the scientific community L. A. Korneyev, a professionally bankrupt ignoramus and falsifier who disseminates the most inveterate Black Hundreds type of anti-Semitism under the guise of a 'struggle against international Zionism.'"

But one suspects that Lev Korneyev's case officer at the top echelons of the KGB or GRU (military intelligence) is happy today. War fever is building in Moscow, and the old Brezhnev-era apparatchiks are being cleaned out. A new crowd is taking over, more in line with his own blood-and-soil obsession. Probably, he muses, "This time the Nazis won't get out of our control. This time, we will win." Probably, the voice of Fyodor Dostoevsky, the Dostoevsky of the 1871-

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Mortally wounded victims of the vicious Easter Sunday pogrom in Kishinyov, the capital of Bessarabia, April 6, 1903. Hundreds were killed or injured; hundreds more houses and shops were destroyed.

81 period, speaks to him: "This time, Ivan, make the Yids pay." He, like the author of The Brothers Karamazov, wants Moscow to become the Third and Final Rome, and hates the "Yids" as "vampires" and "tarantulas" plotting against the sanctity of Mother Russia.

He knows some of the darkest secrets of the 20th century. He knows that the KGB, and the NKVD before it, are the direct continuation of the old Tsarist Okhrana secret service. He has seen the dossier (and the pay stubs) proving the Okhrana control over Josef Stalin. He knows how the Black Hundreds, the gangs who carried out the pogroms, were integrated en masse into the Bolshevik Party structure in the 1920s.

Like his predecessors in the Okhrana and the late-Romanov-era Interior Ministries who fought violently against the ("Jewish-controlled") Count Sergei Witte and his policies for industrializing Russia, he hates industrial capitalism and its associated Judeo-Christian worldview for having upset the eternally unchanging Russian society of noble and serf, the mir or obshchina. He, like his predecessors, won't let Russia be "Judaized," transformed into a modern nationstate. Insofar as Israel represents Western values in a Middle East context, he despises Israel, and wants to see it destroyed.

He glances down at the pamphlet on his desk, to his favorite section: "All the Jews must be driven out of the restricted areas of settlement. The second act is to drive them out of Russia entirely. . . . The government must recognize that the Jews are dangerous to the life of mankind in the same measure as wolves, scorpions, reptiles, poisonous spiders, and similar creatures which are deadly for human beings;

such destruction is even favored by law. The Jews must be placed under such conditions that they will gradually die out. This is the present task of the government and of the best men in the country."

The author is not Julius Streicher of the Nazi Der Stürmer, or the Russian-trained Alfred Rosenberg. It is a pamphlet from 1911, of the Congress of the United Russian Nobility, the backers of the Black Hundreds.

At any time he wishes, he can place a call to his friend in Damascus, Alois Brunner, a.k.a. Georg Fischer, a former assistant to Adolf Eichmann in the RSHA's "Jewish Department" and today the chief adviser to Syrian intelligence, the man who controls terrorist Abu Nidal and who has overseen the transformation of Syria into a Nazi state. He can call his North Korean friends outside Teheran, the ones who train the Iranian terrorist kamikaze squads. He has some other friends in Tripoli, Libya, and talks to his GRU (Soviet military intelligence) friends in Lebanon's Bekaa who run the Druze militia.

Ivan is happy. War fever is building in Moscow. He is planning the biggest pogrom in history. . . . .

# The mind of the pogromist

The best point of reference for understanding the mindset of the crowd now running policy in Moscow is the later Dostoevsky, the Dostoevsky of The Brothers Karamazov and The Possessed, and of the Diary of a Writer, described by one Dostoevsky biographer as the Russian equivalent of Hitler's Mein Kampf.

Take as a case study the Nov. 11 dispatch issued by the

Soviet Novosti news agency. At some equivalent of gunpoint, 50 Soviet Jews were prevailed on to sign an "Open Letter to American Jews," laying forth the cynical proposition that American Jews should join with their Russian brethren to stop the beam-weapons defense program of the Reagan administration in Washington!

The letter begins: "We Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality have decided to address you, hoping that our sincere appeal will meet with a response from all honest people who cherish the cause of world peace. . . . The stationing of warheads on land, under water and in the air already seems not enough to those who see our planet through a nuclear bomb sight. They are intoxicated by the space mirage of 'Star Wars.' Under the guise of false concern for 'survival,' they want to turn outer space into a launching site for aggression. . . . We are confident that you American Jews, like all Americans and people on earth, do not need war and do not need the destructive arms race."

No simple appeal here for Jewish-Americans to constitute themselves as a fifth column against their own country. No, there is something more. Says the letter: "Influential circles of American Jews" support the nuclear freeze.

In Russian, and Soviet-Russian archetypal demonology, Jews possess an almost mystical power over the forces of science, technology, and development. Lev Korneyev, the darling of this tendency in the predominantly Russian Soviet military, contends that Jews control 158 of 165 "death concerns" in the U.S.A. The *reductio ad absurdum* of this is that beam weapons are a "Jewish plot" against Mother Russia.

Indeed, the basis of hysterical anti-Americanism among these Soviets is generically close to Russian anti-Semitism, in that both feature fear and hatred for the ability to make and rapidly assimilate breakthroughs in science and technology. The most extreme anti-American propaganda put out in the U.S.S.R. accuses Americans of having a self-conception as a unique or "chosen" people, just like the Jews. The implication of this kind of thinking was spelled out recently by Ahmed Huber, a Swiss Nazi convert to Islam who is intimately involved with the Soviets in running terrorism. In a discussion with a journalist, made available to EIR, Huber raved, "Reagan is surrounded by Jews, he is manipulated by Jews. The whole Protestant doctrine in America comes from the Old Testament, that's why all these Protestants support Israel so much. They think they are the new chosen people, and that the American continent is the new promised land." Huber went on to threaten that "wherever there is an American and a Jew," Islamic terror will strike.

The Soviet "Open Letter" continues: "We understand that it may be difficult for some American Jews whose fathers and grandfathers fled from Tsarist Russia to escape pogroms, to realize that the roots of national discord have long been eliminated in the Soviet Union. The reality fully refutes the slanders of Western propaganda to the effect that 'official anti-Semitism' exists in the U.S.S.R. Only people who know nothing at all about the situation in our country can believe

that invention. Any honest and unbiased person can easily see this. Our own lives also prove this. Malicious slanders are being heaped upon our country to distract the attention of U.S. citizens from the struggle for peace and disarmament, to make people forget that it was the Soviet Union that frustrated Hitler's plans for a 'final solution of the Jewish question.' The Soviet army saved hundreds of thousands of Jews from extermination in Nazi death camps. Those waging the false campaign 'in defense of Soviet Jews' are trying to erase this fact from human memory.

"As slanderous are attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union a desire to 'destroy Israel.'"

One imagines that even the Jesuits at Gregoriana University in Rome would blush at such display of casuistry. One might have a degree of compassion for the souls who were prevailed on to sign this document, but we are free to pose the following questions:

If "hundreds of thousands of Jews" were saved by the Red Army, how many of the six million (take note, Mr. Korneyev) died thanks to Josef Stalin's deals with Adolf Hitler?

If Moscow has no intent to "destroy Israel," why is Moscow in full—and public—alliance with the Nazi International assets of François Genoud throughout the Middle East? Why was the terrorist Abu Nidal, the asset of Adolf Eichmann assistant Alois Brunner, given a state welcome in East Germany, despite his known and proudly claimed responsibility for acts of terrorism against innocent Jews and Jewish establishments throughout Europe? Why is Berne, Switzerland's Ahmed Huber, a man who openly propagandizes for a new "final solution, this time without Nuremberg trials," provided with top-level contacts in East Germany and other countries of the East bloc? What did the Moscow Orientology Institute's Yevgenii Primakov and V. Vinogradov of the Foreign Ministry discuss in Geneva during the week of Aug. 29 at the U.N. Conference on Palestine with loyalists of the late Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Amin el-Husseini, Hitler's top asset in the Arab-Islamic world and a co-planner of the Nazi extermination policy against the Jews?

An upsurge in official anti-Semitism inside the U.S.S.R. is correlated with increasingly open coordination with such international Nazi assets. In the view of experts from Israeli, French, and British intelligence, a turning point was the Aug. 29-Sept. 7 contacts of Vinogradov and Primakov with spokesmen of the Nazi International component of the Palestinian movement, who expressed open admiration for the late Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The mediating institution in these contacts was the Switzerland-based Islam and the West International, founded by Maarouf Dawalibi, a former top official in Syria and aide to the Grand Mufti, who bankrolls and controls leading Nazi assets in the Muslim Brotherhood International.

This conjuncture was the launching point for a massive increase in density of Soviet-Nazi global coordination, including stepped-up Soviet KGB support for the radical-ter-

rorist components of the Nazi-modeled West German Green Party, escalated Soviet support for Syria and proxy pseudo-Islamic assets like the Iranian terrorists, Soviet backing for Muammar Qaddafi's African operations, and East bloc courting of terrorist Abu Nidal and Swiss assets of François Genoud.

As for the Nazi death camps: When we brush aside the mists and fog induced by the hysteria about "German collective guilt," we see that Eichmann et al. only transformed into a technologically-efficient process what earlier was done as a matter of organized state policy by the Okhrana and the Russian Orthodox Church through the agency of the vodkainnundated mobs.

In a study by *New Solidarity* newspaper (Oct. 16, 1983), Kenneth Kronberg, a Jewish-American collaborator of *EIR* founder Lyndon LaRouche and an expert on the history of Jews in Russia in the 19th century, gives a graphic account of how the pogroms were carried out. We will not repeat that story here. Rather, our purpose is to show how the pogroms are being revived today as part and parcel of the state policy that foresees Moscow becoming the Third and Final Roman Empire.

# An old vein of ethnic hatred in the new Mother Russia

As the Jüdische Allgemeine Wochenzeitung, the main weekly journal of the West German Jewish community, pointed out Sept. 2, 1983, there has been a systematic, statesponsored surge in anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia since Andropov's accession to power. It was in early summer 1982, when Andropov was taking the reins of power, that the Soviet military magazine Voenno-istoricheskii Zhurnal (Journal of Military History) elevated Lev Korneyev out of the gutters to a prominent role in Soviet-Russian "theory" by publishing an article of his on the theme that "the figure of six million Jews allegedly murdered during the Second World War cannot be considered scientifically based."

At the same moment, Soviet policy toward the Middle East began to go through an important transformation. The Soviets began to pour armaments and advisers into Syria at an astounding rate, with the consequences evident in autumn 1983. The Soviet armaments buildup was couched in mockmoralistic terminology as a defensive reaction to Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's admittedly criminal slaughter in Lebanon, but the Soviet military used Sharon's invasion as a *pretext* for what their real intention was, and still is: to build up Syria into an armed Nazi state to carry out aggression and terrorism throughout the Middle East and Mediterranean, inclusively to launch Mother Russia's pogrom against Israeli Jews.

The grouping of the Soviet military around political commissar of the Armed Forces Gen. Aleksei Yepishev—known

as the Russian Party—has been the motivating force behind spreading anti-Semitic propaganda in the U.S.S.R. Yepishev alluded to his and his cohorts' activities, when he told a meeting of military educators in mid-1983, that the period ahead would bring profound changes in the "political and ideological superstructure" of Soviet society, meaning the dumping of all vestiges of Marxism-Leninism. His group's ascendence coincided with intensified Soviet global war provocations, in which context the Soviets find it useful to manipulate demonological images of a Judaic-Zionist plot against Mother Russia.

On Aug. 17, 1983, two weeks before the Soviets murdered 269 civilian passengers on the KAL jet over Kamchatka, the Soviet military paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (*Red Star*) published a violent attack against an ostensible "international Jewish financial bourgeoisie" conspiring on behalf of "American imperialism" to commit aggression against Mother Russia. Commentator Nikolayev gratuitously attacked the World Jewish Congress, founded by the late Nahum Goldmann and headed today by Edgar Bronfman, as a prime vehicle for this Jewish-Zionist conspiracy. Up to that point, the WJC had been a cherished back channel for discussions on various points between the Soviets and the West, including on "disarmament"; the attack was interpreted by Israeli and Jewish circles in Europe as the harbinger of new strategic dangers from the East.

The themes of the Krasnaya Zvezda article, of the works of Korneyev and other anti-Semites like Trofim Kichko of the Ukraine, began by mid-1983 to appear with increasing frequency in an assortment of other Soviet publications, including the 1-million-circulation youth journal Pionerskaya Pravda, the communist youth paper Komsomolskaya Pravda, the cultural magazine Sovetskaya Kultura, the popular weeklies Ogonyok and Nedelya, and various regional newspapers.

According to investigators, the pulse-center for Soviet anti-Semitic pro-Nazi operations is Yepishev's military grouping, which interfaces the Russian Orthodox Church/Moscow Patriarchate hierarchy and the Orientology Institutes in Moscow and Tashkent.

### The rise of the anti-Semites

Yepishev, a 75-year-old veteran of Soviet-Russian factional wars, reportedly received his training in such affairs while serving in Soviet military intelligence in Czechoslovakia in 1945-46, when he was involved in integrating Nazi assets into Eastern Europe. In the 1951-53 period, Yepishev's circle was crucial in formulating the "doctors' plot" and the Slansky show trial in Czechoslovakia, which led to a wave of anti-Jewish propaganda throughout the East bloc and the purging of Jewish leaders of communist parties in several East European countries, as well as in the U.S.S.R. itself. As Deputy Minister of State Security, Yepishev worked in that period under S. Ignatyev; his factional allies included General Serov, a deputy of NKVD (predecessor to the KGB) director Beria, and Nikolai Mironov. The latter was a Soviet

government official handling religious affairs; right after the war, according to U.S. ambassador to Moscow (1946-49) Walter Bedell Smith, Mironov advised Communist Party cadre not to worry about the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church had been brought back into prominence in Soviet Russian life, since its drive for hegemony over other churches would help transform Moscow into the Third and Final Rome!

According to Israeli sources, it was Yepishev who led that Russian military faction which advocated the destruction of Israel as a Soviet military aim during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. While that plan fell short of fruition, the war marked a branching-point in the rise of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. itself, and the dramatic rise since then of Soviet use of Nazi networks in the Middle East, including the 1969 Qaddafi coup in Libya and the 1970 Assad coup in Syria. It is most relevant that Yuri Andropov became KGB director in May 1967, on the eve of the Six-Day War.

True to say, by the standards of war-winning defined by Niccolò Machiavelli and other great military strategists, Israel *lost* the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The Soviets, the British and others induced Israel into launching a war through provocations by Cairo and Damascus, and the Moshe Dayan coup against both David en-Gurion and Levi Eshkol at the time triggered an inside-outside destruction operation from which Israel has suffered ever since.

A graph would show an exponential increase in Russian state-sponsored anti-Semitism following the 1967-68 period relative to other periods after World War II. The in-house anti-Semites were launched on their careers in the autumn of 1967: Yevgenii Yevseyev (The Nefarious Role of Zionism, The Vandals of Tel Aviv, Zionism in the Service of Capital) is published in September 1967; Vladimir Begun (The Agents of Dollars, The Cultural Mask of Zionism) in August 1968; Trofim Kichko, whose Judaism without Embellishment created a storm of controversy when published in 1963, expands his output in 1967-68 with Zionism: Instrument of Imperialis

publications in journals like the Orientology Institute's Aziya i Afrika Sevodnya and Komsomolskaya Pravda in 1970-71. In 1971, anti-Semitic writer Ivan Shevtsov begins to circulate the theme that Adolf Hitler and the Jews were in competition to rule the world, and that, by implication, Hitler was adept in acting the way he did. By 1977, the Soviet authorities receive the so-called Yemelyanov report, written Valery Yemelyanov, professor of history at Moscow State University and close collaborator of the Moscow Oriental Institute, alleging a global "Jewish-Masonic conspiracy" against Mother Russia.

In totality, what was provided in 1967-82 was a corpus of themes which can be mobilized and refined in the period of the Third Rome mystics' control over power. Unlike the earlier Black Hundreds period, the 1967-82 propaganda was able to use the convenient pretext of "Zionism" as a cover for anti-Semitism. In many cases, the Zionists' actions were in fact morally abhorrent, but the Yepishev and Russian Ortho-



Russian Jews attempting to recover their possessions after a pogrom in the 1890s.

dox Church crowd were more concerned with longer-term mystical-imperialist calculations, and used these abhorrent actions purely as a convenient pretext to reintroduce Black Hundreds themes under a new cover.

Yepishev, as political commissar of the armed forces, is

responsible for the education of young Red Army men. It is under his direction that their training includes regular indoctrination in anti-Jewish themes. One Red Army education-training manual contains a picture, adapted from a painting by the artist Mayatsky, showing a Nazi on one side, a Jew on the other, and, in between a heap of obviously Christian corpses outside a concentration camp. The interchangeability of Star of David and Swastika is a regular leitmotif of Sovietm and Juda Russian visual arts propaganda in the past years.

This is only one of a panoply of anti-Jewish demonology themes in Soviet-Russian cultural works which may be linked, as a trend, to a growing demoralization and pessimism in Soviet-Russian cultural life more generally, evidenced in increasing numbers of literary references to the holiness and sanctity of the Russian land, to the "decline of the West" in terms extracted from Oswald Spengler earlier in this century, and to the virtues of Eastern-Gnostic religious beliefs. These themes are appearing with increasing regularity in Soviet popular, literary, and regional journals, including Nash Sovremennik, Molodaya Gvardiya, Moskva, Roman Gazeta, Sovetskaya Rossiya, and others.

In his January 1982 paper, Contemporary Russian Nationalism/History Revised, Hebrew University of Jerusalem scholar Mikhail Agursky warns that these thematic trends point the way to a "kind of National Bolshevism" and/or something "close to the radical right in the classical sense."

He concludes: "The anti-Jewishness of some radical authors is so deep-rooted and so thoroughgoing and has so very dangerous a political potential that a neo-Nazi mutation might well emerge in a time of sharp social crisis in the country."

Among the specifically anti-Jewish themes to be cited are:

- The contention by fiction writer Anatolii Ivanov that Jews and Russians are fundamentally incompatible and that Jews are an alien entity in the borders of Russia;
- The idea expressed by Soviet critic Utekhin that Jesus Christ was by origin Syrian and that Judaism, through the agency of the Apostle Matthew, was the poisoning agency against "pure" Christianity. Utekhin is a self-professed gnostic, and acknowledges having extracted this idea from the writings of Britain's Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the mentor of the Wagner family and of the later Nazi movement.
- Shevtsov's theme that Hitler was "competing" with the Jews. In a fictional account, Shevtsov quotes a German officer saying that Hitler hates the Jews "as his competitors. They regard themselves as a peculiar people chosen by God and they also strive for world domination."
- The assertion, in a historical novel by Riga-based writer Valentin Pikul, that a Jewish conspiracy was behind the strange actions of the mystical Rasputin during the last days of the Romanov dynasty.
- The theme, expressed under the name Zandenberg in the journal U.S.S.R., distributed by the Soviet embassy in Paris, that Judaism itself is a "repugnant and odious" religion which "inculcates hate of other peoples" and demands that "Jews massacre other people according to the divine command." French specialist Jean-Marie Brissaud ("L'Antisémitisme en Union Sovietique") documents that this piece is "inspired almost word for word" by a piece written by one S. Rossov in 1906, under the guidance of the Tsarist Okhrana, entitled, The Jewish Problem, On the Impossibility of According Rights to the Jews. Brissaud proves as well that the propaganda of both Rossov and Zandenberg is almost identical, word for word, with the most intense anti-Jewish vitriol that poured out from the publication Der Stuermer of Julius Streicher in 1941-42 Nazi Germany.

# Third Rome, Inquisition, and the Nazis: the 'Judaizer' theme

These mutual echoes of Russian-Bolshevik and German-Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda have a long and ugly history.

The popular base of the Black Hundreds was recruited en masse into Bolshevik structures, for more or less the same reasons that the Cominternist factions of the Communist Party around Karl Radek supported the Nazis' rise to power in the 1930s: to facilitate the demolition of industrial capitalist power blocs. In the 1930s, Stalin began a systematic process of rehabilitating Black Hundreds elements in the clergy and

integrating them into the power structure.

On the other hand, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Okhrana, and other gnostic-feudal institutions in Russia were instrumental in laying the groundwork inside Germany for the rise of Nazism. Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg brought the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and other gnostic anti-Jewish writings into Germany from Russia, where he received his university training. The very notion of the "Third Reich" was derived by Rosenburg and his co-thinker Arthur Moeller van den Bruck (author of the book Das Dritte Reich— The Third Reich) from studies under Dmitrii Merezhkovskii, a follower of Fyodor Dostoevsky who preached the advent of a Third Kingdom. Some of the Nazi-precursor German theorists of Aryan race-superiority, such as Wilhelm Marr (author of the 1879 book Jewry's Victory over Teutonism), advocated the idea of launching a global battle, spearheaded by the powerful anti-Semitic groupings in Russia, against an international "Jewish-race conspiracy."

The Nazi-"Mother Russia" symbiosis has deeper roots in history, and it is to these, exemplified in the historical symbiosis of the evolution of the Third Rome doctrine and the Western Inquisition, that we now turn to shed some light on some of the more extraordinary and sordid aspects of the past 100 years of European affairs.

In 1876, as the Russian population was being whipped into a pan-Slavic messianic fervor around the looming war against the Turks, Fyodor Dostoevsky wrote the following in an essay in his *Diary of a Writer*:

"Of late, there has been much talk about the fact that among our educated strata, the summer ecstasies were followed by alleviation, by incredulity, cynicism, and even irritation. Aside from intense haters of our Slavic movement. all the others, I believe, can be divided into two general categories. The first category comprises the, so to speak, Judaizers. They keep hammering about the harm of war in the economic aspects; they scare people with bank failures, the lowering of exchange rates, depression in commerce, even our military impotence—not only as compared with Europe but even with the Turks, forgetting that the Turkish bashi-bazouk is the torturer of the unarmed and the defenseless, the beheader of dead bodies-and, according to the Russian proverb—'a brave fellow against sheep, but against a brave fellow himself a sheep'—which unfailing will prove true.

"Now, what are the *Judaizers* after? The answer is clear; first and mainly, they were disturbed in their comfortable seats; but without dwelling upon this moral aspect of their case, let us turn to—'secondly': utter nullity of the historical and national understanding of the forthcoming task. The affair is conceived by them as a mere fleeting little caprice which may be terminated any given moment: 'You frisked, so to say, and now—enough; now let's go back to business'—of course, stock-exchange business.

"The second category comprises the *Europeanizers*; this our inveterate Europeanizing. . .[emphasis in original]."

Dostoevsky, the idolizer of the Grand Inquisitor, was ever sensitive to the myths and symbols that may resonate among the muzhik in the bowels of Mother Russia. There is no accident in the phrasing here, and there is something more subtle than the question of "Jews" as such.

Why "the Judaizer" as demon-figure subverting Mother Russia's plans of conquest and rape?

Dostoevsky's point of reference was events in the 1480s through 1504, in the realm of Ivan III, under whose reign the Third Rome doctrine is first actually consolidated as a question of state policy, years before its 1515-1516 explicit enunciation by the Russian Orthodox monk Philotheus of Pskov. In one of his 1876 Diary of a Writer essays, Dostoevsky labels Russia "a leader of Orthodoxy, its protectress and guardian—a role designated to her ever since Ivan III, who placed her symbol and the Byzantine double-headed eagle above the ancient coat of arms of Russia [emphasis added]." One historian of that period notes that it was before the eyes of Ivan III that the court and church counselors of the czar dangled the vision of "the succession to fallen Byzantium and of Moscow as a Third Rome."

In the Moscow court factional warfare to win Ivan III to the Third Rome messianic perspective, one of the central battles of the 1480-1504 period centered around the so-called "Judaizer controversy." While most of the facts of this controversy are shrouded in secrecy to the present day, the essential point was the following: the opponents of the Moscow Russian Orthodox Church establishment centered in Moscow itself and in the Free City of Novgorod, used certain ideas containing Jewish/Old Testament elements and other cultural ideas brought by Jews into Russia from the outside, as part of their factional warfare. They were successful enough to have won over Ivan III's daughter Yelena and her son, the czar's adviser Fyodor Kuritsin, and even the Metropolitan Zosima of Moscow to their side, against the factional grouping centered around Ivan III's son Vasilii.

In the violent factional warfare of the time, the opponents of Vasilii were anathemized as "Judaizers," attempting to import "foreign ideas" into Russia. As this was the time of the first generation after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the generation that rejected the ecumenical idea offered by Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa—to all, Russia included—at the Council of Florence and the generation of the early stirrings of the idea of Moscow being the "new Byzantium," the use of the "Judaizer" anathema to create xenophobic rejection of "foreign ideas" was of enormous importance in shaping the evolution of Russia.

What is most crucial about the anti-"Judaizer" fight was that the opponents of the ostensible heresy freely borrowed ideas and inspirations from the Inquisition that was gaining institutional momentum at that moment in Spain, areas of Germany, and other parts of Western Europe. If we note that 1483 is the year that the fanatical Torquemada took control of the Spanish Inquisition, we can date 1483 (500 years ago this year) as a crucial branching-point in the Third Rome/

Inquisition symbiosis, both arrayed in Holy War against the Judeo-Christian worldview, against the blossoming Western Renaissance, against the principle of the *Filioque* put forward in 1439 and in ensuing years by Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa and his allies as the basis for an international East-West agreement for the building of sovereign nation-states and for the encouragement of technological and scientific progress.

The manipulation of the "Judaizer" archetype (whatever the "Judaizers" were in historical reality), from the 15th century, through the period of Dostoevsky, down to the present day has thus become a central feature in the cooperation of the gnostic cults East and West, and is the underlying dynamic in what emerges in the 20th century as Mother Russia's collaboration with and encouragement of the Nazis.

In 1487, the fight against the "Judaizers" was led by Gennadios, Archbishop of Novgorod, described by historian Salo Baron as a "great admirer of the Catholic Inquisition and its methods," who demanded that the "Judaizers" be burned at the stake. Gennadios had powerful allies, including the chronicler Joseph Sanin of the Vokolamansk Monastery, who wrote that the "Judaizers . . . seduced the simple, plying them with Jewish poison." Gennadios and Joseph Sanin together prevailed upon the Muscovite hierarchy to declare several synods between 1490 and 1504 to condemn the "Judaizers," and, by 1504, they were smashed. Yelena rotted in prison, accused "Judaizers" were burned at the stake, and the Pan-Slavic Third Rome mystics had added grist for their Orthodox mill, reinforcing the Russian blood-and-soil mystique of "inoviertzy,"—"those who believe differently" according to which all foreigners as unbelievers relative to pure Matushka Rus.

The projection of the image of Jew as "devil archetype" was reinforced by the strange case of the Venetian doctor Messer Leon, who showed up at the court of Ivan III promising to cure the czar's sick son. He failed, and was burned at the stake, accused of various dark evil-doings. This reinforced a particular strain of paranoia in Russian culture that later emerged in the 1950s Doctors' Plot hysteria.

The anathema against the Jew as "devil-archetype" progressed into future generations. In 1526, the fateful year before the Inquisition-sponsored sacking of Rome, the Russian envoy to the Holy See, Dmitri Gerasimov, wrote in a letter to the papacy: "The Jews revolt us most of all, and the very mention of their name horrifies us. We do not permit them to enter our lands, for they are vile and evil-doing men."

In the 1550s, Ivan Groznii, the Terrible, answered a friend who wrote him entreating him to introduce Jewish merchants into Russia to help build the economy. Ivan responded with attacks on "the vile actions of the Jews," who "introduced poisonous drugs into our state, and caused much harm to our people. . . . In other states, too, they have done much evil, and for this they have been expelled or put to death."

In reviewing this material, the investigator is frequently motivated to ask: "Why? Why the fanatical brand of zeal by the Russian Church and political-military elites on the Jewish question?" Again, in modern terms of reference, the linking of images of the Jew with the question of the Holy War against industrial capitalism, as typified by Count Witte, puts the matter into a certain focus. But it is not adequate. There is something else lying in the bowels of the Russian Church, its borrowing of the Byzantine-Mount Athos-Venetian gnostic model, its rejection of the western Judeo-Christian tradition, of the *Filioque* doctrine of St. Augustine and Nicolaus of Cusa, that has been fundamental in forming the matrices of Byzantine-Muscovite sources for far more than a millennium.

# Byzantine gnosticism

Long before Moscow rejected the Council of Florence, it rejected the ecumenicism of the Court of Charlemagne. The Court of Charlemagne not only attempted to make Augustine's City of God efficient on earth, but to do so, gave wide scope for Jewish cultural and scholarly-scientific inputs into the court.

By contrast, thanks to the early adoption of Gnostic forms of Christianity by Emperor Constantine and his mother Helen, Byzantine Christianity from its inception habitually anathemized Jews. French Jewish author Leon Poliakov, a leading historian on the roots of anti-Semitism, writes: "Beginning in the fourth century, especially in the East, Jews were attacked with utmost violence. Thus, a Byzantine tradition of anti-Semitism was established. From it, in particular, was to emerge the superstitious fears of the Jews so characteristic of the Muscovite Empire a thousand years later." For the Byzantine theologian Gregory of Nyssa, the Jews were "murderers of the Lord, assassins of the prophets, rebels and detesters of God, they outrage the Law; resist grace, repudiate the faith of their fathers. Companions of the devil, race of vipers, informers, calumniators, darkeners of the mind, pharisaic leaveners, Sanhedrin of Demons, accursed, detested, lapidators, enemies of all that is beautiful." For St. John Chrystostom, "brothel and theater, the synagogue is also a cave of pirates, the lair of wild beasts. . . . Living for their belly, mouths forever gaping, the Jews behave no better than hogs and goats in their lewd grossness and the excesses of their gluttony. They can do one thing: gorge themselves with food and drink."

Poliakov reports perpetual expulsions of Jews from Byzantium and immediate environs from the 7th through the 10th centuries. He also notes the intriguing factor that the first known institutionalized forms of exclusion of Jewish merchants from trading activities on an international scale was when Venetian and Byzantine merchants in the tenth century managed to exclude Jews from Asian trade routes. This intersected in a crucial way the process by which Mother Russia became "Christianized," by which Vladimir of Kiev adopted Christianity over the alternative Jewish and Islamic doctrines debated at his court. Since the nearby Khazar kingdom had adopted Judaism, it was not preordained that Vla-

dimir would choose Christianity. There was a bitter fight, and the Venetian-Byzantine gamemasters who prevailed upon the leader of Kievan Rus learned some lessons in manipulation of xenophobia and demonology symbols that were to come into importance in later generations.

The echoes of the cries of St. John Chrystostom and Gregory of Nyssa reverberate today in the claims of Soviet critic Utekhin that the Jewish Apostle Matthew perverted the "pure Christianity" born in Gnostic Syria and in other propaganda peddled openly on the streets of Moscow and Kiev today.

# **Dostoevsky: mentor of the pogroms**

It is with Dostoevsky that the bowels of Byzantium spill out in the contemporary context. His letters are at times so violent in their expressions of venom against Jews that even the Soviet-Russian authorities have felt obliged to expurgate them, and a full edition is not so easy to come by. In his letters, in his later articles in *The Citizen, Diary of a Writer*, and other publications, he cries that "The Yid is spreading like wildfire," that "the Yid constitutes a conspiracy against the Russians," that Odessa is the "city of the Yids," that "the master of all, the master of Europe is the Yid and his bank."

At times, it is not the letters he wrote, but the letters he received, that told the true story. Dostoevsky maintained regular correspondance with the Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, Konstantin Pobedonostsev, the éminence grise of church affairs in the last quarter of the 19th century who was the model for the Grand Inquisitor figure in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*. Pobedonostsev played a major role in bringing Dostoevsky into the inner circles of the Russian court and in shaping Dostoevsky's own messianic Third Rome views of 1871-81, during which time the two men maintained a regular correspondence. Pobedonostsev was intimate with the top levels of British Freemasonry and the British Fabian Society, sharing with them a deep hatred for modern industrial-capitalist society and worshipping with them as a model of perfection the eternally unchanging Russian peasant village, or mir. A devotee of the theories of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's arch-racist Foundations of the 19th Century, he extolled the "purely Russian blood, clear eyes, satisfied faces, radiant with happiness, beauty and intelligence," as a bulwark against the ideas of the Judeo-Christian Renaissance, which he abhorred.

As for Russian Orthodoxy, Pobedonostsev anathemized those who departed from the true beliefs as "ceasing to be Russian, not only in his thoughts and work, but also in his way of living and in his dress." In this spirit, he wrote to Dostoevsky:

"What you write about the Yids is completely just. They have engrossed everything, but the spirit of the century supports them. They are at the root of the revolutionary socialist movement and of the regicide, they own the periodical press, they have in their hands the financial markets, the people as

a whole fall into financial slavery to them; they even control the principles of contemporary science and strive to place it outside of Christianity. And on top of all that—whenever anyone raises a question about them, a shower of voices rises in favor of the Jews in the name of civilization and tolerance, of indifference to faith. Among the Romanians and Serbs, and among us as well, no one dares to say a word about the simple fact that the Jews have won ownership of everything. Even our own press is becoming Jewish."

On another occasion, Pobedonostsev had once expressed his solution to the problem of the future of Russia's 5 million Jews: "One third will emigrate, one third will convert to Orthodoxy, and one third will die out."

Dostoevsky had imbibed the lessons well. The letter from Dostoevsky that Pobedonostsev is here responding to, written from Ems in Germany, complains: "This present visit is the worst ever: the riffraff from all Europe is here in the thousands. . . . And mark you: literally half of them are Yids. During my stopover in Berlin, I mentioned to Putsykovich that, in my view, Germany—Berlin, at any rate was becoming Judaized. . . . " At an earlier point, in 1873, after having assumed the editorship of the newspaper The Citizen, Dostoevsky wrote: "If [the people] don't come to their senses, in no time they'll all fall into the clutches of Yids of every stripe, and no communal organization is going to save them: their community will be nothing else but a brotherhood of paupers, mortgaged and enslaved by entire communes, and it will be the Yids and the kulaks who will be defraying the cost of the budget instead of them. A petty, vile, thoroughly depraved bourgeoisie will come on the scene along with an infinite multitude of paupers enslaved by themthat's the picture! The Yids will be drinking the people's blood and feeding on their debauchery and abjection, but since it will be they who are footing the budget, they are the ones who will have to be supported. A bad, a horrible dream and, thank God, it's only a dream!" Or, in 1881, in the last months of his life: "The master of the whole of Europe is the Jew and his bank. The Jew and his bank now dominate everything; Europe and enlightenment, the whole civilization, especially socialism, for with its help the Jew will eradicate Christianity and destroy the Christian civilization. Then nothing is left but anarchy."

This, the clarion call for the pogroms, is bad enough. What makes it worse is that Dostoevsky cynically puts the outward cast of moralizing over the most outrageous anti-Semitic filth. The seminal document in this respect, is Dostoevsky's *The Jewish Question*, written in answer to a Russian Jewish correspondent who had accused Dostoevsky of going beyond the reaches of civilization with his anti-Semitism. Toward the beginning, Dostoevsky adopts the tone of mock outrage, more or less like Chief of Staff Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov portraying the shooting down of the KAL jet as an innocent act of self-defense.

"Am I not accused of hatred because sometimes I called the Jew 'Yiddisher'? But, in the first place, I did not think that this is so abusive, and secondly, as far as I can remember, I have always used the word 'Yiddisher' in order to denote a certain idea: 'Yiddisher, Yiddishism, Yiddish reign,' etc. This denotes a certain conception, orientation, characteristic of the age. One may argue about this idea, and disagree with it, but one shouldn't feel offended by a word."

In the ensuing passages, Dostoevsky launches a contorted analysis on "the Jewish question," centering on his attributing the fact of Jewish survival through the centuries to a special "status in statu" (state within a state) privilege obtained throughout the centuries in various contexts. He wonders at the Jews' "compelling and lurid idea, something so universal and profound that on it, as stated above, mankind is perhaps still unable to utter its last word. That we are here dealing with something of a pre-eminently religious character there can be no doubt." Here, something of the Judeo-Christian moral commitment embodied in "Jewish survival" is twisted by the Orthodox messianist Dostoevsky, projecting onto the Jew the blood-and-soil "chosen people" doctrine of Holy Mother Russia and coming out with the Jew as the plunderer and raper of the pure Russian tilling his soil.

Remember, this essay is supposed to *justify* Dostoevsky's viewpoint toward the Jews before a mass readership, he is trying to appear civilized, and, with all the cynical sincerity of the Russian muzhik, he calls his last section, "Long Live Brotherhood," appealing to "the Jew to also show at least some brotherly feeling for the Russian people so as to encourage them"! But before reaching that point, Dostoevsky has extended his feelings of "brotherhood" in the following passages:

"The Jews, of whom there are so many in the world, will jump at this new little victim. . . . Wouldn't they slaughter them to the last man, to the point of complete extermination, as they used to do with alien peoples in ancient times, during their ancient history?. . . The Jew, wherever he has settled, has still more humiliated and debauched the people. . . . Ask the native population in our border regions: What is propelling the Jew—has been propelling him for centuries? You will receive a unanimous answer: mercilessness. 'He has been prompted so many centuries only by pitilessness for us, only by the thirst for our sweat and blood.'. . . [He] specifically breathes with pitilessness for everything that is not Jew, with disrespect for any people and tribe, for every human creature who is not a Jew."

He goes further: the Jew is the "master of credit," the "master of international politics," the inculcator of "materialism." Then further, to the heart of the matter: "We are speaking about *Judaism* and the *Jewish idea*, which is clasping the whole world instead of Christianity. . . . Self-conceit and arrogance are qualities of the Jewish character, which to us Russians is very painful."

### Dostoevsky's heirs

Dostoevsky was no lone actor. Were it not for his sponsorship by the same group of feudal blood-and-soil reactionaries who set up the Okhrana in the 1870s, he would probably have passed into oblivion as just another unbalanced Russian existentialist scribbler. In the last years of his life, Dostoevsky was a conscious propagandist of the circles that would found the Okhrana, and his novels, essays, and newspaper pieces were part of this project. He was recruited into the blood-and-soil pan-Slavic Orthodox-messianist nobility circles, those who vilified all tendencies toward industrialization and scientific progress as "Judaic" and who propagated instead the idea of *pochvennichestvo*, translatable more or less as "the relationship of the people to the native soil."

Starting circa 1872, Dostoevsky would frequent the dinners of Prince Meshchersky, the creator of something called "The Committee for the Reorganization of Jewish Life." The motivating factor behind discussions at these dinners was pan-Slavist Ivan P. Kornilov, chairman of the Slav Philanthropic Society, who was once quoted saying: "The Poles and the Jews are a greater evil for Russia than the Mongols were." Other figures in this circle, most of whom were congregated around *The Citizen* magazine, were Apollon Maikov, Ivan Aksakov, head of the Moscow branch of the Slav Committee, V. V. Grigoryev, N. Danilevsky, and others.

Dostoevsky was increasingly imbued with Orthodox Christian mysticism and messianism during this period, through trips to the cultish Optina Pustyn monastery outside Moscow. One of his traveling companions on these pilgrimages was Vladimir Solovyov, one of the prime propagandists for the idea of "Holy Mother Russia."

The ideas jelled from experience with these circles reached their most condensed political-strategic expression in the collection of writings appearing under the overall title, *The Diary of a Writer*. Of this book, Dostoevsky biographer Ronald Hingley has written: "The idealization of war, the mumbo-jumbo about a great people's destiny, the assertion of grandiose territorial designs combined with peace-loving professions, and, above all, the exalted, hysterical, and sometimes unharmonious prose style—all these are features uniting *The Diary of a Writer* with Hitler's *Mein Kampf*."

To wit: At one point in *The Diary*, Dostoevsky writes: "Every great people believes, and must believe if it aspires to a long life, that it and it alone holds the key to the salvation of the world, that it lives at the head of other people, to draw all of them unto itself as one and to lead them in unison to the final goal preordained for them."

In the essay chronologically preceding *The Jewish Question*, written on the occasion of the buildup to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, Dostoevsky lays out the Third Rome imperialist doctrine in extraordinarily explicit form:

"Not the excellent port alone, not only the road leading to the seas and oceans binds Russia so closely with the solution of the destinies of this fatal question, nor even the unification and regeneration of the Slavs. . . . Our task is deeper, immeasurably deeper. We, Russia, we are really necessary and unavoidable to Eastern Christianity *in toto*, to the whole future fate of Orthodoxy on earth, and to its unity. This was

always conceived so by our people and their czars. . . .

"Briefly, this dreadful Eastern question constitutes almost our whole future fate. Therein lie, as it were, all our tasks, and what is most important—our only exit into the plenitude of history. In this question is also our final conflict with Europe and our ultimate communion with her but only upon new, mighty, and fertile foundations. . . . In a word, no matter what may be the outcome of the present, perhaps quite indispensable diplomatic agreements and negotiations, nevertheless, sooner or later, *Constantinople must be ours*, let it be only in the future, in a century!

"This, we Russians, all of us, must always and undeviatingly bear in mind. . . ."

In December 1877, he exclaims: "The lost image of Christ in all the light of its purity is conserved in Orthodoxy. And it is from the East that the new word will be uttered to the world in opposition to future socialism, and this word may again save European mankind. Such is the mission of the East and this is what the Eastern question means to Russia."

Other fanatical reiterations of the same theme heap praise on Mount Athos, on the "Moscow Old Believers," on the "destinies of Orthodox Christianity" in which "lies the whole object of the Russian people," and so on. These are interspersed with frequent violent attacks on European civilization, or with the extraordinary thesis in the essay "My Paradox" that the most loyal and conservative Russians are those anarchists and radicals who leave Russia to go West to destroy European civilization! His 1880 speech commemorating (and insulting, in a retrospective assault on the shortlived Russian classical movement of the early 19th century) the great Russian writer Pushkin, written in 1880, talks bluntly of "our readiness and proclivity to enter into an all-embracing, universal communion with all the nationalities of the great Aryan races. Yes, the Russian's destiny is incontestably all-European and universal. To become a genuine and all-round Russian means, perhaps (and this you should remember), to become brother of all men, a universal man, if you please. Oh, all this Slavophilism, and this Westernism is a great, although historically inevitable misunderstanding. To a genuine Russian, Europe and the destiny of the great Aryan race are as dear as Russia herself, as the fate of his native land. . . . [emphasis added]."

No surprise should it be, then, that Dostoevsky is the moving spirit behind the pogrom, then and today.

# The Protocols of the Elders and the holy war against Witte

In 1881, the year of Dostoevsky's death, the paper he had edited, *The Citizen*, carried a lead editorial: "The peasant tills the soil, the merchant conducts the trade, the warrior defends the country, the clergy worships God and serves His Church,

and, gentlemen of the nobility, you rule the country." Within days after this was written, the first pogroms were launched by the Pobedonostsev-backed Sacred League, or Holy Militia, and by agents of Interior Minister Nikolai P. Ignatyev and the Okhrana.

In 1881-1917, anti-Semitism, whether expressed in pogroms, expulsions of Jews from cities, or other measures, became a mode of surrogate warfare between factions fighting for the ultimate policy-direction of Russia. On the one side were the forces behind Dostoevsky, the most reactionary feudal landlords committed to preserving at all costs the eternally-unchanging obshchina, the system of landed noble and peasant as prototype for the society as a whole, together opposed to the city and to the urban-centered processes of industrial capitalist development. On the other side were the forces associated as these years progressed with Count Sergei Witte, who wanted to push Russia onto the path earlier adopted in Europe by Germany's Friedrich List, an American System-modeled industrial capitalist dirigist development that would necessarily transform Russia while allowing Russia to keep pace with Germany, the United States, France, and other powers of the time.

The opponents of Witte utilized a variant of anti-Semitism, what one source has called "antagonistic-to-progress anti-Semitism," as a weapon of warfare against him and his allies. Castigating Witte as "Jewish-controlled" would most nicely play into the xenophobia and paranoia these feudalists wanted to inculcate in the population, but, more, the typical activities of the Jew himself, in trade, finance, and entrepreneurial activities, made the Jew a convenient symbol of everything they opposed. Hence, in the press of the various component organizations of the umbrella Black Hundreds organization—The League of the Russian People, The Union of the Archangel Michael, The Congress of the Russian Nobility, and so on-Witte was frequently attacked as the "Jewish prime minister," as the "tool of the Jews," as the agent of a "Jewish-freemasonic conspiracy" trying to destroy the traditional and sacred Mother Russia.

According to one source, Heinz-Dietrich Loewe of West Germany, the anti-Semitism of the 1881-1917 period was part of an "immediate reaction from conservative circles and the Ministry of the Interior, which defended the interests of the landed nobility," to the "onset of Witte's industrialization drive. . . . Conservatives and the Ministry of the Interior feared that industrialization would destroy the economic basis of the gentry and that therefore political power would switch from 'landed property' to 'capital.' Anti-Semitism developed into an anticapitalist and feudal ideology, based mainly on agrarian interests. In the eyes of the conservative landowners the Jews were the most formidable embodiment of capitalism and hateful modernity. . . . The organizations dominated by the nobility, and oriented towards a society based on corporate estates, tried to use anti-Semitism as a weapon to slow down or even block further industrialization. The aim was to rally landowners and peasants into a single camp against modern industry and capitalism. . . . Also,

anti-Semitism appealed to the modern, pre-capitalist small producer in the cities. . . . The Ministry of Interior tried to block a development along capitalist lines, or at least to slow down this process, and it was more often than not that a proponent of new anti-Jewish measures. The bitterness of the conflict between Witte and Plehve [director of the Police Department of the Interior Ministry, 1881-84, assistant Interior Minister 1884-94, Interior Minister 1902-04] has to be seen in this light. . . ."

The coordination of the anti-Witte campaigns, overlapping the coordination of the pogroms, was the work of very top echelons of the Russian power structure, including with various degrees of enthusiasm Tsars Alexander III and Nicholas II—of course with the cautionary proviso that the Tsars to some extent needed Witte for their own Russianimperialist purposes. But both were susceptible to the entreaties of the gnostic-feudalists, especially Alexander III after his "miraculous escape" from a train crash in 1888. After that he increasingly turned to fanatical forms of mysticism, believing the church evaluation that his life had been saved to keep Russia "pure." In 1890, he issued a proclamation that "we must never forget that it was Jews who crucified our Lord and spilled his precious blood," and launched some new expulsion orders against Jews in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and elsewhere.

Other key figures involved in coordinating the anti-Witte campaigns were the Grand Duke Sergei of Moscow; the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, the landed nobility, and various Interior Ministers, particularly Ignatyev (1881-82); Ivan Durnovo (1889-95), Plehve (1902-04), Petr Durnovo (1905-06), and Stolypin (1906-11).

To the extent that the czars themselves temporized on the anti-Witte question out of need for aspects of Witte's industrialization program to keep up with other powers, the self-professed "authentic-Russian" nobility groups portrayed themselves as a pressure group vis-à-vis the regime. A typical tract of the Black Hundreds during this period would read: "The current regime is not guilty, but guilty is the entire historical development of the last 200 years [since Peter the Great]. The Petersburg government is Russia estranged. It sits on the window toward Europe and from this window governs us."

Journalistic spokesmen for this grouping like Sergei Sarapov and K. V. Butmi de Kacman (a Jewish convert to Orthodoxy who published one of the earliest editions of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion) would accuse Witte of "an attempt to annihilate the most trusted supporters of absolute monarchy, the agriculture-propelling forces." A collaborator at Sarapov's Russkoye Delo newspaper, A. K. Shcherbatov, a co-founder of the Union of the Russian People and of the Congress of Russian Nobility, wrote: "If man recognizes that the Russian state must unconditionally be an agrarian land, so must he be totally clear, that peasants and nobles must be united through similar interests and that they must live together as brothers." Shcherbatov said that the source of Russia's difficulties lay in the "a-national bureaucracy," under



A Jewish family outside its home in the Kishinyov ghetto.

the influence of "foreign capital and Jews." Witte's finance ministry, he wrote, served "Jewish interests."

Counterposed to their ideal of a "separate Russian way," a society based on "land-possession" or "soil" as the source of power as against "capital" (in the polemics of novelist and publicist Konstantin Golovin, the Gurko brothers, and others), was the archetype-image of the Jew as merchant and trader, as the spearhead of capitalism, lurking behind Witte, whose marriage to a Jew who later converted to Orthodoxy was used as well against him. Wrote Sarapov: "How many nobles, who are servants of the czar and the land, now stand defenseless in the service of all possible Rothschilds, Nobels, Rothsteins, Mendelsohns, and all these Jewish swarms of locusts, which are now practically masters of Russia?" This propaganda, vitriolically aimed against Witte in particular, escalated after the latter's attempts to impose the gold-standard on Russia, which was seen as a plot by "Jewish stockmarket capital" against Russia. The "kulak" and the "Yid" conspired together, in this view, as stated by the Kursk nobleman and publicist Nikolai Markov, who warned that Russia was coming under the despotism of "Jewish capital" and of "stock-market-patriotism," and who warned that the Jews controlled the "most powerful capital," and were seeking to put Russia under their thumb.

In 1911, a mouthpiece of the Congress of Russian Nobility/Black Hundreds, the newspaper Russkii Vestnik, editorialized against the "destructive influence of the city," and defined the fight inside Russia in these terms: "Industry and agriculture, capitalism and small production, cosmopolitan stock-market Jewry and patriotic nationalism—these are the symbols, the designations, through which both directions are characterized." Novoye Vremya (New Times), published by Alexander Suvorin, wrote that the fight inside Russia was between Jews and the rise of industry on the one side and agriculture on the other. One propagandist from this faction,

Shakhovskoi, accused the Jews of organizing unrest in the agrarian areas, to be able to buy up land cheaply. He wrote appeals addressed to the Russian "little man" for the preservation of the "völkish economy" in which industry would only be used to provide work for the landed population during the winters, and only in small industrial complexes!

One of the more interesting characters in this configuration was Vladimir Purishkevich, from Bessarabia, influential in the newspaper *Bessarabets*, the paper which first issued the rallying cries for the pogroms in 1881. Purishkevich was a top official in the Interior Ministry in 1904-06, was one of the leaders of the Union of the Russian Volk, and was one of the popularizers of the theory that it was the Jews who were behind pornography in the media. Purishkevich was the founder of the Union of the Archangel Michael, one of the component organizations of the Black Hundreds, an organization which traces its roots to the Spanish Inquisition and which has associated branches using the same name in contemporary Spain, and, earlier, in the Romanian fascist Iron Guard during the 1930s.

After the 1917 Bolshevik takeover, Purishkevich was publicly integrated into Bolshevik political operations, nominally to help defend Russia against the post-World War One destabilizations launched from the West but in reality to help integrate Black Hundreds networks into the Soviet-Bolshevik power structure. In the Soviet motion picture Agoniya, made in the 1970s, Purishkevich is identified as a Black Hundreds leader, but portrayed as a practically heroic figure, battling to free Russia from the crazed monk Rasputin.

It was through such processes that Russian anti-Semitic propaganda was infiltrated into the West, into the Nazis and other groups, by Black Hundreds leaders "emigrating" to Germany and/or by Russian-trained agents like Alfred Rosenberg spreading "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" into NSDAP circles. It is hence appropriate to end this report by some suggestions on the reality of the publication of the Protocols.

According to Loewe and other sources, the Protocols were cooked up as a function of the intense factional opposition to Count Witte. From the best evidence at hand, the document was pieced together by Peter Rachkovsky, from 1885-1902 the head of the Paris branch of the Okhrana and later (1905-06) the director of the political division of the Interior Ministry, in league with the Finance Ministry's agent Elie Cyon, a bitter enemy of Witte's policies. Rachkovsky was wont with regularity to produce tracts labeling Witte the "Jewish prime minister" and went through elaborate efforts in Paris to give semi-credibility to the Protocols.

It is appropriate: The seminal work of modern anti-Semitism was produced as a surrogate instrument in the Russian gnostics' attempts to destroy modern industrial capitalism and Judeo-Christian society more generally, with the Jew singled out for special anathema in this context. When we now find Novosti and Lev Korneyev attributing the defense doctrine of Ronald Reagan to a sinister Jewish plot, we know what kind of creature we are dealing with.