

## Parallels between Joly and the Protocols

adapted from Herman Bernstein. He has them on opposing pages; I put them in opposing columns, on the same page. I have also added extra parallels at the end, as well as texts that have opposite meanings

- Peter Myers, February 25, 2018

{p. 372} MACHIAVELLI {Joly p.83}

**The evil instinct in man is more powerful than the good.** Man leans more toward the evil than the good; fear and power have more control over him than reason. ... **All men seek power**, and there is none who would not be **an oppressor if he could**; all, or nearly all, are ready to **sacrifice the rights of others to their own interests.**

**What restrains these ravenous animals that we call men?** In the beginnings of society, it is brute force, without control; later, it is law, that is, force again, ruled by certain forms. You have consulted all the sources of history; everywhere force appears before justice.

**Political liberty is only a relative idea. ...**

**States**, once constituted, **have two kinds of enemies; the enemies within and the enemies without.** What arms shall they employ in war against the foreigners? Will the two enemy generals communicate to one another their campaign plans in order that each shall be able to defend himself? Will they forbid themselves night attacks, snares, ambushes, battles in which the number of troops are unequal? Without doubt, they will not. And such fighters would make one laugh. And these snares, these artifices, all this strategy indispensable to warfare, you don't want them to be employed against the **enemies within**, against **the disturbers of peace?** ... Is it possible to conduct by pure reason violent masses which are moved only by sentiment, passion and prejudice?

**... Has politics anything to do with morals?**

... This word "**justice**" itself, by the way, do you not see that it is **infinitely vague?**

{p. 374} **Where does it begin, where does it end?** When will justice exist, when will it not exist? I take examples. Here is **a State: bad organization of public powers, turbulence of democracy, impotence of laws** to control, discontented, disorder which reigns everywhere, will all precipitate it into ruin. **A strong man thrusts himself** from the ranks of the aristocracy or from the heart of the people; he **breaks through all constituted power**; he puts his hand on the laws, **he alters all the institutions, and he gives twenty years of peace** to his country. Did he have the right to do what he has done?

Page nos (eg p. 373) are from Bernstein (Bernstein.doc).

Joly page#s are from Joly (Joly.doc), extracted from Bernstein.

PI= Protocol I (Nilus).

{p. 373} {PI} It must be noted that **men with bad instincts are more in number than the good**, and therefore the best results in governing them are attained by violence and terrorisation, and not by academic discussions. **Every man aims at power**, everyone would like to **become a dictator if only he could**, and rare indeed are the men who would not be willing to **sacrifice the welfare of all** for the sake of securing their own welfare.

**What has restrained the beasts of prey who are called men?** What has served for their guidance hitherto?

In the beginnings of the structure of society they were subjected to brute and blind force; afterwards - to Law, which is the same force, only disguised. I draw the conclusion that by the law of nature right lies in force.

**Political freedom is an idea but not a fact.**

... If **every State has two foes** and if in regard to the **external foe** it is allowed and not considered immoral to use every manner and art of conflict, as for example to keep the enemy in ignorance of plans of attack and defence, to attack him by night or in superior numbers, then in what way can the same means in regard to **a worse foe, the destroyer of the structure of society** and the commonweal, be called immoral and not permissible?

Is it possible for any sound logical mind to hope with any success to guide crowds by the aid of reasonable counsels and arguments, when any objection or contradiction, senseless though it may be, can be made and when such objection may find more favour with the people, whose powers of reasoning are superficial? ...

The **political has nothing in common with the moral.**

... The word "**right**" is **an abstract thought and proved by nothing.**

{Joly p. 85} I am **less preoccupied by what is good and moral than by what is useful and necessary.**

{Joly p. 87} SECOND DIALOGUE

MONTESQUIEU

... you have in your mouth but two words: **force and cunning.** If your system reduces itself to the declaration that force plays a great role in human affairs, that cleverness is a necessary qualification for a statesman, you understand well that this is a truth that need not be proved; but, **if you elevate violence to a principle, cunning to a maxim of government,** if you do not take into consideration in your calculations any of the laws of humanity, the **code of tyranny** is naught but the code of the brute. ...

**Your principle is that good can come from evil,** and that it is permissible to do evil when it will result in good. Thus, you do not say: It is good in itself to go back on one's word; it is good to use corruption, violence and murder. But you do say: One can deceive when it is useful to do so, kill when that is necessary, take the property of others when that is advantageous.

{Joly p. 93} {MONTESQUIEU}

I spoke to you of wars just now: they rage always, I know; but, the first progress is that today they **no longer give the conquerors the property of the vanquished states.** A law that you hardly know, **international law, today guides the relations between the nations,** just as civil law guides the relations of the subjects of every country.

{p. 375} Protocols

Where does right begin? Where does it end?

**In any State in which there is a bad organisation of authority,** an impersonality of laws and of the rulers who have lost their personality **amid the flood of rights ever multiplying out of liberalism,** I find a new right - to attack by the right of the strong, and to scatter to the winds all existing forces of order and regulation, **to reconstruct all institutions and to become the sovereign lord** of those who have left to us the rights of their power by laying them down voluntarily in their liberalism.

... Let us, however, in our plans, direct our attention **not so much to what is good and moral as to what is necessary and useful.**

... Our countersign is - Force and Make-believe. **Only force conquers in political affairs,** especially if it be concealed in the talents essential to statesmen. Violence must be the principle, and **cunning and make-believe the rule for governments which do not want to lay down their crowns** at the feet of agents of some new power. This evil is the one and only means to attain the end, the good. Therefore **we must not stop at bribery, deceit and treachery** when they should serve towards the attainment of our end. In politics one must know how to seize the property of others without hesitation if by it we secure submission and sovereignty.

{P2} It is indispensable for our purpose that **wars, so far as possible, should not result in territorial gains:** war will thus be brought on to the economic grounds, where the nations will not fail to perceive in the assistance we give the strength of our predominance, and this state of things will put both sides at the mercy of our international agentur;

{p. 377} which possesses millions of eyes ever on the watch and unhampered by any limitations whatsoever. **Our international rights will then wipe out national rights,** in the proper sense of right, and **will rule the nations precisely as the civil law of States rules** the relations of **their subjects** among themselves.

{p. 376} {July p. 99 - FOURTH DIALOGUE}  
{MACHIAVELLI}

In reality, you would have begun **a struggle between all the opposing forces**, roused all enterprises, given arms to all parties. You would have given strength to the assault of all ambitions, and made of the state an arena in which all factions would be unchained. In little time, there would be disorder everywhere; inexhaustible rhetoricians would transform the deliberating assemblies into oratorical jousts; audacious journalists, unbridled pamphleteers, would each day attack the person of the sovereign, would discredit the government, the ministers, the men of position. ...

MACHIAVELLI

There are tremendous **populations riveted to labor by poverty, as they were in other times by slavery**. What difference, I ask you, do your parliamentary fictions make to their happiness? Your great political movement has after all only ended in the **triumph of a minority privileged by chance as the ancient nobility was by birth**. What difference does it make to the proletariat bent over its labor, weighted down by the heaviness of its destiny, that some orators have the right to speak, that some journalists have the right to write? **You have created rights which will be purely academic** for the mass of the people, **since it cannot make use of them**. These rights, of which the law permits him the ideal enjoyment and necessity refuses him the actual exercise, are for the people only a bitter irony of destiny. I answer for it that **one day** they will capture them out of hatred, and that **they will destroy them** by their own hand **to intrust themselves to despotism**.

{p. 377} {P3}

In order to incite seekers after power to a misuse of power **we have set all forces in opposition one to another**, breaking up their liberal tendencies towards independence. To this end we have stirred up every form of enterprise, we have armed all parties, we have set up authority as a target for every ambition. Of States we have made gladiatorial arenas where a host of confused issues contend.... A little more, and disorders and bankruptcy will be universal. ...

**Babblers inexhaustible have turned into oratorical contests** the sittings of Parliament and Administrative Boards. **Bold journalists and unscrupulous pamphleteers** daily fall upon executive officials. Abuses of power will put the final touch in **preparing all institutions for their overthrow** and everything will fly skyward **under the blows of the maddened mob**.

All **people are chained to heavy toil by poverty more firmly than** ever they were chained **by slavery** and serfdom; from these, one way and another, they might free themselves, these could be settled with, but from want they will never get away. We have included in the constitution such rights as to the masses appear fictitious and not actual rights. **All these so-called "People's Rights" can exist only in idea**, an idea which can never be realized in practical life. What is it to the proletariat labourer, bowed double over his heavy toil, crushed by his lot in life, if talkers get the right to babble, if journalists get the right to scribble any nonsense side by side with good stuff, once the proletariat has no other profit out of the constitution save only those pitiful crumbs which we fling them from our table in return for their voting in favour of what we dictate, **in favour of the men we place in power**, the servants of our agentur. ... Republican rights for a poor man are no more than a bitter piece of irony. ...

{p. 378} {Joly p. 102}

MACHIAVELLI

... you do not know the **unfathomable cowardice of humanity ... servile in the face of force, pitiless in the face of weakness**, implacable before blunders, indulgent before crimes, incapable of supporting the contrarities of a liberal regime, and patient to the point of martyrdom before all the violences of bold despotism, upsetting thrones in its moments of anger, and giving itself rulers whom it pardons for actions the least of which would have caused it to decapitate twenty constitutional kings.

{Joly p. 103}

... **the principle of popular sovereignty is destructive of all stability** ... it indefinitely perpetuates the right to revolution. It puts nations into open war against all human powers and even against God; it is the very incarnation of violence. **It makes of the people a ferocious brute** which sleeps when it is satiated with blood, and which is enchained.

{Joly p. 105}

From the weariness of ideas and **the shock of revolutions** have come cold and disillusioned societies which have achieved indifference in politics as in religion, which have no other stimulant than material satisfactions, which live only in their own interest, which have no other cult than that of gold. ... Do you believe that it is for love of liberty in itself that the inferior classes are trying to rise to the assault on power? It is by hatred of those who possess....

**What forms of government would you apply to societies in which corruption has stolen everywhere**, in which morality has no guarantee

{p. 380} save in repressive laws, in which the sentiment of patriotism itself is extinguished by I know not what **universal cosmopolitanism**? I see no **salvation** in these societies ... except **in** the institution of an **extreme centralization**, which puts all public force at the disposition of those who govern; ... which rules mechanically all the movements of individuals; in a vast system of legislation which **takes up in detail all the liberties that have been imprudently bestowed**. ...

{p. 379} It is the **bottomless rascality of the goyim peoples, who crawl on their bellies to force**, but are **merciless towards weakness**, unsparing to faults and indulgent to crimes, unwilling to bear the contradictions of a free social system but patient unto martyrdom under the violence of a bold despotism - it is those qualities which are aiding us to independence. From the premier-dictators of the present day the goyim peoples suffer patiently and bear such abuses as for the least of them they would have beheaded twenty kings. ...

Thanks to this State of things **the people are destroying every kind of stability and creating disorders at every step**.

The word "freedom" brings out the communities of men to fight against every kind of force, against every kind of authority, even against God and the laws of nature. For this reason we, **when we come into our kingdom, shall have to erase this word from the lexicon** of life as implying a principle of brute force which turns mobs into bloodthirsty beasts.

These beasts, it is true, fall asleep again every time when they have drunk their fill of blood, and at such times can easily be riveted into their chains.

{P4} The intensified struggle for superiority and shocks delivered to economic life will create, nay, have already created, cold and heartless communities. Such communities will foster a strong aversion towards the higher political and towards religion. Their only guide is gain, that is Gold, which they will erect into a veritable cult, for the sake of those material delights which it can give. **Then will the hour strike when**, not for the sake of attaining the good, not even to win wealth, but solely out of hatred towards the privileged, **the lower classes of the goyim will follow our lead against our rivals for power, the intellectuals of the goyim**.

{P5} **What form of administrative rule** can be given to communities in which **corruption** has penetrated **everywhere**, communities where riches

{p. 381} are attained only by the clever surprise tactics of semi-swindling tricks; where looseness reigns: where morality is maintained by penal measures and harsh laws but not by voluntarily accepted principles: where the feelings towards faith and country are obliterated by cosmopolitan convictions? **What form of rule** is to be given to these communities **if not** that **despotism** which I shall describe to you later? We shall create an intensified centralisation of government in order to grip in our hands all the forces of the community. We shall regulate mechanically all the actions of the political life of our subjects by new laws. These laws will **withdraw** one by one all the **indulgences** and liberties which have been permitted by the **goyim**. ...

{p. 380} {Joly p. 112} SIXTH DIALOGUE  
MACHIAVELLI: ... Who makes the sovereigns?

MONTESQUIEU: The people.

MACHIAVELLI: It is written: **Per Me reges regnant. Which means literally: God makes kings.**  
[Through Me kings reign.]

MONTESQUIEU: That is a translation in the manner of the Prince, O Machiavelli ... but it is not from the Holy Scripture.

{Joly p. 116 - SEVENTH DIALOGUE}  
{MACHIAVELLI}

**Today it is less a question of doing men violence than of disarming them**, less of suppressing their political passions than of wiping them out, less of combating their instincts than of deceiving them, less of prohibiting their ideas than of changing them by appropriating them to oneself... The principal secret of government consists in **enfeebling the public spirit** to the point of disinteresting it entirely in the ideas and the principles with which revolutions are made nowadays. In all times, people, like individuals, have been paid in words. **Appearances nearly always are sufficient** for them; they demand no more. One can, then, establish artificial institutions which correspond to a language and to ideas equally artificial; it is necessary to have the talent to strip the parties of that liberal phraseology with which they arm themselves against the government. It is necessary to satiate the people with it until they are weary, until they are disgusted. One speaks often today of the power of public opinion, I shall show you that it is made to express whatever one wants when one knows well the hidden resources of power. But before thinking of directing it, one

{p. 382} must benumb it, strike it with uncertainty by **astounding contradictions, work on it with incessant diversions**, dazzle it with all sorts of different actions, mislead it imperceptibly in its pathways.

{p. 382} MACHIAVELLI  
**I would institute ... huge financial monopolies**, reservoirs of the public wealth, on which depends so closely the fate of all the private fortunes that they would be swallowed up with the credit of the State the day after any political catastrophe. **You are an economist**, Montesquieu, weigh the value of this combination. Head of the government, all my edicts, all my ordinances would constantly tend toward the same goal: to annihilate collective and individual forces; to develop excessively the **preponderance of the State**, to make of it the sovereign protector, promoter and remunerator. ..

{p. 381} {P5} **Per Me reges regnant. "It is through Me that Kings reign."** And it was said by the prophets that we were chosen by God Himself to rule over the whole earth.

Protocols  
**Nowadays it is more important to disarm the peoples than to lead them into war:** more important to use for our advantage the passions which have burst into flames than to quench their fire: more important to catch up and interpret the ideas of others to suit ourselves than to eradicate them. The principal object of our directorate consists in this: **to debilitate the public mind by criticism; to lead it away from serious reflections** calculated to arouse resistance; to distract the forces of the mind towards a sham fight of empty eloquence.

In all ages the **peoples** of the world, equally with individuals, **have accepted words for deeds**, for they are content with a show and rarely pause to note, in the public arena, whether promises are followed by performance. Therefore **we shall establish show institutions** which will give eloquent proof of their benefit to progress.

**We shall assume to ourselves the liberal physiognomy of all parties**, of all directions, and we shall give that physiognomy a voice in **orators who** will speak so much that they **will exhaust the patience** of their hearers and produce an abhorrence of oratory.

{p. 383} In order to put public opinion into our hands we must bring it into a state of bewilderment by **giving expression from all sides to so many contradictory opinions** and for such length of time as will suffice to **make the Goyim lose their heads in the labyrinth** and come to see that the best thing is to **have no opinion of any kind in matters political.** ...

{P6} **We shall soon begin to establish huge monopolies**, reservoirs of colossal riches, upon which **even large fortunes of the goyim will depend** to such an extent that they will go to the bottom together with the credit of the States on **the day after the political smash.** ...

You **gentlemen here present who are economists**, just strike an estimate of the significance of this combination! ...

In every possible way we must develop the significance of **our Super-Government** by representing it as the Protector and Benefactor of all those who voluntarily submit to us.

In modern times, **the aristocracy, as a political force, has disappeared**; but the **landed bourgeoisie is still an element of dangerous resistance** to governments, because it is independent in itself; it may be **necessary to impoverish it or even to ruin it** completely. It is enough, for this, to increase the charges which weigh on landed property, to maintain agriculture in a state of relative inferiority, **to favor** commerce and industry excessively, but **speculation** principally....

#### MACHIAVELLI

It is useless to add that the perpetual upkeep of a **large army continually exercised by foreign wars** must be the indispensable complement of this system; it is necessary to **arrive at the existence in the state only of proletarians, several millionaires, and soldiers.**

... Outside, it is necessary to incite, from one end of Europe to the other, the revolutionary fermentation that is curbed at home. Two considerable advantages would result from that; the liberal agitation outside makes possible the repression within. Moreover, in this way one

{p. 384} controls all the powers, among which one can create order or disorder at will. The important point is to entangle by cabinet intrigues all the threads of European politics in such a way as to **play one against the other** the powers with whom one treats.... Alexander VI practised only deception in his diplomatic negotiations and yet he always succeeded, so well did he know the science of cunning.... But for what you call today the official language, a striking contrast is necessary, and there one cannot affect too much the spirit of loyalty and conciliation; the people, who see only the outward appearance of things, will manufacture a reputation of wisdom for the ruler who can conduct his affairs in this way.

**To all internal agitation**, he must be able to **respond with a foreign war**; to any imminent revolution, with a general war; but since in politics words must never be in accord with deeds, it is necessary that, in these various crises, the prince be able enough to **disguise his real designs** under contrary design; he must always give the impression of acceding to public opinion while he does what his hands have secretly prepared.

The **aristocracy of the goyim as a political force, is dead** - we need not take it into account; but as **landed proprietors they can still be harmful** to us from the fact that they are self-sufficing in the resources upon which they live. It is essential therefore for us at whatever cost to **deprive them of their land**. This object will be best attained by increasing the burdens upon landed property - in loading lands with debts. These measures will check land-holding and keep it in a state of humble and unconditional submission.

At the same time we must intensively patronise trade and industry, but, first and foremost, **speculation**, the part played by which is to provide a counterpoise to industry.  
...

{P7} The intensification of armaments, the increase of police forces - are all essential for the completion of the aforementioned plans. What we have to get at is that **there should be in all the States** of the world, **besides ourselves, only** the masses of **the proletariat, a few millionaires** devoted to our interests, **police and soldiers**. Throughout all Europe, and by means of relations with Europe, in other continents also, **we must create ferments, discords and hostility**. Therein we gain a double advantage. In the first place we keep in

{p. 385} check all countries, for they well know that **we have the power** whenever we like **to create disorders or to restore order**. All these countries are accustomed to see in us an indispensable force of coercion. In the second place, by our intrigues **we shall tangle up all the threads which we have stretched into the cabinets** of all States by means of politics, **by economic treaties, or loan obligations**. In order to succeed in this we must use great cunning and penetration during negotiations and agreements, but, as regards what is called the "official language," we shall keep to the opposite tactics and **assume the mask of honesty and compliancy**. In this way the **peoples and governments of the goyim, whom we have taught to look only at the outside** of whatever we present to their notice, will still continue to accept us as the benefactors and saviours of the human race.

{Joly p. 120 - SEVENTH DIALOGUE}

{MACHIAVELLI} ... what is essential is the **use against one's enemies of all the arms they could employ against you**. Not content with relying on the violent force of democracy, I would borrow of the subtleties of justice their most learned resources. When one takes decisions that could seem unjust or rash, it is essential to know how to express them in fine terms, to give them the highest reasons of morality and justice.

The power of which I dream, far, as you see, from having barbarian customs, must draw to itself all the forces and all the talents of the civilisation in the heart of which it lives. It must **surround itself with publicists, lawyers, jurisconsults**, practical men and administrators, men who know thoroughly all the secrets, all the strength of social life, who speak all languages, who have studied man in all circles. They must be taken from everywhere, no matter from whence, for these men give surprising service through the ingenious procedures they apply to politics. With that, **a whole world of economists is necessary, of bankers, of industrialists, of capitalists**, of men of vision, of men with

{p. 386} millions, for **all fundamentally resolves itself into a question of figures**. As for the principal dignities, the principal dismemberment of power, one must so arrange as to give them to men whose antecedents and character place **a gulf between them and other men**, every one of whom has only to **expect death or exile in case of a change in government** and is in need of defending until his last breath all that exists.

{Joly p. 127 - EIGHTH DIALOGUE}

{MACHIAVELLI}

... in politics that is a rule the details of which I will follow scrupulously; if you will call to mind the principles to which you hold the most, you will see that I am not as embarrassed by them as you seem to think.... You would not fail, no doubt, to speak to me of the principle of the **separation of powers**, of liberty of speech and of the press, religious liberty, individual liberty, **the right to congregate**, equality before the law, **the inviolability of property** and of the home, the right of petition, free consent to taxation, proportionality of punishment, the non-retroactivity of the laws.... I have told you that I would proclaim these principles, but I have not said I would inscribe them or even that I would expressly designate them.... I will in no way sum up; I will take care to declare to the people that recognize and confirm the great principles of modern justice.... **If I expressly enumerated these rights**, my freedom of action will be chained to those I have mentioned; that is what I do not want. **In not naming them**, I seem to accord all and I do not specially accord any; **this permits me to set**

We must be in a position to **respond to every act of opposition by war with the neighbors** of that country which dares to oppose us: but **if these neighbors** should also venture to **stand collectively together** against us, then **we must offer resistance by a universal war**.

The principal factor of success in the political is the secrecy of its undertakings: the word should not agree with the deeds of the diplomat.

{P8} We must **arm ourselves with all the weapons which our opponents might employ** against us. We must search out in the very finest shades of expression and the knotty points of the lexicon of law justification for those cases where **we shall have to pronounce judgments** that might appear abnormally audacious and unjust, for it is important that these resolutions should be set forth in expressions that shall seem to be the most **exalted moral principles** cast into legal form. **Our directorate** must surround itself with all these forces of civilisation among which it will have to work. It will **surround itself with publicists, practical jurists, administrators, diplomats** and, finally, with persons prepared by **a special super-educational training in our special schools**. These persons will have cognisance of all the secrets of the social structure, they will know all the languages that can be made up by political alphabets and words; they will be made acquainted with the whole underside of human nature, with all its sensitive chords on which they will have to play. ...

{p. 387} **We shall surround our government with a whole world of economists**. That is the reason why **economic sciences form the principal subject of the teaching given to the Jews**. **Around us** again will be **a whole constellation of bankers, industrialists, capitalists and - the main thing - millionaires**, because in substance everything will be settled by the question of figures.

For a time, until there will no longer be any risk in **entrusting responsible posts** in our States **to our brother-Jews**, we shall put them in the hands of **persons whose past and reputation** are such that **between them and the people lies an abyss**, persons who, in case of disobedience to our instructions, must face criminal charges or disappear - this in order to make them defend our interests to their last gasp.

{P10} For our policy it is of the greatest importance to take cognisance of this detail; it will be of assistance to us when we come to consider the division of authority, freedom of speech, of the press, of religion (faith), of the law of association, of equality before the law, of the inviolability of

**aside later**, by means of exception, those that I may judge dangerous.

Look, the nations have I know not what secret love for the vigorous genius of force. Of all violent actions marked by the talent of artifice, you will hear said with an admiration that overcomes all blame: This is not good, so be it, but it is clever, it is well done, it is strong! ...

MONTESQUIEU: You expect, then, to associate the nation with the new fundamental work that you are preparing?

{p. 388} MACHIAVELLI: Yes, no doubt. That surprises you? I will do much better; **I will first have ratified by a popular vote the coup that I have carried against the state**; I will say to the people, in suitable terms: All was going wrong; I have smashed everything, I have saved you, do you want me? You are free to condemn me or to absolve me by your vote.

{July p. 145 - ELEVENTH DIALOGUE}  
... in the majority of the parliamentary nations, the press has the faculty of making itself hated, since it is at the service only of violent, selfish, and exclusive passions, since it disparages through prejudice, since it is mercenary, since it is unjust, since it is without generosity and without patriotism; and, last but not least, since you will never be able to make the masses of the people understand of what value it may be.

... it isn't only journalism that I intend to repress.

... it would hardly be worth while escaping from the attacks of journalism if one had to remain exposed to those of books.

I would decree that in the future no newspaper could be founded except by authorization of the government; right there you have the danger arrested in its development; for, as you can easily understand, the newspapers which would be authorized would be only those organs devoted to the government.

I would reach all newspapers, present or future, by fiscal measures which would check when needed all publicity enterprises; I would subject political journals to what you call nowadays the stamp and security. The business of the press would soon become so unremunerative, thanks to the raising of these taxes, that no one would go into it unknowingly.

MONTESQUIEU: The remedy is insufficient, because political parties spare no expense.

MACHIAVELLI: ... I have something with which to close their mouths: here come the repressive measures. ... **Two convictions in one year will automatically bring about the suppression of the paper.** I would not rely on that alone, I would

property, of the dwelling, of taxation (the idea of concealed taxes), of the reflex force of the laws. All these questions are such as ought not to be touched upon directly and openly before the people. In cases where it is indispensable to touch upon them **they must not be categorically named**, it must merely be declared without detailed exposition that the principles of contemporary law are acknowledged by us. The reason of keeping silence in this respect is that **by not naming a principle we leave ourselves freedom of action**, to drop this or that out of it without attracting notice; if they were all categorically named they would all appear to have been already given.

The mob cherishes a special affection and respect for the geniuses of political power and accepts all their deeds of violence with the admiring response: "Rascally, well, yes, it is rascally, but it's clever! ... a trick, if you like, but how craftily played, how magnificently done, what impudent audacity!" ...

We count upon attracting all nations to the task of erecting the new fundamental structure, the project for which has been drawn up by us. ...

**When we have accomplished our coup d'etat** we shall say then to

{p. 389} the various peoples: "Everything has gone terribly badly, all have been worn out with sufferings. **We are destroying the causes of your torment - nationalities, frontiers, differences of coinages.** You are at liberty, of course, to pronounce sentence upon us..."

{P12} What is the part played by the press to-day? It serves to excite and inflame those passions which are needed for our purpose or else it serves selfish ends of parties. It is often vapid, unjust, mendacious, and the majority of the public have not the slightest idea what ends the press really serves. **We shall saddle and bridle it with a tight curb**: we shall do the same also with all productions of the printing press, for where would be the sense of getting rid of the attacks of the press if we remain targets for pamphlets and books? The produce of publicity, which nowadays is a source of heavy expense owing to the necessity of censoring it, will be turned by us into a very lucrative source of income to our State: **we shall lay on it a special stamp tax and require deposits** of caution-money **before permitting the establishment of any** organ of the press or of **printing offices**; these will then have to **guarantee our government against any kind of attack** on the part of the press. For any attempt to attack us, if such still be possible, **we shall inflict fines without mercy.** Such measures as stamp tax, deposit of caution-money and fines secured by these deposits, will bring in a huge income to the government. It is true that party organs might not spare money for the sake of

say to the newspapers, in a decree or a law: "Reduced to the greatest caution in matters that concern you, do not expect to arouse opinion by commentaries on the debates in my chambers. ..."

{p. 390} I do not want my kingdom to be disturbed by noises from abroad. How could foreign news arrive? By a **few agencies which centralize the news** which is transmitted to them from the four quarters of the globe. Well, I suppose these agencies could be paid, and then **they would give out no news except by order of the government.**

MONTESQUIEU: ... now you may go on to the regulation of books.

MACHIAVELLI: ... In the first place, **I shall oblige those who wish to exercise the profession of printer, editor or librarian** to secure a seal, that is, an **authorization** which the government may always withdraw, either directly or by decisions of the court.

MONTESQUIEU: But, in that case ... the instruments of thought will become the instruments of power!

MACHIAVELLI: ... I will return to **fiscal measures**; I will extend to books the stamp which affects the newspapers, or rather I **shall impose** the burden of a **stamp on those books which have not a certain number of pages**. A book, for instance, which has not two or three hundred pages will not be a book, it will be only a brochure. I believe that you readily grasp the advantage of this scheme: on one hand **I reduce, by this tax, the swarm of little writings** which are like the appendages of journalism; on the other hand, **I force those who wish to escape the tax to write long and costly compositions which will scarcely sell** or which will barely be read in this form. Nowadays there are hardly any but a few poor devils who have the conscience to write books; they will give it up. The economic question will discourage literary vanity and penal law will disarm printing itself, for **I shall make the publisher and the printer criminally responsible for the contents of the books**. If there are writers daring enough to write books against the government, they must not be able to find anyone to publish them. The effects of this wholesome intimidation will **indirectly re-establish a censor that the government itself could not exercise** because of the disrepute into which this preventive measure has fallen. Before publishing new works, the printers and the publishers will consult one another, they will be informed; they will produce books which are in demand, and in this manner the government will always be usefully informed of the publications which are being prepared against it; it will bring about a preliminary attachment when it deems necessary and will report the authors to the courts.

publicity, but these we shall shut up at the second attack upon us. **No one shall with impunity lay a finger on the aureole of our government infallibility.** The pretext for stopping any publication will be the alleged plea that it is agitating the public mind without occasion for justification. I beg you to note that among those making attacks upon us will also be organs established by us, but they will attack exclusively points that we have pre-determined to alter.

**Not a single announcement will reach the public without our control.** Even now this is already being attained by us inasmuch as all news items are received by a few agencies, in whose offices they are focused from all parts of the world. These agencies will then be

{p. 391} already entirely ours, and will give publicity only to what we dictate to them.

... Let us turn again to the future of the printing press. Every one desirous of being a publisher, librarian, or printer, will be obliged to provide himself with the diploma issued therefore, which, in case of any fault, will be immediately impounded. With such measures the instrument of thought will become an educative means in the hands of our government....

We turn to the periodical press. **We shall impose on it, as on all printed matter, stamp taxes per sheet and deposits of caution-money, and books of less than 30 sheets will pay double.**

We shall reckon them as pamphlets in order, on the one hand, to reduce the number of magazines, which are the worst form of printed poison, and, on the other, in order that this measure may **force writers into such lengthy productions that they will be little read**, especially as they will be costly. At the same time what we shall publish ourselves to influence mental development in the direction laid down for our profit will be cheap and will be read voraciously. The tax will bring rapid literary ambitions within bounds and the liability to penalties will make literary men dependent upon us. And if there should be any found who are desirous of writing against us, they will not find any person eager to print their productions. **Before accepting any production for publication in print the publisher or printer will have to apply to the authorities for permission** to do so. Thus we shall know beforehand of all tricks preparing against us and shall nullify them by getting ahead with explanations of the subject treated of.

Literature and journalism are two of the most important educative forces, and therefore our government will become proprietor of the majority of the journals. This will neutralise the injurious influence upon the public mind.... If we give permits for ten journals, we shall ourselves found thirty, and so on in the same proportion. This, however, must in nowise

... Since journalism is such a great force, do you know what my

{p. 392} **government** would do? It **would turn journalist**, it would become journalism incarnate.... I shall count the number of newspapers which represent what you call the opposition. **If there are ten for the opposition, I shall have twenty for the government**; if there are twenty, I shall have forty; if there are forty, I shall have eighty. You can readily understand now to what use I will put the faculty which I reserved for myself to authorize the creation of new political papers.

... the masses must have no suspicion of these tactics; the scheme would lose its point, **public opinion would shy at newspapers which openly defended my policies.**

I shall divide into three or four categories the papers devoted to my power. In first rank I shall put a certain number of newspapers whose tone will be frankly official and which, at any encounter, will defend my deeds to the death. I tell you right from the start, these will not be the ones which will have the greatest influence on public opinion. In the second rank I shall place another series of newspapers the character of which will be no more than omcious and the purposes of which will be to rally to my power that mass of luke-warm and indifferent persons who accept without scruple what is established but who do not go beyond that in their political faith.

It is in the newspaper categories which follow that will be found the most powerful supporters of my power. Here, the official or officious tone is completely dropped, in appearance, that is, for the newspapers of which I am going to speak will all be attached by the same chain to my government, a chain visible for some, invisible for others. I shall not attempt to tell you how many of them there will be, for I shall count on a devoted organ in each opinion, in each party; I shall have an aristocratic organ in the aristocratic party, a republican organ in the republican party, a revolutionary organ in the revolutionary party, an anarchist organ, if necessary, in the anarchist party. **Like the god Vishnu, my press will have a hundred arms**, and these arms will stretch out their hands to **all the possible shades of opinion over the whole surface of the country**. Everyone will be of my party whether he knows it or not. Those who think they are speaking their own language will be speaking mine, those who think they are agitating their own party will be agitating mine, those who think they are marching under their own flag will be marching under mine.

MONTESQUIEU: I am only wondering how you will be able to direct

be suspected by the public. For which reason all journals published by us will be of the most opposite, in appearance, tendencies and opinions, thereby creating confidence in us and bringing over to us our quite unsuspecting opponents, who will thus fall into our trap and be rendered harmless.

**In the front rank will stand organs of an official character.** They

{p. 393} will always stand guard over our interests, and therefore their influence will be comparatively insignificant.

In the **second rank will be the semi-official organs**, whose part it will be to attract the tepid and indifferent.

In the third rank **we shall set up our own, to all appearance, opposition**, which in at least one of its organs, will present what looks like the very antipodes to us. Our real opponents at heart will accept this simulated opposition as their own and will show us their cards.

**All our newspapers will be of all possible complexions** - aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchical - for so long, of course, as the constitution exists. ... **Like the Indian idol Vishnu they will have a hundred hands** and every one of them will have a finger on any one of the public opinions as required. When a pulse quickens these hands will lead opinion in the direction of our aims, for an excited patient loses all power of judgment and easily yields to suggestion. Those fools who will think they are repeating the opinion of a newspaper of their own camp will be repeating our opinion or any opinion that seems desirable for us. In the vain belief that they are following the organ of their party they will in fact follow the flag which we hang out for them.

In order to direct our newspaper militia in this sense we must take especial and minute care in organising this matter. Under the title of central department of the press we shall institute literary gatherings at which our agents will without attracting attention **issue the orders and watchwords of the day**. By discussing and controverting, but always superficially, **without touching the essence of the matter**, our organs will carry on a sham fight fusillade with the official newspapers solely for the purpose of giving occasion for us to express ourselves more fully than could well be done from the outset in official announcements, whenever, of course, that is to our advantage.

{p. 394} and rally all these military forces of publicity secretly hired by your government.

MACHIAVELLI: That is only a question of organization, you must understand; I shall institute, for instance, under the title of division of printing and the press, a center of operation to which one will come for orders. So, for those who will be only half in on the secret of this scheme, it will be a strange spectacle: they will see **sheets, devoted to my government, which will attack me**, which will shout, which will stir up a turmoil of confusion.

... you will notice that **the foundation and the principles of my government will never be attacked** by the newspapers of which I am speaking; they will never go in for anything more than a polemic skirmish, a dynastic opposition within the narrowest limits.

... The result, considerable enough, will be to make the greatest number say: "But you see, one is free, one may speak under this regime, it is unjustly attacked; instead of repressing, as it might do, it tolerates these things!" Another result, not less important, will be to provoke, for instance, such observations as these: "You see to what point the foundations and principles of this government commands the respect of all; here are newspapers which allow themselves the greatest freedom of speech; well, they never attack the established institutions. They must be above the injustices of human passions, since the very enemies of the government cannot help rendering homage to them."

... With the aid of the secret loyalty of these public papers, I may say that I can direct at will the general opinion in all questions of internal or external policies. I arouse or lull the minds, I reassure or disturb them, I plead for and against, true and false. I have a fact announced and I have it refuted, according to the circumstances; in this way I plumb public thought, I gather the impression produced. I try combinations, projects, sudden decisions; in other words **I send out what you call in France feelers**. I fight my enemies as I please without ever compromising my power, since, after having the papers make certain statements, I may, when necessary, deny them most energetically; I solicit opinion on certain resolutions, I urge it on or I hold it back, I always have my finger on its pulse; it reflects, without knowing it, my personal impressions, and it occasionally is astonished at being so constantly in accord with its sovereign.

{p. 396} ... You must know that **journalism is a sort of free-masonry**; those who live in it are all more or less **attached to one another by the bonds of professional discretion**; like the ancient soothsayers, they do not readily divulge the secret of their oracles. They would gain nothing by betraying one another, for the majority of them have some more or less shameful secrets.

These attacks upon us will also serve another purpose, namely, that our subjects will be convinced of the existence of full freedom of speech and so give our agents an occasion to affirm that all organs which oppose us are **empty babblers**, since they are incapable of finding any substantial objections to our orders.

Methods of organisation like these, imperceptible to the public eye but absolutely sure, are the best calculated to succeed in bringing to the attention and the confidence of the public to the side of our

{p. 395} government. Thanks to such methods we shall be in a position as from time to time may be required, to excite or to tranquillise the public mind on political questions, to persuade or to confuse, printing now truth, now lies, facts or their contradictions as they may be well or ill received, always very cautiously feeling our ground before stepping upon it. We shall have a sure triumph over our opponents since they will not have at their disposition organs of the press in which they can give full and final expression of their views owing to the aforesaid methods of dealing with the press. **We shall not even need to refute them except very superficially.**

Trial shots like these, fired by us in the third rank of our press, in case of need, will be energetically refuted by us in our semi-official organs.

Even nowadays, already, to take only the French press, there are forms which reveal **masonic solidarity in acting on the watchword**: all organs of the press are **bound together by professional secrecy**; like the augurs of old, not one of their numbers will give away the secret of his sources of information unless it be resolved to make announcement of them. Not one journalist will venture to betray this secret, for not one of them is ever admitted to practise literature unless his whole past has some disgraceful sore or other. ... These sores would be immediately revealed.

## PARALLELS not listed by Bernstein

{July p. 162} {THIRTEENTH DIALOGUE}

MONTESQUIEU. At the outset, you outlined a formidable legislation concerning the press. You extinguished all voices, with the exception of your own. Here are the mute parties before you - **do you fear no conspiracies?** ...

MACHIAVELLI. **I would begin by deporting by the hundreds those who, with gun in hand, greeted the accession of my power.** I have been told that in Italy, in Germany and in France, **it was through secret societies that the agitators who conspired against the government were recruited.** I would tear to pieces the obscure threads which are woven like spider webs in dens. ...

MONTESQUIEU. Good enough for the future; but the existing societies?

MACHIAVELLI. I shall expel, for public safety, all those who have

{p. 163} been definitely known to have been members. Those whom I do not reach will remain under a continual threat, for I shall put through a law which will **permit the government to deport**, by administrative means, **all who may have been affiliated with such societies.**

MONTESQUIEU. That is, without judgment.

MACHIAVELLI. Why do you say: without judgment? Is not the decision of a government a judgment? You may rest assured that there will be little pity for seditious-mongers. In countries continually troubled by civil discord, peace must be brought about by implacable acts of vigor; if there is a reckoning of victims to be made in order to insure tranquillity, it will be made. After that, the appearance of the one who commands becomes so imposing that no one dares to make an attempt on his life. **After having covered Italy with blood, Sulla may reappear in Rome as a private individual; no one would touch a hair of his head.** ...

MACHIAVELLI. If my clemency were called upon, I should see. I can even confide to you that a portion of the severe provisions which I shall write into the law will become purely comminatory, on condition, however, that I am not forced to use them otherwise.

{P15} When we at last definitely **come into our kingdom by the aid of coups d'etat** prepared everywhere for one and the same day, after the worthlessness of all existing forms of government has been definitely acknowledged (and **not a little time will pass before that comes about, perhaps even a whole century**) we shall make it our task to see that against us such things as **plots shall no longer exist.** With this purpose we shall slay without mercy all who take arms (in hand) to oppose our coming into our kingdom. Every kind of new institution of **anything like a secret society will also be punished with death;** those of them which are now in existence, are known to us, serve us and have served us, we shall disband and send into exile to continents far removed from Europe. *In this way we shall proceed with those GOY masons who know too much;* such of these as we may for some reason spare will be kept in constant fear of exile. We shall promulgate a law making all former members of secret societies liable to exile from Europe as the centre of our rule.

Resolutions of our government will be final, without appeal.

In the **goy societies, in which we have planted and deeply rooted discord and protestantism,** the only possible way of restoring order is to employ merciless measures that prove the direct force of authority: no regard must be paid to the victims who fall, they suffer for the well-being of the future. The attainment of that well-being, even at the expense of sacrifices, is the duty of any kind of government that acknowledges as justification for its existence not only its privileges but its obligations. **The principal guarantee of stability of rule is to confirm the aureole of power,** and this aureole is attained only by such a majestic inflexibility of might as shall carry on its face the emblems of inviolability from mystical causes - from the choice of God. **Such was, until recent times, the Russian autocracy, the one and only serious foe we had in the world, without counting the Papacy.** Bear in mind the example when **Italy, drenched with blood, never touched a hair of the head of Sulla who had poured forth that blood:** Sully enjoyed an apotheosis for his might in the eyes of the people, even though they had been torn in pieces by him, but his intrepid return to Italy ringed him round with inviolability. The people do not lay a finger on him who hypnotizes them by his daring and strength of mind.

{p. 99} FOURTH DIALOGUE

MACHIAVELLI

First permit me to examine in itself your political mechanism: **you balance the three powers**, and you confine each one to its department; **this one will make laws, this other will apply them, and this third will execute them: the prince will reign, the ministers will govern.** What a marvelous thing is this constitutional seesaw! You have foreseen all, regulated all, save progress: the triumph of such a system would not be action; it would be immobility if the mechanism functioned with precision; but, in reality, things do not happen in this way. On the first occasion, movement will be produced by **the rupture of one of the springs which you have so carefully forged.**

{p. 241} TWENTY-FIFTH DIALOGUE

MACHIAVELLI. **I will reign for ten years under these conditions**, without changing anything in my legislation; this is the only price of definite success. Nothing, absolutely nothing, must make me change during this period; the lid of the boiler must be of iron and lead; it is during this time that the phenomena of destruction of the dissatisfied spirit are elaborated. You think perhaps that the people will be unhappy, that they will complain. Ah! I would be inexcusable if that were so; but **when the springs have been the most violently tensed**, when I will weigh with the most terrible heaviness upon the chest of my people, this is what they will say: **We have only what we deserve, let us suffer.**

{P9} In order not to annihilate the institutions of the *goyim* before it is time we have touched them with craft and delicacy, and have **taken hold of the ends of the springs which move their mechanism.** These springs lay in a strict but just sense of order; we have **replaced them by the chaotic license of liberalism.** We have got our hands into the administration of the law, into the conduct of elections, into the press, into liberty of the person, but **principally into education and training as being the cornerstones of a free existence.**

**We have fooled, bemused and corrupted the youth of the goyim** by rearing them in principles and theories which are known to us to be false although it is by us that they have been inculcated.

Above the existing laws without substantially altering them, and by merely twisting them into contradictions of interpretations, we have erected something grandiose in the way of results. These results found expression first in the fact that the *interpretations masked the laws*; afterwards they entirely hid them from the eyes of the governments owing to the impossibility of making anything out of the tangled web of legislation.

{p17} Our kingdom will be an apologia of the divinity Vishnu, in whom is found its personification - in our hundred hands will be, one in each, **the springs of the machinery of social life.** We shall see everything without the aid of official police which, in that scope of its rights which we elaborated for the use of the *goyim*, hinders governments from seeing. In our programme **one-third of our subjects will keep the rest under observation** from a sense of duty, on the principle of volunteer service to the State. **It will then be no disgrace to be a spy and informer, but a merit:** unfounded denunciations, however, will be cruelly punished that there may be no development of abuses of this right.

## Not a Parallel; the meaning is Opposite

{p. 209 - TWENTIETH DIALOGUE}

MONTESQUIEU

**How are loans made? By the issue of bonds** containing an obligation on the part of the government to pay a yearly interest proportionate to the capital which has been deposited. **If the loan is at 5 per cent, for instance, the state, at the end of twenty years, has paid a sum equal to the capital borrowed; at the end of forty years, a double amount; at the end of sixty years, a triple amount, and yet it always remains debtor for the total of the same capital.**

{P. 214} MACHIAVELLI.

I am afraid that **you are somewhat prejudiced against loans; they are valuable for more than one reason: they attach families to the government; they are excellent investments for private people**, and modern economists today expressly recognize that, **far from impoverishing the state, public debts enrich it.** Will you allow me to explain how? ...

{p. 215} {MACHIAVELLI} **Nowadays one no longer borrows of bankers.**

MONTESQUIEU. Of whom, then?

MACHIAVELLI. Instead of striking bargains with capitalists who come to an agreement amongst themselves to frustrate any bidding and whose limited number destroys all competition, **one appeals to all his subjects: to the rich, to the poor, to the artisans, to the business men**, to whomever has a cent to dispose of; one opens what is called a **public subscription, and so that each one can buy shares**, it is divided into coupons of very small sums.

{p. 397} {P20}

**Every kind of loan proves infirmity in the State** and a want of understanding of the rights of the State. **Loans hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of rulers, who, instead of taking from their subjects by a temporary tax, come begging with outstretched palm of our bankers.** Foreign loans are leeches which there is no possibility of removing from the body of the State until they fall off themselves or the State flings them off. But the goy States do not tear them off: they go on in persisting in putting more on to themselves so that they must inevitably perish, drained by voluntary blood-letting.

What also indeed is, in substance, a loan, especially a foreign loan? **A loan is - an issue of government bills of exchange** containing a percentage obligation commensurate to the sum of the loan capital. **If the loan bears a charge of 5 per cent, then in twenty years the State vainly pays away in interest a sum equal to the loan borrowed, in forty years it is paying a double sum, in sixty-treble, and all the while the debt remains an unpaid debt.**

From this calculation it is obvious that **with any form of taxation per head the State** is bailing out the last coppers of the poor taxpayers in order to **settle accounts with wealthy foreigners, from whom it has borrowed money instead of collecting these coppers for its own needs without the additional interest.**

So long as loans were internal the *goyim* only shuffled money from the pockets of the poor to those of the rich, **but when we** bought up the necessary person in order to **transfer loans into the external sphere all the wealth of States flowed into our cash-boxes** and all the *goyim* **began to pay us the tribute of subjects.** ...

How clear is the undeveloped power of thought of the purely brute brains of the *goyim*, as expressed in the fact that they have been borrowing from us the payment of interest without ever thinking that all the same **these very moneys plus** an addition for payment of **interest must be got** by them from their own State pockets in order to **settle up** with us. **What could have been simpler than to take the money they wanted from their own people?**

But it is a proof of the genius of our chosen mind that **we** have contrived to **present the matter of loans** to them in **such a light that they have even** seen in them an **advantage for themselves.**